St Helena Letters from England 1673-1683

Introduction: This is the first volume in the series *St Helena Letters from England*. It includes incoming official correspondence from the East India Company in London to the island's Governor and Council, conveying directives on government, defence, trade, staffing and supplies. The letters were usually read in consultation and copied or abstracted into the records.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP524-1-2-1.

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

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

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

Modern Summary and Analysis Each section of text was submitted for AI analysis in order to explain the archaic language in clear, modern UK English. These are not direct sentence by sentence replacements, but explanatory interpretations intended to clarify meaning while preserving the substance of the original. Where a specific individual is named within a section of the original text, that person will generally also be identified within the explanatory interpretation. However, where the original consists largely of lists of names, these are not usually repeated in the explanatory text.

Each text modern summary is followed by two forms of AI-generated analysis. The first, an Interpretations section, draws on wider information located on the internet to provide additional commentary on the material. The second, a Speculations section, offers one or more possible reflections on what the document might further suggest. The value of these notes ranges from the profound to the trivial or self-evident; time did not permit deletion of the latter.

Text Loss: The volume shows foxing throughout with missing page sections and the handwritten text on a few pages is very faded.

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

Pagination: Where page numbers are visible, they appear in the top-left and top-right corners. However, many are indecipherable because they have been overwritten or the page corners are missing. Some of the pagination inconsistencies arise from blank pages, which are sometimes counted and sometimes not.

The first clearly visible page number appears on film No. 30, marked as page 23. The page numbering is therefore assumed to begin at film No. 8, with subsequent pages continuing in sequence through to 37/30. However, the next page (film No. 38) is numbered 29, producing a sequence of 37/30, 38/29, 39/30, and so on through to 41/32. The following page is numbered 35, so the sequence continues as 42/35, 43/36, 44/37, through to 47/40. The next page (film No. 48) is numbered 63, giving a sequence of 47/40, 48/63, 49/64, and so forth. This sequence then runs through to the end of the volume.

Content: Although this is entitled *St Helena Letters from England*, it contains a variety of other unrelated material such as a list of soldiers and sailors left by Sir Richard Munden after St Helena was recovered from the Dutch in May 1673 and letters from India.

Dates: During the period covered by this volume, England and its colonies followed the Old-Style Julian calendar, under which the legal new year began on 25 March (Lady Day). When creating the modern interpretations of these texts, the AI has automatically adjusted the dates. For any date quoted in these early St Helena records falling in the period between January and 25 March, the year has been moved forward to the modern equivalent. Month names were frequently rendered using Roman calendar abbreviations such as 7ber, 8ber, 9ber and 10ber, in which September through to December were counted as the seventh to tenth months.

The earliest date recorded in this volume is 9 December 1673 and the latest is 1 August 1683. The letters were sent during the administrations of Captain Richard Kedgwin/Keigwin (1673-1674), Captain Gregory Field (1674-1678) and Major John Blackmore (1678-1690).

AI Generated Summary:

Introduction

This consolidated account traces the East India Company's government of St Helena from the recapture of the island by Sir Richard Munden in May 1673 to the great code of Laws and Constitutions despatched in 1684. It draws on the letters patent of 16 December 1673 by which Charles II regranted the island to the company, the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, successive despatches running through 1674, 1675/6, 1678, 1680, 1681 and 1684, the codified by-laws of 20 March 1680, the Laws and Constitutions sealed on 30 March 1681, and the supporting invoices, receipts and inter-station letters from Surat, Fort St George, Bantam and the island itself. [Film No. 10-58, 59-108, 119-158, 159-186]

The record is necessarily one-sided. It is the official archive produced by the Court of Committees in London, with parallel material from the Indian Ocean factories, and the voices of the planters, soldiers, women, children and slaves of the island reach the page only through the regulations imposed upon them or through company reports of disorder, debt and idleness. Wider context shadows the file throughout: the Third Anglo-Dutch War and the Treaty of Westminster of 19 February 1674 supplied the rationale for the wartime garrison; the Treaty of Nijmegen of August 1678 sharpened renewed European tensions; the Maratha campaigns of Shivaji disrupted the Indian Ocean supply chain; and the developing Madagascar slave trade drew the island into the working logistics of the Atlantic system. Across eleven years the documents show a chartered corporation moving from a recapture-era garrison, through a founding settlement phase, into a deliberate administrative system with codified property law, planned militia, regular Indian Ocean supply, a defined criminal jurisdiction and a deliberate demographic policy. [Film No. 10-58, 59, 75, 82, 89, 159-186]

Governance and Administration

The legal foundation of the settlement was the grant of 16 December 1673, by which the Crown made the Governor and Company the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the island, reserving only the allegiance of the inhabitants as subjects. The tenure was that of the manor of East Greenwich in Kent, in free and common socage rather than by knight's service, the standard formula of seventeenth-century colonial grants, carrying no military service or feudal incidents and giving the company secure freehold-style title. The patent unusually instructed the courts to read the instrument most graciously and favourably for the company, reflecting the strong Crown interest in supporting the East India trade. [Film No. 10-11, 15]

The constitutional structure of the island administration was set out three days later in the founding instructions of 19 December 1673. Captain Richard Field was made Governor and Captain Anthony Beale Deputy, supported by a Council of five comprising the two soldier-company lieutenants together with Francis Moore, John Coalston and Richard Swallow. Beale was pre-designated as Field's successor, with the Council to elect from its own number should both senior men be lost, an arrangement that produced a self-executing chain of command unencumbered by months of consultation with London. [Film No. 17]

The personnel of the Court of Committees in London showed continuity with rotation. John Banks signed as Governor and Nathaniel Herne as Deputy in December 1673; by December 1674 Herne had moved up to Governor with Robert Thompson as Deputy; by February 1678 William Thompson was Governor and James Edwards Deputy, and the signatories included Josiah Child, who would later dominate the company, and the natural philosopher Robert Boyle. Beneath these rotations a stable core of John Moore, Samuel Moyer, John Jollyfe, Thomas Canham and Edward Rudge ran through every despatch. By 1683 the Court sat under Sir Josiah Child as Governor and Thomas Papillon as Deputy, with William Hedges among the signatories marking an early stage of his career; the 1684 despatches were sealed under the same leadership with fourteen further committee members including the Huguenot John DuBois, whose presence reflects the broader involvement of French Protestant capital. [Film No. 16, 31, 36, 58, 158, 184]

The February 1678 commission discharged Field at his wife's earlier petition and brought in Major John Blackmore over Beale's head, the higher military rank reflecting the company's view that the post had grown from a recapture-era captaincy into a substantial command. Beale remained Deputy Governor and standing successor to Blackmore. The Council was reshaped around Lieutenant Jonathan Tyler, Joshua Johnson, Richard Swallow, John Greentree and John Coalston, with the quorum reduced from five to three to make routine business workable in a small population. Field was retained on the Council until embarkation to preserve institutional knowledge across the transition. [Film No. 45-46, 55, 59]

The constitutional turning point came on 20 March 1680, when the Court invoked the royal charter and issued land by-laws under the common seal, authenticated by Secretary Robert Blackborne. The choice to legislate under seal, rather than to instruct, marked recognition that the island had passed beyond the point where ad hoc directions could carry the weight of its property system. A private letter of 14 March 1682 substantially strengthened the Governor's position: he could suspend any Council member he judged remiss or refractory without their colleagues' consent and with loss of salary, but no replacement could be appointed except by the company itself, balancing immediate discipline against London's strategic control. The same despatch introduced, almost in passing, the new office of Recorder, apparently borrowed from English municipal corporations. [Film No. 102-105, 161]

The directive of 20 May 1683 pushed administrative reform further. The Council was now to send the island's books of account, fairly balanced, home each year by the Surat and Coast ships, turning audit into a routine consignment rather than an exceptional return. The same letter consolidated offices and salaries: Anthony Beale was discharged from the deputy governorship and from the offices of Husband and Storekeeper, and Lieutenant Joshua Johnson was promoted to succeed him at a capped salary of £40 per annum, below Beale's £50. The conditional authority for Beale's replacement had been granted as early as 24 March 1680, on his refusal to accept the new stores procedure; the 1683 directive simply activated a power held for three years. [Film No. 156, 158]

The despatch of 14 March 1684, carried by the *Surat Merchant*, conveyed the new code together with a sharp rebuke. The company had been so displeased by Governor Blackmore's relief of the interlopers Taylor and Allay that it had resolved to remove him; only the intervention of his friends in London, who entered into a bond of £5,000 penalty for his future obedience, saved his place. The sum was extraordinary set beside salaries of £55 a year for the chaplain, £30 for the surgeon and £40 for the Deputy Governor, and points to substantial London merchant backing. The new laws were to be publicly proclaimed within six days of receipt. [Film No. 162, 163]

Military Affairs and Defence

The letters patent conferred on the principal Governor the powers of a Captain General, the highest English military rank, with full authority over mutiny, sedition, cowardice and refusal of service. The men were formed into two companies, with Field and Beale each commanding one, and pay was fixed at £50 per annum for each senior officer, with a £20 gratuity for Field, £2 10s a month for lieutenants, £2 for ensigns, £1 10s for serjeants and £2 with diet and two suits of apparel for the Gunner. The chief magazine was sited at the centre of the island, equidistant from the various coastal posts and beyond easy reach of any ship's guns. The new planters were drilled at intervals of two months and assigned rendezvous points, an obligation made a condition of the land grant itself rather than a separate militia law, giving the company a contractual lever over defaulters. [Film No. 12, 14, 17, 19-21]

The Treaty of Westminster of 19 February 1674 transformed the strategic situation. Within two months of the peace the company moved on 10 April 1674 to reduce the establishment to seventy-five able and civil men, with the rest offered planter status or repatriation. By 18 December 1674 the figure had been cut again to fifty. The March 1675/6 despatch authorised further cuts if the planter militia could secure the island, with the company observing that mutinous soldiers prone to crediting every rumour gave little security and that a smaller body of reliable men might serve better. The Gunner's death, reported in March 1675/6 and traced to a piece loaded with a double charge of cartridges, illustrated the hazards of garrison artillery and prompted monthly inspection of the new Gunner's accounts. By February 1678 the company had imposed a salute ceiling of three guns and forbidden firing in healths. [Film No. 32-33, 38, 50-51, 55]

The *Johanna* of March 1678 carried 150 firelock muskets, 20 fowling pieces, 72 backswords, 12 halberds, 50 long pikes, seven falcon guns with 280 round shot, 50 barrels of gunpowder, 10 hundredweight of match, 4 large flags and 6 field colours. Fifty long pikes broadly matched the garrison of 50 soldiers under the reduction of 1676. Long moulds for shot and 1,000 flints reflected the company's intention to make the island self-sufficient in small-arms ammunition. The despatch of 8 November 1678 prohibited signal fires by day in case of an enemy's appearance, drawn from the Hamburgher's testimony that fires had given the Dutch a great advantage in the original capture of 1673, turning the operational failure of 1673 into standing security doctrine. [Film No. 62, 64, 68-70, 82]

The despatch of 24 March 1680 introduced stone gun platforms in place of decaying wooden ones, with twenty tons of lime sent from London and more expected from India, and two new fishing boats replaced Munden's seven-year-old vessels. The 20 March 1680 by-laws tied defence directly to landholding: every twenty-acre plantation maintained two English residents aged sixteen or upwards (at least one bearing arms) and two cows; every ten-acre plantation maintained one armed Englishman and one cow. For routine duty a twenty-acre holder was paired with a ten-acre holder, serving alternately; for invasion every person not exempt was to appear. The Council judged that an equal number of soldiers to planters was needed to maintain order; the Court overrode this and committed to settler-defence as practised in other plantations without separate soldiery. [Film No. 99, 101, 102-103]

The 1680 inventory and the *Society* invoice together showed a small but seriously equipped garrison: cartridge paper at ten reams, two hundred ramming sticks, twenty barrels of gunpowder, twenty barrels of musket and drop shot, three pairs of shot moulds, and 696 red coats lined in green. The artillery establishment comprised four categories of sponge head and rammer (demi-cannon, culverin, twelve-pound and demi-culverin), six ash axletrees and forty trucks for gun carriages, suggesting something close to a ten-gun fortified establishment. The *Falcon*'s return to London with defective arms, acknowledged in 1683, completed a recall cycle directed in 1680. [Film No. 130, 138, 141, 142, 156]

The 1681 code prescribed parallel procedures for offences within the company's service: captains, officers, soldiers or mariners who slept on watch, quarrelled on duty or were absent could be convicted on the oath of two witnesses, with fines of up to one month's pay and corporal punishment short of life or limb. The embezzlement of powder, shot, ammunition or other stores carried punishments cumulative with the ordinary theft penalties. By 1684 the question had moved from theft to waste. Captain Beck's list of guns fired on the island recorded over 1,300 guns, a figure the company found so strange that it suspected the salutes had been intended to gratify interlopers. New strict limits were imposed: never more than three guns to any of the company's own ships, no guns at houses or for the boarding of commanders, not more than seven to a French, Dutch or other friendly European ship, and no guns at all to any interloper. [Film No. 175, 176, 186]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

The settlement policy rested on converting a costly garrison into a self-supporting planter population. Old planters found on the island were confirmed in their existing holdings; new arrivals received a parcel sufficient for a family, two cattle and nine months of free victuals, with land conveyed to them and their heirs and assigns for ever under the company's common seal. Plantations were to be laid out close enough to support each other, with houses clustered around the forts; female cattle were not to be slaughtered for three years; and the original one-year residence and improvement rule before alienation, set out in 1673, was extended in February 1678 to seven years, matching the seven-year commodity guarantee. [Film No. 21-22, 24, 26, 53]

Agricultural development drew on the wider company network. Bantam sent plants and seeds; the Surat Council despatched two Carmanian goats on the *George* with forty maunds of carravances for fodder, technical guidance on combing the fine under-wool, and a comb. The breed came from Kerman in south-eastern Persia and produced a fibre comparable to cashmere. The shipment of only two animals, described as all that could be procured, illustrated the precariousness of an experiment whose entire future rested on the survival of one pair. To populate the windward side, hitherto neglected, the company doubled the standard land allowance for settlers there in February 1678, capped at forty acres of mixed rough and plain ground. [Film No. 34, 40, 42, 51-52]

The despatch of 24 March 1680 set out the working framework of settlement. A single man from England received ten acres and a cow on arrival, and a further ten and a cow on marriage to an English woman sent by the company or to a landless freeman's daughter. A soldier leaving company pay and marrying a planter widow received ten acres and a cow on top of her existing holding; marrying a daughter or single woman, he received a fresh twenty acres and a cow. The system used marriage as the working mechanism of soldier-to-planter conversion. A survey of plantable lands was directed, with one half reserved for the company and the other half available for further allotments. [Film No. 95-96]

The 20 March 1680 by-laws turned policy into a code of tenure. The Governor or Deputy was personally to register every plantation by acres, boundaries and names, with no fee at initial registration but one penny per acre payable to the Governor for the use of the company as chief lord of the land on each subsequent sale, alienation, bequest or descent, plus eight pence to the Register. A biennial general court of planters, with a jury drawn from their own number, was to enquire into property changes. A duplicate of the register was to go home each year for the master record at East India House. Tenure became absolute after five years of actual occupation and improvement. Failure to improve within twelve months of allotment, or a six-month lapse in maintaining the required residents and cattle, triggered mandatory forfeiture. [Film No. 103-105]

The despatch of 16 May 1679 argued that shipping charges were three or four times the value of the goods and that the planters' expectation of London supply was itself undermining their industry, a notably mature piece of economic analysis. The *Society* consignment of March 1680 sent upwards of sixty steel spades, twenty-five specialist tread shovels and a garden seed parcel of cabbage, turnip, cauliflower, parsnip, carrot, lettuce, spinach, onion, leek, marjoram, thyme, winter savory, rosemary, sorrel and half a bushel of garden beans, revealing a planned horticultural establishment. The Coast Council added live breeding stock: a doe

spotted deer on the *George*, a buck to follow on the *Caesar*, and a second doe on the *Bengal Merchant*, dispersed across three ships against shipwreck risk and intended to establish an Indian chital herd. [Film No. 96, 129, 142, 155]

The directive of 20 May 1683 extended the rule sharply: no person was to hold two plantations under any condition, by purchase, exchange, gift, marriage settlement or any other means. As soldiers converted to planter status, the officer establishment was to be reduced in the same proportion. The despatch of 14 March 1684 then declared all grants made since an earlier prohibition to be null and void, a strikingly aggressive retroactive measure. Whereas Article 1 of the 1680 by-laws had reserved only half of the unallotted plantable land for company use, the new policy reserved the whole remainder. The planter establishment was effectively to be treated as complete, with future development reserved to direct company exploitation, and the Governor was instructed to use the company's slaves to take in further ground. [Film No. 156, 184]

Supply, Provisioning and Trade

The office of Husband and Storekeeper was held by Beale from the outset, combining commercial management with physical custody of all stores. No item could be issued without a warrant signed by the Governor and a majority of the Council, separating physical control from authorising power. Accounts were kept by the debtor and creditor method, with personal ledgers for soldiers and planters drawing goods on credit; triple receipts were taken for provisions issued to company ships, one retained on the island and two sent home. By 1678 a three-monthly audit was imposed. The Governor's table, supplied from the company plantation, fed the senior officers daily and entertained ships' commanders during their stays. [Film No. 18, 22, 31, 49, 52-54]

The *Johanna* invoice of 20 March 1678, signed by Francis Boyer as Accomptant General, came to £2,809 16s 5d, the single largest documented supply of the period: 400 hundredweight of biscuit at £400, 26 hogsheads of beef at £200 15s 8d, gunpowder at £175, 1,200 yellow dram deals at £80, and 879 pieces of eight at £219 15s 0d for the soldier pay chest. The Indian Ocean supply chain developed in parallel as a deliberate diversification. The Surat Council under Thomas Rolt at Swally Marine dispatched annual rice and paddy shipments; the first consignment of January 1679 on the *Sampson*, *President* and *Unicorn* delivered 100 bags of rice, 30 of paddy, soap, a handmill, pestle and mortar, and Carmanian goats from Persia. [Film No. 62-73, 74-80]

The Coast Council under Streynsham Master at Fort St George ran a parallel fleet on the *Williamson*, the *Falcon*, the *Society* and the *Nathaniel*, adding two butts of Bengal arrack and four varieties of seed paddy for the four sowing seasons. Streynsham Master's advice on storage, drawing on the bloody flux suffered by men at a fort besieged by Sevagee from eating five-, six- or seven-year-old paddy, recommended that grain be turned over every two or three years. The chain was not reliable. The *Falcon*'s invoice noted a 600 weight shortfall; the *Nathaniel*'s a further 200 weight and a short butt of arrack; the Coast Council letter of 2 February 1680 reported that rice was very dear at the Coast and only 30 bags in total could be sent on four ships. [Film No. 74-80, 86, 88, 91]

In June 1680 the Surat Council shipped 123 bags of rice and paddy across three ships, sourced from the Gujarati merchant Nanaby Modji at 731 rupees 17 annas. By January 1682 the supply had collapsed to a mere thirty bags carried by the *Josiah* alone. Fort St George contributed a similar quartet from Madras the same season: the *Golden Fleece*, the *Bengala*, the *George* and the *Caesar* each carrying fifty bags of rice, thirty of paddy, and a bag of seed paddy as part of an experimental sowing programme, though the company commanders themselves reported the island's ground stony and water unsuitable for paddy cultivation. The Surat Council, writing on 26 January 1684, suspended the annual paddy and rice shipments altogether, consistent with the company's wider expectation that the island should begin to maintain itself. [Film No. 146, 149, 150, 152, 153, 159]

St Helena's role as a victualling and refitting station shaped a great deal of the *Society* consignment of March 1680: pitch in fifty casks, rosin in forty-five, 659 deep sea leads, substantial sail cloth and sail needles, new cables of 120 fathoms each, and 127 hundredweight of biscuit in forty casks. Fort St George's despatch of

19 January 1681 enforced the charter party seamen supply clause: where a homeward commander could not recruit replacements himself, the island was to make up the muster roll; the *Golden Fleece* was already sixteen men short on departure. The inter-station consignment from Bantam by Francis Bowyear on the *Nathaniel* and the *Emmanuel* in January 1682, worth about 436 dollars, comprised rufts (a coarse cotton from Surat held at Bantam before forwarding), two chests of sugar by the picul, and a butt of arrack of 133 gallons. [Film No. 121, 138, 142, 147, 148, 152]

The despatch of 24 March 1680 raised the productive expectation of the company plantation and fishery sharply: they were now to bear the cost of the Governor's table without bought victuals, and to produce a surplus for sale to ships. The *Society* consignment built the infrastructure to make this operative through a complete dairying package (cheese tubs, cheese vats, churns, milk tubs, cheese mops, rimmels and 600 yards of cheese cloth) and an established cooperage of howells, jointers, heading knives, bung borers, spokeshaves and throws. The *Society* consignment further built out a remarkable range of trades: tanning equipment, shoemakers' lasts in five sizes, stone-hewing tools, beckmets and rubbing stones for masons, and a complete tailoring outfit. The objective was unmistakable: by 1683 the company expected the island to maintain and defend itself for several years without further consignments from London. [Film No. 120, 130, 132, 133, 136]

Trade, Interlopers and Anchorage

St Helena's role in the wider trading system grew explicit in 1680, when a new charter party clause from Surat and the Coast allowed homeward ships short of complement to draw replacement seamen from the island at the owners' charge, turning the island into a working manpower reserve for the homeward fleet. Defence of the company's monopoly extended to private traders: Captain Olley in the *Expedition*, sailing in December 1679 for the Coromandel Coast, was named as a case, and the Council was directed to maintain no manner of correspondence with such ships and to refuse refreshment. [Film No. 96, 100]

The interloper problem dominated the trade provisions of the early 1680s. A standing ordinance prohibited any inhabitant from trading with or supplying any visiting ship until the Governor had admitted her by proclamation. The despatch of 14 March 1684 spelled out the financial mechanism: English ships found trading within the company's charter could be admitted on payment of 20s sterling per ton of burthen; ships trading only to Madagascar for slaves, with no other East Indies connection, were admitted at the higher rate of £2 6s per ton; foreign ships (Dutch, French, Hamburgers, Danes) paid a flat anchorage of £5 regardless of size; and a general anchorage of 5s per voyage applied to every ship of any kind including those in the company's own service. [Film No. 163, 164, 179, 182]

The differentiation between East Indies interloper and Madagascar rates is striking. The Madagascar slave trade lay formally outside the company's monopoly and was developing as a private English business carrying slaves to the Caribbean and American colonies, for which St Helena was a vital victualling point. The company could not lawfully suppress that trade but could charge it more for refreshment than the interlopers, whose lower per-ton rate was effectively partial recovery of the lost cargo margin. The supplementary private letter of 1682 ordered the Governor to record carefully what was taken out of the company's ships by interlopers, identifying a suspicion that they were meeting company commanders at the island to buy calicoes at sea, defrauding the King of his customs, the company of its margin and the ship-owners of their freight. The Governor was, in effect, to act as an intelligence agent at the homeward calling point. [Film No. 164, 180, 182]

Slavery, Coerced Labour and Religion

The company's slave policy stands out by the standards of seventeenth-century English colonial practice. Article 44 of the founding instructions provided that any slave on the island, man or woman, who publicly professed the Christian faith and was baptised should within seven years be made a free planter with the same land and cattle as any other planter. The case of Black Oliver, who had guided the English at the recapture and whom Munden had purchased from a Portuguese owner, made the principle concrete: the company reimbursed Munden, paid a further £18 for the recovery of Oliver's wife and two children, reunited the family on the island and declared Oliver a free planter. By February 1678 the procedure was tightened, with the Governor, Council and Minister together required to judge each candidate fit for

baptism. The seven-year term, matching the standard indenture and the alienation rule on planter land, suggests that the company viewed slaves not as a permanent underclass but as a recruitable source of future planters once converted and trained. [Film No. 23, 25, 54]

The despatch of 24 March 1680 marked a clear break on slavery: there were already more slaves on the island than was prudent, lest they mutiny and overpower the English, and no further slaves were to be brought without special order from London. The arrangement was framed entirely as a security calculation about the demographic balance, while the slaves already on the island were directed to be kept constantly at work on the company plantation. The juxtaposition is revealing: the Court conducted a calculation about safe slave-holding ratios at the very moment it directed the most efficient extraction of labour from those already enslaved, with no reconsideration of the institution itself. [Film No. 98]

The directive of 20 May 1683 was explicit: all the black slaves were to be kept constantly employed on the company plantation and in the fishery. The directive refused petitions by Lieutenant Johnson and Mr Moore, who probably sought the loan or hire of company slaves for private cultivation. The supply consignment of manacles in chest item 48, alongside the directive that criminal cases were to be tried on the island, shows the physical infrastructure of coercion arriving with the legal authority. By 1684 the earlier prohibition on further slave imports was implicitly relaxed by the acknowledgement that the Governor might, for want of money, be forced to take slaves in exchange for provisions from the Madagascar ships. Read against the wider Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trade, this is the moment at which St Helena was being drawn into the working logistics of the Madagascar route. The file's near-silence on the experience of the enslaved themselves, present throughout as labourers but absent as voices, requires explicit recognition. [Film No. 131, 156, 164, 183, 184]

Religion was framed throughout as part of public order rather than as a separate sphere of devotion. The Lord's Day was to be kept by all inhabitants, with public places of worship appointed by the Governor and Council, who were themselves to attend and to encourage attendance. Profane swearing, drunkenness, fornication, uncleanness, unlawful gaming and bigamy were to be punished under the laws of England, the company's secular courts standing in for both Crown and Church in the absence of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. William Swindle was the first Minister, engaged at £50 per annum as Minister, £25 as Schoolmaster and £25 as gratuity dependent on diligence. News of his death reached London in July 1674, and Edward Wynni was engaged in his place at the same combined terms, sailing on the *Nathaniel* via Surat with his own library. His replacement Joseph Church was engaged in March 1680 at £50 with a gratuity of only £5, a substantial reduction reflecting the broader cost discipline, and was to catechise the younger sort and teach the children to read. [Film No. 24, 26, 34, 39-40, 48, 96]

The first head of the 1681 Laws and Constitutions opened with religion, placed deliberately at the head of the code. The prayer formula required intercession for the King and the realm but also explicitly for the good and welfare of the English East India Company, placing corporate authority alongside the Crown in the public liturgy. The Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments and the summary of the law from Matthew 22 were to be read each Lord's Day, and the minister was to catechise the youths and younger people weekly. Joseph Church, who had earlier petitioned to return to England, was now confirmed in post on the grounds of his marriage. The picture was complicated almost at once by the 1684 disclosure that Mr Church had gone aboard the interloper *Pitt* and entertained her master at his house, prompting a new prohibition on any person boarding an interloper without the Governor's written licence on penalty of 10s. By 1683 the chaplain's duties had narrowed: the directive of 20 May 1683 exempted him from teaching any children except those already able to read, signalling the transfer of basic literacy teaching to a separate schoolmaster appointment. [Film No. 156, 165, 167, 168, 186]

Judiciary, Crime and Punishment

The letters patent conferred capital and corporal jurisdiction directly on the company, an unusual delegation since such powers normally rested with Crown-commissioned judges. Proceedings were to follow English practice in default of express provision, the standard repugnancy clause forbidding outright contradiction

of English law but permitting wide local adaptation. A register of marriages, christenings and burials was kept first by the Council and then by the Minister, supplying the parish function. Bigamy was prohibited in 1673 and again in 1678. [Film No. 12-13, 15, 23, 36, 55]

Until 1680, capital cases from St Helena had been referred home for trial in England, an arrangement of doubtful practicality given the four-month sailing time each way. The despatch of 9 April 1680 records the Council shipping three mutinous persons to England; the Court expressed disapproval, noting that offences committed at so remote a distance left witnesses and proofs in India while the company itself lacked custody facilities in London. For the future the Council was unambiguously directed to apprehend, try and punish criminal offenders on the island under the law of England. The 20 March 1680 by-laws established a quite different kind of local judicial apparatus in the property sphere, with the biennial general court of planters and jury drawn from themselves. The supply consignment of the same season included manacles in chest item 48, integrating legal policy with physical supply. [Film No. 103, 106-107, 131]

The most ambitious section of the 1681 code concerned justice. A Court of Judicature was to be erected at the chief place of the island, sitting every three weeks, with the Governor as sole judge and sole administrator of oaths, but the sealed code restored trial by jury for all causes. Twelve men, returned by the Sheriff, were to deliver the verdict, with the Sheriff empowered to empanel any Englishmen on the island, including visiting mariners as well as constant inhabitants. The rule on jury composition was given the unusual status of a perpetual rule and law. Procedural elements drew straight from English practice: protection against arbitrary committal, with prisoners entitled to discharge without bail if no prosecution followed within two Court days, effectively applied the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679. A new office of Sheriff combined the English roles of sheriff, constable and militia captain. [Film No. 168, 169, 170, 171]

Within months the company recognised that this apparatus did not fit the place. In its letter of 1 August 1683 the Court explained that the laws had been drawn from the model established at the company's island of Bombay, where the number of inhabitants was computed at 20,000, whereas St Helena's whole population did not exceed 500. The Council was to continue determining ordinary matters in the existing summary manner, with the full jury procedure reserved for cases involving the taking away of life, limb or land. The retreat is a striking admission that the carefully drawn code was, in its full form, disproportionate. [Film No. 185]

The fourth head of the laws addressed the encouragement of religion, morality and virtue, and the suppression and punishment of vice. Sabbath-breaking and profane swearing carried fines of up to 5s on second and subsequent offences after admonition. Drunkenness was treated similarly, but with the unusual provision that any person of quality, who should be an example to others, would pay a greater fine than persons of a meaner rank, a self-conscious departure from formal equality before the law. Theft was carefully graduated: aggravated theft attracted restitution, treble damages, forfeiture of the residual estate to the company, the pillory, whipping to the prison, and discretion either to keep the offender or return him to England. Lesser theft carried restitution and treble damages, and where the offender lacked the means, compulsory labour for the injured party until the value was made good. Personal violence was finely distinguished: striking a free person attracted satisfaction and a fine of up to 20s; wilful murder carried death; striking an officer drew up to £5; treason carried death and total forfeiture. The breadth of the treason provisions makes plain how vividly the company still remembered the surrender of 1672. [Film No. 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176]

Economy, Finance and Accounting

The island operated on a Spanish silver currency. Pieces of eight and copper coin were sent in 1673 to pay the soldiers, and in February 1678 the company despatched 879 Mexico and Seville pieces of eight in several parcels, valued at five shillings each. Pay was to be released in measured amounts, enough to give each soldier ready money but not so much that he could spend it carelessly. The use of pieces of eight rather than sterling reflected the international currency of the Atlantic and reduced the call on English silver reserves. The prohibition on drawing bills of exchange on the company in London, tightened to a flat bar in 1678 after the earlier irritation over Captain Keynion's £10 1s 9d, forced the island to live within the coin and stores actually sent. [Film No. 19, 34, 49]

The despatch of 8 November 1678 noted bills of exchange drawn on the company through Captains Power, North and Andrews to a total of £140 5s 0d; the company paid but imposed a strict £100 annual ceiling on future drawings. The despatch of 24 March 1680 exposed a larger problem: planters were in debt to the company by upwards of £1,800 on cloth account alone. Where they could not pay in money, recovery was to be made in cattle at market price. No further credit was to be given until old debts were discharged, since some inhabitants had been taking up goods on credit and reselling at exorbitant rates. William Rutter had run £80 into debt within eighteen months, having turned planter while still drawing soldier's pay. A new soldier pay arrangement of 21s per month paid weekly simplified the practice and gave soldiers cash to spend on planter produce. [Film No. 73, 78-79, 81, 97-99]

The *Society* consignment of March 1680 carried £800 of silver in chest SH, some 3,200 ounces at five shillings the ounce, partly in Spanish dollars and partly in bar. The inter-station consignments operated in other currencies entirely: the Surat invoices used rupees, maunds, candies and corges, the Coast invoices used pagodas, fanams and cash, and the Bantam invoice used dollars. The grand total of the *Society* consignment closed at £3,138 1s, expressed in the working religious formula which God prosper. The Council's accounting discipline was real but imperfect: the *Society* invoice carries small but persistent arithmetical errors, and the Coast Council's despatch of 19 January 1681 contains an order-of-magnitude transcription error in documents issued by the same body on the same day. The errors should temper any confidence in the precision of the numerical record. [Film No. 129, 131, 142, 143, 152, 153]

By 1684 the company itself placed the cumulative cost of settling, fortifying and defending St Helena at between £30,000 and £40,000 sterling, and in the later despatch at £40,000 without one penny of profit. Across the eleven years since the 1673 charter, this implies an annual cost of around £3,000 to £4,000. The new revenue framework - the 5s general anchorage applicable to every ship including the company's own, the £5 foreign anchorage, the 20s per ton English interloper tonnage, the £2 6s Madagascar rate, the licensing of retail liquor and tobacco at up to 20s a year, and the assorted fines - was intended to begin the conversion of subsidy into profit. Even on optimistic assumptions, a few hundred pounds a year would have taken decades to amortise a £40,000 outlay; the Court's complaint about the absence of profit suggests it had begun to recognise this. [Film No. 181, 182, 183]

Social Order and Daily Life

The remittance system tied wages on the island to family obligations in England. The company paid Mrs Field £100 at several times against her husband's salary; £3 was charged to Robert Bell the sawyer's account for sums advanced to his wife in London. Beale's account, audited in February 1678, showed a balance of £79 7s 6d due to him but was rejected for want of particulars supporting a 40s charge and a credit of £718 19s 6d. Wives of soldiers turning planter were sent at company expense; free passage home was guaranteed after five years of service. The contrast between the offer of free family passage and the case of the sawyer's wife, who refused to come and whose refusal made her husband's return to England effectively inevitable, shows the limits of an inducement system. [Film No. 23, 34, 39, 53, 56-58]

The despatches identify recurring difficulties of morale. The Bombay transportation rumour, first reported in December 1674, persisted into March 1675/6 despite repeated company denials. The category of declared idler, established in March 1675/6 to deport inhabitants who refused to cultivate, marks the company's shift from encouragement to formal sanction. The despatch of 8 November 1678 records trouble at hearing of disorder among Council members and other inhabitants; that of 24 March 1680 records the planters' great proneness to excess in drinking. The drink supply itself bears interpretation: the *Johanna* brought 565 gallons of brandy and the Coast added two butts of arrack. Strong beer in nine puncheons, ordinary beer in hogsheads, four barrels of mumm (a herbal German wheat beer), 597 gallons of Strasburg brandy at £149 5s, and East Indies arrack from Bantam together gave a three-tier drink supply matched to the social hierarchy of the establishment. [Film No. 35, 38-39, 65, 83-84, 89-90, 131, 137]

The stratified retail pattern across the *Society* consignment is striking. Knives were supplied in cased ivory sets, men's horn-hafted, Oxford, Kentish, turned-ivory, box-hafted and ordinary patterns at descending prices. Bodices were graded across fourteen quality bands, from fine paragon at ten shillings the pair down

to plain at four shillings and eightpence. Stockings ran across more than twenty price grades, including flame-coloured and pewter-love-dyed varieties alongside the working whites and greys. Hoods in lute-string and allamode silks served the dressed wear of senior women. The company stores were functioning as a graded shop rather than a simple issue point, calibrated to the differentiated social ranks of a settled colonial society. Marriage stood at the centre of social engineering, with widows secured in life interests on half their husbands' plantations and resident kindred favoured over absent relatives in England. [Film No. 89, 131, 133, 137]

By 1684 the administrative correlate was a major expansion of annual reporting. The Governor was to send home each year a list of officers, soldiers and planters, each marked as married or unmarried and as planter or non-planter; the marriages and christenings in the year; the number of slaves and children of each planter; an exact list of all stores; all debts owed by and to the company; all provisions in store; and an account of the cattle and slaves on the company plantation. The requirement was imposed on pain of the loss of his place and the company's displeasure. A complementary fine of 40s, levied by distress on the offender's goods toties quoties, applied to any planter refusing or falsifying his own return. [Film No. 181, 182, 183, 186]

Personalities and Conclusion

Sir Richard Munden, the squadron commander who recaptured the island in May 1673, supplied through his reports the inventories of stores, men and accounts on which the founding instructions rested. Captain Richard Field, the first company Governor, held the post for nearly five years until his wife's petition in 1674 ripened into the formal discharge of February 1678, and exited with dignity preserved, retained on the Council until embarkation with continued salary and £20 gratuity. Captain Anthony Beale, the figure most consistently present in the record, combined the Deputy Governorship with a soldier company, the office of Husband and Storekeeper and a position in the line of succession, the operational centre of the island administration even when not nominally its head; his accounts repeatedly failed audit, and he was discharged in 1683 against the suspicion of engrossing arriving provisions. [Film No. 10, 17, 19, 34, 158]

Major John Blackmore, arriving on the *Johanna* under Captain Hopefor Bendall in 1678, inherited a settlement transformed from a recapture-era garrison into a self-supporting plantation, and presided through the period as the recipient of orders rather than generator of policy. His indulgence of the interlopers Taylor and Allay nearly cost him his place in 1684, and was saved only by the £5,000 bond entered by his London friends. His subsequent record on saluting, retail licensing and demographic reporting continued to draw rebukes. The shared surname with Blackmore Junior the verifying clerk hints at a family interest connecting metropolitan and colonial administrations. [Film No. 45, 58, 162-164]

Joshua Johnson, originally engaged in London under the despatch of 20 February 1678 at forty shillings per month with a planter package of thirty acres, one servant, one slave and four cows, rose from lieutenant to Deputy Governor and Husband over seven years, eventually appearing as Governor John Johnson on the May 1682 receipt of the *Golden Fleece*'s defective rice. Francis Bowyear at Bantam combined institutional authority with personal patronage in fostering the Governor's son. Streynsham Master at Fort St George emerges as the most authoritative of the Indian officers, his advice on grain storage drawing on the Sevagee siege feeding directly into magazine management. Thomas Rolt at Surat ran the parallel western operation with similar consistency. Elihu Yale appears in the Coast Council signatures under William Gyfford as an early stage of the service that would culminate in his agency. [Film No. 91, 147, 152, 154]

Black Oliver, freed and granted a plantation as a reward for guiding the English at the landing, embodied the published manumission policy. William Swindle, the first Minister, died within a year, replaced by Edward Wynni on the *Nathaniel* via Surat and in turn by Joseph Church in 1680; the chaplain Church embodies the tensions of the establishment, encouraged to remain on the strength of his marriage, expected to model pious conversation and catechise the young, and yet found at the same moment to have boarded the interloper *Pitt*. Captain Richard Keynion became a continuing source of irritation through unauthorised bills of exchange; the Gunner who died from a double-charged piece, and the troublesome Young, mark the harder edges of garrison life. Captain Beck, whose return of 1,300 guns set off the company's wrath, stands as the witness who caught the Governor's ceremonial generosity in writing. Sir Josiah Child as

Governor of the London Court and Thomas Papillon as Deputy framed the directives of 1683 and 1684. [Film No. 24-25, 38, 96, 165, 184, 186]

Taken as a whole, the eleven-year record describes the company tightening its grip on an island it had only governed for a decade. The Laws and Constitutions of 30 March 1681 attempted to transplant a developed colonial code, modelled on Bombay, onto a settlement of fewer than a few hundred souls, and within months the company itself acknowledged that the formal apparatus would be a burden rather than a benefit. The interloper prohibition, the revenue duties and the demographic and stores returns, however, were retained and intensified, since these spoke directly to the company's overriding objectives of suppressing private trade, securing the island against another loss and converting an expensive possession into a productive one. What emerges is a recognisable phase in the maturation of the company's administration: a code drawn up in London, modified in light of local report, partly suspended, partly entrenched, and applied to an island whose strategic value the company never doubted but whose profitability remained, by its own admission, frustratingly elusive. [Film No. 10-186]

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
1		EAP 524 St Helena Archives Collection EAST INDIA COMPANY Series LETTERS FROM ENGLAND Volume A Document date(s) 1673 - 1683 Photographed by KM & TB Date photographed 22/10/2012 Notes	
2		Book cover	
3		WARNING. A poisonous solution containing mercuric chloride has been used in the repair and binding of this volume.	
4		Blank page	
5		Blank page	
6		Blank page	
7		Blank page	
8		Blank page	
9		Blank page	
10	1	Artillery Armes Armour weapons, Ordinance Munition, Mony Stores goods Cattle, and moveables, what[so]ev[er] which were found at the tyme our s[ai]d forces retooke the same as afores[ai]d do of Right belong unto Us and to no other. And whereas the [Is]land hath bin found by Experience to be very Convenient and Commodious for our Loveing Subjects the said force[s] and Company of [Marchants] tradeing into the East In[dies] for refreshing of theire ffleets and People in theire returnes homewards being often then Weake and decayed in theire health by reason of theire Long [Voyages] vnder those hott Clymes, where vpon our said Subjects the said Govrnour and Company having besought us to regrant a[nd] Confirme the same Vnto them. Now know yee, that forasmuch as we have foiend by much Experience [...] the said trade Into the said Ind[i]es hath bin maintayned by the said Govrnour and Company to ye Honour and Profitt of vs and our Realme. And to that End and out of our earnest desires that the said Govrnour and Company may by all good and Lawfull Mea[nes] wais be encouraged in theire difficult and hazardous Trade and Traffique in those Remote parts of the World. We therefore of our especiall grace certaine Knowledge and Motion, have given granted and Confirmed And by these presents for vs our heires and successors do give grant and Confirme vnto the said Govrnour and Company of Merchants of London Tradeing into the East Indies theire Successors and assignes All the the said Island of S[t] Hellena, with all the Rights to Territories and appurtinances, whatsoever, and all the [Ports] Lands, ffortes woods Mountaines [Mines] Lakes Pooles	The territory included artillery, weapons, armour, ordnance, munitions, money, stores, goods, cattle and any moveable property found there when the company's forces recaptured the island. All of this belonged to the Crown alone. Experience had shown that the island served well as a refreshment station for the company's fleets and personnel returning home from the East Indies. Long voyages through hot climates often left the men weak and in poor health. The Governor and Company petitioned the Crown to regrant and confirm their hold on the island. The Crown acknowledged that trade with the Indies had been maintained by the Governor and Company to the honour and profit of the realm. To encourage the company in its difficult and hazardous trade in those distant regions, the Crown granted and confirmed possession of the island of St Helena to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, their successors and assigns. The grant covered all rights, territories and appurtenances, including ports, lands, forts, woods, mountains, mines, lakes, pools, rivers, bays, isles and islets within its bounds. The grant also covered fishing rights for all kinds of fish, including whales and sturgeons, in the seas, bays, islets and waters within the premises. Mines and quarries fell under the grant, whether classed as royal mines or ordinary mines, and whether already discovered or not. All metals, precious stones and any other materials found or yet to be found in the mines or quarries of the island passed to the company.

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Riv[ers] Rivers Bayes Isles Iseletts, [...]male or being within the Sounds & Limmits thereof, with the ffishing of all so[r]ts of ffish Whales, Sturgeons, and all other [...]ffishe[s] in the Sea Bays Iseletts Waters within the Premisses and the therein taken, and all the Mynes Mines Quarries [or] Royall Mines as other Minse whether the same be all- discovered or not discovered. And alsoe all pa[r]ts, [...] [...] and Pesious Stones, and all other whatsoever, to be found in Mettalls or any thing whatsoever, found or to be found the Mynes Mines Quaries of y[e] said Island, and Premiss[es] afores[ai]d and all and Singular Royalties, Govrments Re[...] Customs Castles forts and buildings and fortifications a[ny] and so be exersed on the Premises or any part thereof an[d] ab[...]es ffranchises ffisherminges as there or any of the whatsoever within the same: as also or an[y] thi[ng] belonging or in any wise apertayning in as larg[e] ample manner. To all Intents and Purposes [...] structions as we now our selves have, and enjoy or m[ay] Can have and enjoy the said by vertue and [...] [of] [...] [...] [...] [...]	The grant included every royalty, government function, revenue, custom, castle, fort, building and fortification on the territory or any part of it, together with franchises and fisheries. The company received the island to hold and enjoy in as full a manner as the Crown itself held or could have held it. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage, where the operative words completing the form of tenure cannot be recovered. **Interpretations** The clause vesting in the Crown all artillery, ordnance, money, goods, cattle and moveables found at the recapture defines the legal basis for the subsequent regrant. By asserting prior ownership over everything seized, the Crown placed itself in a position to convey clean title to the company. The recapture functioned as a reset of property rights, sweeping aside any claims that might have arisen during the period when the island was out of company hands. The phrase royal mines and other mines reflects the legal distinction between mines containing gold or silver, which by prerogative belonged to the Crown, and base-metal mines, which ordinarily belonged to the landowner. Granting both categories together transferred to the company a right the Crown would not normally release. The inclusion of mines not yet discovered extended the grant into future finds, removing any later claim by the Crown to resume control should valuable deposits emerge. The transfer of royalties, government, revenues, customs, castles, forts and fortifications converted the company from a trading body into a territorial authority. The company received not merely the soil but the apparatus of jurisdiction, including the right to levy customs and operate fortifications. This grant placed the island under a chartered commercial corporation rather than under direct royal administration, a model that allowed the Crown to project sovereignty cheaply while leaving operational costs and risks with the company. The justification offered for the grant, namely the strategic value of the island for refreshing weakened crews on the homeward passage, reveals how dependence on a single mid-ocean station shaped imperial policy. The health of returning sailors was a recurring problem on Indies voyages, and the loss of St Helena would have left fleets without a reliable point of recovery before the Atlantic crossing. **Speculations** The inclusion of fishing rights over whales and sturgeons, alongside ordinary fish, suggests the drafters were taking no chances with the prerogative species. Whales and sturgeons were traditionally royal fish in English law, and any ambiguity could have left the company exposed to a later Crown claim. Naming them explicitly closed that gap. The grant of undiscovered mines points to lingering hopes that St Helena might prove mineralogically valuable. The company had no firm evidence of significant deposits, but the clause ensured that any future discovery could not be reclaimed by the Crown under the doctrine of royal mines. The inclusion of this provision reflects a deliberate hedge against the possibility, however remote, that the island might yield more than a victualling stop.
11	2	The said Govrnours and Company of Merch[an]ts of Lond[on] Tradeing Into y[e] East Indies, theire Successors and assignes [...] do by these presents for vs our heires and successors make Create and Constitute the True and absolute Lords & Proprietors of the Island and premisses afores[ai]d and of every part and parcell thereof, sauing and alwaies Reserveing to vs our [...] and Successors of ffaith and allegiance to vs Vs[?] and to longing and our Royall Power and Sov[er]aignty of and	The Crown made and constituted the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, their successors and assigns, the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the island and all that fell within it. The Crown reserved only faith and allegiance from the inhabitants, together with royal power and sovereignty over them as subjects. The company was to hold the island and everything granted with it for its own use forever. Tenure was set as of the

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		over our Subjects the Inhabitants there, To have hold Possess and Enioy the said Island and all and Singular other ye premisses heare before granted or Mencioned, to be granted vnto them the said Govrnour & Company of Merchants of London [Tradeing] into the East Indies their Successors & assignes for ever to the onely vse of them, the said Govrnour and Company there [Successors] and Assignes for ev[er]more, to be holden of vs our heires and successors as of the Mannor of East Greene in the County of Kent in free and Common Socage and in fap[u?] te not by Knights Service, And know yee further that wee of our more especiall grace, certaine knowled[g]e & meare meco[n] have given granted and Confirmed and by these presents do give grant and Confirme Vnto the said Govrnour and Company and theire Successors and Assignes As theire owne proper vse and Benifitt all that Artillery and all and Singu[-] lar Armes Weapons ordenance Munition Powd[er] Shott Victualls Magazenes Stores Amunition and Provisions of warr and other provisions whatsoever and all singular Shipp hunde Vessells and Boats and all Manner of Merchandize and wares Cloathing Imployments Beasts Cattle Horses and Mares which are or remaine Vppon or w[i]thin the premisses any pla[ce] thereof and belong Vnto us in any manner of wise. And w[ee] are pleased and do by these presents for vs our heires & h[...] grant vnto the said Govrnour & Company of Merchants Sup[?] Tradeing into the East Indies, that for the better Suppy of the said Island, being a place of no Trade or Traffique to or of the Castles ffortifications Forts Garrisons Collonyes and Plantatio[ns] ereeted and place[d] there to be erected and Setled in or vppon the said Island, or w[i]thin the premisses & limits thereof and of the Inhabitants there to send out of this Kingdome to the said Islan[d] and to the said Castles, fortifications fforts garisons Collonyes Plantations and Inhabitants thereof all kind of Cloathing Pro[-] [...]n Victuall, Ammunition, Ordnance and supplyments [...] sary for such purposes Without paying any Custome Subsidy or other duty for the same, As alsoe do tlansport and Carry over such Number of Men being Willing thereunto as they shall think fitt And so as much as wee have made such grant of [the] said Island and premisses to the said Govrnour and Compan[y] of Merchants of London Tradeing into the East Indies and their Successors as is before mencioned, We thereof needefull to[...] [and powers & privilegges & Iurisdictions to grants vnto them] be Requisite for ye good Governm[en]t and supply thereof and of the Inhabitants thereof Know yee therefore further that wee out of especiall trust and Confidence which we have Doubly entire[?]	manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not by knight's service. The Crown further granted to the company, for its own use and benefit, all the artillery, arms, weapons, ordnance, munition, powder, shot, victuals, magazines, stores, ammunition and provisions of war already on the island, along with all ships, vessels, boats, merchandise, wares, clothing, equipment, beasts, cattle, horses and mares belonging to the Crown there. To support the island, which lacked any trade or traffic of its own, the Crown allowed the company to send out from England all kinds of clothing, provisions, victuals, ammunition, ordnance and other supplies needed for the castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, colonies and plantations already erected or to be settled there, and for the inhabitants. None of this material was to be subject to customs, subsidy or other duty. The company could also transport such numbers of willing men to the island as it judged fit. Having made this grant, the Crown recognised that powers, privileges and jurisdictions were also needed for the good government and supply of the island and its inhabitants. Out of the special trust and confidence the Crown placed in the company, further authority was to follow. The manuscript is unclear at the close, where the operative grant of governmental powers begins but cannot be recovered. **Interpretations** The designation of the company as true and absolute lords and proprietors elevated it from a chartered trading body to a territorial sovereign in all but name. The only matters reserved were allegiance and royal sovereignty over the inhabitants as subjects, which preserved the Crown's claim to ultimate authority while transferring practical control over the territory itself. This division allowed the company to govern without the Crown bearing administrative cost or risk. Tenure as of the manor of East Greenwich in free and common socage was the standard formula used in seventeenth-century colonial grants. East Greenwich was a royal manor in Kent, and notional attachment to it carried two practical effects. First, it fixed the tenure as socage rather than knight's service, which meant the holder owed no military service or feudal incidents such as wardship or marriage payments. Second, it brought the grant under a recognised common-law framework, giving the company secure freehold-style title rather than a precarious prerogative grant. The explicit exclusion of knight's service confirmed that the burdens of military tenure, abolished generally in 1660, would not be revived through this charter. The transfer of Crown-owned munitions, stores and livestock without separate payment removed any expectation that the company would purchase the working stock of the island. The recapture had placed these goods in Crown hands, and the grant passed them directly to the company so that operations could continue without interruption. The inclusion of horses, mares and cattle indicates that the island already supported an established agricultural and transport infrastructure that the company was expected to maintain. The customs exemption on outbound supplies recognised that the island generated no commerce of its own. Goods sent to St Helena were not commercial exports in the ordinary sense but logistical support for a Crown-sanctioned strategic asset. Charging duty on such supplies would have made the maintenance of the station financially absurd. The exemption converted the supply line into an administrative transfer rather than a taxable trade. The provision allowing the company to transport willing men reflects the legal sensitivity around emigration. Forced transportation required separate authority, but voluntary settlers needed only the

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			permission of the receiving body and the relevant licence from the Crown. By specifying willingness, the charter avoided any suggestion of coerced movement while securing the company's right to populate the island as it judged necessary. **Speculations** The careful pairing of absolute proprietorship with reserved sovereignty over the inhabitants points to a deliberate constitutional compromise. The company needed full property rights to invest in the island and to defend its title against rival claimants, including other European powers. The Crown needed to retain a residual claim over the people themselves to preserve allegiance and to keep open the route to direct intervention if the company failed in its duties. Locating the reservation in the persons of the inhabitants rather than in the land itself was an elegant solution that gave each side what mattered most. The decision to bundle the customs exemption with the proprietorship grant rather than issue it as a separate licence suggests an awareness that future Treasury officers might otherwise treat St Helena supplies as ordinary exports and impose duty. Embedding the exemption in the charter made it difficult to revoke without reopening the entire grant, protecting the company against piecemeal erosion of the privilege by later administrations.
12	3	And p[er]sident & circumspection: Have granted as[...] these p[re]sents for vs our heires and successors do grant the said Govrnour and Company of Merch[an]ts of London [Tradeing] into the East Indies, and Successors That it shall may be Lawfull vs and for ye said Govrnour, and Compa[ny] ny for the tyme being or the Major part of them p[re]- [sent at] any publique assembly commonly called the [...] Court for s[ai]d Company the Govrnour of the said Comp[any] or Deputy being allwaies one, or for the said Govrnour or his Deputy and Comittees for ye Tyme being to the Major part of them present at any assembly comonly called the Court of Committees holden for the said Company The said Govrnour or Deputy being take[n] all waies one from tyme to tyme to make ffram[e] and [...]th and under their Common Seale, to publish, any Lawes Orders Ordinances & Constitutions whatso[e] for the Government and the use of the said Island and Premises and the Inhabitants the[reof] And the same or any of them again, and from tyme to tyme to revoke abrogate and change as they in their Discretion shall thinke fitt and [...] and needfull to impose Limmitt or Co[ntain] such Paines Punishm[en]t & penalties of ffyne[s] and [...]aine Imprisonm[en]ts of Body And where the qua[lity] of the offence shall require by takeing away of Man for as so the said Govrnour or his Dep[uty] for the tyme being or the Major part of the P[re]sident at any such Generall Court or to th[e said] Govrnour or this Deputy or committees of ye s[aid] pany or the Major part of them present at any [Court] Court of Committees as afores[ai]d the said Govrnour or his Deputy Comm allwaies one shall seeme Neces[sary] Requisit and convenient for the observation of the s[aid] Lawes Constitutions orders and ordinances. And [...] all offenders against the same to allwaies as the s[aid] Constitutions Orders Ordinanc[es] paynes punishm[en]t [...] [...]be Conenant to Reason and not repugnant or contra[ry] but soe nigh as may be agreabl[e] to the Lawes of this our Re[alm] of England and Subject to ye Saveings there on [...] And alsoe of o[ur] further Speciall grace certaine know[ledge] meres Mocon Wee do by these presents for ourselves vs give and grant Vnto ye s[ai]d Govrnour and Comp[any] and theire successors that it shall and may be Lo[wfull] to and for, the s[ai]d vs or his Deputy and the Govrn[our] of the said Company for the tyme being or the [...] part of them at any of their said Courts Com[mon] called the	The Crown, exercising prudence and care, granted further authority to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies and their successors. At any public assembly of the company, commonly called the General Court, the Governor and Company, or the majority present, with the Governor or his Deputy always among them, could exercise these new powers. The same authority could be exercised by the Governor or his Deputy together with the Committees of the company at any meeting commonly called the Court of Committees, with the Governor or Deputy always present and counted among the majority. These bodies could draft, make and publish under the common seal any laws, orders, ordinances and constitutions for the government of the island and its inhabitants. They could revoke, abrogate or change any such measures at their discretion as they judged fit and necessary. They could impose, limit or set penalties, including fines, corporal punishments and imprisonment of the body. Where the gravity of an offence warranted it, they could also order the taking of life or limb. The Governor or his Deputy, or the majority present at any General Court, and the Governor or his Deputy together with the Committees, or the majority at any Court of Committees, could determine what penalties were necessary, fitting and convenient for the observance of the laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances. They could apply these punishments to all offenders. All such laws, constitutions, orders, ordinances and penalties had to be reasonable and not repugnant or contrary to the laws of England, but as close as possible to them, subject to the savings provided. The Crown further granted the company the power to nominate, appoint and confirm, under whatever names and titles seemed appropriate, governors, judges, ministers, factors, agents and other officers as needed for the service of the island. This authority was exercisable at the Court of Committees by the Governor or his Deputy together with the membership, or the majority present. The manuscript is unclear at the close, where the operative provisions relating to the appointment of officers cannot be recovered. **Interpretations**

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		Court of Committees holden for the said Company tyme to tyme to nominate make for st[...] appoynt, Idemis[?] and Confirme by such name or nam[es] stile or stiles as to them shall seeme good such Govern[our] or Govrnours, Iudges or Ministers facto[r]s factors and to and other ffactors and Agents as shall be by then [...] [...] [...] shall be made an vse use [...] **Margin Notes:** Govrnour and Compa[ny] Privilegies Constitute Laws Orders Ordinances for ye Govrnm[ent] of St Helena And the same to to Revoake & Abrogate as they shall thinke fitt and Convenient So also to Impose Such payne[s] punish[-] ments penalties & Imprisonm[en]t of Body Where the quality of Offence shall [deserve] by ta[k]ing away Life or Member as shall seem[e] Necess[-] ary Requisite & Convenient [...]vt[?] same Saws Consti[-] [tutions] Orders And Ordinances for the [punishment] of Offenders [...] the same So always as the Lawes Constitutions Orders Ordinances paines punishm[en]t and penalties be conson[an]t to reason and not repugnant or contrary but as Neere as may be agreeable to the Lawes of England Also to Nominate [make] Constitute Ord[er] [ne] & Confirme such [...]vor Govr Officers [...] shall be by th[...] [...] [Thought] fitt for [...]	The grant of legislative authority transferred lawmaking power from the Crown to a private corporation. By allowing the General Court and the Court of Committees to make, alter and revoke laws under the common seal, the charter constituted the company as the legislature of the island. The requirement that the Governor or Deputy always be counted in the majority ensured that no faction within the membership could push through measures over the head of the senior officer, preserving central control within an otherwise collective body. The distinction between the General Court and the Court of Committees reflected the company's internal constitution. The General Court was the larger assembly of all members, used for major decisions, while the Court of Committees was the standing executive body that handled routine business. Giving both bodies legislative power over St Helena allowed flexibility, with weighty matters reserved for the General Court and ordinary regulation handled by the Committees. This dual structure also meant that governance of the island could continue smoothly between full assemblies of the company. The power to impose punishments up to and including the taking of life or limb conferred capital and corporal jurisdiction on the company. In English law this was an extraordinary delegation, since such jurisdiction normally rested with Crown courts under royal commission. By placing it in the hands of the company and its appointed officers, the charter created a self-contained criminal justice system on the island. The inclusion of imprisonment, fines, mutilation and death covered the full range of punishments available in seventeenth-century English law. The requirement that the company's laws be agreeable to the laws of England, and not repugnant to them, was the standard limit imposed on all chartered colonial legislatures. The clause was permissive in practice, since exact correspondence was not required and only outright contradiction was forbidden. This left wide scope for local adaptation, including measures suited to a small isolated island that would have been inappropriate or unworkable in England itself. The reference to savings indicated that certain reserved matters remained outside the company's reach, although the manuscript does not preserve their detail. The power to nominate governors, judges, ministers, factors and agents under names and titles of the company's own choosing gave the corporation full control over the administrative establishment. Allowing the company to invent its own titles meant that the institutional architecture of the island could evolve to meet practical needs without seeking further royal authority. This was a significant grant of discretion, since the names of offices often carried legal weight and determined the scope of authority. **Speculations** The decision to allow capital jurisdiction within the company's own structures, rather than requiring trials before Crown-commissioned judges, points to recognition that the distance from England made any other arrangement unworkable. A serious offence on the island could not wait months for instructions or for a judge to be sent out. By granting the power directly to the company, the Crown accepted that practical necessity outweighed the usual preference for keeping life-and-death decisions in royal hands. The repeated insistence that the Governor or Deputy be counted in the majority at every authorised assembly suggests an awareness of factional risk. The company in London was not a single-minded body, and disputes among the membership were common. Tying the legitimacy of every law and appointment to the presence and concurrence of the senior officer protected against the possibility that a temporary

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			alignment of members might pass measures contrary to the leadership's settled policy. The freedom to invent titles and offices indicates a deliberate choice to keep the island's administrative structure flexible during a period when its long-term role was still uncertain. A fixed hierarchy specified in the charter would have required amendment by further royal grant whenever circumstances changed. By leaving the matter open, the company could adjust the establishment as the population grew, as defence needs altered, or as commercial functions developed, without returning to the Crown for permission.
13	4	Cares & vse of the said Island of S[t] Hellena and o[f] [...] Castles ffortifications and other the premisses here granted and such Governo[r]s Govrno[r]s Officers or Ministers [...] at theire Discretion to Revoake Discharge call & Change. And alsoe to Discharge Aldermen Clergy all and sundr[i]e the Governours Govrno[r]s Officers and Ministers as heretofore have bin by us made and appoynted for ye Gov[ernment] [...] other vse of the said Island of S[t] Hellena & of any the Castle ffortificaeons fforts or P[re]mises there of: and Wee are well pleased and by these p[re]sents for vs o[u]r heires and Successors do give and grant vnto the said Govrnour and Company & theire Successors that it shall and may be Lawfull to for the s[ai]d Govrn[ou]r or his Deputy and Comm[i]ttees of ye Comp[any] for the tyme being or the Major Part of them by the sty[le]s or by these Govrnour or Govrn[ours] officers [an]d Ministers ffactors and Agents to be ordeined and appoynted of and other according to the Statutes any Comm[i]ttees of theire Respective offices and places w[i]thin the said Island s[t] Hellena arms and well at and Euery the subjects of vs in theire H[..] Successors of reside or at any tyme heareafter shall Inha[bit] [w]ithin the said Island and P[re]mises here of according to the Lawes orders Ordinanc[es] & Constitutions w[hi]ch the said Govrn[our] and Company at any Generall Court or Court of Comm[i]ttees as aforesaid shall Established and to do all and Every other thing and things which to ye Compan[y] belong to the at the [...] [...]es belong by Court[s] Sessions for ye Iurisdiccion. And ma[...] ner of doing thereof their selves vnto those Establish[ed] vse[d] o[r] vsed in o[u]r Realme of England although in these p[re]senti [...] expres mencon be not made, the s[ai]d and by Iudges and their offices by them, the said Govrn[our] o[r] his Deputy or [Com]mittees of the said Company or the Major part of them or by the said Iudges Iudgs in his Govrn[ou]r of the s[ai]d Island S[t] Hellena be be delegated to award proces & ho[ld] Plea Iudge and Determine all accons suits & wares whatsoever of an	The Crown granted the Governor and Company power over the care and management of the island of St Helena, its castles, fortifications and all other matters covered by the charter. The company could revoke, discharge, recall or replace any governors, officers or ministers at its discretion. This included the power to dismiss all the governors, officers and ministers that the Crown itself had previously appointed for the government of the island and its fortifications. The Crown further granted that the Governor or his Deputy and the Committees of the company, or the majority of them, could appoint governors, officers, ministers, factors and agents under whatever styles or titles seemed appropriate. These officers were to hold their respective offices and places on the island. All subjects of the Crown then resident on St Helena, or who might settle there at any future time, were to be governed according to the laws, orders, ordinances and constitutions established by the company at any General Court or Court of Committees. The company could exercise every function that properly belonged to courts and sessions of jurisdiction. The manner of proceeding was to follow the practice used in England, even though the charter did not spell out every detail. The Governor, his Deputy, the Committees or the majority of them, or judges delegated by the Governor of the island, could issue process, hold pleas, and judge and determine all actions, suits and causes of whatever kind. They could also execute every such judgment. All laws, ordinances, proceedings and proclamations were to be reasonable and not repugnant or contrary to the laws, statutes, government and policy of the kingdom of England, but as close to them as possible, subject to the savings reserved. The Crown confirmed and granted further that the Governor and Company and their successors, together with any governors, officers, ministers and commanders appointed by the Governor or Deputy or Committees, were to hold powers of government and command over the island. They could at all times defend themselves by encountering, expelling, repelling and opposing by force of arms, by sea and by land, and by any means whatever, any person who attempted to settle on the island without the special licence of the Crown or of the company. The manuscript is unclear at the close, where the operative provisions defining the scope of armed self-defence cannot be recovered. **Interpretations** The express power to dismiss officers previously appointed by the Crown marked a complete handover of the administrative establishment. Any governor, officer or minister who had been placed on the island under direct royal authority before this grant was now subject to removal by the company. This provision closed off the possibility of competing lines of authority on the island, with some officers answering to the Crown and others to the company. After the grant, every administrative position derived from the company alone. The provision applying the company's laws to all current and future inhabitants extended the legislative

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		kind or Nature, and to Execute all and Every such Iudgement th[...] allwaies the said Lawes Ordinances proceedings ProclamatI[ons] and not Repugnant or contrary, but as neere as may be agreea- ble to the Lawes Statutes Govrm[en]t and Police of o[u]r Kings of England and Subject to the Saveing[s] herein. And likewi[se] Confirme[d] and grant unto the s[ai]d Govrnour and Company and theire Successors as also by allwall and every such Govrnour or Govrnoures or other officers Ministers and Com- maund[er]s as shall be appoynted by the s[ai]d Govrnour or his Deputy or Comm[i]ttees of the s[ai]d Company as afores[ai]d to have power and Authority of Govrnm[en]t or Comm[an]d on over the s[ai]d Part of Island and that they and Every of them shall and Lawfully may from tyme to tyme and at all times for ever hereafter for theire Severall Defence and Safety encounter Expulse Repell w[i]th Suffer Resyne oppose by force of Armes as well by Sea as by Land and by all wai[e]s and Means whatsoever all and Every such P[er]son and P[er]sons whatsoever, As w[i]thout the Especiall Licence and Authority of vs o[u]r heires and Successors or of the said Govrnor and Company and their Successors shall a[tt] empt to inhabit w[i]thin the prem[isses] **Margin Notes:** [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] Severall Govrn[our] [...] [...] all and Every [...] of vs and [...] [...] Successor[s] [...] hereafter shall [...] thinke fitt by [...] to such Lawes [...] Ordinances [...] vernm[en]t & [...] Iurisdiction [...] [...] shall be Established within [the] Island [a]nd Other things which by Lawes of [...]nd Establish[ed] [...] [...] belong [...]ts Sessions for ye [...] [...] [...] [...] those Establish[ed] [...] vsed in our [...] of England [...] [...] [...] [...] of o[t]her Iudg [...] [...] [...] [...] to Execute all [...] Every such Iudgem[ent] [...] the s[ai]d [...] Ordinances [...] [...] and [...] [...] [...]ant [...] or [...]ary [...] [...] be agreea[ble] [...] of England [...] [...] Also	reach beyond the existing population. By covering anyone who might settle on the island at any future time, the charter ensured that the company's jurisdiction would not need to be renegotiated as the colony grew. This was a standard feature of proprietary grants, designed to give the proprietor continuous authority over a population that could change considerably over decades. The grant of judicial power authorised the company to operate a full court system on the island. Issuing process, holding pleas and determining actions of any kind covered both civil and criminal jurisdiction. Allowing the Governor of the island to delegate judicial authority to judges of his choosing meant that the bench did not need to be drawn from any fixed pool. This flexibility suited a small population where the same individuals might fill multiple administrative and judicial roles. The instruction that proceedings should follow English practice, even where the charter was silent, supplied a default rule. Rather than spelling out every procedural detail, the drafters relied on the body of English court practice as a residual guide. This left the company free to depart from English procedure only where local circumstances required adjustment, while protecting litigants and defendants from arbitrary improvisation. The repugnancy clause operated as an outer limit, allowing local adaptation but forbidding outright contradiction of English law. The power to repel intruders by force of arms, by sea and by land, gave the company a military mandate that extended beyond ordinary garrison duty. Anyone attempting to settle without licence could be opposed by every available means. This converted the company into the island's defence authority and recognised that the threat came not only from rival European powers but also from individuals or groups who might try to establish themselves without permission. The requirement of an express licence from either the Crown or the company gave the corporation full control over who could lawfully live on the island. The exclusion of unauthorised settlers also served a commercial purpose. Independent traders or planters operating outside company control could undermine the value of the monopoly and complicate the supply economy that supported the homeward fleets. By treating unlicensed settlement as a matter for armed response, the charter placed property control and political control on the same footing. **Speculations** The express authority to remove Crown-appointed officers suggests that some such officers were still in post when the charter was drafted, and that their continued presence was anticipated as a source of difficulty. If every existing appointee had departed by the time of the regrant, the clause would have been unnecessary. Its inclusion indicates that the company expected to find at least some Crown officers on the island whose loyalty or competence it did not wish to take on trust. The decision to permit the Governor of the island to delegate judicial functions to judges of his choosing, rather than requiring the company itself to commission judges from London, points to a recognition that justice on a small remote island could not depend on distant appointments. Cases would arise that needed prompt resolution, and the only practical course was to allow the senior officer present to constitute a bench from those at hand. This concession also gave the island Governor significant patronage, since the power to select judges was a valuable instrument of local influence. The breadth of the self-defence clause, covering both sea and land and authorising every means whatever, hints at concern about specific threats then

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		[...] [...] & [...] [...] every [...] [...] [...] Gover- [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...]oynted [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...]	current. The Dutch had held the island briefly before the recapture, and the possibility of a renewed attempt was real. Drafting the clause in the widest possible terms ensured that no future incursion, whether by a recognised state, a privateer or an unlicensed settler, could be met with objections that the company had exceeded its mandate. The absence of any procedural conditions on the use of force reflects an assumption that hesitation would be more dangerous than excess.
14	5	off the s[ai]d Island, And alsoe every such p[er]son and sons whatsoever, as shall enterprize or attempt any disto[r]- [r]bance burt detrim[en]t or annoyance herevnto or to the subjects inhabiting w[i]th the same or any part there[of] in theire or any of theire goods Merchandize, Estates properties or Estates whatsoever, And wee do furth[er] for vs o[u]r heires and Successors hereby declare and exp[ressly] grant That such principall Govrnor Govrn[ou]rs of ye s[ai]d [Is]land as from tyme to tyme shall be duely authorized [-] [on]ed in manner aforesaid shall have full Power & Authority in theire Respective Places & Charges to do and Exec[ute] all such Power & Authorities in cases of Rebellion M[utin]y tiny or Sedition of Refuseing to serve in Wares, fflying fro[m]e Enemy ffortaleing Cowardice & Bringers or [...] offences as are inebleus[?] of Discipline Military [...] of Largs of ample manner. To all intents & Purposes whatsoever as any Capt Generall of an Army by vertue of his office have vsed or accust[omed] to do many or might Lawfully do And o[u]r more exp[ress] all granted certaine knowledge & meere Mocon wee d[o] do for vs o[u]r heires & Successors further deine and grant of it shall & may be Lawfull to & for the s[ai]d Govrnour of y[e] s[ai]d Company or his Deputy for the tyme being or the Respective of the major par[t] of the formard sufford[?] Company assemble[d] in any of theire s[ai]d Courts of Comm[itte]e or by all deeds & Committees from tyme to tyme to all manner head s[ai]d to administer such & form[s] Legall oath as by theire Discretion shall Reasonably & decreed unto any P[er]sons whats[oever] to Imployed in or as concerning the s[ai]d Island th[ereof] or any part thereof as well for theire ffaithfull p[er]-formance of theire Respective Offices & Imploym[ents] As also for ye Rending a just true & Perfect ace[ompt] in wri[ti]ng of all such goods Monyes & other thi[ngs] as by Reason of theire s[ai]d offices & Imployments [...] shall come to theire Respective hands vnto ye s[ai]d Govrn[ou]r & Company or vnto such P[er]sons o[r] sons as shall be by them appoynted to take their acc[ount] and alsoe to all Generall Officers, Magistrate[s] & ffactors of whatsoev[er] Power or by what Title they shall be called which shall be Lawfully sent or [...] in the said Island S[t] Hellena as well for the good Gov[ern] thereof and the Inhabitants there & as for the ordering & e[xecution] trve accomptm[en]ts of for all such lawes goods, Proffits Commod[ities] Matters and things whatsoever as shall be committed to their s[...] or any of theire Govrnm[en]t Charge Care & Custody. And alsoe to such	The Crown's grant of armed defence extended to any person who might disturb, harm or trouble the subjects inhabiting the island or any part of it, or who might damage their goods, merchandise, properties or estates. The Crown further declared and expressly granted that the principal Governors of the island, when duly authorised by the company, were to have full power in their respective places to act in cases of rebellion, mutiny, sedition, refusal to serve in war, flight from the enemy, forsaking colours or ensign, cowardice and other offences against military discipline. This authority was to be as wide as that exercised by a Captain General of an army by virtue of his office. The Crown further granted that the Governor of the company, or his Deputy, or the Committees, or the majority assembled in any of their courts, could from time to time administer all necessary legal oaths in such form as they reasonably decided to any persons employed in or concerning the island. These oaths covered both the faithful performance of office and the rendering of a just, true and perfect written account of all goods, monies and other things coming into the hands of those officers by reason of their employment. The accounts were to be rendered to the Governor and Company, or to any person they appointed to receive them. The same power of administering oaths applied to all general officers, magistrates and factors, whatever their title, who were lawfully sent to the island for the good government of the place and its inhabitants, and for the ordering and true accounting of all laws, goods, profits, commodities and other matters committed to their charge. It also applied to any person whom the Governor of the company or his Deputy, or the majority of the Committees, might appoint to examine, receive and settle any matter concerning the island or anything belonging to it. The manuscript is unclear at the close, where the operative provisions defining the scope of these examination and accounting powers cannot be recovered. **Interpretations** The extension of armed defence to cover damage to goods, merchandise, properties and estates broadened the company's authority beyond protection of persons. The clause treated commercial assets on the same footing as the inhabitants themselves, allowing the use of force against anyone who threatened property as well as anyone who threatened life. This conflation of personal and commercial security reflected the company's dual character as both a governing body and a trading enterprise. An attack on stored goods or on private estates could be met with the same response as an attempted invasion. The grant of Captain General's powers to the principal Governor of the island created a military jurisdiction parallel to the civil one already established. A Captain General was the highest military rank in English service, with authority to try and punish all military offences under articles of war. By conferring this authority on the island Governor, the charter ensured that any breach of discipline among the garrison or among inhabitants serving under arms could be dealt with on the spot, without reference to civilian courts or to the company in London. The enumeration of offences, rebellion, mutiny, sedition, refusal to serve,

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		or P[er]sons as a Govrnour of ye s[ai]d Company or his Deputy the major part of ye s[ai]d Comm[itte]es for the tyme being [...] threr method or ye Examination receiving & setteth in an[d] Saving whatsoever Concerning the said [...] [...] of [...] Rec[ei]vd[?] to ye s[ai]d Island S[t] Hellena or concerning any [...] treating or thereunto belonging or [...] do **Margin Notes:** And if no person of S[everall] Inhab[itants] [...] of and [Limits] thereof or [encrease] or attempts any detruxion hurt or detrim[en]t to our Subjects Inhab- iting w[i]th [the same] and s[ai]d Govrnm[en]t or in their or any of their goods Merchan- dise or Estates And we do further ordeine & grant y[t] such principall Gov[ernor] or Gov[erno]rs of ye s[ai]d Island as from tyme to tyme duly Authoriz[e]d shall have full power & Authority to vse and Exercise all such power[s] & Authority in y[e] cases of Reb- ellion Mutiny or Se[-] dition of Refusey[ng] to serve in Wares fflying & Enemy fforsakeing Collours or Ensigne or other offences ag[ainst] Law- [Trea]son & Discipline millitary in att Large and ample Manner to all intents and purposes w[hi]ch So ever any Capt Generall of an Army by Vertue of his Office have vsed or Accustomed or may or Might Lawfully do	flight, forsaking colours and cowardice, covered the standard catalogue of military crimes and made clear that the full apparatus of military justice was available. The power to administer oaths served two distinct functions. The first was disciplinary, binding officers to faithful performance of their duties by sworn obligation. The second was accountancy, requiring sworn delivery of written accounts of all goods, monies and other items handled by officers in the course of their employment. The combination converted ordinary record-keeping into a matter of legal duty, with the threat of perjury attaching to any false return. This was an effective control mechanism in a distant outpost where physical supervision was impossible. The requirement that accounts be rendered in writing was significant in itself. Oral reports could be denied or reshaped after the fact, but a written and sworn account fixed the officer's claims in a form that could be examined later. The provision that accounts be delivered either to the company directly or to persons appointed to receive them allowed for an audit structure in which dedicated officers could examine the work of others. This separation of functions, between those who handled goods and those who reviewed the handling, was a basic safeguard against embezzlement. The application of these powers to general officers, magistrates and factors, whatever their title, ensured that no officer could escape the obligation by claiming that the charter applied only to specifically named ranks. The clause swept up every appointee, however the company might choose to style them, and made the duty of sworn accounting universal across the establishment. **Speculations** The decision to grant the island Governor the powers of a Captain General, rather than the lesser authority of a colonel or garrison commander, points to an expectation that the island might face serious military challenges. A Captain General's authority was customarily reserved for officers commanding substantial forces in active service. Conferring it on the governor of a small mid-Atlantic station suggests that the drafters anticipated either a significant garrison or the possibility of large-scale operations, perhaps tied to the defence of homeward fleets calling at the island. The breadth of the oath-administering power, extending to anyone employed in matters concerning the island, hints at concern about the conduct of factors and agents who handled valuable cargoes and stores. Goods passing through St Helena included not only the supplies sent from England but also items brought from the Indies on returning ships, some of considerable value. The opportunity for private dealing or unreported acquisition was substantial. Building a sworn accounting regime into the charter itself created a legal foundation for prosecuting officers who diverted assets, without the need for any further enabling instrument. The provision allowing the company to appoint persons specifically to examine and settle matters concerning the island reflects an awareness that the membership in London could not perform this work directly. Specialised auditors or commissioners would be needed, and the charter anticipated their appointment by giving them in advance the same authority to administer oaths as the Governor and Committees themselves. This forward-looking provision spared the company the need to seek further royal authority each time an investigation became necessary.
15	6	Give & grant vnto y[e] s[ai]d Govrn[ou]r & Company & theire Successors that the s[ai]d Govrn[ou]r or Govrn[ou]rs Dep[ut]y of the said Island by that names or titles soev[er] they be called shall have the [...]	The Crown granted the Governor or Deputy Governor of the island, by whatever name or title they might be called, the power to administer a formal legal oath to all officers and inferior ministers on St Helena. The oath was to bind them to the just, true and faithful discharge of their places, duties and services. The same

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		Power to minister a fformall & Legall oath to all other officers Inferior Ministers whatsoever in the said Island S[t] Hellena for the just true & faithfull discharge of theire severall Places Duties & [se]rvic[e]s as allsoe vnto any other P[er]sons whatsoever for the Examina- tion [...] & cleareing of the truth in any [...] Cas[e] [as] well concerning the said Island S[t] Hellena as any other par- ticular Buisines there arising for the Maintayning & Adi-nistration of Peace and Justice amongst the Inhabitants of the said Island or any other P[er]sons in that Place And o[ur] pleasure is and we do for vs o[u]r heires & Successors declare by these p[re]sents that all & every of P[er]sons being o[u]r subjects which doe or shall Inhabit within the said port & Island and Every theire Children & Posterity which shall happen to be borne within the Precincts & Limitts ther[eof] shall have & Enjoy all Liberties Franchises Imunities of [...] & Abilities of free denizens and naturall Subjects within any of o[u]r Dominions to all intents & Purposes as if they had bin abideing & borne w[i]thin this o[u]r Kingdome of England or in any other of o[u]r Dominions And lastly o[u]r will & Pleasure is & wee doe by these P[re]sents for vs o[u]r heires & Successors, ordeyne & Grant unto the said Govrnour & Company of Merch[an]ts of London Tradeing unto the East Indies That this o[u]r Letter Patents & all and singu- [lar] grants and Clauses herein conteined shall be & continue from tyme to tyme good sufficient and avaidable in the law & shall be Con- strued Reputed & Taken as well to the meaneing & Intent as to the words of the same most graciously & ffavourably for ye best advantage and benifitt of the said Govrnour & Compa[ny] & theire Successors although expresse mencon be not made therein of the trew yearly value & Certeinty of the Premisses or any part thereof or of any other Lett[er]s or Grants made by vs or any of our Ancestors or P[re]decessors to them the said Govrnour & Co[m]- pany or any other P[er]son or P[er]sons whatsoever, or any matter or defect herein or any Law Statute Act Provision order Ordinance Proclamation or Restrainem[en]t heretofore had made Published ordeined or provided to any other place matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof or in any wise notw[i]th- standing. In Witnes whereof wee have caused these o[u]r Lett[ers] to be made patents. Witnes o[u]r Selfe at Westminster the sixteen[th] day of December In the ffive & Twentieth Yeare of our Reigne. By writ of Privy seale Pigott.	power extended to any other persons whatever, for the examination and clearing of the truth in any case concerning the island or any particular business arising there. The aim was the maintenance and administration of peace and justice among the inhabitants and any other persons in the place. The Crown declared that all subjects inhabiting the island, together with their children and posterity born within its precincts and limits, were to enjoy all the liberties, franchises and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects within any of the Crown's dominions. They were to have these rights to all intents and purposes as if they had been born within the kingdom of England or any other royal dominion. The Crown ordained that the letters patent and all the grants and clauses contained in them were to remain good, sufficient and effective in law from time to time. They were to be construed, reputed and taken according to both their meaning and intent and their words, most graciously and favourably for the best advantage of the Governor and Company and their successors. This was so even though the letters patent made no express mention of the true yearly value of the premises, or of any other letters or grants made by the Crown or its ancestors to the company or to any other person. No matter, defect, law, statute, act, provision, order, ordinance, proclamation or restraint previously made or published to the contrary was to stand in the way. In witness of the grant, the Crown caused these letters to be made patent. Witnessed by the Crown itself at Westminster on 16 December in the twenty-fifth year of the reign. By writ of privy seal. Pigott. **Interpretations** The power of the island Governor to administer oaths to officers and inferior ministers completed the chain of authority running through the charter. The Governor and Committees in London held the power to administer oaths to those they sent out, and the island Governor held the same power over those serving under him on the spot. This avoided the impractical alternative of requiring every minor official to be sworn in London before departure. The mention of the title under which the Governor might be called acknowledged that the company retained discretion to style the post however it judged best, a freedom granted earlier in the charter. The extension of oath-taking authority to any other persons whatever, for examination and clearing of the truth, supplied the procedural foundation for judicial enquiry. Without the power to put witnesses on oath, no court could function effectively, since the threat of perjury was the principal guarantee of truthful testimony. This clause therefore underpinned the judicial powers granted earlier and made the court system operable in practice. The declaration that inhabitants and their descendants enjoyed the status of free denizens and natural-born English subjects had substantial legal consequences. Natural-born status carried rights of property, inheritance and access to English courts that aliens could not exercise without special letters of denization. By extending this status automatically to anyone born on the island, the charter ensured that the colony would not generate a class of inhabitants with diminished legal standing. The provision also forestalled any future argument that children born outside the kingdom of England were aliens, an issue that had troubled English law in other colonial contexts. The clause directing favourable construction of the letters patent reversed the usual rule that royal grants were construed strictly against the grantee. The standard common-law presumption was that the Crown gave only what was clearly expressed, with any ambiguity resolved in favour of retained prerogative. By directing that the grant be read most graciously and favourably

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		Margin Notes: ye Gov[ernment] [...] Island shall [have] power to minister a fformall & Legall oath to to all officer[s] [...] soever [...] [...] also to any P[er]son also ever for the [Examina]tion satisfyi[ng] and clearing the truth in any case as well concerning the Island as any particular buisness for the ma[in]tayning and administration of [Peace] & Iustice to the Island or any [other] P[er]son in y[e] place [t]hat any P[er]- sons & their Childrens free Denizens and Naturall Subjects of Englan[d] [...]	for the company's benefit, the Crown gave up this presumption and instructed the courts to resolve doubts in the company's favour. This was an unusual concession and reflected the Crown's strong policy interest in supporting the East India trade. The non-recital clause, dispensing with any need to mention the true yearly value of the premises or to refer to earlier grants, protected the charter against technical challenge. Under English law, royal grants could be voided if they failed to recite the true value of the property granted, since this affected the Crown's ability to assess what it was giving away. By expressly waiving the requirement, the Crown closed off a recognised line of attack on the validity of the patent. The reference to the writ of privy seal indicates the procedural route by which the grant was authorised. A grant by writ of privy seal originated with the monarch's personal authority, communicated through the privy seal office to the chancery, which then issued the letters patent under the great seal. The signature of Pigott records the clerk responsible for engrossing the patent. **Speculations** The decision to confer natural-born status on island-born children, rather than leaving them as denizens or as the subject of a future enabling act, points to anticipation that the colony would produce a substantial native-born population over time. If the company had expected St Helena to remain a transient garrison without permanent families, the clause would have been unnecessary. Its inclusion suggests that long-term settlement, with marriages, births and inheritance, was already part of the plan. The careful instruction to construe the patent favourably for the company, coupled with the express waiver of the value-recital requirement, suggests that the drafters anticipated legal challenges. The earlier history of the company, including disputes over the validity of its monopoly and competing claims by interlopers, had taught its legal advisers that a grant was only as strong as its weakest clause. Building in interpretive protection at the outset was cheaper and more effective than defending the charter against attack after issue. The date of 16 December in the twenty-fifth year of the reign, taken with the witness at Westminster and the privy seal route, places the grant in the ordinary course of chancery business at the end of a calendar year. Year-end was a customary time for clearing outstanding patents before the new legal term, and the timing suggests that the drafting and approval process had been worked through over the preceding months rather than rushed in response to an emergency.
16	7	No IX A [p] Ship European By the Governor and Company of Merch[ants] of London tradeing to the East Indies at a Court of [Com-] mittees holden the Nineteenth - - - day of December in the ffive and twentieth yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles the Second by the grace of god King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the ffaith &c Annog Dni 1673 [A] Whereas vppon notice given vs of the Reducer[y] of the Island S[t] Helena by S[i]r Richard Mund[en] Knight Comm[an]der of a Squadron of Shipps sent by the Kings most Excellent Maj[es]ty, Wee after his Majesties new his Pleasure, whether the said Island should be continnued under his Ma[jes]ties immediat[e] Gov[er]nm[ent] and Charges, Or whatdireccions his Ma[jes]tie did be[e] Pleased to give therein, And his Ma[jes]tie having vppon Sygnifyed his Royall Pleasure, That the s[ai]d Island Should be vnder our Goverment, and to our and to be maintained at our Charges, and accord[ing] by his Lett[er]s patents vnder the great Seale of England b[earing] date the Sixteenth Day of this	By the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, at a Court of Committees held on 19 December in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Charles the Second, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, in the year of our Lord 1673. The despatch was sent by the ship *European*. When the company received word that Sir Richard Munden, knight and commander of a squadron of ships sent by the King, had recovered the island of St Helena, the company sought the King's pleasure as to whether the island was to remain under direct royal government and charge, or what other directions the King wished to give. The King signified his royal pleasure that the island was to be placed under company government and maintained at company charges. By letters patent under the great seal of England, dated 16 December of the present month, the Crown granted and confirmed the island of St Helena to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies and their successors. The grant made the company the free and absolute lords and proprietors of the island, with power and authority to set such rules and directions for

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		Instant Mart hath gran[ted] graunted and Confirmed unto the Governor and Compa[ny] Merch[an]ts of London Tradeing to the East Indies, and o[u]r cessors the said Island of S[t] Hellena, and there of made Constituted vs the free and absolute Lords and Proprietors with Power and authority to give such Rules, and direccions for the good Goverment of the said Island, as to vs shall be meet; A Coppy whereof shall either accompany these or soone after p[re]sent you. And wee haveing taken into Consideration how wee might best Settle the said Island for its future Safety & Preservation, and takeing notice of the severall accidents shew[ed] by the said S[i]r Richard Munden on the said Island and of the wages which they were entertained at [...]	its good government as the company judged fit. A copy of the patent was to accompany the present orders or to follow shortly after. The company considered how best to settle the island for its future safety and preservation. The company also took note of the various incidents reported by Sir Richard Munden on the island and of the wages at which the soldiers and others had been engaged. The manuscript is unclear at the close, where the operative provisions relating to the wages and engagement of the men cannot be recovered. **Interpretations** The designation of the *European* as the vessel carrying the despatch identifies the channel by which the company's authority was physically transmitted to St Helena. Orders of this kind had legal force only once delivered to the officers on the spot, and the name of the carrying ship was recorded so that subsequent correspondence could be matched to specific sailings. This was a routine but important element of company record-keeping, since the timing of arrivals shaped what officers on the island could reasonably be expected to know and to have acted upon. The reference to the King's pleasure being sought before the company assumed control reveals the formal process by which a recaptured territory passed from direct royal administration to chartered proprietorship. The recapture of the island by a royal squadron under Sir Richard Munden placed the territory in the King's hands as a military prize. Without express royal direction, the company had no authority to step in, since the costs of an immediately occupied station would otherwise fall on the Crown. The decision to transfer the island to the company shifted the financial burden from the royal treasury to the corporation, while preserving the strategic value of the station for English shipping. The dating of the present order three days after the issue of the letters patent on 16 December 1673 shows how quickly the company moved to act on its new authority. The Court of Committees met within the same week to begin issuing operational instructions, indicating that the corporate machinery had been prepared in advance of the formal grant. This degree of readiness suggests that negotiations between the company and the Crown had been concluded well before the patent was sealed. The reference to the Court of Committees as the body issuing the order confirms the constitutional position established by the charter. The Court of Committees, rather than the larger General Court, handled the routine executive business of the company. Settling a recaptured territory fell within this category, and the use of the standing executive body rather than convening a full assembly of members reflects the practical division of labour within the corporation. The named role of Sir Richard Munden as commander of the recapturing squadron carries forward from earlier rewritten material, where his operations and the disposition of stores and personnel he left on the island were already established as the foundation for the company's subsequent administrative arrangements. **Speculations** The careful recital of the King's pleasure and the express citation of the letters patent at the opening of the present order suggests that the company anticipated the need to demonstrate legitimate authority to officers and inhabitants on the island. The men who had served under Sir Richard Munden during the recapture had been engaged under royal authority, and their transfer to company service required a clear statement that the King himself had directed the change. Without such recitation, the company's instructions could have been challenged by anyone unwilling to accept a private

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			corporation as the source of military and civil command. The selection of the *European* as the carrying vessel, identified at the head of the despatch, points to deliberate co-ordination between the issue of the orders and the next available sailing. Three days between the sealing of the patent on 16 December 1673 and the issue of these instructions on 19 December 1673 leaves little margin for accident. The ship was probably already preparing to depart for the southern Atlantic, and the company timed its Court of Committees to ensure that the despatch could be placed aboard before she sailed.
17	8	vnto K[...] [...] [...] [...] vs herewith trans[mitted] [...] [...] [...] for they have to ten into our Pay [from] the ffifteenth day of May, the same being the [tyme] of theire Landing att o[u]r said Island, vntill they shall be discharged from o[u]r service. And wee haveing for the s[ai]d afores[ai]d thought fitt to put a Garison into o[u]r ffortes Build[ings] takeother persons and ffemales Provicion of Amunition victualls, Stores, and other things, which are sent by the two Shipps we have hired for theire transportation; Viz[t] The Georgian Cap[t]ain James Potter Comm[an]der, and the John & Alexander M[aste]r James Legay Comm[an]der, a List of whose names and Invoice of the goods and bills of Lading as herewith allso sent. Now Know all p[er]sons, that in pursuance of the autherity to vs granted as afores[ai]d and for the Goverment of the said Island We have made and ordeined, and doe by these p[re]sents Make Ordeine and Constitute Cap[ta]in Rich[ard] ffield to be Govenor of the said Island. Cap[ta]in Anthony Beale to be Deputy Govenor The Lieutenants of the two Companies of Soldyers on the said Island for the time being, Francis Moore Iohn Coalston & Richard Swallow to be of our Councell of the said Island. And to take place in Coun-cell in the Order they are p[er]sons Named, Which said Govenor or and Govenor & for the time being, And in the absence of o[u]r Govenor, his Deputy, and our said Councillor any ffive of them whereof the Governor or his Deputy to be allwaies one; as order us to have and Exercise the Cheife Comand, & authority in the said Island in all matters whatsoever, and vnto whome all the people and p[er]sons there inhabiting of what quality or condition soev[er] are to give & yeald due obedience. And forasmuch w[hen] is it expedient incessary that in case of the death or remov[al] the said Capt Richard ffield before or after these P[re]sents shall come unto you, the said Island [...] be Co[mm]and[ed] should be provided for the Goverment thereof sooner than at so greate a distance, wee can be advertised of his death & ensue and appoynt another to succeed in the place of Governor, wee have thought fitt to ordeine and apoynt That in case of the death or remov[al], the afore named Cap[t] Anthony Beale shall succeed in the place of Governor of the said Island. And in case of the death or remov[al]	The men taken into company pay had been engaged from 15 May 1673, the date of their landing on the island, and were to remain in service until discharged. The company had thought fit to place a garrison in the forts and buildings, together with other persons and women, along with ammunition, victuals, stores and other supplies. These were carried by two ships hired for the purpose: the *Georgian*, under Captain James Potter, and the *John and Alexander*, under James Legay as master. A list of the persons aboard and an invoice of the goods, together with the bills of lading, accompanied the present orders. In pursuance of the authority granted by the letters patent, and for the government of the island, the company made the following appointments. Captain Richard Field was constituted Governor of the island. Captain Anthony Beale was constituted Deputy Governor. The lieutenants of the two companies of soldiers on the island for the time being, together with Francis Moore, John Coalston and Richard Swallow, were appointed to the Council of the island, taking their places in the order named. The Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, with the Council, were to exercise chief command and authority over the island in all matters. In the absence of the Governor and Deputy, any five of them, with the Governor or his Deputy always counted among the five, were to act. All inhabitants, of whatever quality or condition, were to give due obedience to this body. The company recognised that the great distance between London and the island made it impossible to learn quickly of the death or removal of Captain Field and to appoint a successor in good time. The company therefore ordained that, in case of the death or removal of Captain Field, Captain Anthony Beale was to succeed as Governor. If both Captain Beale and Captain Field died or were removed, the Council of the island for the time being was to nominate one of their own number to succeed in the office of Governor. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The fixing of 15 May 1673 as the start of the company's pay liability for the men on the island carries an important financial implication. The recapture had taken place under royal authority, and the men were engaged initially as part of Sir Richard Munden's force at Crown expense. Backdating the company's pay obligation to the date of landing meant that the company assumed the running costs of the garrison from the moment the island was secured, rather than from the later date of the letters patent or the present order. This arrangement satisfied the King's evident wish to transfer the financial burden of the recaptured station to the corporation as completely as possible, and it provided continuous pay to the men without any gap that might have provoked discontent or desertion. The despatch of two hired ships, the *Georgian* and the *John and Alexander*, indicates the scale of the initial reinforcement. Sending a garrison required not only soldiers but also women, supplies, ammunition and stores in quantities that exceeded what a single vessel

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		& well of the said Cap[t] Anthony Beale as of the said Capt ffield, then wee do Constitute and appoynt o[u]r Councill of the said Island for the time being to nominate one more of them to succeed our said Councill of the to exec[ute] ing the place and office of Governor of the said Island [...] **Margin Notes:** [...] [...] ordeined [...] [Beale] Deputy [Gov]ernor [M]oore, M[r] Colton [...] Swallows [...] of the Councill 2 [...] ffield [case of] removall [Be]ale to be [Gov]ern[or] [in] case or in the [death] of Cap [ffield] then wee do Coun[s]ill of any th[ing] [in] the my w[ay] [...] [...]	could carry. The use of hired transports rather than company ships suggests that the regular company fleet was committed elsewhere and that the urgency of establishing the garrison justified the cost of chartering additional bottoms. The despatch of women alongside the garrison points to a deliberate policy of supporting longer-term settlement rather than maintaining a purely military presence. The constitution of the governing body, with a Governor, Deputy Governor and five-member Council including the lieutenants of the two soldier companies, reflects a careful balance between civil and military authority. By placing the military lieutenants on the same council as the civilian appointees Moore, Coalston and Swallow, the company ensured that decisions affecting both garrison and inhabitants would be taken by a body that incorporated both interests. The order of naming established a settled precedence within the Council, which would matter for the conduct of business and the validity of decisions taken in the absence of senior members. The requirement that any five members assembled in the absence of the Governor and Deputy must include the Governor or Deputy among them produces an apparent contradiction that resolves itself by reading the clause as defining the minimum quorum for ordinary council business: any five members, of whom the Governor or his Deputy must be one. This guaranteed that no decision could be taken without the presence of a senior officer, while allowing the Council to function with a workable minimum number when full attendance was not possible. The succession provisions reveal the company's awareness of the practical difficulty of remote governance. Information about the death or removal of an officer at St Helena could take many months to reach London, and a further interval would pass before instructions for a replacement could be returned. By specifying in advance that Beale would succeed Field, and that the Council would nominate one of its own members if both senior officers were lost, the company created a self-executing chain of command that did not depend on consultation with London at any stage. This approach treated the island as a self-governing outpost for purposes of continuity, while preserving the company's ultimate authority to revoke or revise any arrangement once communication permitted. The role of Captain Richard Field as Governor and Captain Anthony Beale as Deputy Governor places senior military men at the head of the civil administration as well. This was a common pattern in early colonial governance, where the same individuals who commanded the garrison also presided over the courts, the council and the supervision of inhabitants. The pattern reflects both the limited population available to fill offices and the assumption that, in a fortified station of strategic importance, the senior military authority was the natural source of civil authority as well. **Speculations** The decision to constitute a five-member Council rather than a smaller body of three or a larger one of seven points to a calculation about decision-making in a small isolated community. A council of three would be vulnerable to deadlock or to the disabling of one member by illness or absence. A larger council would draw in too many of the limited pool of officers and could produce factional divisions. Five members, with a working majority of three, allowed for stable decisions even when one or two were unavailable, and matched the likely number of suitable senior persons on the island in the early period of company control. The inclusion of women among the persons transported on the *Georgian* and the *John and Alexander* suggests that the company had reached a settled

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			judgement that permanent settlement, rather than rotating garrison duty, was the most cost-effective way to hold St Helena over the long term. Maintaining a purely military presence would have required continuous shipments of replacement soldiers and would have produced no agricultural surplus to offset costs. Building a settled population capable of reproducing itself and of supporting the garrison through cultivation reduced the long-term expense to the corporation and increased the security of the station against a renewed Dutch or French attempt. The specific naming of Captain Anthony Beale as Field's pre-designated successor, rather than leaving the matter to the Council to determine after Field's death, suggests that the company had particular confidence in Beale or particular reservations about leaving the choice to the Council. Anthony Beale already had connections to the island, and the company may have judged that his prior knowledge of the place made him the obvious continuator. By naming him in advance, the company also pre-empted any contest among the lieutenants of the soldier companies, who might otherwise have asserted claims to the office on grounds of military seniority.
18	9	In as full and ample manner and with the same powers as are hereby granted unto the said Cap[t] ffield, or Cap[t] Beale To Continue untill the contrary be Signified vnder the Comp[any] Common Seale And you our said Govenor and councill before named in the execution of the Power & trust to you committed are to observe the following Instructions 3 Vpon the arrivall of this Shipping you are to receive from the Commanders all the Amunition Stores Stores, Victual[s] and other provisions according to the Respective Invoices and Bills of Ladeing and cause them to be safely lo[d]ged under the charge and Custody of Cap[t] Anthony Beale o[u]r Husband and Storkeeper, that they may be P[re]served from Damadge, wast, and imbeazlem[en]t and as to p[re]p[are] an exact account thereof in a booke by way of Debtor & [C]reditor And in case of the death or Mortale of the said Cap[t] Anthony Beale then wee do appoy[nt] [...] [O]ffenor to be Husband and Storkeep[er] o[u]r [...] Diddey 4 You are to be very carefull in the distribution expence and disposall of the said stores and provitions, and to see that none of them be Delivered or disposed by o[u]r husband without a warrant to vs[?] [...]ned by o[u]r Govenor and the Major part of o[u]r Councill. And as to the Victualls that shall fitt p[re]pations hereafter after p[re]scribed to be allowed to our planter for his encouragm[en]t and Maintenance And to the Souldiers as you shall judge Necessary Causeing the said provicions stores & goods so delivered to be charged unto the respective accompts p[er]sons to whome the same shall be supplyed, at the rates following, viz. The fine Sort of bread at one pound the brewer at 2 pound. And the beefe at 1[s] 6[d] [the] sould pound porke, and for other goods and provi[sions] according to Invoice 5 You are to examine and take an account[s] the Stores, and provisions mentioned in the list herewi[th]	The successor nominated by the Council was to hold the office of Governor with the same full powers granted to Captain Field and Captain Beale, and was to continue until the company signified otherwise under the common seal. The Governor and Council were directed to observe the following instructions in the exercise of the power and trust committed to them. Article 3. On the arrival of the shipping, the Governor and Council were to receive from the commanders all the ammunition, stores, victuals and other provisions according to the respective invoices and bills of lading. These were to be lodged safely under the charge and custody of Captain Anthony Beale, who was appointed Husband and Storekeeper of the company on the island. The aim was to preserve the goods from damage, waste and embezzlement. An exact account of all stores was to be kept in a book by way of debtor and creditor. In case of the death or removal of Captain Beale, Francis Moore was to succeed as Husband and Storekeeper. Article 4. The Governor and Council were to take care over the distribution, expenditure and disposal of the stores and provisions. None were to be delivered or disposed of by the Husband without a warrant signed by the Governor and the majority of the Council. Victuals were to be issued as later prescribed to the planters, for their encouragement and maintenance, and to the soldiers as the Council judged necessary. All goods and provisions delivered were to be charged to the accounts of the persons to whom they were supplied, at the following rates: Fine bread per pound 1s 0d Brown bread per pound 2s 0d Beef per pound 1s 6d All other goods and provisions were to be charged according to the invoice. The text does not give a separate rate for pork. Article 5. The Governor and Council were to examine and take an account of the stores and provisions listed in the schedule sent with the despatch, which Sir Richard Munden reported as remaining on the island at his departure. They were to determine what had been disposed of, to whom, and what remained. A

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		sent which the said S[i]r Rich[ard] Munden informes [...] in this Island at the departure thence[?] have bin[?] [...] so & w[ith] and unto whom And what part is still rem[ain]ing and to send vs a particular accompt thereof. And to cause a Register to be kept by our husband and st[ore] keepers of the same. And he is to Receive unto his s[ay]d [ke]eping[?] and to stand charged with all the said Storee[s] ing Stores and to place wha [Char]es this fl[eet] le[ave] have or shall receive of theire respective acc[ompts] A Duplicate of which accompt you are to s[end] vs by the Returne of these Shipping [...] you **Margin Notes:** 3 Ammunition Stores provicions to be re[ceived] [...] f[rom] & kept until[?] the husband Cap[t] Beale [...]e to keep exa[c]t acc[oun]t of them. In case of his death then M[r] Moore to [...] succeed as Husband[?] 4 The stores and pro- visions to be dispos[e]d forth by [warrant] [fro]m Gov[ernor] & Major part [...] of the Councill [...] [...] provisions are to be charge to each mans acc[ompt] 5 Account to be tak[en] of stores Left by S[i]r R: Munden, & to who[m] [t]hey have bin disp[ose]d [6] the husband to stand charge[d] of th[e] re- mayning stores left and the [...] [...] [Cler]ks to keep a Lett[er] [an] A Duplicate w[hereo]f [t]o be send hom[e]	particular account was to be sent to the company. The Husband and Storekeeper was to keep a register of the same and to receive into his custody all remaining stores, standing charged with them and with anything further received from the present fleet. The accounts were to record the persons to whom stores had been issued. A duplicate of the account was to be sent home by the return of the present shipping. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The appointment of Captain Anthony Beale as Husband and Storekeeper combined two distinct functions in a single office. The Husband of a company station was the officer responsible for the management of property and the conduct of routine business, including hiring, contracting and disbursement. The Storekeeper had specific charge of the physical goods held in warehouses or magazines. By placing both functions in one man, the company centralised accountability for everything material on the island and avoided the disputes over jurisdiction that often arose between separate officers. Combining the role with the office of Deputy Governor in the person of Beale gave him control of the financial and logistical levers as well as constitutional authority. The pre-designation of Francis Moore as Beale's successor in the Husband and Storekeeper office paralleled the succession arrangement already made for the governorship. The same principle of self-executing replacement, without reference to London, was applied to the office that handled the stores. This was a particularly sensitive position, since the loss of supervision over the magazines could have led to rapid embezzlement in the interval before a replacement arrived. By naming Moore in advance, the company ensured continuous oversight. The requirement that no goods be issued by the Husband without a warrant signed by the Governor and the majority of the Council established a two-key control over the stores. The Husband held the physical goods but could not release them on his own authority. The Council could authorise release but could not access the goods directly. This separation reduced the opportunity for either side to dispose of stores improperly, since collusion between the Husband and at least three Council members would have been required to defeat the system. The book by way of debtor and creditor provided the documentary record against which any such collusion could later be detected. The detailed pricing schedule for bread and beef converted the supply of provisions from a free issue into a charged account. Each planter or soldier who drew rations had the value charged to a personal account, creating a running debt to the company that would have to be settled either by labour, by produce, or by payment. This system gave the company a strong financial hold over the inhabitants, since arrears on the account could be enforced through the courts the company itself controlled. It also created an incentive for inhabitants to grow their own food, since the cost of company provisions was a continuing drain on their personal accounts. The rate of fine bread at one pound per pound by weight, and brown bread at two pounds per pound, reflects an inverted relationship in which the coarser bread was charged at twice the price of the finer. This is not the usual pattern, since fine wheaten bread was ordinarily more expensive than coarser bread in England. The figures probably indicate that the manuscript records two different units of charge: a price per pound for the fine bread and a daily or weekly allowance reckoned in pounds-weight for the brown. Without further detail, the meaning cannot be settled with certainty, and the figures are presented as they appear in the source.

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			The instruction to audit Sir Richard Munden's residual stores, and to determine what had been issued and to whom, created an accountancy boundary between the royal phase of occupation and the company phase. Munden's force had operated under Crown authority since the recapture, and any stores left behind were the proceeds of royal expenditure. By taking a careful inventory and recording disposals, the company could distinguish what it had inherited from what it now owned, which mattered for any subsequent settlement of accounts between the Crown and the corporation. The requirement that a duplicate of the stores account be sent home by the return of the present shipping reflects standard company practice in the management of distant outposts. A single copy could be lost at sea, and without redundancy the company in London would lose all knowledge of what had been done with its property. Duplicate accounts on different ships maximised the chance that at least one copy would reach the directors. **Speculations** The decision to place the office of Husband and Storekeeper in Beale, who was already Deputy Governor, points to a concentration of authority that the company may have judged necessary for the first phase of settlement but unlikely to last. Combining military command, civil administration and material control in one man invited abuse, and the company would normally have preferred to separate these functions. The arrangement probably reflects the limited number of senior men available on the island and the practical need to establish working systems quickly. Once the settlement was running, a separation of offices could be expected. The careful pricing of provisions at fixed rates, rather than at cost or at fluctuating market values, suggests that the company anticipated complaints over charges and wished to settle the matter in advance. By publishing the rates in the founding instructions, the Council could deflect any later argument that prices had been inflated to the company's advantage. Fixed rates also simplified bookkeeping, since the Husband did not need to recalculate values as ships arrived with goods purchased at varying costs in England. Whether the rates reflected actual costs or were set to generate a margin for the company is not stated, and the inhabitants would have had no easy way to check. The instruction to identify by name the recipients of stores left by Sir Richard Munden's force points to anticipation that some of those recipients might be challenged for their entitlements. Munden's distributions had been made under Crown authority during the period when the future of the island was still uncertain, and the company would want to know whether those distributions had been proper, whether the recipients were still on the island, and whether any of the goods could be recovered. The careful audit was therefore as much a tool of political reckoning as of accountancy.
19	10	7 You are also forthw[i]th to take into your possession all the Cattle that can possibly be attained or gotten on the said Island, And to Register the same that a distribution may be made to the severall Inhabitants according to the Rules and directions hereafter mencon-ed 8 You are also to take care that the three Boats left by S[i]r Rich: Munden on the said Island be kept in repaire And that you permitt and Suffer the Inhabitants at conve[-] nient times to goe a ffishing therein, And that all the	Article 7. The Governor and Council were directed to take into possession at once all the cattle that could be obtained on the island. A register was to be kept, so that a distribution might later be made to the inhabitants according to the rules set out below. Article 8. The three boats left by Sir Richard Munden on the island were to be kept in repair. The Governor and Council were to allow the inhabitants to go fishing in them at convenient times. All fish caught was to be distributed equally among the inhabitants, while still fresh, for their support and maintenance. Article 9. The company sent aboard the *European* a quantity of money, partly in pieces of eight and partly in copper coin. The money was placed in the care of

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		ffish that shall be caught and taken be from time to time whilst the same is fresh and new be distri[-] buted Equally amongst the Inhabitants for theire better Support and maintenance 9 Wee have sent on board the European Coorth[?] [...] some in pieces of Eight and copper Money, which is to be under the care of o[u]r Cap[t] Anthony Beale, and to be by him issued out after the rate of peeces of 8 for paym[en]t of the Souldiers, That every man may have his proportion thereof and to be payed of board of the Govenor and Councell at the said Govenor and Councell shall thinke fitt Touching the Souldiery Wee doe order and appoynt that all our Souldiers shall remain in pay upon the said Island be Reduced into two Companies. And that the Govenor be Cap[ta]in of one Company. And the Deputy Govenor of the other. And wee do hereby authorize and impower our said Govenor and Councill to nominate & appoynt fitt Persons to be Lieutenants Ensignes and Sirjants to the said [...] two Comp[an]ies, And to whom wee have established the pay and entertainm[en]t following Vizt To the said Cap[t] Rich: ffield as Govenor and the Cap[t] of one of ye s[ai]d Comp[an]ies summe of ffiftie Pound 50 0 0 [per] [...] [...] [...] Also to him by way of Gratuity Yearly 20 - 0 - 0 To the s[ai]d Capt Anthony Beale as Dep[u]ty Govenor and Cap[t] of one of ye s[ai]d Comp[an]ies And as Husband of the Company in [...] Stores and Provicion s[ai]d Comp[an]y P[er] [annum] 50 - 00 - 0 To y[e] Lieutennants of the s[ai]d two Companies 2 - 10 - 00 to Each h[...] Month to the Ensigne[s] of ye s[ai]d two Comp[an]ie[s] Each 2 - 00 - 0 **Margin Notes:** 7 [...] on the Island [to be] take into possession [...] Regist[er] Kept [for]y[e] [...] 8 [Three] Boats[?] left [...] [...] [...] [in] [Repair] to be Lett to the Inhab[itants] [for fishing] The ffish taken to be distributed Equally [9] [Money sent in ye] N[?] [...] in Cap[t] Beales [...] [Charge] under th[?] [...] [pa]y to the [...] [c]om[ma]nd[ed] [...] [Soul]diery Councill 10 [Souldiery]on ye Isle to be [reduced]into Companys [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [Capt] [...] 11 [...] [Coun]cill to [...] [...] th[e] o[ther] officers 12	Captain Anthony Beale, who was to issue it out at the rate of pieces of eight for the payment of the soldiers. Every man was to receive his proportion, paid out in the presence of the Governor and Council, at such times as the Governor and Council thought fit. On the soldiery. The company ordered that all soldiers remaining in pay on the island were to be formed into two companies. The Governor was to be captain of one company and the Deputy Governor of the other. The Governor and Council were authorised to nominate and appoint fit persons to be lieutenants, ensigns and serjeants of the two companies. The pay and allowances established were as follows. Captain Richard Field, as Governor and Captain of one of the two companies per annum £50 0s 0d Captain Richard Field, by way of gratuity per annum £20 0s 0d Captain Anthony Beale, as Deputy Governor, Captain of one of the two companies, and Husband of the company in charge of stores and provisions per annum £50 0s 0d Lieutenant of each of the two companies per month £2 10s 0d Ensign of each of the two companies per month £2 0s 0d The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage, where the pay rates for the serjeants and the lower ranks cannot be recovered. **Interpretations** The taking of all cattle into company possession before any distribution to the inhabitants converted the island's livestock into a regulated resource. Before this order, cattle on the island would have included beasts left behind during the Dutch occupation, beasts brought by company personnel before the recent recapture, and natural increase from earlier stocks. By gathering all of them under company control, the Council acquired the power to allocate breeding stock and draught animals according to need rather than according to who had managed to claim them. The register provided the documentary basis for later distribution and protected the company against subsequent disputes over title. This treatment of livestock as a collective asset placed cattle on a different footing from other forms of property and reflected their strategic importance in a small isolated economy. The handling of the three boats left by Sir Richard Munden illustrates the same approach. The boats were not assigned to individuals but kept as a common resource, used by inhabitants in rotation under the Council's permission. The requirement that all fish be distributed equally while still fresh prevented hoarding or private sale and ensured that the inhabitants drew a regular benefit from a resource whose maintenance fell on the company. This was an early example of a common-fishery arrangement on a small island, designed to support the population without creating private commercial interests that might later resist company regulation. The dispatch of money in pieces of eight and copper coin reflects the absence of any local coinage and the limited circulation of sterling on the island. Pieces of eight were the standard silver coin of international trade, accepted throughout the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds. Copper supplied small change for transactions below the value of a silver coin. By sending both, the company equipped the island with a functioning currency for everyday use. Placing the money under Beale's care, with payments made before

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		[...] pay monthly [...] [...] afford on [the] Island	the Governor and Council, prevented private disbursement and tied every soldier's pay to a formal occasion at which the senior officers were present. The structure of pay and allowances reveals the relative weight given to different offices. Field received £50 per annum as Governor and company commander, with an additional £20 as gratuity, bringing his total to £70 per annum. Beale received £50 per annum, covering his combined roles as Deputy Governor, company commander and Husband. The absence of any gratuity for Beale, despite the triple burden of his offices, suggests that gratuities were tied to seniority rather than to workload. The lieutenants and ensigns were paid monthly rather than annually, which yielded £30 per annum for a lieutenant and £24 per annum for an ensign. The monthly basis for junior officers reflects the practical reality that they might be replaced, demoted or discharged during a year, whereas the senior officers were appointed on a continuing footing. The reduction of the soldiers into two companies, each captained by one of the senior officers, fused military and civil command at the top of the establishment. Field and Beale were not merely Governor and Deputy with separate military deputies under them, but were themselves the captains of the two companies. This meant that the senior civil officers commanded their men directly, with no intervening colonel or major. The arrangement suited a small garrison where additional layers of command would have added expense without operational benefit. It also meant that the lieutenants and ensigns, who actually drilled and led the men day to day, reported directly to the senior governors. The power granted to the Governor and Council to nominate and appoint the lieutenants, ensigns and serjeants, rather than receiving them by appointment from London, gave significant patronage to the island establishment. These junior officer positions were the recognised stepping-stones to higher rank and to favourable treatment in matters such as land grants and rations. By placing the appointments in local hands, the company strengthened the authority of the Governor and Council and avoided the delays that would have attended any London-based selection. **Speculations** The decision to gather all the island's cattle under company possession before distribution, rather than confirming existing holdings and regulating future increase, suggests that the company anticipated disputes among the inhabitants over what beasts belonged to whom. The recent Dutch occupation and the recapture would have produced confusion about ownership, with claims and counterclaims that might have proved difficult to resolve. By treating the entire stock as company property and then redistributing under controlled rules, the Council could sweep away contested claims and start from a clean foundation. The system favoured the company's long-term control over the island's productive resources at the cost of unsettling whatever informal arrangements had developed under previous regimes. The choice of pieces of eight rather than sterling silver for the payment of soldiers points to practical recognition that local trade on the island and with passing ships would be conducted in Spanish silver rather than in English. Pieces of eight were the working currency of the Atlantic, and paying soldiers in coins they could actually spend at the island's market or with visiting ships avoided the need for the men to seek out moneychangers. The arrangement also reduced the company's silver reserves in England, since pieces of eight could be acquired in bulk from the Spanish silver flow without drawing on the Mint. The lower rate for ensigns compared with lieutenants, at four pounds per annum less, established a

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			clear hierarchy within the junior officer corps that mirrored the pattern of English regimental pay. The difference was small in absolute terms but mattered for the social standing of the men appointed. Ensigns were typically the most junior commissioned rank, often serving as a route into the officer class for younger sons or for promising rankers. By preserving the standard pay differential, the company ensured that the structure of military life on the island would be recognisable to anyone with experience in English service. The combined load on Beale, as Deputy Governor, company captain, Husband and Storekeeper, suggests that the company expected him to be the practical centre of administration on the island. Field's role as Governor was constitutionally senior, but Beale held the levers of money, stores, livestock issue and one of the two military companies. If Field withdrew, fell ill, or proved less capable than expected, Beale's accumulated authority would have allowed him to govern the island in fact even before any formal succession took effect.
20	11	To each of the Serj[ean]ts being foure in all - 1 - 10 - 0 [per] m[onth] To a Gunner to be chosen by the Govr and Councill who is to have ye dyett and Diet two Suite of Apparell ye Eldyett and 2 - 0 - 0 [per] month Each of them 1 - 10 - 0 [per] month And for the p[re]sent vnto each Souldier the Pay mencon- ed shall be taken from the Purs[er]s books vntill firth[er] Order 13 You are to take care that Inferiour Officer[s] & Souldiers be exercised in Armes, and to constant watch & Dutie, as you shall judge needefull according to practice used in Military discipli[ne] and dureing theire continuance in the Companyes [...] they are to assist in the [Erection] [...] ffortifications. And in the workes of our plantation, as the o[u]r Governor and Councill shall direct for the good and welfare of the said Island. And you are to permitt the Souldiers when they can be spared to assist the Planters in theire plantacons, And vpon they that be Employed in the workes of the comp[any] Plantation that they be considered for the same 14 You are forthwith to proceede the best you may to the Strengthening the fforts and in makeing good firme and Sufficient Platformes as may be Requisite for the bett[er] Securing and defence of the s[ai]d Island as you in your jud- ge thinke fitt and most convenient. Wee have in this ffirst yere materialls fitt for that End and purposes. And to care that the powder, Stores, and ammunicion al[r]eady vppon the Island and now sent yo[u] be safely housed [in] [s]everall places on the Island, and that the cheife magaze[ne] be kept and securely y[e]er & be about the middle of the Coun- where the same may be issued with most Safety and conve- neney for Supplys of all the guards. And that vppon all occations Victualls, and provicions may be sent to every post or guard that they be not forced to depart the same for	Serjeant of each company, four in all per month £1 10s 0d Gunner, to be chosen by the Governor and Council, with diet and two suits of apparel allowed in addition per month £2 0s 0d Gunner's mate, each of them per month £1 10s 0d The pay of the common soldiers was for the present to be taken from the Pursers' books until further order. Article 13. The Governor and Council were to ensure that inferior officers and soldiers were exercised in arms and kept to constant watch and duty, according to the practice of military discipline. While serving in the companies, the men were to assist in the erection of fortifications and in the works of the company's plantation, as the Governor and Council should direct for the good of the island. The soldiers, when they could be spared, were to be permitted to assist the planters in their plantations. When employed on the works of the company's own plantation, they were to be paid an additional consideration for the labour. Article 14. The Governor and Council were to proceed without delay to strengthen the forts and to construct firm and sufficient platforms for the better defence of the island, as they judged most convenient. The company had supplied materials for the purpose in the first year. The powder, stores and ammunition already on the island and now sent were to be safely housed in several places. The chief magazine was to be kept securely about the middle of the country, where stores could be issued safely and conveniently to all the guards. Victuals and provisions were to be sent from the magazine to every post or guard as occasions arose, so that no guard would be forced to abandon its post for want of supply. Particular care was to be taken to keep the powder dry and serviceable. The manuscript is unclear at points in this article, where the operative provisions on the protection of powder and provisions cannot fully be recovered. The company had bought the frame of a house, sent by the present shipping, to be erected on the island as a storehouse for victuals, powder and other stores. Captain Beale was to be given the use of part of the building as a dwelling for himself and his family for the first two years, provided he kept no fire in it. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The provision of diet and two suits of apparel to the gunner, in addition to monthly pay, recognised the

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		want thereof. Yo[u] are to take Especiall care of o[u]r Powder fr[om] [s]oeg of you ye [...] [...] [...] u[se]ful as may[?] be Esp[ecially] [...] the [...] of o[u]r Powder and provis[i]on [...] [...] [...] have bought the frame of a house which was here sent by this Shipping to be erecled[?] on our Isle for a Storehouse, to keepe & lay vpp Victualls Powder and other stores, & [...] doe do appoynt that Cap[t] Beale [...] [...] [...] accomodacon of dwelling therein for himselfe[?] family for the first 2 yeares so as he keepe no fier therein And although during this present warr we[?] [...] under the Military Government in our Bay Yett being Dor[...]ce **Margin Notes:** 13 [The Souldi]ers Off[icers] to be exercised [in Mi]litary discipline to assist in [fortifi]cations and on plantation [to be co]nsidered for [the work] 14 [Forts] to be strengthen[e]d [and] platforme[s] 15 [powder &c.] to be sent[e] [...] in ye N or [...] housed, and [Magazine to] be about y[e] midd[le] of the Island 16 [Provisions] vpon occa[sions] to be sent to [...] posts or guards 17 [Powder] not to be ann [wett] in [Suttable] [s]trength[s] 18 [Storehouse] sent [to be] erected on the [Island] wherein Cap[t] Beale to be in two years	specialised nature of the office. Gunners were skilled artillerymen responsible for the maintenance and operation of the cannon, and the supply of qualified men was limited. The additional allowances in kind raised the effective remuneration without inflating the cash pay, which had to be visible alongside the rates paid to other officers. The arrangement also tied the gunner physically to the establishment, since diet provided at company expense meant residence at company quarters. The two suits of apparel reflected the wear suffered by clothing in the conditions of artillery service, where exposure to powder and to the elements at gun platforms damaged garments quickly. The instruction that common soldiers' pay be drawn from the Pursers' books rather than fixed by the present order points to a transitional arrangement. The Pursers were officers responsible for keeping the account of pay due to ordinary seamen and soldiers, and the rates entered in their books reflected the terms on which the men had been engaged at the time of recruitment. By referring the matter to the Pursers' books until further order, the company avoided fixing rates that might prove inappropriate once the establishment was settled, while ensuring that the men continued to receive what they had been promised on enlistment. The combination of military exercise, fortification work and plantation labour in the duties of the soldiers reveals the dual function of the garrison. The men were soldiers in name and on muster, but in practice their daily labour was directed to whatever work the island most needed. Fortifications had to be built and maintained, the company plantation had to be worked, and the inhabitants' plantations required occasional help. By using the same men for all of these tasks, the company avoided the cost of separate workforces and kept the soldiers continuously employed. The provision that soldiers employed on company plantation work were to receive additional consideration created a financial inducement for the men to accept this dual role. The permission for soldiers to assist the planters in their plantations, when spared from military duty, reflects a practical accommodation to the small population. With limited labour available on the island, requiring soldiers to remain idle when not on watch would have wasted capacity that the planters needed. By allowing the men to hire themselves to the planters in their off-duty time, the company indirectly subsidised the planters' operations and gave the soldiers a means of supplementing their pay through private labour. The arrangement also forged links between the garrison and the civilian population that supported the social cohesion of the island. The decision to site the chief magazine about the middle of the country, rather than at the principal fort or near the landing place, reflects considered military reasoning. A magazine placed at the most exposed point of defence would be the first prize of any successful attacker and the most vulnerable to bombardment from the sea. A central location, distant from the coast, was harder to reach by any force that managed to land and harder to target by ships' guns. The central position also allowed roughly equal distances to the various guards and posts around the island, enabling timely resupply in any direction. The provision allowing Captain Beale to use the new storehouse as a dwelling for himself and his family for two years, but only without fire, illustrates the practical pressures of new settlement and the priority given to the protection of stores. Housing was scarce, and the senior officer charged with the safekeeping of powder, victuals and other goods had a strong claim to immediate accommodation. Placing him in the storehouse put the principal storekeeper under the same

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			roof as the property he was responsible for, providing continuous supervision. The strict prohibition on fire reflects the obvious danger of combining powder storage with domestic cooking and heating. The two-year limit suggests an expectation that proper officer housing would be erected in due course, freeing the storehouse for its primary purpose. **Speculations** The decision to hold the rate of pay for common soldiers under review, rather than fixing it in the founding instructions, points to uncertainty in London about what rates the labour market on the island could bear. The men currently in service had been engaged under Crown authority, perhaps at rates suited to a short military expedition rather than to indefinite garrison duty. The company may have wished to renegotiate these rates once the men's enlistments expired, and the reference to the Pursers' books was a holding measure until the situation could be assessed by the new Governor and Council on the spot. A premature fixing of rates in London could have either inflated costs unnecessarily or provoked desertion if set too low. The combination of military service with plantation labour, with extra pay for company plantation work but not for assistance to private planters, reveals a careful calibration of incentives. By paying for work on the company's own plantation, the company ensured that its agricultural operations would be served first. By not paying for work on private plantations, the company let market arrangements develop between soldiers and planters without intervention. This division left private labour markets free to operate while protecting the company's own labour priorities. It also gave the soldiers a personal stake in the prosperity of the island, since income from private plantation work supplemented their pay. The siting of the chief magazine at the centre of the island, rather than at any of the existing fortifications, suggests that the company was planning for the possibility of partial loss of the coastal defences. If an attacker succeeded in capturing one or more of the forts, a central magazine would remain accessible to a defending force regrouping inland, while a magazine at one of the forts would have been lost with that fort. This forward planning indicates that the company took seriously the risk of a renewed Dutch or French attempt and provided for continued resistance even if the initial defences failed. The two-year limit on Beale's residence in the storehouse, combined with the prohibition on fire, may have been intended as much to spur the construction of proper housing as to protect the stores. If Beale were comfortable in the storehouse indefinitely, there would be no urgency to build elsewhere. By imposing both a time limit and a restriction on basic comfort, the company ensured that Beale himself would press for proper officer accommodation and that the storehouse would revert to its primary function within a defined period.
21	12	[De]sirous to Encourage the Souldiers of the Island to becom[e] Planters wee have therefore as a begining to it Entertained in Order severall p[er]sons as Planters, who come by this Shipping and are named in the list herewith sent, And are to have the accomodation hereafter particularly menconed and to be under the Rules and Goverm[en]t following Vizt That all the old planters that and form[er]ly were Settled on the Island, and now found there shall be recovered of theire severall houses, & Plantacons what	Desirous to encourage the soldiers of the island to become planters, the company had entertained several persons as planters as a beginning. These men were sent by the present shipping and were named in the list accompanying the despatch. They were to receive the accommodation set out below and to live under the following rules and government. Article 20. All the old planters formerly settled on the island, and still found there, were to recover their houses and plantations on the same conditions they had enjoyed before. Their possession was confirmed as at the date of the arrival of the present ships. Article 21. Each new planter, on arrival, was to have set out to him by the Governor and Council a

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		formerly they Enioyed, the condicon they shall be found at the arrivall of these Shipps, and that all new plant[-] ers shall vppon theire arrivall have so a casse of lod- Rough and smooth Setout vnto them by the Gover- nor and Councell for each family, to build and Plant vppon it, and that all the plantacons both to the old as the new planters be considered, them, theire heires and as- signes for so as a Breast is appoynted, and in m[ak]e such allotm[en]ts so do direct that Speciall care be taken that the plantations may lyd as neere each other, as may be for theire best accomedacon 24 That besides the proportion of Land each family shall have two Cattle given them, freely by which the Goverr & Coun- cell are to deliver them. And each family shall alsoe by sup[ply] from time to time with provicion of victualls gratis billed the Companies Magazenes for theire maintenance for the Space of nine months, if theire respective plantations shall not soner produce them a Supply at such times and such manner and proportion as you our s[ai]d Govenor and Councell shall finde convenient That all the planters be by the Govenor [...] [Be]ale either [one or] the aforesaid Commaunders, or such other Officers as the Goverr and Councell shall thinke fitt, that may Exercise and traine them up in armes at least one in two months to qualifie them for the defence of the Island. And that p[ar]ticular [place] or post be assigned to the Govenor where unto all and Every of the s[ai]d Planters may re- paire and have a Acc[essi]on to vpon when there unto reqired by the Govr. For though wee doe not heere require the Planters to keepe constant watch as Souldi[ers] dureing the time that wee shall continue Souldiers in pay yett wee do hereby strictly require in case of the approach **Margin Notes:** 19 [for encourag]m[en]t of Souldiers to turne planters [seve]rall persons now sent as planters &c. 20 [Old]planters to en- [ioy] their houses, &c. [Cond]icons formerly Enioyed 21 [All] new planters on the land to acc[oun]ts of land a family 22 [All] plantations by Gov- [ernor] to be planters their [hei]res & assignes for ever 23 [All] plantations to lye as neare other as may be 24 [Each] family to have 2 Cattle [and?] nine months [provision] of victuals out of [t]he [s]tores 25 [All] planters to be ex[er]- [cised] at the two compa[nies] [Armes,] to be trained &c.	parcel of land, rough and smooth, sufficient for a family to build and plant upon. Article 22. All plantations, whether held by the old planters or the new, were to be granted to the holders, their heirs and assigns for ever, in such allotments as the Governor and Council judged proper. Article 23. The Governor and Council were to take particular care that the plantations lay as near each other as the ground allowed, for the better accommodation and mutual support of the planters. Article 24. In addition to the land, each family was to receive two cattle, delivered free by the Governor and Council. Each family was also to be supplied gratis with victuals from the company's magazines for nine months, at such times and in such proportions as the Governor and Council judged convenient. The supply was to continue for the full nine months unless the family's own plantation produced sufficient food sooner. Article 25. All planters were to be exercised in arms and trained by Captain Beale or such other officers as the Governor and Council appointed. The drills were to take place at least once every two months, to qualify the planters for the defence of the island. The Governor was to assign a particular post to which each planter was to repair when required. The company did not require the planters to keep constant watch as the soldiers did, so long as soldiers remained in company pay. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage, where the operative provisions on the planters' duty in case of an approaching threat cannot be recovered. **Interpretations** The express policy of encouraging soldiers to become planters reveals a long-term strategy for reducing the cost of holding the island. A purely military garrison required continuous shipments of replacements as men died, deserted or completed their enlistments. A population of settled planters, in contrast, generated its own succession through families and produced food locally rather than drawing on imported victuals. By providing inducements for soldiers to take up land, the company sought to convert a temporary expense into a permanent and self-supporting establishment. The confirmation of old planters in their existing houses and plantations, on the conditions they had previously enjoyed, served to consolidate the inhabitants behind the new regime. Disturbing settled holdings would have produced resentment and might have driven experienced cultivators to leave the island. By guaranteeing existing tenure as found on the arrival of the present ships, the company secured the loyalty of those whose practical knowledge of local conditions was most valuable. The grant of plantations to the planters, their heirs and assigns for ever, constituted a freehold-style title rather than a mere leasehold or licence to occupy. This was a generous form of tenure, particularly when offered by a chartered corporation rather than by the Crown. Heritable and alienable land created a recognisable property interest that could be inherited by children, mortgaged for credit or sold to other settlers. Such tenure encouraged long-term investment in the land, since the holder could expect to pass on the improvements rather than seeing them revert to the company. The grant of land for ever also distinguished planters from soldiers and from short-term residents, creating a stable propertied class that would have an enduring stake in the island. The instruction to lay out plantations as close together as the terrain permitted reveals a deliberate clustering policy. Dispersed settlement would have been more efficient for cultivation in many places, since holdings could be sized to the quality of the land available. Clustering, however, served defence by

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		[At lea]st once in [tw]o monthes [All] plantes to be reps [upon] o[u]r appoint[ed] [whe]ne required	ensuring that planters could support one another in emergencies and reach a defensive post quickly when summoned. It also simplified the supervision of the inhabitants by the Governor and Council and supported the formation of a cohesive community rather than a scatter of isolated farms. The endowment of each family with two cattle free of charge represented a significant capital grant. Cattle on a small island were a scarce resource, useful for draught work, for milk and eventually for breeding. Giving two beasts to each family allowed a starting herd that could grow over time, and the requirement that the Governor and Council deliver the beasts ensured a documented record of the distribution. The pairing of two cattle suggests a deliberate intention to provide breeding pairs where possible, accelerating the multiplication of livestock under private ownership. The provision of nine months of free victuals from the company's magazines acknowledged the time required to establish a working plantation. Land had to be cleared, planted, tended and brought to harvest before it could produce food, and a new planter without an existing crop would starve in the interval. Nine months was sufficient to bring at least one cycle of crops to maturity in the island's climate, after which the planter was expected to support himself. The provision that the supply might end sooner, if the plantation produced food earlier, prevented the planters from drawing on company stores beyond actual need and tied each disbursement to a judgement by the Governor and Council on the family's circumstances. The requirement that planters be trained in arms at least once every two months created a militia organised through the civil settlement rather than the military companies. The planters were to be assigned posts to which they would repair when summoned, integrating them into the defensive system without requiring them to keep constant watch. This dual structure, regular soldiers on continuous duty and planters available on call, allowed the island to muster a defensive force much larger than the standing garrison while keeping ordinary economic life running in peaceful times. The training under Beale, who held both the Deputy Governorship and a company captaincy, placed the militia under the same chain of command as the regular soldiers, ensuring co-ordinated action in emergencies. **Speculations** The simultaneous provision of land, cattle and nine months of free food represents a package of inducements that goes well beyond what was strictly necessary to attract settlers. The generosity suggests that the company was not confident of finding enough volunteers under leaner terms and was prepared to subsidise the initial settlement heavily to ensure that the population grew quickly. The cost of these inducements would be recovered, the company evidently hoped, by the eventual replacement of the standing garrison with a self-supporting community of planter-militiamen. Whether the calculation proved correct would depend on whether sufficient soldiers actually chose to take up plantations and whether their cultivation succeeded. The express assurance of freehold tenure to planters, their heirs and assigns, may have been included to overcome a specific reluctance among potential settlers to commit themselves to land that might be revocable at the company's pleasure. Without secure title, a soldier would have little incentive to invest his savings or his labour in improvements that the company could later resume. By offering tenure in the strongest form available to a chartered grantor, the company sought to remove this obstacle and to make the offer of a plantation comparable to what a man might hope for in an English colony with Crown-granted land. The provision for at least one drill every two months, rather than weekly or monthly, suggests that

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			the company recognised the practical limits of training a working population. Planters who spent most of their time on cultivation could not be expected to drill frequently without undermining their economic productivity. A two-monthly minimum maintained basic military competence without exhausting the planters, while preserving the option for more frequent training if the Council judged it necessary. The phrasing as a minimum rather than a fixed schedule left flexibility for the Governor to increase the tempo of training when threats appeared. The placement of training under Beale specifically, rather than under the Governor or under any officer the Council might select, points to Beale as the practical military leader of the establishment. Field's role as Governor encompassed civil and ceremonial functions, but the active business of training men in arms was assigned to Beale as Deputy Governor and company captain. This division of military responsibility within the senior officer pair concentrated operational command in the man already burdened with stores, accounts and one of the two companies, reinforcing the impression that Beale was expected to be the working military figure of the island administration.
22	13	Approach of any Shipping and Especially vppon discovery of any Enemys, or any Generall Allarum that they doe repaire to theire respective posts & repaire those such orders in away of Military Discipline according as theire respective officers shall be directed by the Goverr and Councell for the Safety and de-fence of [...] aforesaid Island, it being one of these con-dicons on which wee have granted them theire Land and other accomodacons 27 That all or any the Inhabitants of the said Island be permitted and allowed vppon theire Square and desire ground sufficient to build a house or houses in any valley provided they build the said houses regularly in order to a Towne of defence, as you each of ye ffortefications that shall be made marks by the Govenor and councell shall to thinke fitt. And that the houses that are both nigh the sea and any of the fforts be removed by the proprietors 28 That the said Planters and Inhabitants be permitted by the said Govenor and Councell to repaire on board any of our Shipping that shall arrived at the s[ai]d Island to sell such provicions & necessaries as they can spare and to bye such things as may be procured to Supply theire wants 29 That a free markett be appoynted by the Govenor and Counsell on arrivall of Shipping to be kept in the most convenient places as may well accomodate both Inhabita[nts] and Marriners 30 That there may be conv[e]y[e]d vnto each Person of the s[ai]d and to his heires and assignes for ever, vnder the Hee Companies S[eal] on what the proportion of land that shall be allotted to him as aforesaid he performing such Service as wee shall appoynt the Inhabitants and Planters to do from time to time. yet under the Proviso to be inserted in the deeds of Conveiance that we shall not have power to sell, alienate his respected Lands or Plantations vnles wee or theire heires shall have build vp-	Article 26. On the approach of any shipping, and especially on the discovery of any enemy or on any general alarm, all planters were strictly required to repair to their respective posts and to obey such orders in matters of military discipline as their officers had received from the Governor and Council for the safety and defence of the island. This obligation was one of the conditions on which the company had granted the planters their land and other accommodations. Article 27. Any inhabitant of the island was to be permitted, on application, to receive sufficient ground to build a house or houses in any valley. The houses were to be built regularly and in order, so as to form a town of defence around such fortifications as the Governor and Council marked out. Any houses standing close to the sea or to any of the forts were to be removed by their proprietors. Article 28. The planters and inhabitants were to be permitted by the Governor and Council to go aboard any of the company's ships arriving at the island. They could sell such provisions and necessaries as they could spare and could buy such things as they needed to supply their wants. Article 29. A free market was to be appointed by the Governor and Council on the arrival of shipping, to be held at the most convenient places to accommodate both inhabitants and mariners. Article 30. Each planter was to receive his allotted parcel of land, granted to him, his heirs and assigns for ever, under the company's seal. The grant was conditional on his performing such service as the company appointed from time to time. The deed of conveyance was to contain a proviso that the planter could not sell or alienate his land or plantation unless he or his heirs had built upon it and improved it by living there for the space of one year. A register was to be kept of all grants, alienations and sales of any plantation in the company's plantation records, to avoid faults and frauds. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The express linkage of military service to the grant of land made the planters' tenure conditional on defensive obligation. The land was not given outright as a reward for past service or as an inducement to settle, but as the consideration for a continuing duty to assist in defence. By treating the obligation as one of the conditions of the grant, the company created a contractual relationship in which failure to muster could be argued as a breach justifying forfeiture. This was a

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		it and improved it by living for the space of one yeare And we do order that a Registar be kept of all gra[un]ts alien[a- tions & sales] [...] shall be made of any grant[s] in the Comp[anys] Plantation Records, to avoyd all faults & fra[u]ds [...] **Margin Notes:** vpon the approach of any Shipps to fford and on Enimy, all to be repaire vnto theire respective posts, and de- fence of the Island &c 27 Ground to be allowed each Inhab[itan]t to build a house or houses not to fortifications &c 28 Planters m[a]y be p[er]- mitted to go on board of Ships to sell provis[i]ons & provide [necessari]es 29 A free markett to be appointed by the Gov[ernor] and Councell. 30 Planters Lands to be conveyed to them under the Comp[anys] Seale, but not to be or aliened but vntill they have liv[e]d vpon it and [Improved] it 1 yeare [A] [Regis]ter to be kept [of] [all] grants & sales	stronger legal basis for compelling service than a separate militia law would have provided, since it tied each planter's economic interest directly to his military performance. The provision allowing inhabitants to apply for ground to build houses in any valley, combined with the requirement that the houses be laid out regularly around the fortifications, reveals a deliberate town-planning policy. Rather than allowing settlement to disperse across the island wherever land was available, the company directed that houses be grouped in defensible clusters around the forts. This pattern concentrated the population at points where the soldiers and planters could support one another and where the company's military structures could shelter the inhabitants. The requirement that existing houses too close to the sea or to the forts be removed indicates that the policy was applied retroactively and that some previously settled buildings would have to be demolished or moved. The permission for planters to sell provisions to arriving ships and to buy goods from them gave the inhabitants direct commercial access to passing shipping. Without this permission, all transactions might have been routed through the company itself, with the inhabitants serving only as suppliers to a company monopoly. The grant of direct trading rights allowed planters to capture the full value of their produce and to obtain manufactured goods at competitive prices. This created a strong incentive to produce a surplus, which was the company's underlying aim, since a productive plantation supplied the homeward fleets as well as the island. The institution of a free market on the arrival of shipping formalised the commercial encounter between inhabitants and mariners. By having the Governor and Council appoint the market, the company brought private trade under official supervision without prohibiting it. A free market in this period meant one where buyers and sellers could deal directly at agreed prices, free from monopolistic interference, but it did not mean a market free of regulation. The appointment by the Council ensured that the place and conduct of trade remained subject to official oversight, with the power to control disputes and to suppress disorderly dealings. The grant of land to planters, their heirs and assigns for ever under the company's seal, repeats the freehold-style tenure already promised in the earlier articles. Sealing the conveyance under the common seal of the company gave each grant the formal legal character of a corporate act and provided documentary evidence that could be enforced in any subsequent dispute. The seal also distinguished company grants from informal allocations and made forgery more difficult. The condition forbidding sale or alienation until the planter had lived on the land for a year and improved it served to prevent the immediate trafficking of grants. Without this restriction, a soldier could have taken his land, sold it at once to another inhabitant or to a returning passenger, and pocketed the proceeds without contributing anything to the settlement. The one-year residence and improvement requirement ensured that each grant produced at least a year's cultivation before the holder could profit from sale, securing the company's underlying purpose of populating the island with working planters rather than absentee speculators. The plantation register, in which all grants, alienations and sales were to be recorded, created a documentary system for proving title. In a small community with few formal records, oral tradition or memory of who held what could easily be lost or disputed, particularly across changes of governor or generation. A central register provided a permanent

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			record against which any claim could be tested, and the express purpose of avoiding faults and frauds shows that the company anticipated attempts to manipulate the system if no such record were kept. **Speculations** The decision to require a town pattern of settlement around the forts, rather than allowing dispersed homesteads, points to a defensive logic that prioritised collective survival over individual convenience. Each planter would presumably have preferred a holding close to his own land, with a house at the centre of his cultivation. Forcing the houses to cluster meant that planters had to travel from their dwellings to their fields, which was less efficient for agriculture. The company's preference for a defensible town suggests that the threat of attack was judged more serious than the loss of agricultural efficiency. The requirement to remove existing houses near the sea or the forts confirms that defensive considerations overrode the convenience of established occupants, even at the cost of disrupting settled inhabitants. The combination of free market with company supervision suggests an attempt to capture the benefits of private trade without losing control over the inhabitants. A wholly free trade between planters and mariners would have given the inhabitants direct access to alternative buyers and might have weakened the company's hold on the island's economic life. A wholly closed system, with all trade routed through the company, would have removed the incentive to produce surplus and would have left both planters and mariners worse off. By appointing the market and the convenient places for it, the Council retained the right to oversee transactions while permitting them to occur. This balance allowed the company to monitor what was being sold and bought, to detect any private dealings that might harm its interests, and to intervene if disputes arose, without imposing the costs of a full monopoly. The one-year residence and improvement requirement before sale, combined with the central register, reveals an anticipated problem of speculative or fraudulent dealing in land. The company evidently expected that some grantees would try to sell their plantations quickly, either to other inhabitants or to outsiders. By tying alienation to actual cultivation and recording all transactions, the system frustrated the simple form of speculation and made any indirect attempt traceable. The provision suggests that the company had seen comparable problems in other colonial contexts and was determined to forestall them at St Helena from the outset. The requirement that grants pass under the company's seal, rather than under the hand of the Governor alone, indicates that the corporation reserved the formal act of conveyance to itself rather than delegating it fully to the island administration. While the Governor and Council allotted the land in practice, the legal title flowed from the corporate seal of the company in London. This kept the ultimate authority over property in the hands of the directors and ensured that any future dispute over a grant would turn on documents authenticated by the company itself. The arrangement also reminded the planters that their land was held of the company, not of the local Governor, reinforcing the corporate character of the proprietorship established by the letters patent.
23	14	That a Register be kept of all Marriages and [Buri-] alls and alsoe of all Children that shall be borne on the [Is]land 33 That for the encouragem[en]t of the Inhabitants to use their	Article 32. A register was to be kept of all marriages, burials and births of children on the island. Article 33. To encourage the inhabitants to apply their utmost skill and industry in planting, the company declared that any planter raising sugar canes, indigo, cotton wool, ginger, tobacco or any other commodity beyond what was needed for his own use would find a

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		utmost Skill, and Industry in planting on the s[ai]d Island, Wee do declare that such as shall Raise Sugar Canes Indico Cotten Wooll, Ginger Tobacco, or any other sort of Comme- dities more then will Suffice for theire owne vse the Company will take the Same of them in hands & supply and abolish for the same as [...] is Vsuall for s[u]ch Com- modities at the Places where they are procured for the first Seaven Yeares. 34 And you are hereby strictly enjoyned to give all due encouragement to all the Inhabitants in carrieingons[ai]d said works of Planting by appoynting some experienced p[er]sons to instruct and advise such as ignorant in these affaires 35 Wee require you to take a List of all the Souldiers [tha]t desire to be discharged of theire duty and Pay as Souldiers, And to become Planters. And that you grant to them what same accomodacon of land and Cattle, and other immunities, what is allowed to other Planters. acquainting them that are married P[er]sons that if they desire it theire wives shall be sent un[to] them Passage free, And the list of the Names of such Soul[diers] as will become Planters be sent vnto vs by the Returne of this Shipping. So as the Same alsoe with a List of such [as] at desire to returne unto England that accordingly w[ee] may give order therein 36 And we require you to take care that no P[er]s[on] that hath a wife liveing be Permitted to Marry on the [Island] 37 You are to take care that a due improvement be made of the Company[s] owne plantation by improvem[ent] their Negroes and Brutts in Planting the same with all Necessary Provicions for furnishing the s[ai]d C[ompanys] Sh[i]p[ps] and theire owne Shipping and to see that nigge[?] and [...] to any Cattle of any ground hereon at this same that may in any wise be an inconveni[ent] That to **Margin Notes:** 32 A Register to be kept of all marriages Burialls, & christenings 33 [for] such as plant any sugar Canes Indico Cot[ten] Wooll, Ginger [Tob]acco of which the Comp[any] will take ye [over]plus &c. 34 [Industri]ous P[er]sons to be appointed for in- [stru]cting & Adviceing in their plantations 35 [A list to be] [taken] of as [soul]diery as desire to be planters	ready buyer in the company. The company would take the surplus and pay for it at the usual rates for such commodities at the places where they were procured. This undertaking ran for the first seven years. Article 34. The Governor and Council were strictly enjoined to give all due encouragement to the inhabitants in their planting work, by appointing experienced persons to instruct and advise those who were ignorant in such matters. Article 35. A list was to be taken of all soldiers who wished to be discharged from duty and pay as soldiers and to become planters. Such men were to receive the same accommodation of land, cattle and other immunities as the other planters. Those who were married were to be informed that their wives would be sent to them, passage free, if they desired it. The list of soldiers electing to become planters was to be sent home by the return of the present shipping. A separate list was also to be made of those who wished to return to England, so that the company could give orders accordingly. Article 36. No person who had a wife living was to be permitted to marry on the island. Article 37. A due improvement was to be made of the company's own plantation. The plantation was to be worked by the company's slaves and indentured servants, and was to be planted with all the provisions needed to supply the company's ships and the island's own shipping. Care was to be taken in the use of cattle on any ground, so that no inconvenience would result. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The keeping of a register of marriages, burials and births established the foundation of civil record-keeping on the island. In England, such records were maintained by parish authorities under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. On St Helena, with no settled parish structure and only a small population, the function was transferred to the company's administrative establishment. The register served multiple purposes: it provided documentary proof of relationships and descent for matters of inheritance and property, supplied the company with demographic information on the development of the settlement, and offered evidence for any future questions about the legitimacy of children, the status of widows, or the lawful succession to plantations. By recording these vital events in a single register, the company laid the basis for a civil registration system that could operate without a clergyman or church court. The seven-year guarantee that the company would buy surplus tropical produce at the going rates of the places of origin amounted to a substantial commercial inducement. By undertaking to act as purchaser at competitive rates, the company removed the principal risk of producing such commodities on a small isolated island, namely the absence of any local market. A planter who raised indigo or ginger could be certain of a buyer at a price comparable to what he might have obtained in India or the Caribbean. The seven-year period was long enough for plantations to be established, brought to full production and yield several harvests, while finite enough to allow the company to review the policy once the island's productive capacity was known. The reference to the usual rates at the places of procurement implicitly bound the company to pay world prices rather than depressed prices reflecting the captive nature of the island market. The provision for the appointment of experienced persons to instruct ignorant planters acknowledged that many of the new settlers had no agricultural background. Soldiers turned planters would in many cases have come from urban or pastoral backgrounds in England and would have had no experience of tropical cultivation. Without instruction, the encouragement to produce sugar, indigo or cotton would have been

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		[and] them allowed as oth[ers] [mar]ried P[er]sons vpon [the] Island and o[u]r [wives] to be sent [passage] [...] A list of [...] [as] desire [to be] discharg[e]d and of [such] [whom] desire to returne [for] England to be sent home 36 [Married p[er]sons] not to marry on the Island 37 [Company]s plantation [to be improve]d with all [necessary p]rovicions for [the use of the] shipping 38 [Great] care of ye Cattle to be take[n] [no]t to be ne[ce]sse[ar]y	worthless. By directing the Governor and Council to provide expert advice, the company recognised that the inducement of a guaranteed market was useless without the technical knowledge to take advantage of it. The procedure for transferring soldiers to planter status, with the same land, cattle and immunities as the original planters, completed the conversion mechanism whose general principle had been stated earlier. By providing for the wives of married soldiers to be sent at company expense, the article addressed a significant practical obstacle. A married man who had left his wife in England would be unlikely to commit to permanent settlement without a means of bringing her out. Free passage removed this obstacle and converted the choice from a separation between husband and wife into a relocation of the household. The provision is consistent with the earlier policy of sending women on the *Georgian* and the *John and Alexander* to support permanent settlement. The collection of separate lists of soldiers wishing to become planters and those wishing to return to England gave the company in London a clear picture of the population it would have on the island after the first transfers and discharges. Without these returns, the company could not have planned future shipments of replacement soldiers or arranged passage home for those whose service was ending. The requirement to send the lists by the return of the present shipping ensured that the information would reach London within a few months of the initial settlement. The prohibition on a man with a living wife marrying on the island prevented bigamy at a remove from the legal authority that would normally police such matters. In a small isolated population, with no parish records and no ecclesiastical court within thousands of miles, a man could easily contract a second marriage in defiance of an existing union in England. The company's prohibition placed the matter under the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Governor and Council, who could refuse to recognise such a marriage and could presumably punish anyone attempting it. The article reflects awareness that the dislocations of distance created opportunities for fraud and abuse that would not arise in a settled English community. The company's own plantation, worked by slaves and indentured servants, formed the corporate counterpart to the private holdings of the planters. While the planters produced for their own consumption and for sale of any surplus, the company's plantation produced specifically to supply the homeward fleets and other shipping. This direct production capacity reduced the company's dependence on the private planters for provisioning its ships and provided a baseline of supply that the Governor and Council could control without negotiation. The use of slaves and indentured servants kept the labour costs low, since neither group was paid wages on the scale of free workers. **Speculations** The seven-year period of guaranteed purchase points to a calculated transition strategy. In the first seven years, the company would absorb the cost of buying surplus produce at competitive rates, supporting the establishment of a productive plantation economy. After seven years, the company could withdraw the guarantee and allow the planters to find their own markets, by which time the production of the island would be substantial enough to attract buyers other than the company itself. The phasing suggests that the company saw subsidy as a tool of development rather than a permanent commitment, and that the eventual aim was a self-sustaining commercial economy on the island. The free passage offered to wives of soldiers turning planters, but no comparable offer to wives of unmarried soldiers or to single women considering

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			settlement, reflects the limits of the company's investment in population growth. The company was willing to pay for the reunion of established marriages where the husband had already committed to permanent settlement, but it was not prepared to fund speculative immigration of women who might or might not form unions on arrival. This narrow definition of the wife-passage benefit kept the cost manageable while addressing the most predictable obstacle to soldier-to-planter conversion. The strict prohibition on bigamous marriage suggests that the company expected the temptation to be real. A man who had left a wife in England, perhaps with no realistic prospect of seeing her again, and who now contemplated a permanent life on the island, would face strong personal pressure to take an island wife. By prohibiting such marriages categorically, rather than merely requiring proof of a deceased or absent first wife, the company prevented the question from becoming one of disputed evidence. The simple rule could be enforced by the Council without complex investigation of distant facts. The pairing of the company's own plantation, worked by slaves and indentured servants, with the planters' private holdings, worked by free labour and supported by company subsidy, created a two-tier productive structure. The two tiers served different purposes and operated under different economic logics. The company plantation provided guaranteed supply at known cost, while the private plantations provided incremental capacity, variety and a self-supporting class of settlers. The arrangement allowed the company to retain control over essential provisioning while devolving the rest of agricultural development to the inhabitants. Whether this two-tier structure could be sustained, or whether tensions would arise between the company's slave-worked plantation and the free planters competing for the same buyers, would depend on the eventual scale of production and on the company's willingness to maintain its preferential purchasing role.
24	15	and that especiall direction be given for the P[re]serve[-]ing of all ffemale Cattle that none be killed o[r] destroyed for the first three yeares, untill the Island be Sufficient-ently replenished 39 Wee do also order and appoynt that the for[?] [Com-]panies Plantacon, and the produce thereof, be at the direccon and disposito[r] of the Govenor for the supply and maintenance of the Table for himselfe, and others that are appoynted to dyett with him (as hereing is exp[re]ssed) Alsoe for the dyett of the Comp[anys] officers of Shipp, and furnishing and supplying such of theire Shipping as shall fr[om] [time to] tim[e] arrive there And for the Comp[anys] [...] Negroes and Cattle 40 Wee have entertained M[r] Will. Swindle as Minister of the Ghosp[el]l of whome wee have rec[eived] very good Charecters and hope he will us [from?] to You and his own advantage. Our condicon with him [i]s that he Preach once, (and alsoe Catechise) every Lords day, and that he teach or direct the teaching the the Children at theire Schoolemaster to Reade, and Write and alsoe as many of the Negroes Children as are capable of Learning, and to catechise the younger sort of God-people at convenient times, for which he is to receive ffifty pounds a Yeare as Minister. Twenty five Pounds Yeare as Schoole master, and Twenty five pounds	Article 38 (continued). Special direction was to be given for the preservation of all female cattle. None were to be killed or destroyed for the first three years, until the island was sufficiently replenished with livestock. Article 39. The company's plantation and its produce were placed at the direction and disposal of the Governor. The produce was to supply the Governor's table for himself and those appointed to dine with him, as set out elsewhere in the orders. It was also to supply the diet of the company's ship officers, to furnish and provision the company's ships arriving at the island from time to time, and to feed the company's slaves and cattle. Article 40. Mr William Swindle had been entertained as Minister of the Gospel. The company had received very good reports of him and expected that his service would prove beneficial to the island and to himself. His conditions of service were as follows. He was to preach once and to catechise every Lord's Day. He was to teach the children, or direct the schoolmaster in teaching them, to read and write. He was also to teach as many of the slaves' children as were capable of learning, and to catechise the younger sort of inhabitants at convenient times. For these duties he was to receive £50 per annum as Minister and £25 per annum as Schoolmaster. A further £25 per annum was payable by way of gratuity, if he was found careful and deserving. He was to take his diet at the Governor's table and was to receive a plantation. Article 41. Mr Francis Moore had been entertained as Surgeon, to attend the cure of all the inhabitants and soldiers of the island. He was to receive £25 per annum, to begin from the time of his arrival. He was to be

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		yeare by way of Gratuity if he shall be found Carefull and deserving. & to have his dyett at the Govenor[s] table, alsoe a Plataeon 41 Wee have alsoe entertained M[r] Francis Moore Chirurgion to attend the Cure of all the Inhabitants and Souldiers of the Island For which he is to have his t[en] By five Pounds P[er] ann: to Comence from the time of his arrivall, and to be allowed his dyett at the Govenors Table, And to have the like p[ro]p[er]tion of ground and Catt[le] as other Planters have, and alsoe ffive Pounds P[er] Ann[u]m and gratuity in case he is found carefull and diligent in o[u]r service Wee have alsoe sent with him a Chest of Medicaments with all needfull Instruments and his heave such house roome and Lodgings at other Chirurgions Have **Margin Notes:** Speciall direccion to be given for p[re]serveing all ffemale Cattle. 39 The produce of the Comp[anys] plantacon to be att the Disposall of the Govr for maintenance of his Tabl[e] & such as do dyett with [him] [and] for supply of shipping 40 M[r] Swindle entertain[ed] as Minister Compa[ny] Condicions w[i]th him what he is to [r]eceive 41 M[r] Moore entertain[ed] as Chirurgion What he is to receive as Sallary [a chest] of medi- [ca]m[en]ts sent w[i]th [him]	allowed his diet at the Governor's table and was to have the same proportion of ground and cattle as other planters. He was to receive a further £5 per annum by way of gratuity, if found careful and diligent in the service. A chest of medicaments was sent with him, together with all necessary instruments. He was to have house room and lodgings such as other surgeons had received. **Interpretations** The three-year prohibition on killing female cattle reveals a deliberate policy of accelerated herd-building. Cattle multiplied through cows rather than bulls, and any slaughter of breeding stock during the first years of settlement would have set back the growth of the island's herds for a generation. By forbidding the killing of females entirely, the company forced all immediate meat needs to be met from male animals, while allowing the cow population to expand without check. The three-year period was sufficient for several calving cycles, after which the herds would be large enough to support selective slaughter. This was the kind of measure that could be politically difficult, since it limited what individual planters could do with their own beasts, but the necessity for collective restraint in a small isolated population justified the intervention. The placement of the company's plantation and its produce under the direction of the Governor consolidated control over the principal source of locally produced provisions in a single office. The plantation was the corporation's own productive asset, distinct from the holdings of the private planters, and its yield supported the company's senior officers, the visiting ships, and the company's slaves and livestock. By vesting both the management and the disposal of produce in the Governor, the company avoided divisions of authority that might have arisen had the plantation manager been a separate officer answerable elsewhere. The arrangement also made the Governor's position materially attractive, since the produce supplied his own table. The Governor's table itself was an institution of considerable administrative significance. The provision that other officers were to dine at the Governor's table established a daily gathering of the senior establishment, at which routine business could be discussed informally and the cohesion of the leadership maintained. The table was supplied at company expense from the company plantation, which made shared dining a form of payment in kind that supplemented the cash salaries. Inviting particular officers to the table or excluding them carried social weight, since the practical work of administration depended on the easy communication that shared meals fostered. The supply of the company's ships from the plantation served the strategic purpose of the entire settlement. The original justification for holding St Helena had been the refreshment of homeward fleets, and the plantation was the corporate instrument for delivering that refreshment. By raising provisions specifically for the ships, the company avoided dependence on the private planters and could guarantee a baseline of supply regardless of how the inhabitants chose to cultivate their own holdings. The plantation thus operated as a strategic reserve as well as a commercial enterprise. The terms of William Swindle's engagement combined three functions in a single appointment, each with a distinct salary. As Minister, he was responsible for divine service and catechising, the basic functions of a clergyman in a small isolated community. As Schoolmaster, he was responsible for the education of the children, both of the inhabitants and of the slaves. The gratuity, payable only if he proved careful and deserving, provided an incentive for diligent performance that could be withheld if his service fell

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			short. The combined remuneration of up to £100 per annum, together with diet at the Governor's table and a plantation, placed Swindle among the higher-paid officers on the island, comparable to the senior military men. The inclusion of slaves' children in his teaching duties indicates that the company envisaged a degree of religious and educational integration of the slave population, at least for children, that would not have been universal in seventeenth-century colonial settings. The provision of a plantation to the Minister, on the same basis as other planters, gave the clergyman a stake in the agricultural settlement and a material interest in the long-term success of the island. A salaried minister without land would have been dependent entirely on the company's payments and might have viewed the island as a temporary posting. With a plantation, Swindle could be expected to develop attachments to the community and the place that supported his ministry. The engagement of Francis Moore as Surgeon at a substantially lower salary than Swindle, £25 with a £5 gratuity rather than £75 with a £25 gratuity, reflects either a different valuation of the office or, more probably, the assumption that Moore's medical practice would generate fees in addition to his company salary. Surgeons in early modern English service typically combined a fixed retainer from their employer with charges to individual patients for treatment, and the same pattern probably applied on the island. The £25 salary was a base income, with the expectation that private practice among the inhabitants and the soldiers would supplement it. Moore also received a plantation on the same terms as other planters, which provided agricultural income alongside his medical work. The chest of medicaments and instruments sent with Moore equipped him for practice in a setting where resupply would be slow and uncertain. Without prepared stocks, a surgeon could not function, and the company's provision of the necessary materials was a recognition that medical care depended on logistics as much as on skill. The reference to house room and lodgings such as other surgeons had received indicates that there was an established pattern of accommodation for surgeons in company service, presumably developed at the company's other settlements in Asia. The earlier reference to Francis Moore as designated successor to Anthony Beale in the office of Husband and Storekeeper, and his place on the Council of the island, identifies him as the same Francis Moore now engaged as Surgeon. The combination of medical practice, council membership and prospective storekeeping placed Moore among the most heavily burdened officers on the island, and the company's confidence in him is clear from the multiplicity of roles he was expected to fulfil. **Speculations** The decision to pay Swindle three separate salaries for one combined office, rather than a single consolidated stipend, may reflect an intention to make the financial structure of his employment legible and adjustable. If his ministerial work proved more important than his teaching, or if a separate schoolmaster could be appointed later, the salaries could be separated. The structure also allowed the Minister role to be filled at a known cost should Swindle leave, while the schoolmaster duties could be reassigned. By keeping the gratuity as a third element, the company retained leverage over performance throughout his service. The inclusion of slaves' children in Swindle's teaching obligations, alongside the children of the inhabitants, may have served a practical rather than purely religious purpose. Children who learned to read and write became more useful to the company as they grew, capable of literate work in the storehouses,

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			kitchens or fields. Combining this practical benefit with religious instruction produced a labour force that was both skilled and supposedly disciplined by Christian teaching. The arrangement was unusual for the period and may indicate that the small scale of the island made it impractical to maintain the separation of educational provision found in larger colonial societies. The substantial gap between Swindle's potential salary of £100 and Moore's £30, despite Moore's medical responsibilities for the entire population of inhabitants and soldiers, points to either a sharp difference in the company's valuation of the offices or, more probably, to the expectation of significant private medical income for Moore. If Moore could charge inhabitants and soldiers for treatment beyond ordinary attendance, his actual earnings might have approached or exceeded Swindle's, with the company carrying only the base retainer. This arrangement transferred part of the medical cost from the company to the patients while ensuring that a surgeon was available on the island. The strict three-year ban on slaughtering female cattle, combined with the earlier provision of two cattle per family and the management of cattle on the company plantation, indicates an integrated livestock policy. The company wanted herds to grow rapidly across both private and corporate holdings, and the prohibition applied equally to planters' own beasts and to those on the company plantation. Enforcement of such a rule across multiple individual properties required careful monitoring, and the existence of the cattle register established earlier would have supported this. The willingness to constrain private property in pursuit of a collective objective shows that the company was prepared to use its proprietary authority over the island to regulate behaviour where the long-term interest required it.
25	16	have formerly had 42 Wee have entertained Rich: Mosely Smith as Armorur in o[u]r service for the Space of three years at the Salary of Twelve Pounds P[er] Ann to commence from the t[i]me of his arrivall, and alsoe to have his dyett at the Comp[anys] Charge Wee having Recieved an acc[ount] from S[i]r Rich: Munden That a Certaine Negroe was very serviceable in shedding the the English that first landed in moore tall, & La[n]ding, and to[ke] his w[ife] & Children kindly Cap[t]ed away from a Portugall to whom he [at?]oes paid. We have re[paid] the Money to the S[i]r S[i]r Rich Munden, and have allso paid Cotten 18 which is allotted to deliver in charge for the Negroes wife and his two Children. So that wee have sent the s[ai]d Negroes goods and hither ren over to him at said People to live with him, and declare him to be a free Planter, and do order that he receive Land alsoe horses as other Planters with all priviledges as a reward of his Service and the encouragem[en]t of others fully 44 Wee alsoe order and apoynt that all Negroes both [...] men Women liveing on the s[ai]d Island, that shall make Confession of Christian ffaith and be baptized shall within Seav[en] Yeares after such there publique embraceing the Christian	Article 42. Richard Mosely Smith had been entertained in company service as Armourer for the space of three years. His salary was £12 per annum, to begin from the time of his arrival, and his diet was to be at the company's charge. Article 43. The company had received an account from Sir Richard Munden of a certain slave who had been particularly serviceable in guiding the English at the first landing, and in escorting their party. This man had been carried away as a slave by a Portuguese to whom he was paid as a bondsman. The company had repaid the purchase money to Sir Richard Munden and had also paid £18 for the recovery of the slave's wife and two children. The wife and children were sent over to him, and the family was directed to live together. The company declared the man, known as Black Oliver, a free planter. He was to receive land and the same allowance of cattle as other planters, with all the privileges attaching to that status, as a reward for his service and as an encouragement to others. Article 44. The company ordered that all slaves on the island, both men and women, who made profession of the Christian faith and were baptised, should within seven years after their public embracing of Christianity be made planters, with the same privileges of land and cattle as other planters. Article 45. Captain Keynion had been entertained in His Majesty's service. The company had agreed to pay him from the time of his landing on the island until the time of his discharge, at the monthly rate already established. The company directed that he be discharged from its service on the receipt of these orders. He was to be treated with all civility. He was to take passage for England in either of the two present ships and was to be supplied with fresh provisions for the voyage. A certificate signed by the Governor and Council, recording the date of his discharge, was to be supplied to him, so that any pay due to him could be

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		Religion, be sent Planters, and Enjoy the Priviledges of other Planters both of Land and Cattle Wee understand that Capt Keynion was entertained into his Maj[es]ties service at [...] Month which you will finde it to be paid by us from the time of Ladeing vppon the Island untill the time of his discharge wee doe vppon your recipt to every Discharge the s[ai]d Cap[t] Keynion of o[u]r ser- vice and doe direct that you treate him with all civility and that he take his Passage for England in eithe[r] of these two Shipps, and afford him accomodacon of fresh Provisions for his Voyage, and Especially be vnde[r] yo[u]r hands of the time of his discharge from o[u]r servi[ces] that some all shall appeare due may be paid him &c on whom arrivall we shall take time as to his service and Charges homewards taken into consideracon And to the Intent that Religion Morality & Vertue may be countenanced and for the bett[er] observing the Place of **Margin Notes:** 42 Rich: Mosely entertain[e]d to be Armoror for 3 years, at 12 pound P[er] Ann 43 Black Oliver [and] his family made free planters, &c. [to have] all the [Privi]ledges of others 44 [All] Negroes professing [Christianitie] within 7 years [at the time] to be made [free] planters 45 Cap[t] Keynion's dis- charg[e] from Army [An]d to [to take] his passage [for] England in either [of] these Ships	calculated and paid. On his arrival in England, the company would take his future service and the costs of his homeward passage into consideration. The opening of the next article stated that the company intended that religion, morality and virtue should be encouraged and that the public observance of religion was to be maintained. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The engagement of Richard Mosely Smith as Armourer at £12 per annum recognised the specialised skill required to maintain the firearms and other weapons of the garrison. Muskets, pistols and the small artillery pieces of the period required regular servicing, particularly in a humid climate where corrosion would degrade unattended weapons quickly. Without a competent armourer, the garrison's firearms would have become unreliable within a few months. The three-year term established a defined commitment from both sides, suited to the difficulty of finding skilled armourers willing to settle in a remote location. The provision of diet at company expense supplemented the modest cash salary and reduced the costs Smith would face on the island. The case of Black Oliver illustrates the company's willingness to use freedom and land grants as a reward for service. The man had been a slave under Portuguese ownership and had aided the English landing party in the recapture of the island. Sir Richard Munden had purchased him from the Portuguese, and the company had reimbursed Munden for the purchase money. The further payment of £18 to recover the slave's wife and children indicates the cost of reuniting the family, which the company met as part of the reward. By declaring Oliver a free planter with the full rights of any other planter, the company placed him in the same legal category as the European inhabitants, with a heritable plantation and the same entitlement to cattle and other immunities. The £18 paid for the recovery of Oliver's wife and two children indicates a market price for a slave family of three at this period and in this region of the Atlantic. The figure averages £6 per person, a modest sum compared with the prices that would be paid for plantation slaves in the Caribbean later in the century. The relatively low cost may reflect the bargaining position of the seller, the circumstances of the transaction, or the lower commercial value of slaves not destined for sugar cultivation. The seven-year pathway to free planter status for slaves who professed Christianity and were baptised, set out in Article 44, established a structured mechanism by which the slave population of the island could be incorporated into the planter class. The seven-year term matched the standard period of indenture for servants and gave the company time to recover the cost of acquiring and maintaining the slaves before manumission. The requirement of public profession of faith and baptism gave the company a discernible threshold for assessing eligibility, while reserving discretion to the company over when the actual transition would occur. The grant of full planter privileges, with land and cattle, placed the eventual outcome on the same legal footing as that of any other planter, including descent of property to heirs. This combination of articles 43 and 44 reveals a strikingly inclusive policy by the standards of seventeenth-century English colonial practice. Most contemporary settlements maintained sharp legal divisions between European settlers and Africans, with manumission either rare or hedged with continuing restrictions. The St Helena policy offered a defined route to freehold tenure for any slave willing to convert to Christianity, with a guaranteed timeframe of no more than seven years. The combination of religious

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			conversion and economic incorporation suggests that the company saw the slave population not as a permanent underclass but as a potential source of additional planters once converted and instructed. The discharge of Captain Keynion from company service, with the requirement that he be treated with all civility and supplied with fresh provisions for the voyage home, reflects the courtesies expected between members of the gentry and military classes. Keynion had served under royal authority during the recapture and the early occupation, and his transfer or removal had to be handled with care to avoid offence to him personally and to those who had recommended him. The certificate of discharge signed by the Governor and Council ensured that his accounts could be settled accurately, with no risk that disputes over the date of separation would generate later claims against the company. The pay arrangement for Keynion, calculated from the time of landing on the island to the date of discharge, applied the same backdating principle that had been used for the soldiers and other personnel in Article 1. The company assumed the financial liability for the entire period of his presence on the island, including the months before the present orders had been issued. This consistent treatment of pay obligations from the date of landing reflected an underlying agreement with the Crown that the company would take on the full cost of personnel from the moment of recapture, regardless of when the formal transfer of authority took effect. **Speculations** The decision to free Oliver as a planter, with full heritable rights, rather than merely manumitting him and providing wages or a small payment, points to an awareness that the company needed visible examples of advancement to encourage further co-operation from the slave population. A simple monetary reward would have benefited Oliver alone, while a grant of land and the status of planter created a visible model that other slaves could observe and aspire to. The published policy in Article 44, offering the same route to all slaves who converted, makes explicit what Oliver's case demonstrated by example. The company appears to have calculated that the long-term value of co-operation from slaves who saw a path to freedom and property exceeded the short-term cost of granting that path. The reimbursement to Sir Richard Munden for the original purchase of Oliver, combined with the separate £18 payment for his wife and children, suggests that Munden had acted independently in acquiring Oliver during the recapture operation and that the company subsequently took over the transaction. This pattern, in which a senior officer used his own funds or authority during operations and was reimbursed later, was common in early modern military and naval practice. The company's willingness to pay for the family as well as the man himself, going beyond what Munden had originally bought, indicates that the inclusion of dependents was treated as part of the reward to Oliver rather than merely as a settlement of pre-existing accounts. The seven-year timeframe for slave manumission may have been calibrated to provide sufficient labour for the company plantation during its critical establishment phase. By the time the first slaves became eligible for planter status, the plantation would have been seven years into operation and could be expected to be supplying produce reliably. The replacement of those slaves with new arrivals, or the use of indentured European labour, would maintain the workforce while the freed slaves contributed to the wider settlement as planters. The arrangement implies a continuous turnover of the company's slave population over time,

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			with successive cohorts converting, becoming planters, and being replaced. The polite handling of Keynion's discharge, with civility and free passage, contrasts with the more brusque treatment that might have applied to ordinary soldiers being released. The article's careful provisions suggest that Keynion was a man of some standing whose treatment could be reported on his return to England, with consequences for the company's reputation among the military and political class. By providing him with a clean discharge, fresh provisions and the prospect of further consideration of his service on arrival, the company protected itself against any complaint that might otherwise have been made.
26	17	of the said Island and avoyding all Censure in a due Distri- bution and securing the s[ai]d Island ag[ains]t Enemies Wee doe order and ordeine as followeth Vizt 46 That the Lord day be Religiously observed by abst[ai-] nence from all bodyly Labour and secular imploy- ment, as alsoe from all pastimes. And that you our Govenor and Councill, doe appoynt some publique places for the worship of God; wether persons are to resort, Every Lords day to spend in the publique exercise of all religious dutyes, And that you our Govenor and Councill, doe by your sav[en]d & en- courage the Minister in the discharge of his Duty, and the people in theire attendance on ffordinances 47 You are to take care that all prophane Swearing and takeing the name of God in vaine, be carefully avoided togeather with all intemperance fornica- on and uncleaness, and if any p[er]son shall offend in any of the &c Cause to be Punished according to the Lawes of England 48 So soone as you shall have setout each Plante[r]s ground and Land Pursuant to these Instructions afore- mencond, you are to transmitt a perticu[lar] acc[ompt] thereof unto vs from time to time with every Mans Name and the ground and Land that is allott- ed to them discribeing the same with their & Buttalls and Bounds all as exactly as you can, Whereupon wee shall send deeds thereof to be passed under our Commi- Seale, and send the same to you for the vse of the s[ai]d Parties Concerned. Given under our Common Seale att the East India house the day and of dare first before Mencond By Comand of the Honoble East India Company Robert Blackmore Seer A true Coppy Examin[ed] by me Stephen Loggs **Margin Notes:** 46 Lord day to be Religi- giously observed. [A] places for publique worship to be appoynted by Govr & Councell. [All] to be their persons[s] [encou]rage the people [& attend] on the ordinanc[es] 47 All Swearing &c to be avoided as all intemperance, fornic[a-] tion, uncleann[ess] &c. 48 A particular acc[ompt] of every mans name and Land allotted him w[i]th the Buttalls & Boundalls to be o[u]r [Is]land from tyme to tyme A true Coppy Examin[ed] by me Stephen Legge	The company had directed that religion, morality and virtue be encouraged, and that the proper observance of the public worship of God be maintained on the island, to avoid censure in the just distribution of duties and to secure the island against enemies. The following articles were ordained for these purposes. Article 46. The Lord's Day was to be religiously observed by abstaining from all bodily labour and secular employment, and from all pastimes. The Governor and Council were to appoint public places for the worship of God, to which all persons were to resort every Lord's Day to spend the day in the public exercise of religious duties. The Governor and Council were to support and encourage the Minister in the discharge of his duty, and the people in their attendance on the ordinances of religion. Article 47. Profane swearing and the taking of God's name in vain were to be carefully avoided, together with all intemperance, fornication and uncleanness. Any person offending in such matters was to be punished according to the laws of England. Article 48. As soon as each planter's ground and land had been set out according to the instructions, the Governor and Council were to transmit a particular account to the company from time to time. The account was to give every man's name, the ground and land allotted to him, and a description of the boundaries and bounds, as exactly as possible. On receipt of the account, the company would have deeds drawn up and passed under the common seal, and would send them out for the use of the parties concerned. Given under the company's common seal at East India House on the day and date first mentioned. By command of the Honourable East India Company. Robert Blackmore, Secretary. A true copy, examined by me, Stephen Legge. **Interpretations** The opening rationale connecting religion, morality and virtue to the security of the island against enemies reflects a common seventeenth-century view that public order and military defence depended on the moral character of the population. Disorderly inhabitants, in this conception, were both individually sinful and collectively dangerous, since their behaviour invited divine displeasure and weakened the bonds of obedience that made effective defence possible. By placing the religious articles after the military and economic ones, the company framed religious observance as part of the same broader project of holding the island securely, rather than as a separate matter of personal devotion. The strict requirement of Sabbath observance, with prohibitions on labour, employment and pastimes alike, imposed an English Protestant Sunday on the island. The provision that the Governor and Council appoint public places for worship recognised that no parish church or other settled place of worship yet existed, and that the establishment of such places was a matter for the civil authority rather than for an ecclesiastical body.

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			The Minister, William Swindle, would conduct the services, but the location at which he did so was determined by the Governor and Council. This pattern, in which the civil authority controlled the physical setting of religious life, was characteristic of chartered colonial establishments where no bishop or church hierarchy existed. The duty placed on the Governor and Council to support the Minister in his work, and the people in their attendance, made religious observance a matter of administrative responsibility rather than purely of individual conscience. The Council was expected to encourage attendance at services, presumably through some combination of social pressure, official example and, where necessary, disciplinary action against persistent absentees. The framing as encouragement rather than compulsion left the precise means to the Council's discretion. The list of moral offences in Article 47, profane swearing, intemperance, fornication and uncleanness, covers the standard catalogue of common-law and church-court offences in seventeenth-century England. The reference to punishment according to the laws of England placed the enforcement of moral discipline within the same general framework that applied to other matters. In England, such offences were prosecuted variously in church courts, in quarter sessions or under specific statutes. On the island, with no separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the company's courts under the authority of the charter would have to handle these cases directly. The reference to English law as the standard provided both a definition of the offences and a guide to appropriate punishments. The requirement that the Governor and Council transmit a particular account of every planter's land, with names and described boundaries, established a documentary basis for the formal grants to be issued by the company in London. The system reflected a deliberate division of responsibility: the Council on the island made the practical allotments and surveyed the boundaries, while the company in London produced the legal instruments of conveyance under the common seal. This arrangement ensured that the legal title to every plantation flowed from the corporate seal in London, while the practical work of allocation was done on the spot. The reference to butts and bounds, the standard terminology for marking the boundaries of a parcel of land, indicates that the company expected proper surveying practice to be followed. The undertaking to send deeds back to the island for delivery to the planters completed the conveyancing process. Until each planter held his deed, his tenure rested on the Council's allotment alone. The company's deed under the common seal converted this provisional possession into the freehold-style tenure promised in the earlier articles, with heritable and assignable rights subject to the conditions specified. The cycle of allocation on the island, transmission of details to London, sealing of deeds and return for delivery would have taken a year or more in each case, given the length of the voyages, but it was the only way to combine local knowledge with corporate legal authority. The closing formula, with the despatch given under the common seal at East India House and signed by Robert Blackmore as Secretary, identifies the source of the orders as the company's central administration in London. The reference to East India House places the issue at the corporation's headquarters, where the General Court and Court of Committees met and where the formal seal was kept. The attestation by Stephen Legge as the examiner of the true copy confirms that the document delivered to the island was a verified copy of the original, with the same legal weight as the sealed instrument retained in London.

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			The role of Robert Blackmore as Secretary identifies him as the chief clerical officer of the company, responsible for the production of formal documents and the keeping of the records. The signature of the Secretary on the orders gave them authentication as a corporate act of the company, distinct from any informal correspondence between individual directors and officers on the island. **Speculations** The careful linking of religious observance to security against enemies, in the preamble to the religious articles, suggests that the company was aware that lax religious practice could be cited as a vulnerability in the eyes of those who scrutinised the management of distant settlements. By framing religious discipline as part of the defensive arrangements of the island, the company aligned the moral and military aims of its administration and ensured that no observer could accuse it of neglecting either. This framing also gave the Governor and Council a clear mandate to enforce religious observance against any inhabitant who might otherwise have argued that personal conscience was no concern of the company. The choice to handle moral offences under the laws of England, rather than to develop a separate disciplinary code for the island, reflects both convenience and political caution. Developing a new code would have required time and might have produced provisions that diverged from English practice in ways that could later be challenged. By referring to English law, the company ensured that its disciplinary actions would be defensible on the same grounds as similar proceedings in England, with no need to justify the particular content of the offences or punishments. The reference also gave the Council a recognisable framework within which to operate, drawing on the legal experience that its members would have brought from England. The detailed procedure for surveying, recording and conveyancing planter holdings, with deeds issued from London rather than from the island, may have been designed in part to deter unauthorised sales and informal transfers. A planter who held only a Council-issued allotment, without a sealed deed, might face difficulty in selling his land convincingly to another buyer. By requiring the formal deed to issue from London, the company effectively imposed a delay on the development of a secondary market in plantations and ensured that the central register of grants and transfers, established in the earlier articles, remained the authoritative record. The arrangement protected the company's oversight of land transactions while still providing planters with secure legal title in due course. The despatch of the orders under the common seal of the company, rather than under the hands of individual directors, reinforces the corporate character of the proprietorship granted by the letters patent. The Crown had granted the island to the company as a body, and the company exercised its proprietorship through the formal acts of the General Court and Court of Committees, authenticated by the common seal. By issuing the founding instructions of the settlement under that seal, the company asserted that the orders were the act of the corporation itself, not of any individual director or officer, and would therefore continue to bind successor administrations of the company even as personnel changed over time.
27	18	A List of what men were left vppon the Island St Hellena out of the Severall Shipps following Vizt and theire wages in the Kings service The Assistance Frigott Cap[t] Rich: Keynion - 5 - 16 - 00 Cap[t]: Math: Mohun[s] ab[le] Nath: Iohnson - 1 - 3 - 00	A list of men left on the island of St Helena out of the several ships following, with their wages in the King's service. From the *Assistance* Frigate. Captain Richard Keynion per month £5 16s 0d

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		[Jno] Dangerfeild [...] [...] [...] Rich: David 20 - 18 - 0 [...] Beaman Geo: Wade - 1 - 4 - 00 Sould[iers] Ino: Hodson Tho: Hoist Nath: Hood W[illia]m Bradbury Ensigne Geo: Symonett - 1 - 4 - 00 [Geo]: Lucas - 00 - 18 - 00 Ja[me]s Iordan - 00 - 18 - 00 Souldi[ers] Will: Cooley - 00 - 18 - 00 ab[le] Sam: Daine [N]ath: [...] ab[le] Anth: Boath 39 14 53 [Bla]intner Jno: [Tucker] - 1 - 4 - 00 Geo: Brockley - 1 - 4 - 00 ab[le] W[illia]m Mills Geo: Brook Iohn Black Rich: Wivde Ios: Edwards David Griffin Sould[iers] Mich: Marris The Levant Merch[an]t Hugh Niccols Cap[t] Hen: Boid 5 - 6 - 8 Ina: Connell Cap[t] Rob: Hill 1 - - 10 - 00 End: Thayre Chirur[geon] Amb[rose] Wood Mart: Whaley Mast[er] M[r] W[illia]m Cuttler The[?] Rich Gibe - 1 - 4 - 00 Beaman Mich: Felton Ensigne Edw: Care Soul[diers] Iohn Ellis Rob[er]t Mathers Rob[er]t Drove Ino: Ogden Ia: Marley Dav: Moord Ind: Griffin Rob[er]t Martin Ind: Boylson Ino: Stay Hugh Birch Tho: [...]nard Ind: Bassill [Sen] Iohn Wallevue Ind: Bailey Tho: Land W[illia]m Williams Rob[er]t Watkins Ind: Bassill [Iun] Ia: Gladsfield Soul[diers] Edw: Bayford - 0 - 18 - 0 daie Andrew: Needll End: Amos Morgan Harris Ino: Chaplon Mast[er] Ind: Slick Ind: [...]ofys[?] Serj[ean]t [Bena]: [...] Tho: Bisca Ind: Anstes And: Gibson Rob[er]t Coleman [J]nd: Pomfrett Alex Anderson [E]nd: Gardner	Captain Matthew Mohun. Able seaman Nathaniel Johnson per month £1 3s 0d John Dangerfield, Richard David. The figure of £20 18s 0d appears in the manuscript in connection with these names, but its application to a particular man or group cannot be determined from the visible text, and is recorded here as it appears. Boatswain George Wade per month £1 4s 0d Soldiers from the *Assistance*. John Hodson. Thomas Hoist. Nathaniel Hood. William Bradbury. Ensign George Symonett per month £1 4s 0d George Lucas per month £0 18s 0d James Jordan per month £0 18s 0d Soldier William Cooley per month £0 18s 0d Able seamen Samuel Daine and Anthony Boath. A subtotal appears in the manuscript as 39 14 53, but the figure cannot be reliably interpreted as a sterling sum or as a count of men, and is recorded here as it appears. Plantner John Tucker per month £1 4s 0d George Brockley per month £1 4s 0d Able seamen William Mills, George Brook, John Black, Richard Wivde, Joseph Edwards, David Griffin. Soldier Michael Marris. From the *Levant Merchant*. Hugh Niccols. Captain Henry Boid per month £5 6s 8d John Connell. Captain Robert Hill per month £1 10s 0d Edward Thayre. Surgeon Ambrose Wood. Martin Whaley. Master Mr William Cuttler. Richard Gibe per month £1 4s 0d Boatswain Michael Felton. Ensign Edward Care. Soldiers from the *Levant Merchant*. John Ellis. Robert Mathers. Robert Drove. John Ogden. James Marley. David Moord. John Griffin. Robert Martin. John Boylson. John Stay. Hugh Birch. Thomas [...]nard. John Bassill, the elder.

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Char: Hossett [N]i: Head Tho: Brother Tho: Redacarn [Wm] [Lester] **Margin Notes:** ab[le] ab[le] [abl]e [soul]di[ers] [sou]ld[iers] Mast[er] [Ser]j[eant]	John Wallevue. John Bailey. Thomas Land. William Williams. Robert Watkins. John Bassill, the younger. James Gladsfield. Edward Bayford per day £0 18s 0d Andrew Needll. Edward Amos. Morgan Harris. John Chaplon. Master John Slick. John [...]ofys. Serjeant Benjamin [...]. Thomas Bisca. John Anstes. Andrew Gibson. Robert Coleman. John Pomfrett. Alexander Anderson. Edward Gardner. Charles Hossett. Nicholas Head. Thomas Brother. Thomas Redacarn. William Lester. The manuscript is unclear at points in this list, particularly where individual wages or unit totals appear without a clear linkage to a named man. **Interpretations** The list records the personnel left on the island by the two ships *Assistance* and *Levant Merchant* after the recapture under Sir Richard Munden, and identifies the wages they had been paid in the King's service. The document supplies the foundation for the company's assumption of pay liability from 15 May 1673, the date of landing, as set out in the earlier articles of the despatch. Without such a list, the company would have had no way to determine what each man was due or to integrate the existing personnel into the new establishment. The list therefore served as the operational counterpart to the policy decisions taken in the main body of the orders. The presence of two captains, Mohun on the *Assistance* and Hill or Boid on the *Levant Merchant*, indicates a hierarchy of command split between the two vessels. The most senior figure recorded, Captain Richard Keynion at £5 16s 0d per month, was the same officer whose discharge from company service had been ordered in Article 45 of the main despatch. His monthly pay placed him well above the other captains on the list and reflected his position as the senior military officer left on the island after Munden's departure. Captain Henry Boid at £5 6s 8d per month, on the *Levant Merchant*, ranked just below Keynion. The two figures match the pattern by which the Crown paid senior officers in the recapture force at substantial rates appropriate to their responsibilities. The wage scale visible in the list shows the standard hierarchy of seventeenth-century English military and naval pay. Captains received between five and six pounds per month, lieutenants and equivalent officers around one pound and ten shillings, ensigns and boatswains around one pound and four shillings, and ordinary soldiers eighteen shillings. The compression of the scale, with a captain earning only about six and a half times what a private soldier earned, was typical of the period and contrasts with the much wider differentials that developed in later centuries. The seaman Nathaniel Johnson, listed at £1 3s 0d per month, fell within the standard range for able seamen on a King's ship. The boatswain George Wade

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			at £1 4s 0d earned slightly more, reflecting his position as a senior petty officer responsible for the rigging and routine seamanship of the vessel. These figures, applied to men now stationed ashore on the island, indicate that the company would inherit the existing wage levels rather than imposing new rates from the outset. The reference to Edward Bayford at eighteen shillings per day, rather than per month, stands out from the surrounding entries, all of which appear to be monthly rates. Eighteen shillings per day would have been an extraordinarily high rate of pay for a seventeenth-century soldier or seaman, comparable to the daily allowance of a senior naval officer or a colonel. The figure probably represents a transcription or copying error in the manuscript, with the original entry recording a monthly rate matching the other ordinary soldiers, but the visible text is recorded as it stands. The presence of the surgeon Ambrose Wood on the *Levant Merchant* indicates that medical care had been provided to the recapture force at the level of individual ships. With Francis Moore now being sent out as Surgeon for the island under the company's establishment, the question of whether Wood would continue in service or be discharged with Keynion is not addressed in the list itself. The two men named John Bassill, distinguished as elder and younger, may have been father and son, brothers of different ages, or simply two men of the same name distinguished by relative seniority within the unit. Family connections among men serving in the same expedition were not uncommon in the period, particularly where recruitment drew on specific localities or networks. The composition of the personnel, combining captains, ensigns, boatswains, soldiers, able seamen, a plantner, a master and a surgeon, reflects the mixed naval and military character of the recapture force. The *Assistance* was a Royal Navy frigate, with both seamen and embarked soldiers, while the *Levant Merchant* was a hired or chartered vessel performing similar dual duties. The leaving of such a mixed group on the island provided the basis for the two-company garrison structure ordered in the despatch, with men of various trades available to support fortification, supply and defence. **Speculations** The careful itemising of named individuals with their wages, rather than a simple total to be paid to a designated officer for distribution, points to anticipation of disputes over arrears. Each man could check the figure recorded against him and could appeal to the company if the sum paid did not match the list. Without this individual breakdown, the company would have been vulnerable to claims that men had been short-paid or omitted, and the Governor and Council on the island would have been similarly vulnerable to accusations of withholding wages. The list therefore served as a protective document for both the company and the men. The wide range of wages, from £5 16s 0d per month for Keynion down to eighteen shillings per month for the lowest soldiers, indicates that the company's pay liability would be considerable but heavily weighted toward the senior officers. Even on the visible portion of the list, the captains and other senior personnel accounted for a disproportionate share of the monthly outlay, while the larger number of ordinary soldiers contributed less individually but more in aggregate. The economic logic of converting soldiers into planters, as proposed in the earlier articles, would have been particularly attractive in respect of the lower-paid men, whose pay would be saved by manumission from service, while the senior officers would either remain on the establishment or be discharged through formal procedures such as those applied to Keynion.

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			The probable error in Edward Bayford's daily rate, if indeed it represents a copying mistake, illustrates the risk of textual corruption in administrative documents passed through multiple hands. The original muster roll on the *Assistance* or *Levant Merchant* would have been compiled by an officer aboard, copied for transmission to the company, possibly recopied in London, and then sent out again with the despatch to the island. Each stage introduced opportunities for error, and an unusually high figure such as eighteen shillings per day might survive several copyings before any reader thought to query it. The list as it now stands records what the copyist understood the original to say, with whatever errors may have crept in along the way.
28	19	Owen Buisson Volunt[eer] Tho: Bird Leiut 1 - 13 - 8 Nath: Borden Iohn: Ward [...]li[?] W[illia]m Hraflop[?] 4 Ind: Cooper Tho: ffranckly[n]d 20 Rich: Cannon 24 Rich: Dawson The W[illia]m and Thomas Tho: Dadwell Rich: Holland Tho: Inds Hen: Lingham Ind: Liquorist Daniel Lehonon Souldi[ers] Tho: Nott Ind: Williams W[illia]m Carter W[illia]m Butler Gab: Lowrell Nic: Lebet Tho: Rogers Rich: Allordan Ind: Richards Hen: Francis Mich: Bursse[?] Ind: Rice Hugh Sims [these were] the wages [...] W[illia]m Russell Ralph Henry of the End [...] [...] M[an]dy Ind: Pollard Amid Shipman Boson Tho: Mandry W[illia]m Iollett at [...] 1 - 13 - 9 ffma[n] W[illia]m ffox Char: Mitchell ord[i]nary [...] 1 - 5 - 0 Banco[?] Tho: Elliott [...] 1 - 18 - 6 Ind: Stinson Tho: Quiny The Mary & Martha Ind: Hungerford W[illia]m Nott Ind: Pening Roger fFrederick Ind: Cooper Tho: West Ind: Richards Ind: Sing Hen: Williams Ind: Karland Tho: Estipp Ind: True Tho: Sidall Peter Pester Tho: [...] Lau: Lavall	A continuation of the list of men left on the island. Owen Buisson. Volunteer Lieutenant Thomas Bird per month £1 13s 8d Nathaniel Borden. John Ward. William Hraflop, with a figure of 4 appearing alongside the name in the manuscript, the meaning of which cannot be determined and is recorded here as it appears. John Cooper. Thomas Francklynd, with a figure of 20 appearing alongside the name, the meaning of which cannot be determined. Richard Cannon. A figure of 24 appears in the manuscript at this point, the meaning of which cannot be determined. Richard Dawson. From the *William and Thomas*. Thomas Dadwell. Richard Holland. Thomas Inds. Henry Lingham. John Liquorist. Daniel Lehonon. Soldiers from the *William and Thomas*. Thomas Nott. John Williams. William Carter. William Butler. Gabriel Lowrell. Nicholas Lebet. Thomas Rogers. Richard Allordan. John Richards. Henry Francis, Michael Bursse. John Rice. Hugh Sims. A note in the manuscript appears here referring to wages, but the linkage to particular men cannot be recovered. William Russell. Ralph Henry. The name of a further man, given as Mandy in the manuscript, appears at this point. John Pollard, Amid Shipman. Boatswain Thomas Mandry. William Jollett per month £1 13s 9d William Fox. Charles Mitchell, ordinary seaman per month £1 5s 0d A figure of £1 18s 6d appears in the manuscript at this point, the application of which to a named man cannot be determined. Thomas Elliott. John Stinson.

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		Ind: Hallam Chris: Snell W[illia]m Tayle Ind: Alcock Rob[er]t Pickoll Math: Bouny Sould[iers] Tho: Tanner Iean: Patch Ios: Christchurch Tho: Stephens Ind: Brued[?] Rich: Toldson Ind: Held Hen: Wooley Ind: Hed[?] Hugh Curtis Ed[wa]rd Hudson [Rob]t Eaton Ind: Harvine W[illia]m Wost[...] Tho: Iones Tho: Cowyon Geo: Nickoll Rob[er]t Wheybeard Tho: Cournd[?] Rich: Barston Ind: Bowman **Margin Notes:** Sould[iers] Bason[?] Banco[?] Sould[iers]	Thomas Quiny. From the *Mary and Martha*. John Hungerford. William Nott. John Pening. Roger Frederick. John Cooper. Thomas West. John Richards. John Sing. Henry Williams. John Karland. Thomas Estipp. John True. Thomas Sidall. Peter Pester. Thomas [...]. Laurence Lavall. John Hallam. Christopher Snell. William Tayle. John Alcock. Robert Pickoll. Matthew Bouny. Soldiers from the *Mary and Martha*. Thomas Tanner. Jean Patch. Joseph Christchurch. Thomas Stephens. John Brued. Richard Toldson. John Held. Henry Wooley. John Hed. Hugh Curtis. Edward Hudson. Robert Eaton. John Harvine. William Wost[...]. Thomas Jones. Thomas Cowyon. George Nickoll. Robert Wheybeard. Thomas Cournd. Richard Barston. John Bowman. The manuscript is unclear at several points in this list, particularly where stray numerical entries appear alongside or between named men without a recoverable link to a wage rate or unit total. **Interpretations** The continuation of the list across three further ships, the *William and Thomas*, the *Mary and Martha* and a vessel from which the surrounding names of Buisson, Bird and the others appear to derive, completes the picture of the personnel left on the island by the recapture force. Taken with the *Assistance* and the *Levant Merchant* in the preceding list, this brings the total to five vessels contributing men to the garrison. The scale of the force, drawn from multiple ships of different types, indicates the size of the operation Munden conducted in May 1673 and the substantial commitment of personnel the Crown made to securing the island. The presence of a volunteer lieutenant on the list, Thomas Bird at £1 13s 8d per month, marks a distinction between regularly commissioned officers and gentlemen who had attached themselves to the expedition as volunteers. Volunteer officers in this period typically served without formal commission but with the prospect of advancement if they distinguished themselves. Bird's monthly rate, slightly above the standard lieutenant's wage of £1 10s 0d seen in the earlier articles, may reflect the somewhat unusual status of his service.

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			The wages visible on this part of the list continue the pattern of the earlier section, with officers in the range of £1 10s 0d to £1 13s 9d, an ordinary seaman at £1 5s 0d, and unrecorded but presumably standard rates for the soldiers. The recurring figure of £1 13s 8d or £1 13s 9d for a lieutenant or boatswain reflects the standard pay of these middle-ranking positions in royal service, calculated from the established daily rates. The grouping of personnel by ship allows the Council on the island to verify the integrity of the muster against the records of each vessel. A man whose name appeared under the *Mary and Martha* could be checked against that ship's muster roll if any question arose about his status or service. This organisation by vessel of origin would have been essential for resolving any subsequent dispute about who was entitled to what pay or to what discharge. The appearance of multiple men named John, recorded variously as Jno or Ind in the manuscript according to the copying conventions used, points to the common first name of the period. Several names recur across the lists, including a second John Cooper appearing on the *William and Thomas* after another man of similar name on the *Assistance*. Whether these represent different individuals or the same man recorded twice cannot be determined from the visible text and would require comparison with the original muster rolls of each ship. The stray numerical entries appearing at intervals through the list, such as the figures of 4, 20 and 24 inserted next to particular names without clear linkage to wage rates, may represent counts of men in particular categories, accumulated subtotals, or fragments of other administrative records that became conflated with the main list during copying. Without access to the original source, their meaning cannot be recovered. The figure of £1 18s 6d standing apart from any clear name attribution similarly cannot be assigned with confidence. **Speculations** The contribution of men from five separate vessels, including both Royal Navy ships and chartered or armed merchantmen, points to a recapture operation that drew on whatever maritime resources were available at the time of dispatch. The *Assistance* was a Royal Navy frigate, but the *Levant Merchant*, the *William and Thomas*, the *Mary and Martha* and the further vessel apparently contributing the men around Buisson and Bird were probably merchant ships taken up for the service. This mixed composition reflects the practical character of seventeenth-century English naval expeditions, in which permanent naval vessels were supplemented by hired or impressed merchantmen to provide the necessary numbers. The relatively small number of named officers across the five ships, with only a handful of captains, lieutenants and ensigns visible among many dozens of ordinary soldiers and seamen, indicates a sparse command structure. The men left behind to garrison the island were predominantly rank and file, with limited supervisory capacity. This may have contributed to the company's decision to send out fresh senior officers in Field and Beale, since the existing command on the island could not have sustained a long-term administration without reinforcement. The volunteer status of Thomas Bird, recorded explicitly alongside his rank as Lieutenant, suggests that he had attached himself to the expedition on his own initiative rather than as part of a commissioned crew. Volunteer service in the King's forces during this period offered young gentlemen a route to military experience and patronage without the obligations of regular service. The recording of Bird's pay at a rate slightly above the standard lieutenant's wage may indicate that the Crown had compensated his volunteer service generously, or

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			that his particular role in the expedition warranted enhanced pay. The numerical fragments scattered through the list, such as the isolated figures of 4, 20 and 24, may represent counts that the original compiler intended as running totals or category subtotals. If so, they would have been part of a checking system by which the compiler could verify the integrity of the list as he worked. The disruption of these counts in the copied version delivered to the island would have made such verification impossible at the receiving end, leaving the Council with names alone and no way to confirm that no man had been omitted in the transcription.
29	20	Blank page	
30	21	P[er] Ship & Ind: & Alexander London the 19 of December 1673 Our Govenor & Councell of S[t] Hellena 1 Wee have by these shipps the European & the Ioh[n] & Alexander sent you supplies for our Island St Holle- na, the perticulars whereof you will have in the re- spective Invoices and Bills of Ladeing, and by the European you will receive Insturctions at Large for yo[u]r proceedeinge in the managem[en]t of our affaires and good Govrnm[en]t of the Island, with respect to our planters & Soul[di-] ers, which wee require you to observe & put in execucon Wee have alsoe ffrighted the Shipp Loyall Merch[an]t [. . .] [. . .] on which wee intend send more planters and passengers with a further supply of pro- visions for the Island, which wee hope may be dispat[ch-] ed from hence in a months time after these s[ai]d thes 2 When the s[ai]d shipp Loyall Merch[an]t shall arrive at the Island you may permitt the seamen that were left there by S[i]r Rich: Munden and as many Souldi[ers] as desire it (not exceeding Thirty in all) to returne for England and to take their passage on her, sending theire acc[ompts] along with them that what is due to them may be p[ai]d them here Wee haueing agreed with the owners of the said shipps for any number. And as wee shall be informed of any othe[r]s that would come for England wee shall give further orders cou[n]- cerning them And albeit wee have taken care for a seasonable Sup- ply of victualls for the planters and Souldi[ers] (which wee expect you take care that they be issued and expended with all possible frugality) yet wee earnestly recomm[en]d to you care, that the planters and Souldiers be put upon it with all speed to use all unimaginable Industry in planting provisions, that they may raise a Supply for theire mainte- nance, least by any casualty they be disapoynted, doe recruite from hence 4 Wee require you to send us a perticular ac[ompt] of what Anchors and Cables are on the Island with [their] [Great] **Margin Notes:** Invoice and Bill of Lading of What Stores sent you, and Instruc- tions at large for ye good Govrm[en]t of the Island, &c. we intend to send yet more planters & passengers and provicions on ye Shipp Loyall Merch[an]t 2 Seamen Left by S[i]r Rich: Munden, who as many soul[diers] as desire not exceeding 30 may be permitted to returne for England. 3 planters & Sould[iers] to be putt vpon planting[s] 4 Accompt to be sent of Cables & Anchors	By the ship *John and Alexander*, London, 19 December 1673. To the Governor and Council of St Helena. Article 1. The company had sent supplies for the island by the *European* and the *John and Alexander*. The particulars of the supplies appeared in the respective invoices and bills of lading. Instructions at large for the management of company affairs and the good government of the island, in matters touching planters and soldiers, had been sent on the *European*. The Governor and Council were required to observe these instructions and to put them in execution. The company had also freighted the ship *Loyall Merchant* and intended to send by her more planters and passengers, with a further supply of provisions for the island. The company hoped that she might be despatched within a month after the present ships. Article 2. On the arrival of the *Loyall Merchant*, the Governor and Council might permit the seamen left on the island by Sir Richard Munden, together with as many soldiers as desired it, not exceeding thirty in all, to return to England aboard her. Their accounts were to be sent with them, so that what was due could be paid in England. The company had agreed with the owners of the *Loyall Merchant* to take any number of returning men. As further information arrived about others wishing to return, the company would give additional orders. Article 3. The company had taken care for a seasonable supply of victuals for the planters and soldiers. The Governor and Council were expected to ensure that these supplies were issued and expended with all possible frugality. The company earnestly recommended that the planters and soldiers be put to work at once on the cultivation of provisions, using every effort to raise a supply for their own maintenance. The aim was to guard against the risk that any accident might delay the company's resupply from England and leave the island short of food. Article 4. The Governor and Council were required to send a particular account of the anchors and cables on the island, with their sizes and other relevant details. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The use of two ships to carry the despatch and the supplies, rather than concentrating the cargo on a single vessel, distributed the risk of loss across multiple bottoms. A single sinking or capture would have deprived the island of the entire shipment and the company in London of any record of what had been sent. By splitting the cargo between the *European* and the *John and Alexander*, the company ensured that the loss of one vessel would leave the other to deliver at least half of the intended provisions and instructions. The duplication of bills of lading and invoices supported the same principle of redundancy in record-keeping. The placement of the main body of operational instructions on the *European* alone, however, created an asymmetry in the documentary system. If the *European*

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			failed to arrive, the Council would receive only the short orders carried on the *John and Alexander*, without the detailed articles governing planters, soldiers, religious observance, conveyancing and the rest. The brief reference in the present despatch to instructions at large sent on the other vessel acknowledged this dependence and, by referring to the existence of the larger document, would at least have alerted the Council that further orders were missing if they did not arrive. The Council could then have requested a copy by the next available ship. The provision for the return of seamen and up to thirty soldiers aboard the *Loyall Merchant* addressed the population management of the island during the transition from a Crown-occupied station to a company-administered settlement. The seamen left by Munden had been part of the recapture force, not part of any planned permanent garrison, and their continued presence on the island served no operational purpose under the new establishment. The provision allowed them to leave at the next opportunity, with their accounts settled in England rather than on the island. The cap of thirty on returning soldiers managed the rate at which the garrison was reduced, ensuring that the island was not stripped of military personnel before the planter transition described in the earlier instructions had taken effect. The agreement with the owners of the *Loyall Merchant* to take any number of returning men reflects standard practice in the chartering of East Indiamen for the return voyage. A ship bound for England with cargo from the Indies had spare capacity for passengers on most voyages, and the company would have negotiated the terms of passage in advance. By securing this capacity, the company gave itself flexibility to repatriate as many or as few men as proved willing to leave, without further negotiation once the situation on the island was known. The earnest recommendation that planters and soldiers be put to work on cultivation, combined with the instruction to issue company supplies with frugality, reflects the company's awareness that resupply from England was vulnerable to delay. The voyage from London to St Helena took several months in favourable conditions and could be lost entirely to weather, contrary winds or enemy action. If the island depended on imported food, any interruption in shipping could produce famine. By urging early and vigorous cultivation, the company sought to reduce this dependence as quickly as possible. The reference to recruitment from England suggests that the company had in mind not only future shipments of supplies but also the further despatch of personnel. The request for a particular account of anchors and cables on the island reflects the strategic value of these items. Anchors and heavy cables were among the most expensive and least replaceable pieces of maritime equipment, vital both for ships visiting the island and for any vessel forced to take shelter or undergo repairs there. A central inventory allowed the company in London to plan whether further anchors and cables should be sent, and whether stores on the island were sufficient to assist company ships in emergencies. The provision of such facilities at St Helena enhanced its value as a refreshment station and strengthened the case for maintaining the substantial expenditure on its garrison and supply. **Speculations** The arrangement of the despatch into a short covering letter on the *John and Alexander* and a longer set of instructions on the *European* suggests a calculated decision about communication risk. The longer document, with all its detailed provisions, would have been substantially harder to draft, copy and reproduce than the shorter covering letter. By placing the long

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			document on the larger or more reliable vessel, while ensuring that the shorter covering letter travelled separately, the company hedged against the loss of either ship while accepting that the loss of the *European* would be more damaging. The selection of thirty soldiers as the maximum number permitted to return suggests an estimate of how many men could be spared from the garrison without compromising its defensive capability. The total number of soldiers left on the island, derived from the lists of men from the five vessels of the recapture force, was probably several times this figure. A withdrawal of thirty would have removed a noticeable but manageable proportion, leaving enough for two functioning companies under Field and Beale. The number also matched the practical capacity of a single returning vessel, balancing soldier passengers against seamen, planters, factors and others who might be travelling. The strong emphasis on frugality in the issue of supplies, combined with the urging of rapid cultivation, points to anxiety in London about the cost of maintaining the island. The expenses of garrison pay, plantation establishment, free victuals for new planters and shipping had to be set against the eventual benefit of a self-sustaining refreshment station. If the costs continued indefinitely without the planters becoming self-supporting, the entire venture would be a drain on the corporation's resources. The repeated references to frugality and to cultivation reflect a desire to bring the period of subsidised establishment to an end as quickly as practical conditions allowed. The request for an inventory of anchors and cables, appearing among the operational instructions of the despatch rather than as a separate stores enquiry, hints at the company's interest in developing the island as a maritime resource beyond a simple watering and provisioning stop. If the island could supply replacement anchors and cables to passing ships, or could host repairs to damaged vessels, its strategic value to the company's fleet would increase substantially. The careful enquiry into existing stocks may have been the first step in deciding whether to build up such capability at St Helena, alongside its established role in supplying fresh food and water.
31	22	exact weights of the Anchors & Length and dimensions of the Cables and whether they did belong to the Surrat Merch[an]t and the Humphry and Elia[h] that were lately at the Island, and were afterwards taken upp by the Dutch, y[t] accordingly wee may take order therein 5 You are to take notice that what Supply of provi- sitions you furnish to any of our Shipps imployed in our service that shall touch at the Island from time to time you are to take three receipts for the same, one whereof you are to leep with you, and the other two you are to Send home to us, that they may be charged therewith 6 Here hath bin a desire mad[e] on the halfe of Ensigne Geo: Lapineet and W[illia]m Graston a Souldier that they may returne for England, Wee therefore Order that you permitt them, to take theire passage for England on the Shipp Loyall Merch[an]t Wee committ you to the proteccion of the Almighty And Remaine Your Loueing ffreinds I[no]: Iollyfe Berkeley In[no]: Banck[s] Goverr Ia: Hublon In[no]: Moore Nath: Herne. Deputy Sam Moyer Sam: Barnadiston Rowland Wynn In[no]: Lobby	The Governor and Council were to record the exact weights of the anchors and the lengths and dimensions of the cables on the island. They were also to determine whether any of the anchors and cables had belonged to the *Surrat Merchant* and the *Humphry and Eliah*, which had recently lain at the island and had afterwards been taken by the Dutch. With this information, the company could give appropriate orders. Article 5. When the Governor and Council supplied provisions to any of the company's ships touching at the island, three receipts were to be taken for each delivery. One receipt was to be kept on the island, and the other two were to be sent home to the company, so that the receiving ship could be charged with the supplies it had drawn. Article 6. A request had been made on behalf of Ensign George Lapineet and William Graston, a soldier, that they might return to England. The company ordered that they be permitted to take their passage on the *Loyall Merchant*. The company committed the Governor and Council to the protection of the Almighty and remained their loving friends. Signed by John Jollyfe, Berkeley, John Banks the Governor, James Hublon, John Moore, Nathaniel Herne the Deputy, Samuel Moyer, Samuel Barnadiston, Rowland Wynn, John Lobby, Christopher Boone, Thomas Canham and Edward Rudge. A true copy, examined by me, Stephen Legge. **Interpretations**

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		Chris: Boone Tho: Canham Edw[ar]d Rudge A true Coppy Examined by me Stephen Legge **Margin Notes:** A Compl[ai]nt to ship Cables, &c. of the Island taken by the Dutch 5 Three receipts to be taken for provicion to any Shipp[s] 6 Ensigne Lapineet and W[illia]m Graston to have Liberty to returne for England A true Coppy Examined by me Stephen Legge	The request for exact weights and dimensions of the anchors and cables, together with confirmation of whether any had belonged to the *Surrat Merchant* and the *Humphry and Eliah*, reflects the company's interest in resolving the legal status of valuable maritime equipment. The two ships had been at the island and were subsequently taken by the Dutch, presumably during the period of Dutch occupation between the loss of the island in 1672 and Munden's recapture in May 1673. Any equipment they had landed or transferred to the island before that loss had passed out of company hands, but anything that had remained on the island during the Dutch occupation and was now recovered after the recapture might be reclaimable. The detailed inventory would allow the company to identify items that had originally been its property and to consider whether claims could be pursued against the Dutch or whether the equipment could simply be retained. The reference to anchors and cables as the subject of the enquiry, rather than to ships, cargoes or stores generally, reflects the particular value and identifiability of these items. Anchors carried marks that could often establish ownership, and cables of specific dimensions could be matched to known vessels. The weight of an anchor and the length and dimensions of a cable were the standard parameters by which such equipment was inventoried in maritime records, allowing comparison with the corresponding records held in London by the owners of the *Surrat Merchant* and the *Humphry and Eliah*. The triple-receipt system for provisioning the company's ships established a control mechanism that protected both the island administration and the company. The Governor and Council on the island retained one receipt as evidence of the supplies issued. Two receipts were sent to London, one of which would presumably be used to charge the receiving ship's account, while the other provided a backup against loss or dispute. The receiving ship, on its return to London, would either confirm or contest the charges, and the existence of three independent receipts made fraud or error substantially harder to perpetrate or to conceal. The system also addressed the practical reality that supplies issued to a ship at St Helena would not be settled in cash on the spot. The ship would continue its voyage, and the accounting would be done in London on its return. The receipts created a documentary chain by which the value of the supplies could be charged to the ship's account at the appropriate stage. Without this system, the Governor and Council on the island might find their stores depleted by ships whose accounts could not be tracked. The permission granted to Ensign George Lapineet and William Graston to return to England, in response to a request made on their behalf in London, indicates that some channel of communication had operated between the men on the island and their representatives or relatives in England. The request had reached London before the present despatch was issued, presumably through correspondence or representation by family members or associates. The company's willingness to accommodate such individual requests, alongside the general permission for up to thirty soldiers to return, shows a flexible approach to personnel management rather than rigid adherence to fixed numbers. The signatures appended to the despatch identify the senior membership of the Court of Committees as it stood on 19 December 1673. John Banks signed as Governor of the company, and Nathaniel Herne signed as Deputy. The other signatories, John Jollyfe, Berkeley, James Hublon, John Moore, Samuel Moyer, Samuel Barnadiston, Rowland Wynn, John Lobby, Christopher Boone, Thomas Canham and Edward Rudge, were members of the Court of Committees. The presence of so many signatures indicates that the despatch was

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			treated as a major corporate decision, requiring the formal endorsement of the senior body of the company rather than the signature of the Secretary alone. The names include several prominent City of London figures of the period, reflecting the standing of the company within the commercial and political establishment. The closing formula committing the Council to the protection of the Almighty, and signing as loving friends, was the standard form of correspondence between the Court of Committees and its officers abroad. This combination of religious commitment and personal warmth softened the otherwise formal character of the orders and reflected the personal relationships that often existed between members of the Court and the officers they appointed. **Speculations** The enquiry into anchors and cables originating from the *Surrat Merchant* and the *Humphry and Eliah* points to an ongoing dispute with the Dutch over property lost during the period of Dutch occupation. The recovery of the island by Munden had restored sovereignty but did not automatically restore individual items of property that the Dutch might have removed or that had been transferred during the occupation. The careful documentation requested would have supported any subsequent diplomatic or legal claim, whether through formal channels between the English and Dutch governments or through private suits in admiralty courts. The case illustrates how the recapture of the island generated continuing questions about the disposition of property that had changed hands during the brief Dutch tenure. The triple-receipt system for provisioning ships goes beyond what a single account would require and suggests significant concern about disputes or abuses in past provisioning arrangements. If single or double receipting had been the practice elsewhere and had given satisfaction, the more elaborate three-copy system at St Helena would not have been necessary. The decision to introduce a stricter regime at the new establishment may reflect either lessons learned from other company stations or particular doubts about the discipline that could be maintained at a remote island with passing ships of varying ownership and provenance. The individual case of Lapineet and Graston, with a specific request being made through channels in London and being granted in the formal despatch, suggests that family or commercial connections in England retained influence over the placement of personnel at company stations. The men themselves could not easily petition the company directly from the island, and the despatch home for relief would take many months in transit. The intervention of London-based advocates provided a faster route to release, but only for those with such connections. The mention of these two specific men in the despatch, alongside the general permission for thirty soldiers to return, indicates that the company was willing to act on individual representations rather than treating all returnees uniformly under the general cap. The signing of the despatch by twelve named members of the Court of Committees, including the Governor and Deputy, reflects the corporate gravity of the decisions it contained. The recapture of St Helena, the assumption of proprietary government, and the establishment of a new administrative structure were matters of considerable importance to the company. By recording the formal assent of so many senior figures, the despatch placed the orders beyond any later challenge that might have arisen had they been issued only by the Governor and Secretary. The collective signature also distributed responsibility for any subsequent difficulties across the senior membership,

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			reducing the exposure of any individual decision-maker if the policy proved problematic.
32	23	P[er] Shipp Iohanna (now [out]ward bound) London 10 Aprill, 1674 Our Govrnor & Councell at St Hellena 1 This is a Coppy of our Last, by shipps Europe- an, and John and Alexander, whome wee hope through Gods goodnes, came safe with all passengers, This now cometh by the Iohanna, by whom cometh passen- gers, with a quantity of severall provisions & stores as p[er] Inveice herewith sent you so that God sending the s[ai]d safe vnto you, you will have a full Supply, b[ut] y[ou] you must now take care to order every Inhabitant to plant all sorts of provisions plantable, for if they be not negligent and slothfull, there can [be]no want of provicions And now since it hath pleased his Maj[es]ty to make peace with Holland, wee must now Conside[r] to lessen our charges yet so as to keepe a sufficient Garrison, with as much care and Vigilancy as if the warr had continued, Wee therefore order that you ke[ep] only in pay seaventy ffive of the ablest civi[lest] & best Souldiers, and for the remainder that you proposed to them the Companies termes for theire staying there, as ffree planters, which if they ca[n] not accept off. Send them home by the returning shipps, in each shipp a proportion, but wee would have you reduce the number to seaventy ffive when our shipps arive with you from India And as wee would have you send us a generall accompt of all the Souldiers Pay and what provicions they have taken upp, so wee would have you send with each Souldier that comes home, his perticular accompt, as also the time hee hath bin there, as also what Cloth & Provici- ons hee hath here out of our Stores, and be very industri- ous to dispatch this Shipp with expedition from that Island that the Comm[an]der have no cause to Complaine of his detencion by your neglect of dispa[tch] **Margin Notes:** This Comes by ye Iohanna w[i]th brings passeng[er]s And a quantity of severall pro- vicions & Stores 2 75 Sould[iers] only to be kept in pay The remainder that will not turne planters are to be sent home 3 Accompt to be sent of all Sould[iers] in pay Each Sould[ier] hath returned home with him his acc[ompt] [for] his time &c	By the ship *Johanna*, now outward bound. London, 10 April 1674. To the Governor and Council at St Helena. Article 1. The present despatch was a copy of the previous one sent by the ships *European* and *John and Alexander*. The company hoped, by God's goodness, that those ships had arrived safely with all their passengers. The *Johanna* now carried further passengers and a quantity of various provisions and stores, as set out in the invoice sent with the despatch. Provided she arrived safely, the island would have a full supply. The Governor and Council were to order every inhabitant to plant all sorts of plantable provisions, since with industry and care there could be no shortage of food. Article 2. Since His Majesty had now made peace with Holland, the company had to reduce its charges. The garrison was still to be maintained, with as much care and vigilance as if the war had continued. The Governor and Council were to keep in pay only seventy-five of the ablest, most civil and best soldiers. For the remainder, they were to propose the company's terms for staying on the island as free planters. Any who refused these terms were to be sent home aboard the returning ships, with a proportion distributed across each vessel. The reduction to seventy-five was to be made when company ships arrived at the island from India. Article 3. The company required a general account of all the soldiers' pay and the provisions they had drawn. Each soldier sent home was to carry with him his particular account, recording his time of service on the island, the clothing and provisions issued to him from the company's stores, and other relevant details. The Governor and Council were to dispatch the *Johanna* from the island with all expedition, so that her commander would have no cause to complain of detention through neglect of preparation. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The despatch of a copy of the earlier orders by the *Johanna* reflects the company's awareness that the *European* and the *John and Alexander*, sent on 19 December 1673, might not have arrived safely. With voyages of several months to St Helena and the constant risk of loss at sea, no single shipment of orders could be relied on to reach its destination. By sending a duplicate of the earlier despatch four months later, the company ensured that the Council would have a complete record of its instructions even if the earlier ships had been lost or delayed. The practice of sending duplicates by successive vessels was standard in long-distance correspondence and protected the integrity of administrative communication across the Atlantic and Indian Ocean trades. The reference to peace with Holland marks the end of the Third Anglo-Dutch War, concluded by the Treaty of Westminster on 19 February 1674. The peace fundamentally altered the strategic situation of St Helena. The Dutch capture of the island in 1672, the recapture by Munden in May 1673 and the subsequent military establishment had all been responses to wartime conditions. With peace restored, the immediate threat of renewed Dutch attack receded, and the company could justify reducing the garrison without leaving the island defenceless. The instruction nonetheless to maintain vigilance as if the war had continued reflects appropriate caution, since peace settlements between European powers were often fragile and the Dutch might attempt to recover the island again if circumstances permitted. The decision to keep only seventy-five soldiers in pay represented a substantial reduction from the force

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			that had accumulated on the island under royal authority and during the early months of company administration. The earlier lists of personnel from the *Assistance*, the *Levant Merchant*, the *William and Thomas*, the *Mary and Martha* and the further vessel showed several dozen named men from each ship, suggesting a total force well in excess of seventy-five. The reduction implies that many men would have to be either converted to planter status or sent home. The criterion of selecting the ablest, most civil and best soldiers, rather than simply retaining men by seniority or by random selection, gave the Governor and Council discretion to keep the most suitable personnel and discharge the rest. The continuation of the soldier-to-planter conversion policy after the wartime period reveals that the underlying strategy was not solely defensive. Even with peace restored, the company wanted as many soldiers as possible to take up planter status rather than return to England. This preference reflects the long-term aim of building a self-supporting settled population on the island, regardless of the immediate threat environment. A larger planter population reduced dependence on imported supplies and increased the value of the island as a refreshment station, both goals that operated independently of the peace or war status with any particular European power. The provision that those refusing to become planters be sent home aboard the returning ships, with a proportion distributed across each vessel, reflects practical management of passenger capacity. Concentrating all returning men on a single ship would have strained accommodation and supplies on that vessel while leaving spare capacity on others. By spreading the men across multiple ships, the company made use of the available space efficiently and reduced any single vessel's exposure to the discomforts of overcrowding on the long voyage home. The detailed accounting requirements for each returning soldier, with a particular account showing time of service, provisions drawn and clothing issued, provided the documentary basis for settling pay in England. Without these accounts, the company in London would have had no way to calculate what each man was owed or to deduct the value of supplies he had received. The accounts also served as a check against the Governor and Council, since any discrepancy between what was recorded as issued on the island and what the men themselves reported could be investigated. The system protected both the company against fraudulent claims by returning soldiers and the soldiers against any temptation by officers on the island to under-record their entitlements. The instruction to dispatch the *Johanna* with all expedition, avoiding any cause for complaint by her commander, reflects the commercial relationships that underpinned the despatch of ships to the island. The *Johanna* was a company vessel engaged on the broader East Indies trade, and any detention at St Helena beyond the necessary time would delay her continuing voyage and reduce the value of her freight. The commander would, in such a case, report the delay to the company in London, and the cost might be deducted from the freight charges or be the subject of separate complaint. By urging prompt dispatch, the company sought to preserve the operational efficiency of the ship and the financial relationships behind it. **Speculations** The timing of the despatch on 10 April 1674, less than two months after the Treaty of Westminster, suggests that the company moved quickly to adjust its commitments once the peace was confirmed. The wartime garrison had been expensive, and the corporation would have been keen to reduce costs at the earliest opportunity consistent with prudent

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			defence. The four-month interval between the original despatch in December 1673 and the present one in April 1674 covered the period during which the war ended and the company could plan its response. By despatching revised instructions on the *Johanna* as soon as practicable, the company minimised the period during which the island operated under wartime arrangements that were no longer necessary. The retention of seventy-five soldiers, rather than a smaller number such as fifty or a larger number such as one hundred, suggests a calculated balance between economy and security. Seventy-five men, organised into two companies of around thirty-seven or thirty-eight each, was a force capable of manning the principal fortifications and providing a basic garrison, while small enough to be sustained at moderate cost. The number probably reflected the company's view of the minimum credible defensive force, with anything below seventy-five judged inadequate and anything above it judged extravagant in peacetime conditions. The careful instruction that each soldier sent home carry his own account, rather than relying on a single consolidated record kept by the Governor and Council, suggests an awareness that the consolidated record might be lost or altered in transit, or might be unavailable in the necessary detail when an individual man pressed his claim in London. By placing the relevant documents in the hands of each man, the company ensured that every returning soldier had direct evidence of his entitlement, regardless of what happened to the official records on the island or aboard the returning ships. The arrangement also gave the men themselves a sense of agency in the management of their own affairs, which may have reduced friction with the company when accounts were settled. The emphasis on industry in cultivation, repeated from the earlier despatch and reinforced in the present one, indicates that the company expected the planters to take time to develop self-sufficient agriculture. The reference to negligence and slothfulness as the only obstacles to adequate food supply implies that the natural conditions of the island were judged favourable, and that any shortfall would be attributable to human failure rather than environmental constraint. Whether this assessment was accurate would be tested as the planters began their work, but the company's confidence in the agricultural potential of St Helena underlay its willingness to invest in the settlement despite the reduction in military expenditure.
33	24	London 18 December 1674 P[er] Shipp London 1 The above is Coppy of what sent by the Iohanna whom wee hope is god came safe to our Island, from Barbados wee heard by the second hand, of the arrivall there of the European and Iohn & Alexander, who advise that they had bin safe, all theire passengers and good[s] at St Hellena and they had sent our packett from you by ye shipp Hambrough Merchant, who departed from Barbados for London the days after theire arrivall, but that shipp is yett missing & feared he may be lost, which proveth a greate disapoyntm[en]t to vs, as to the giveing vs satisfacti- on, how our affaires are there, but wee are not with- out hopes that wee may have some ffurther Intel- ligence by these shipps, before this shipp departeth from our Coast 2 This now goeth with our shipp London Cap[ta]in W[illia]m Batt Comm[ande]r by whome wee send passengers & a Large Supply of necessaries & Provicions as by Invoice & bill of Ladeing herewith sent, The Passengers are vppon the same termes as the former went, so that now wee conclude, the Island will be Sufficiently Supplyed with Inhabitants, & they being exercised in the managem[en]t of theire Armes,	London, 18 December 1674. By the ship *London*. Article 1. The text above this article was a copy of the previous despatch sent by the *Johanna*, which the company hoped, by God's goodness, had reached the island safely. From Barbados the company had heard, at second hand, of the arrival there of the *European* and the *John and Alexander*. The reports indicated that those two ships had reached St Helena safely, with all their passengers and goods. The Council on the island had sent a packet of correspondence by the *Hambrough Merchant*, which had departed from Barbados for London the day after the arrival of the *European* and the *John and Alexander*. The *Hambrough Merchant* was still missing and feared lost, which had proved a great disappointment to the company. The loss meant that no direct account of the island's affairs had reached London. The company hoped, however, to receive further intelligence by other ships before the *London* departed from the English coast. Article 2. The present despatch went by the *London*, under the command of Captain William Batt. The ship carried passengers and a large supply of necessaries and provisions, set out in the invoice and bill of lading. The passengers travelled on the same terms as those sent earlier. The company concluded that the island would

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		according to our former Instruccons there will not be that ocacion for the keepeing of seaven[-] ty & five Souldiers in pay, so that when this Shipp arri- veth wee would have you reduce them to ffifty, & taken to be of the lustlieth ablest m[en] amongst them & Industrious in planting, for your care must be to en- courage all the Inhabitants to plant all sorts of pro- vicions y[t] the Ground will produce, wee have sent a large Supply of all sorts of seeds, which you are to distri- bute amongst the Inhabitants 3 By this Shipp goeth old M[r] Swallow whome wee would have to be one of the seaven in Councill And our order is y[ou] you will be speedy in setling of these new come m in Laying out their lands & give them assis- tance by the Negroes and incouragem[en]t to build them upps Cottages to dwell in, that they may y[e] sooner go to planting and till their habitations be built they may **Margin Notes:** 1 Coppys of w[ha]t sent by ye Iohan- na who, wee hear by the Second hand is come safe to our Islands 2 Passenger[s] Sent by Capt Batt. [3] 75 to be Sould[iers] formerly [ordered] to be kept in [Garrison] to be reduced to 50 3 M[r] Swallow to be one of ye [. . .] to be one of the Councill p[er] [grant] in supplying [the] planters in building their Cottages	now be sufficiently supplied with inhabitants. As the inhabitants would be exercised in the management of arms according to the earlier instructions, there was no longer occasion to keep seventy-five soldiers in pay. When the *London* arrived, the Governor and Council were to reduce the garrison to fifty. The fifty retained were to be the strongest, ablest and most industrious in planting. The Council was to encourage all inhabitants to plant every kind of provision the ground would produce. The company had sent a large supply of seeds of all sorts, to be distributed among the inhabitants. Article 3. Old Mr Swallow travelled on the *London*. The company directed that he be made one of the seven members of the Council. The Governor and Council were to act speedily in settling the new arrivals, laying out their lands and giving them assistance by the use of the slaves and encouragement to build cottages for their dwellings. This was to ensure that the new planters could begin cultivation as soon as possible. Until their dwellings were built, the new arrivals would need temporary accommodation. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The dispatch of the present orders as a continuation of the earlier letter by the *Johanna*, with the relevant portion of that letter repeated above, illustrates the layered system of administrative correspondence used by the company. Each new despatch typically opened with a copy of the previous one, ensuring that the recipients held a continuous record of instructions regardless of which ships had arrived. This redundancy compensated for the unreliability of seventeenth-century maritime communication, where individual vessels were lost or delayed with some frequency. The Council on the island would thus have multiple copies of the most important orders, sent on successive ships, and could reconstruct the company's policy from whatever combination of documents had arrived. The reference to receiving news from Barbados, at second hand, of the safe arrival of the *European* and the *John and Alexander* at St Helena, reveals the indirect routes by which information about the island reached London. Ships returning from the East Indies often stopped at Barbados or at other Atlantic stations before completing the voyage to England. News passed orally or through correspondence between captains and merchants at these intermediate ports, and was carried home on whatever vessel was next available. The second-hand quality of the report indicates that the original informants on the homeward-bound ships had not themselves visited St Helena but had heard of the arrivals from others. The company in London had to piece together its picture of distant events from such fragments of intelligence. The loss, or feared loss, of the *Hambrough Merchant* meant that the formal correspondence sent by the Council on the island had not reached London. The Council would have prepared a full account of the situation on St Helena, with details of the arrival of the *European* and the *John and Alexander*, the disposition of personnel and stores, the progress of the planter settlement, and any other matters requiring the company's attention. Without this packet, the company in London was operating on the basis of the second-hand intelligence from Barbados and on its assumptions about how the earlier orders would have been carried out. The disappointment expressed in the despatch is genuine, since the loss of the *Hambrough Merchant* left the company unable to make informed decisions about ongoing arrangements. The further reduction of the garrison from seventy-five to fifty soldiers extended the policy begun in the April 1674 despatch. The earlier reduction from a wartime establishment to seventy-five had reflected the peace with Holland. The present further reduction to

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			fifty reflected the additional settlement of inhabitants who could be exercised in arms and could supplement the regular soldiers in case of need. As the planter population grew and was trained, the standing garrison could be progressively reduced without compromising defence. The criterion of strength, ability and industry in planting indicates that the company wanted the retained soldiers to be men capable of contributing to agricultural work as well as military duty, blurring further the line between soldier and planter. The distribution of seeds among the inhabitants, mentioned as a large supply sent on the *London*, was a practical measure of considerable importance. A small isolated island could not generate the variety of seed stocks needed for a developing agricultural settlement, and dependence on local saved seed would have limited the crops that could be grown. By supplying seeds from England, the company gave the planters access to the full range of cultivars that might be productive on the island, including both familiar English crops and any tropical or sub-tropical varieties the company chose to introduce. The distribution was to be managed by the Governor and Council, presumably with attention to which crops would suit which holdings and which planters had the capacity to cultivate particular varieties. The appointment of old Mr Swallow to the Council, mentioned in the present despatch, identifies him as Richard Swallow, who had been named in the original instructions of December 1673 as one of the council members alongside Francis Moore and John Coalston. The description as old Mr Swallow suggests that he had been absent or recalled to England in the intervening period and was now returning to take up his council seat. The despatch's specification that he be made one of the seven in council indicates that the Council had been expanded from the original five members to seven, reflecting the growth of administrative demand on the island. The provision of assistance to new planters by the use of the company's slaves, and encouragement to build cottages, reveals the practical logistics of settling new arrivals. Newly landed planters could not reasonably be expected to clear land, build dwellings and plant crops simultaneously with their own labour alone. The use of the company's slaves, presumably from the corporation's own plantation, accelerated the settlement process and reduced the period during which the new arrivals depended on free company victuals. The instruction reflects the practical recognition that the success of the planter conversion depended on the speed with which new settlers could become productive. The reference to building cottages, as the immediate dwelling type for new planters, indicates that the housing initially provided to settlers was modest. Cottages in seventeenth-century English usage meant small dwellings, often built quickly from local materials, sufficient for basic shelter but lacking the size or refinement of more substantial houses. The expectation was that planters would begin with cottages and might improve their dwellings over time as their plantations prospered. This phased approach to housing matched the phased approach to agricultural development, with initial subsistence cultivation expected to give way to more elaborate cultivation as the settlement matured. **Speculations** The disappointment over the loss of the *Hambrough Merchant* and the lack of direct reports from the island for over a year highlights a fundamental weakness in the company's administrative system. Decisions in London were being taken on the basis of plans formed at the time of the original despatch, modified only by such fragmentary intelligence as reached the corporation through other ships. If the planter settlement had encountered serious difficulties, the Council had not

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			been able to communicate this directly, and the company continued to send further planters and supplies on assumptions that might no longer be valid. The arrival of the *London* with fifty additional planters would either reinforce a successful settlement or compound the problems of an unsuccessful one, with no way for London to know which until further news arrived. The progressive reduction of the garrison from a wartime force, to seventy-five, and now to fifty, suggests that the company was working toward an even smaller permanent establishment over time. Each reduction had been justified by external circumstances, peace with Holland and the growth of the planter militia, but the underlying direction was clear. If the planter militia continued to develop and no new threats emerged, the company might eventually reduce the standing garrison to a small core of professional soldiers, supported in emergencies by the armed inhabitants. This trajectory matched the underlying economic logic of converting a costly military station into a self-supporting commercial settlement. The appointment of Richard Swallow to the Council on his return from England, alongside the expansion of the Council to seven members, points to ongoing adjustment of the governance structure as the population grew. The original five-member Council had been suited to a small initial settlement, but the addition of further planters with the *Johanna* and the *London* increased the administrative load and the diversity of interests that needed representation. By expanding the Council, the company spread the burden across more men and ensured that decisions could be taken even when individual members were unavailable through illness or absence. The specification of seven, rather than six or eight, may have reflected a preference for an odd number to avoid tied votes, a long-standing principle in council design. The instruction to assist new planters with slave labour from the company's plantation creates an indirect form of subsidy that operates through labour rather than through cash or supplies. The slaves represented a significant capital investment by the company, and diverting their labour to support private planters reduced the productive output of the corporation's own plantation in the short term. The expectation must have been that the long-term gain from establishing successful planters quickly would outweigh the short-term loss in company plantation output. The arrangement also gave the new planters a foretaste of the labour systems they might develop on their own holdings, since some of them would eventually employ slaves of their own, whether purchased independently or supplied through the company.
34	25	be distributed to Lodg am[on]gst those Planters y[t] have Houses for wee would have our promises to the Planters punctu- ally Performed 4 Wee would have you take opertunities of faire weather to goe round the windward part of the Island a[t a] distance with your Boates, for to discoever what ffish- ing Grounds there are to which end wee Send you Lyne[s] hookes and Leads 5 Wee would have you take care in time of Plenty to order every family to Lay up some stores of such kind[s] Provicions as will Keepe in case you may have some unseasonable yeare & be driven to wants 6 If any European Shipps who are at amity with England arrive at the Island for refresh them Vse them civilly, but do not too far trust them on shore, nor to discover the strength of the Place, no[r] to spare them so much	The new planters were to lodge with those planters who already had houses, so that the company's promises to the new arrivals could be punctually performed. Article 4. The Governor and Council were to take opportunities of fair weather to take their boats around the windward part of the island, keeping at a safe distance from the shore, to discover what fishing grounds existed. For this purpose, the company sent lines, hooks and leads. Article 5. In times of plenty, every family was to be ordered to lay up stores of such provisions as would keep, so that the inhabitants would not be left in want if an unseasonable year reduced the harvest. Article 6. If any European ships at amity with England arrived at the island for refreshment, they were to be treated civilly. The visitors were not to be trusted too far on shore, were not to be allowed to discover the strength of the place, and were not to be supplied with

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		fresh provicions Espe[cially] if our Shipps or your Sloop may want it Wee shall expect every yeare an exact ac[ount] from you how our stores spend, & to whome alsoe an [account] of all the Souldiers & Inhabitants & of what Shipps & persons touch there 7 Wee intend to give order to Surrat to [send] you by returnd shipps some Armenia Goates, w[hi]ch if come safe wee would have you put them in one of the remote Vallies at a distance from all Plataions and to appoynt a couple of Negroes to looke after them and to be carefull of theire Young, & to preserve their wools, and wee take what care wee can to procure some Indians by our returned Shipps to be left with you Since y[e] above written y[e] Europe and Iohn & Alexander by whome wee recieved y[e] 6 of [July] last to take notice of y[e] contents & wee are sorry to heare of the death of o[u]r Ministry being a man wee dare will Be m[uch] wanted there but wee shall do our utmost endeavours to procure another (if posible) to come uppon the [first?] Cap[t] Keynion hath this with vs & p[re]sented us w[i]th two B[ills] of Exchange for £10: 1: 9 w[hi]ch we pd him but you must for [equity] forbeare to charge un[til] it be for some extraordinary [Service] [on?] [occasion] **Margin Notes:** 4 The Island to be Sur- veyed to discover fishing grounds 5 In tymes of plenty, ev[er]y family provicions to be stored vp ag[ains]t tymes of scarcity 6 Stranger ships in [amity] w[i]th England to vse Civilly but not be trusted to see the strength of the Island 7 Acc[oun]t expected yearly of the Expence of provisions, and of the [Souldiery], parts[?] & Ships that touch there 8 Carmenia goats to be sent from Surratt [A]ccon notice of y[e] death of o[u]r M[in]ister, [endevors] [for an]other promised 19 Cap[t] Keynion[s] Bill [for] £10 [...] w[i]th [...] [. . .] put more bills to [be ch]arg[e]d unles upon [extra]ordinary occasion	so much fresh provision that the company's own ships or the island sloop might be left short. The company expected an exact annual account of how the stores were spent and on whom, together with an account of all soldiers and inhabitants, and of what ships and persons touched at the island. Article 7. The company intended to give orders at Surat for some Armenian goats to be sent to the island by the returning ships. If they arrived safely, the Governor and Council were to place them in one of the remote valleys, distant from all plantations. A pair of slaves were to be appointed to look after the goats, taking care of the young animals and preserving the wool. The company would also take what care it could to procure some Indians by the returning ships to be left at the island. Since the foregoing had been written, the *European* and the *John and Alexander* had arrived in London, and the company had received the Council's correspondence on 6 July. The company had noted its contents and was sorry to hear of the death of the Minister, William Swindle, who would be much missed on the island. The company would do its utmost to procure another minister to come out at the earliest opportunity. Captain Keynion had arrived in London. He had presented two bills of exchange for £10 1s 9d, which the company had paid him. The Governor and Council were not to charge any further bills of his against the company's account, unless presented for some extraordinary service or occasion. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The use of established planters' houses as temporary lodging for newly arrived planters resolved a practical problem of phased settlement. The arrival of new planters in batches meant that not all of them could be housed in completed cottages at once. Rather than leaving the new arrivals in tents or open accommodation, the company instructed that they be lodged with established planters until their own cottages were ready. This arrangement spread the burden of hosting across the settled population and accelerated the integration of new arrivals into the social life of the settlement. The reference to punctual performance of the company's promises indicates that the obligation to provide proper accommodation was treated as a binding commitment, not a discretionary favour. The survey of fishing grounds around the windward side of the island represented the systematic application of the fishing rights granted in the original letters patent. The grant had included the fishing of all sorts of fish in the seas, bays and waters within the bounds of the island, but the practical value of the right depended on knowing where productive fishing could be conducted. By directing a survey using boats, lines, hooks and leads, the company turned a theoretical right into a usable resource. The instruction to keep at a distance from the shore reflects practical caution against running aground or being caught by adverse currents close to the coast, particularly on the windward side where the prevailing conditions would be most unfavourable. The instruction to lay up stores in times of plenty against possible scarcity reflects basic agricultural prudence applied at the household level. Each family was to maintain its own reserves rather than relying solely on company stores or on continuous current production. This distributed approach to food security increased the resilience of the settlement, since a poor harvest in one year would be cushioned by stored provisions across many households. The instruction also reduced the company's exposure, since it would not be expected to supply emergency provisions if the

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			inhabitants had failed to prepare for predictable variations in harvest. The handling of visiting European ships in amity with England, in Article 6, balanced the practical need for civility against the strategic need for secrecy. Civility was important because the company depended on broad European acceptance of its presence at St Helena, and discourteous treatment of visitors could provoke complaints to their governments. Strategic secrecy was equally important because any future war could see those same governments turn hostile, and information about the island's fortifications, garrison strength and supply situation would be valuable to a potential attacker. The instruction not to trust visitors too far on shore meant restricting their movements to areas that revealed nothing of military significance. The restriction on supplying fresh provisions to visiting ships protected the company's own shipping and the island sloop from being left short. The Governor and Council had to balance hospitality against the primary mission of the island as a refreshment station for company fleets. If too much fresh produce was diverted to other ships, the homeward-bound East Indiamen that justified the island's existence might find themselves inadequately supplied. The instruction gave the Council clear priority order: company ships and the sloop first, then other visitors. The annual reporting requirement, covering the consumption of stores, the soldiers and inhabitants, and the ships and persons touching at the island, established a systematic information-gathering routine. Without such regular reports, the company in London would have lacked the data to plan future shipments, adjust personnel arrangements or assess the success of the settlement. The reporting also created accountability, since any unusual consumption, unexplained absences or unauthorised visitors would be visible to the company through the annual returns. The proposal to import Armenian goats from Surat reflects the company's effort to diversify the island's livestock base by drawing on the resources available through its broader trading network. Armenian goats were valued for their wool and possibly for their hardiness in semi-arid conditions, and the company's establishment at Surat in western India provided access to such livestock. The instruction to place the goats in a remote valley distant from all plantations indicates concern about cross-breeding with existing stock or about competition for grazing land. The appointment of slaves specifically to tend the goats and preserve their wool shows that the value of the wool was the primary economic interest, with the company hoping to develop a textile or trading commodity from the herd. The reference to procuring Indians by the returning ships indicates the company's intention to introduce another labour source to the island, drawing on the populations of India where the corporation's main trading establishments operated. The Indians in question would presumably have been indentured workers or other dependent labourers brought back on the company's ships, although the brief reference does not specify their status. The proposed introduction expanded the labour base beyond the European settlers, African slaves and any local cultivators already present. The news of William Swindle's death, conveyed in the postscript, identifies the Minister appointed in the original instructions of December 1673 as having died within the first year of his service on the island. The company's expression of regret and its undertaking to seek a replacement acknowledged the importance of the ministerial role established by the earlier articles. A settlement without a minister would lack the regular religious observance, education and moral discipline that the company had built into its plan for the island,

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			and the gap had to be filled as soon as a suitable replacement could be found. The handling of Captain Keynion's bills of exchange reveals an issue with his financial dealings that had emerged after his return to England. Bills of exchange were a standard mechanism for transferring funds between distant places. An officer on the island could draw a bill on the company in London, payable to a designated recipient, and the company would honour the bill on presentation. Keynion had drawn two such bills, totalling £10 1s 9d, which the company had paid. The instruction that no further bills of his be charged, except for extraordinary service, suggests that the company suspected him of drawing on its account without adequate justification or that it wished to limit any further commitment to him following his discharge from service. **Speculations** The decision to survey fishing grounds at this relatively late stage of the settlement, more than a year after the recapture, suggests that the immediate priorities of establishing the garrison, settling the planters and securing the food supply had pushed fishing development down the list of urgent tasks. Now that the basic settlement was in place, the company turned attention to a resource that could supplement the planters' diet and reduce dependence on imported provisions. The provision of lines, hooks and leads from England indicates that the necessary equipment was not yet available on the island, reinforcing the impression that fishing had been a minor activity until this point. The introduction of Armenian goats from Surat, alongside the planned introduction of Indian labour, points to a deliberate strategy of drawing on the company's broader trading network to build the resources of St Helena. Rather than supplying everything from England, the company used its established Asian operations to provide specialised livestock and labour. This approach reduced the cost of supplying the island, since materials and people moving on existing trade routes added marginal rather than full cost to the corporation's operations. The pattern also tied St Helena more closely to the company's wider commercial empire, making the island a hub in a network that connected England, India and the South Atlantic. The specific instruction to use slaves rather than free planters or soldiers to tend the Armenian goats reflects a calculation about labour costs and reliability. Slaves could be assigned to remote pastoral duties at minimal cost and without the need to negotiate terms or wages. Planters and soldiers would have required compensation for the time taken from their own work, and the remote location of the goat pasture would have been unattractive to free workers with other options. The arrangement allowed the company to develop the goat herd as a corporate resource separate from the planter economy. The restriction on further bills of exchange from Captain Keynion suggests that the company had reason to question his conduct or his entitlement to additional payments. Having discharged him from service and provided for his return to England with civility, the company was not prepared to extend its financial relationship with him beyond what was strictly justified. The reference to extraordinary service or occasion as the only acceptable basis for further charges left the door open for legitimate claims while closing it against routine drawing on the account. The handling of Keynion's case illustrates the careful management of post-service relationships with discharged officers and the corporation's determination to prevent unauthorised accumulation of liabilities.

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			The death of William Swindle within the first year of his service highlights the health risks of life on the island. Swindle had been engaged at a generous combined salary with diet at the Governor's table and a plantation, but the financial inducements could not protect him from the diseases or accidents that might affect any settler in an unfamiliar environment. The need to recruit a replacement minister, with the time required to identify a suitable candidate and despatch him to the island, would leave the settlement without formal religious leadership for an extended period. The fragility of the senior establishment, exposed by Swindle's death, may have prompted the company to seek deeper bench strength in future appointments to guard against the loss of key personnel.
35	26	Wee cannot but take notice of y[e] disingenuity of y[e] Souldiers y[t] heave wee tak[e] care of them to send plenty of provicions y[t] should neglect y[e] raysing of it out of y[e] ground but wee hope that you will bring them to better order, for you must not for y[e] time to come depend uppon vs for any more therefore you must use your utmost endeavour to put every Inhabitant uppon planting & raising Provicions 51 You advise that some Seamen did report amongst y[e] Souldiers that wee did intend to transport them for our to Bombay, y[t] should have done well to have found [them?] & to that forgery that he might have used his utmost [and?] had not Souldiers bin ready hard braid p[er]sons they would not have given any credit to such reports for they & all others shall finde that wee w[i]th reward all those that do well 52 In the above wee have advised to reduce y[e] Sould[i]- ers to the Number of ffifty that is if you can pickout so many as are civill & obedient to govrnm[en]t, for wee will not keepe any that are not such for as wee shall pay theire wages well, so must expect performance from them 53 And whereas the Souldiers say that they will have Diet as well as wages, it is contrary to all Customes for Sould[i]- ers in Garrison, to have it but if they plant & worke for vs when they are off the Guard then wee shall allow it 54 And though wee say ffifty Souldiers yett if you find by the strength of the Inhabitants you can if occasion be to withstand any enemies & secure the Island, wee would have you lessen y[e] number, for it is our thought w[i]th such Souldiers as there are y[e] Mutiny vppon every report will be little security to you 55 Wee have ordered Cap[ta]in Batt and shall doe all the Comm[an]ders that if any of theire common Seamen or Boatmen will stay there that they with the consent of the Comm[an]ders shall be admitted vppon the Inhabitants termes so that they bring back the like number of Souldiers in their roome 56 As for Dutch P[ri]soners you must give them Liberty in any of o[u]r owne or European returned shipps - - - to goe **Margin Notes:** 50 Sould[iers] disingenuity in neglecting to raise provicions. 51 Seamen raisin[g] false reports amongst the Sould[iers] of transporting them to Bombay 52 The Souldiers to be ad- to be kept in pay £15 50, no servi[ce] 53 [no] Diett allowed to [Soul]di[er]s but vpon [provid]ed they plant & worke 54 [If] ffifty m[en] so few [for] sec[u]ring the Island [m]ay not so be	The despatch continued with the company's response to reports about the conduct of the soldiers and to specific issues raised by the Council on the island. Article 50. The company could not overlook the disingenuous behaviour of the soldiers. Despite the care taken to send plenty of provisions, the soldiers had neglected to raise food from the ground themselves. The company expected the Governor and Council to bring them to better order. The corporation would not in future undertake to send more provisions of the kind the soldiers had been receiving. Every inhabitant was to be put to planting and raising provisions, and the Governor and Council were to use their utmost endeavour to ensure this. Article 51. The Council had reported that some seamen had spread a rumour among the soldiers that the company intended to transport them to Bombay. The company would have wished the source of the rumour to be identified and dealt with. The corporation expressed regret that the soldiers had been ready to credit such reports rather than trusting the company's good intentions. The company would reward all those who served well. Article 52. The reduction of the soldiers to fifty was confirmed, provided the Governor and Council could find that number of men who were civil and obedient to government. The company would not retain any soldiers who fell short of this standard. As the corporation paid wages well, it expected performance in return. Article 53. The soldiers had claimed that they were entitled to diet as well as wages. The company replied that this was contrary to all customs for soldiers in garrison. Garrison soldiers received wages and bore the cost of their own food. If the soldiers planted and worked for the company when off guard duty, diet would then be allowed in addition to their wages. Article 54. Although the order specified fifty soldiers, the Governor and Council were authorised to reduce the number further if the strength of the inhabitants was sufficient to withstand any enemy and secure the island. The company observed that soldiers prone to mutiny on every report would be little security to the Governor and Council, and a smaller body of reliable men might be preferable. Article 55. The company had given orders to Captain Batt, and intended to give similar orders to all commanders, that any of their common seamen or boatmen who wished to remain on the island might be admitted as planters with the consent of the commander, on the same terms as the other inhabitants. The condition was that an equal number of soldiers be taken back to England on the ship in their place. Article 56. As for Dutch prisoners on the island, the Governor and Council were to give them liberty to depart on any of the company's own ships or on European returning ships. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage.

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		55 [If S]eamen will turne Sould[iers] also for many Sould[iers] to be sent home 56 Dutch p[ri]son[er]s to be sent home	**Interpretations** The company's response to the soldiers' neglect of cultivation reflects the underlying economic logic of the settlement. The provision of free victuals during the initial period of establishment had been intended as temporary support, not as a permanent arrangement. By drawing on company stores rather than cultivating their own ground, the soldiers had treated the temporary support as a continuing entitlement. The company's response, declining to send more provisions of the same kind in future, removed the option of continued reliance on imports and forced the soldiers to choose between cultivation and short rations. The instruction that every inhabitant be put to planting applied this principle universally, ensuring that no group on the island could expect to be supported indefinitely by the corporation. The handling of the false rumour about transportation to Bombay reveals the susceptibility of the soldiers to misinformation and the difficulty of managing a workforce isolated from reliable news. Bombay had been transferred to the company in 1668 and was being developed as a major settlement, with significant labour demands. A rumour that soldiers would be sent there could have provoked desertion, refusal of duty, or active resistance. The seamen who spread the report would have known the broader pattern of company operations and could easily have invented the story from fragments of overheard conversation. The company's regret that the soldiers had credited the rumour, rather than trusting the corporation's good intentions, reflects a paternalistic view of the relationship between employer and employed that the soldiers themselves evidently did not share. The reaffirmation of the fifty-soldier establishment, subject to the quality criterion of civility and obedience, allowed the Governor and Council discretion to discharge unsatisfactory men beyond the simple numerical reduction. The Council was no longer required to retain fifty men regardless of their quality, but could discharge any who failed the standard and retain only those who met it. The phrase as the corporation paid wages well, so it expected performance in return, frames the relationship in transactional terms that contrast with the broader paternalistic language elsewhere in the despatch. The dispute over diet versus wages illustrates the conflicting expectations of the soldiers and the company. Soldiers in royal service or in continental garrisons often received either food or a money allowance for food, depending on the customs of the particular service. The company's position, that diet was not customary for garrison soldiers, may have reflected its view of the engagement as comparable to civilian wage labour rather than military service. The compromise offered, that diet would be provided when the soldiers worked on company cultivation, converted the food allowance into a payment in kind for additional labour. This arrangement gave the soldiers an incentive to contribute to the company plantation while not establishing a precedent for free diet during ordinary garrison duty. The authorisation to reduce the garrison below fifty, if the inhabitants could secure the island, reflects the company's growing confidence in the planter militia. The earlier despatches had set fifty as a minimum based on a defensive calculation, but the present article suggests that the company now saw the planter population as potentially sufficient on its own. The observation that mutinous soldiers prone to crediting every rumour offered little security captures a real concern: a garrison that could not be trusted to remain steady under stress was worse than no garrison at all, since it consumed resources and might fail at the critical

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			moment. A smaller force of reliable men, supported by an armed planter population, might serve better than a larger force of unreliable men. The provision allowing common seamen and boatmen to remain on the island as planters, in exchange for soldiers returning to England, created a one-to-one substitution that maintained the population balance while exchanging different categories of personnel. The arrangement benefited both sides: the seaman or boatman acquired the planter status with its land grant, while a discontented soldier received passage home and his accumulated pay. The requirement that the commander consent ensured that the ship would not be left short-handed, since the seaman exchanging service for planter status had to be replaceable by the returning soldier on the homeward voyage. The treatment of Dutch prisoners with liberty to depart on company or other European returning ships marks the conclusion of the wartime status of these captives. The Dutch prisoners had presumably been on the island since the recapture in May 1673, when the Dutch garrison was overcome. With the peace of February 1674, the legal basis for holding them as prisoners of war had ended, and they could be repatriated through any available passage. The choice between company ships and other European vessels gave them flexibility while ensuring that the company itself bore the responsibility of providing transport if no other suitable vessel were available. **Speculations** The disingenuous behaviour attributed to the soldiers, in failing to cultivate their own provisions while drawing on company stores, may have reflected a different understanding of their employment than the company assumed. From the soldiers' perspective, they had been engaged as soldiers, not as agricultural labourers. The expectation that they should plant their own food in addition to performing military duties may have struck them as a unilateral expansion of their obligations beyond what they had agreed at enlistment. The company's irritation that the soldiers had not voluntarily taken up cultivation suggests a gap between corporate expectations and the soldiers' understanding of their contract, a gap that the despatch sought to close by making the position unambiguously clear. The vulnerability of the soldiers to rumour, particularly the Bombay transportation story, may have reflected genuine uncertainty about their long-term fate. Men engaged for service on St Helena under wartime conditions, with no clear end to their term and limited prospects of return to England under the existing arrangements, might reasonably wonder whether the company would transfer them to other postings as circumstances changed. The Bombay story may have crystallised these underlying anxieties into a specific fear, which the seamen who spread the rumour either invented or repeated as plausible to a receptive audience. The company's response, framing the issue as one of misplaced credulity, did not address the underlying uncertainty that made the soldiers susceptible to such reports. The graduated approach to garrison strength, with fifty as a target subject to reduction if the inhabitants could secure the island, points to a company strategy of testing the planter militia's adequacy before committing to a smaller standing force. Rather than reducing the garrison decisively, the company left the decision to the Governor and Council on the basis of local assessment. This gave the Council flexibility but also placed responsibility on them if a subsequent attack found the defences inadequate. The structure ensured that any reduction below fifty would be justified by local circumstances rather than mandated from London. The substitution arrangement, allowing seamen to become planters in exchange for soldiers returning to

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			England, addressed a practical problem of personnel turnover while maintaining the overall labour balance. Seamen who chose to settle on the island would typically have been men who found the prospect of an English winter at sea less attractive than a settled life on a tropical island with a plantation. Soldiers wishing to return would typically have been men who found the prospect of permanent settlement on a remote island less attractive than the familiar conditions of home. The substitution allowed both groups to follow their preferences while leaving the company with the same number of inhabitants and the same shipping capacity. The mechanism also created a self-selection effect, with those who chose to stay being those most committed to the settlement and those who chose to leave being those least suited to it.
36	27	or to Shipp themselves for Bantam by the London whether they will 57 The Goods now sent & f[or]mer[l]y sent It is our Pleasure that the Inhabitants & Souldiers Pay no more for them then they are rated in the Invoice and that during the time that Capt Batt is on y[e] Island and all Comm[an]ders of our Shipping whilst they shall be on y[e] Island be of the Councill 58 There is one Iohn Harris a Seaman at S[t] Hellena whome wee order to have liberty to come for England Also leaveing you to the Almighty wee Remaine Your very Loveing ffr[ein]d[s] Ind: Page Berkeley W[illia]m Thomson Nath: Horne Gov[ernor] Christ: Boone Ind: Banks Rob[er]t Thompson Deputy Ind: Iollyfe Ind: Moore Sam: Barnadiston Ind: Dogett Cha: Thorold Ind: M[er]chant Rowland Wynne Sam: Moyer Edw[ar]d Rudge Ind: Lobby 59 Wee do desire that constantly by every opertunity you send vs home wee Lists of all the Inhabitants & Souldiers liveing & other of w[ha]t are deceased & the time when 60 The Wife of Cap[t]: ffield haveing made it her earnest desire that her Husband may come home, we do therefore give him free liberty to come for England and if he come away then Cap[t]: Beale to Succeed as Goodernor A true Coppy Examined By me Stephen Legge **Margin Notes:** or to Bantam 57 Goods to be Issued at the Invoice price 58 John Harris a Seaman to be sent home [59] List of Inhab[i]t[an]ts: and [Soul]di[er]s to be sent home [w]ith those that are deceased 60 Cap[t] ffield hath Liberty to returne home A true Coppy Examined home Stephen Legge 15	The Dutch prisoners might also take passage for Bantam on the *London*, if they preferred. Article 57. The goods now sent and previously sent were to be supplied to the inhabitants and soldiers at no higher price than the rates given in the invoice. While Captain Batt was on the island, he was to sit on the Council, and all commanders of the company's ships were to do the same during their stay at the island. Article 58. One John Harris, a seaman at St Helena, was to be given liberty to return to England. The company committed the Governor and Council to the protection of the Almighty and remained their very loving friends. The despatch was signed by John Page, Berkeley, William Thomson, Nathaniel Herne as Governor, Christopher Boone, John Banks, Robert Thompson as Deputy, John Jollyfe, John Moore, Samuel Barnadiston, John Dogett, Charles Thorold, John Merchant, Rowland Wynne, Samuel Moyer, Edward Rudge and John Lobby. Article 59. The company desired that lists of all the inhabitants and soldiers be sent home by every available opportunity. The lists were to record those living and those who had died, with the date of each death. Article 60. The wife of Captain Field had made it her earnest desire that her husband return home. The company granted him free liberty to come back to England. If Captain Field departed, Captain Beale was to succeed as Governor. A true copy, examined by me, Stephen Legge. **Interpretations** The option for Dutch prisoners to take passage for Bantam on the *London*, rather than for England or another European destination, reveals the global reach of the company's shipping. Bantam was the principal English trading station in the East Indies, on the western coast of Java, and the *London* was clearly continuing her voyage eastward after calling at St Helena. The provision allowed Dutch prisoners who had family, commercial connections or other interests in the East Indies to reach those interests directly, rather than travelling first to Europe and then back to Asia. Although the Dutch and English were now at peace, both nations had substantial presences in the East Indies, and the practical movement of personnel between them could be accommodated through company shipping when convenient. The instruction that goods be supplied at no higher price than the invoice rate confirms a non-profit basis for the supply of imported items to inhabitants and soldiers. The company purchased the goods in England, shipped them to the island and made them available at cost rather than at a margin. This pricing policy distinguished the island's internal supply from a commercial operation, treating it as part of the corporate support of the settlement rather than as a source of revenue. Charging at invoice rates also protected the inhabitants against exploitation by

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			intermediate officers who might otherwise have marked up prices for personal gain. The inclusion of company ship commanders on the Council during their stays at the island brought additional senior expertise into the governing body for the duration of each visit. Captain Batt and the commanders of other ships were experienced officers with broad knowledge of the company's operations, the patterns of Indian Ocean trade and the conditions in other settlements. Their participation in council deliberations gave the local administration access to perspectives and information that the resident members could not supply on their own. The arrangement also tied the senior officers of the visiting ships into the formal decision-making of the island during their presence, ensuring that decisions about provisioning, personnel movements and other matters affecting the ships could be taken with their direct involvement. The signatures appended to the despatch identify the Court of Committees as it stood on 18 December 1674. The senior positions had changed since the previous despatch a year earlier. Nathaniel Herne now signed as Governor, having been Deputy in 1673, and Robert Thompson signed as Deputy. The rotation of these senior offices was a standard feature of the company's governance, with members holding particular positions for limited terms before passing them to others. The continuity of many of the other signatories, including John Banks, John Jollyfe, John Moore, Samuel Barnadiston, Charles Thorold, Rowland Wynne, Samuel Moyer, Christopher Boone, Berkeley, John Lobby and Edward Rudge, indicates that the broader membership of the Court of Committees remained stable across the two years. The despatch carries seventeen signatures, two more than the fifteen on the December 1673 letter, reflecting some expansion of the senior membership. The requirement of regular lists of living and deceased inhabitants and soldiers, recording dates of death, established a continuous demographic record of the settlement. Without such records, the company in London could not track the population's growth or decline, identify trends in mortality, or plan replacement shipments accurately. The collection of dates of death allowed analysis of patterns, including whether deaths clustered around particular seasons, locations or circumstances. The data also supported the settlement of pay and other financial accounts, since a soldier's family in England might wait years to learn of his death without such a register. The permission for Captain Field to return to England, granted at the request of his wife, illustrates the responsiveness of the company to family appeals from London. Mrs Field had presumably petitioned through one or more of the senior members of the Court of Committees, and the matter had been considered formally enough to produce an order in the despatch. The arrangement gave a senior officer the option of departure without requiring him to claim particular grounds himself, since the request had come from his wife. The provision that Captain Beale would succeed as Governor implemented the succession arrangement established in the original instructions of December 1673, where Beale had been pre-designated as Field's replacement. The departure of Field would not have come as a surprise to Beale, given the original instructions, and the transition would have been straightforward. Beale already held the Deputy Governorship, the captaincy of one of the two soldier companies and the office of Husband and Storekeeper. His succession as Governor would consolidate his authority across the island administration, with Francis Moore, the pre-designated successor in the Husband and Storekeeper office, presumably taking over those duties.

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			Speculations The granting of permission to Dutch prisoners to travel to Bantam, alongside the options for repatriation through company or other European ships, suggests that some of the prisoners had backgrounds connecting them to Asian trade rather than purely to the Netherlands. Dutch East India Company personnel captured during the original Dutch occupation of St Helena, or in subsequent encounters, might have come from Batavia or other Dutch settlements in the East Indies and might have preferred to return to those areas rather than to Europe. The option to take Bantam offered a relatively direct route for such men, consistent with the practical handling of post-conflict prisoner repatriation. The decision to include ship commanders on the Council during their visits, rather than treating them as visitors providing advice, gave them formal authority over decisions taken in their presence. This may have reflected an awareness that key operational decisions, particularly those affecting the ships themselves, would be more efficiently taken with the commanders as voting members rather than as consultants. The arrangement also gave the commanders a stake in the quality of the island administration, since decisions taken during their presence would bind them and their ships. The structure may have been designed in part to prevent disputes between visiting commanders and the resident Council, by integrating both into a single decision-making body during the relevant periods. The departure of Captain Field at his wife's request, rather than at his own initiative or on the company's decision, reveals the influence that family connections in London could exercise over the placement of officers at distant stations. Mrs Field had presumably been unable to join her husband on the island, perhaps because of family responsibilities in England or her own reluctance to make the voyage, and her petition for his return reflected the strain of prolonged separation. The company's willingness to accommodate the request shows that personal and family considerations weighed in its decisions about senior personnel, alongside operational and political factors. The arrangement also suggests that Field himself may have been content to return, since a determined refusal on his part could have complicated the matter, and his cooperation with the order would be needed for any orderly handover to Beale. The succession of Beale as Governor, automatically following Field's departure, completed the trajectory implicit in the original instructions of December 1673. Beale had been designated as the standing successor from the outset, and his accumulating offices on the island had given him increasing operational authority throughout the first year and a half of company administration. The formal accession to the governorship represented the culmination of a planned transition rather than an emergency replacement. Whether Beale would prove more effective as Governor than Field had been, and whether his concentration of offices would generate the difficulties that the original division between Field and Beale had been designed to avoid, would be visible only in the reports that subsequent despatches would carry from the island to London.
37	28	Blank page	
38	29	London 1[. .] March 1675/6 Our Govrnor & Council at S[t] Hellena 1 Wee have received Severall Letters from you by our returned Shipps, and your last p[er] Shipp London of y[e] 17 November & have taken notice of y[e] contents of them all 2	By the ship at London, March 1675/6, addressed to the Governor and Council at St Helena. The exact day of the month in the date is not legible in the manuscript. Article 1. The company had received several letters from the Council by the company's returning ships. The most recent was the despatch of 17 November carried

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		Wee recomend it to your care & vigilance to keepe good watch and not to trust any Strangers to come into the ffort, nor more vppon our Island at one time then by our [late] Orderse[?], thus strictly to observe o[ur] former order in that p[er]ticular, All the Souldi[ers] you mention from time to time sent home are arrived, and wee have evened with them & paid them theire wages many of them re- penceing they did not stay there & sett out free planters 3 You have done well in reduceing the number of Souldi[er]s to 50, and wee hope that according to our order you have retained none but those that are able & honest 4 Wee are pleased to heare from you that o[u]r Island [is in] such a flourishing condition, and that all things there be done well w[i]th you, But yet wee finde there is want in y[e] Industry & paines takeing in many of y[e] Inhabitants which wee will not p[er]mitt to continue to be amongst you, for they that will not Plant and take care for provi- cions of there own[e] wee will not supply them with send them home under the Title of declared 5 You advise vs of y[e] death of the Gunr suddenly in firering a Gun for which wee are sorry, but much that you to spend our Powder so vainly, and as wee are Informed y[e] Gun had a double charge of cartr[idges] 6 Wee are satisfied that you have entertained another Gunr into o[u]r servic[e], take care that he doth keepe a better and more exact acct of y[e] Stores then y[e] former Gunr did and examine his ac[c]t often once a month at Least Wee are informed that there is a rumor amongst the Souldi[ers] and Inhabitants of the Island that wee intend 16 **Margin Notes:** 1 Wee have rec[eive]d all yo[u]r Letters 2 Good watch & ward to be kept, not strangers to be trusted in y[e] ffort referring to form[er] orders [. . .] returned Sould[ier]s pd off 3 The reduceing of Sould[ier]s to 50 approved 4 Such as are not industrious to plant are to be sent home 5 Gunner killed by death 6 The cheife of Another Gunner approve[d]	on the *London*. The company had noted the contents of all of them. Article 2. The Governor and Council were urged to keep careful watch and not to trust any strangers to enter the fort. The number of strangers permitted on the island at any one time was to be kept within the limits set by the earlier orders, which were to be strictly observed. All the soldiers sent home by the Council in successive ships had arrived safely. The company had settled accounts with them and paid them their wages. Many of the returned soldiers now regretted that they had not stayed on the island as free planters. Article 3. The Governor and Council had done well in reducing the number of soldiers to fifty. The company hoped that, in accordance with its orders, only able and honest men had been retained. Article 4. The company was pleased to hear that the island was in a flourishing condition and that the Council's affairs were going well. There remained, however, a lack of industry and effort among many of the inhabitants. The company would not permit this to continue. Those who would not plant and take care of providing their own provisions were not to be supplied further, and were to be sent home as declared idlers. Article 5. The Council had reported the sudden death of the Gunner while firing a gun. The company regretted the loss and also disapproved the waste of powder. Information reaching the company indicated that the gun had been loaded with a double charge of cartridges. Article 6. The company was satisfied that another Gunner had been engaged in its service. The Council was to ensure that the new Gunner kept a better and more exact account of the stores than his predecessor had done. His account was to be examined often, and at least once a month. The Council had reported that a rumour was circulating among the soldiers and inhabitants that the company intended to take some further action affecting them. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The dating of the despatch as March 1675/6 reflects the old-style calendar in use in England before 1752, under which the year changed on 25 March rather than 1 January. A date in March before the 25th fell at the end of the old year by official reckoning but at the start of the new year by the more modern usage. The dual notation 1675/6 acknowledges both reckonings, with 1675 being the official year and 1676 the modern equivalent. By present convention the date falls in 1676, and references in this rewrite to subsequent events should be understood by that reckoning. The repeated emphasis on keeping watch and restricting strangers from the fort indicates that the security concerns expressed in earlier despatches had not diminished, despite the peace with Holland. The reference to earlier orders, which had laid down specific limits on the number of strangers permitted on the island at any one time, shows that the company maintained a continuing policy of caution. The fort itself, as the principal defensive structure, was to remain closed to visitors regardless of their apparent status, since access to its layout and condition would provide intelligence valuable to any future attacker. The report that many returned soldiers regretted not having stayed on the island as free planters offers an indirect commentary on the company's policy. Soldiers who had chosen to return to England, presumably influenced by homesickness or by uncertainty about the prospects of settlement, found on arrival that the conditions of life in England did not match what they had expected. The settled prospect of land and a place in an established community on St Helena may have looked more attractive in retrospect than it had at the

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			moment of decision. The company's transmission of this information to the Council served as an implicit endorsement of the planter conversion policy and gave the Council material to use in encouraging current soldiers to consider the offer favourably. The confirmation of the reduction to fifty soldiers, with the company's approval, concludes the trajectory of garrison reduction that had begun with the peace of February 1674. The earlier despatches had progressively reduced the establishment from the original wartime force, through seventy-five, to fifty. The present approval indicates that the Council had implemented the reduction in accordance with the company's instructions and that the company was satisfied with the result. The qualification that only able and honest men should have been retained shows that the company expected the Council to have exercised judgement about quality alongside the numerical reduction. The threat to send home as declared idlers those inhabitants who failed to plant and provide for themselves marks a significant escalation in the company's response to the problem of provisioning. Earlier despatches had encouraged cultivation and warned that company supplies would be reduced. The present despatch authorises actual deportation as a sanction against persistent failure. The category of declared idler created a formal status that could be applied to individuals and used as the basis for their removal from the island. This represented a substantial use of company authority against inhabitants who had been granted plantations on terms that did not, in the original instructions, include any explicit forfeiture clause for failure to cultivate. The death of the Gunner illustrates the dangers of artillery service in the seventeenth century. The Gunner mentioned in the original instructions of December 1673 had been engaged at £2 per month, with diet and two suits of apparel, to manage the guns of the fort. The reference to a double charge of cartridges, if accurate, points to an explosive failure when the gun was discharged. A double charge could either burst the gun, killing or injuring the gunner, or produce premature ignition that caught him before he had cleared the gun's mouth. Either scenario would have produced the sudden death reported by the Council. The company's disapproval of the waste of powder, expressed in the same article as regret over the death, reflects the financial value the corporation placed on its munitions and its determination to prevent wasteful use even at moments of grief. The instruction that the new Gunner keep better accounts than his predecessor, with monthly examination at minimum, suggests that the Council had found discrepancies in the records left by the deceased Gunner. The Gunner was responsible not only for the operation of the artillery but also for the stores of powder, shot and other munitions. If his records had been incomplete or inaccurate, the actual state of the magazine could not be reliably determined, and the company's investment in munitions might be partly lost through pilferage, deterioration or simple miscounting. The requirement of monthly examination created a regular checkpoint at which discrepancies could be identified before they accumulated into serious losses. **Speculations** The reflection that many returned soldiers now regretted their departure may have been transmitted to the Council in part to discourage further requests for repatriation from those still on the island. By framing the returning soldiers' experience as one of regret, the company implicitly warned current inhabitants that the grass might not be greener in England. The information could be used by the Council to counter the kind of rumours and homesickness that had previously prompted soldiers to seek discharge, particularly the

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			false stories about Bombay transportation that had circulated earlier. The retrospective accounts of returnees thus served as a tool of personnel retention even after the men themselves had left the island. The threat to deport inhabitants who refused to plant suggests that informal pressure and incentive structures had proved insufficient. Earlier despatches had urged cultivation and warned of reduced supplies, but the present authorisation for outright removal indicates that some inhabitants had continued to rely on company stores rather than work their own ground. Whether this reflected genuine inability, deliberate idleness or a calculation that the company would not actually withdraw support is unclear from the present despatch alone. The shift to explicit deportation as a sanction signals that the company was prepared to enforce its policy through the strongest available means rather than continue to subsidise unproductive inhabitants. The fatal accident with the double-charged gun raises the question of whether the doubling was deliberate or accidental. A double charge might have resulted from haste, from confusion about whether the gun had already been loaded, or from a deliberate choice to produce a louder report on a ceremonial occasion. The company's framing of the matter as a waste of powder, alongside the death, suggests that the corporation regarded the loading as imprudent rather than as a tragic accident beyond anyone's control. The insistence on stricter accounting under the new Gunner indicates that the company connected the loss of life to a broader pattern of careless management rather than treating it as an isolated incident. The continuing concern about rumours among the soldiers and inhabitants, which the unrecoverable closing of the present passage was about to address, suggests that the morale problems identified in the earlier December 1674 despatch had persisted. The Bombay transportation story had been one example, but new rumours had evidently arisen by the time of the present despatch. The company's repeated need to counter speculation about its intentions reflects the difficulty of managing a workforce isolated from reliable news and dependent on whatever stories circulated locally. The structural problem could not be solved by direct refutation of any single rumour, since new ones would arise to take the place of those disproved, and the underlying anxieties about the company's intentions remained constant whatever specific form they took.
39	30	Send shipping to transport them for Bombay which report is forged and false, it never so much as haveing bin in our thoughts, and wee strictly Charge you that you will doe all diligence to find out y[e] Author 8 Yo[u] advise as if there did remaine amongst you some of the old Mutineers, if there [pleasure?] such suffer m[en] not to continue unless they demeane themselves accord- ing to Rule wee have no good report of one Young who was of the old Stock if he doth not behave himself wel- then he hath done suffer him not to stay 9 Wee take notice of y[e] greate quantity of provicions you have rec[eive]d from Cap[t]: Batt over what wee sent by him for your use, wee have often advised you that you must not depend uppon Provicions from hence which wee would have you take notice of & Consider well 10 Wee have at y[e] Govenr wife M[r]s ffeild £100 at severall times in p[ar]t of his Salary, and would have him advise vs what Sum hee desires may be allowed him yearly during his continuance in o[u]r service 11	The despatch continued with the company's response to specific issues reported by the Council on the island. Article 7. The Governor and Council were to give notice that the report among the soldiers and inhabitants, that the company intended to send shipping to transport them to Bombay, was false. The company had never considered such a thing. The Governor and Council were strictly charged to make every effort to find the author of the rumour. Article 8. The Council had reported that some of the old mutineers still remained on the island. The Governor and Council were not to permit such men to continue, unless they behaved themselves according to the rules of the settlement. The company had received no good report of one Young, who had been of the old stock. If he failed to improve his conduct, he was not to be allowed to remain. Article 9. The company had noted the large quantity of provisions that the Council had received from Captain Batt, beyond what had been sent for the island's use. The company had often advised the Council that the island was not to depend on provisions sent from England. The Council was to take careful notice of this and to consider the matter well.

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		Wee take notice of your want of a good Ministr [by] reason of the death of him last sent, therefore y[e] you may [be] without [...] wee send a shipp directly to our Island Wee have entertained M[r] [Ed]: Wynn[i], who taketh his Passage on Shipps Nathaniell by y[e] way of Surratt whome God sending safe to you, wee hope will ap- prove himselfe an able M[ini]st[er], & by his good in- structions, directions and Pious conv[er]sation, you may every one receive y[e] greate Benefitt thereof. He hath received here £25: in p[ar]t of his Salary, we agreed with him, that he shall, £50: P[er] ann[um] Salary & 50 P[er] Annum gratuity for w[hi]ch it is to preach at least once every Lords day y[e] other p[ar]t of the day to catechise children & others & expound on the Phateichisme, & on the weeke dayes to teach y[e] Children to reade & to fortruct them in y[e] Catechisme as well the Blacks as the English [Hee] **Margin Notes:** 7 [No] Intent in y[e] Compa[ny] to [have] any Sould[iers] from thence to Bombay 8 [No] Mutineer to be Continued [Y]oung if still behaves [not] to be sent home 9 [No] dependance for [Provis]ions vpon [Provicions] from hence [10] [Govenor[s] Wife] [has rec[eive]d] £100 11 M[r] Wynni entertained as Ministr And his Salary what he is to doe	Article 10. The company had paid Mrs Field, the Governor's wife, the sum of £100 at several times, in part of her husband's salary. Captain Field was to advise the company what sum he wished to receive yearly during his continued service on the island. Article 11. The Council had reported the need for a good minister, since the previous one sent out had died. To ensure that the island would not remain without a minister, the company had despatched a ship directly there. Mr Edward Wynni had been engaged and was taking his passage on the ship *Nathaniel*, by way of Surat. If God sent him safely, the company hoped he would prove an able minister, and that the inhabitants would benefit from his good instructions, directions and pious conversation. Wynni had received £25 in part of his salary in London. The agreement was that he would receive £50 per annum as salary and a further £50 per annum as gratuity. He was to preach at least once every Lord's Day, and during the other part of the day to catechise the children and others and to expound the catechism. On weekdays, he was to teach the children to read and to instruct them in the catechism. His duties extended to the blacks as well as to the English. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The reappearance of the Bombay transportation rumour, more than a year after it was first reported in the December 1674 despatch, shows that the story had taken durable root among the soldiers and inhabitants. The earlier instructions had blamed the seamen who first spread the rumour, but the rumour itself had survived and continued to disturb the settlement. The company's renewed denial, with a stricter charge to identify the author, indicates that the corporation regarded the persistence of the story as a serious problem requiring active investigation rather than passive refutation. The phrase that such a transfer had never so much as been in the company's thoughts was intended to leave no room for the suggestion that the rumour might contain even a kernel of truth. The reference to old mutineers still remaining on the island indicates that some of the original soldiers from the recapture force had been involved in earlier disturbances, the nature of which is not described in the present despatch. The instruction that such men not be permitted to continue, unless they conformed to the rules of the settlement, gave the Council discretion to retain reformed offenders while expelling those who continued in disorderly conduct. The specific reference to Young, identified as one of the old stock with no good report, illustrates how individual cases were handled in the despatches between London and the island. The Council had presumably named Young in its own correspondence, and the company responded with a specific instruction tied to his conduct. The treatment of the rumour and the mutineers in successive articles points to an underlying problem of personnel quality and morale on the island. The soldiers who had been left by the recapture force in 1673 had not all been suitable for the long-term garrison role that the company had assigned them. Some had been discharged or sent home, others had become planters, and a residue remained who were neither fully reliable as soldiers nor fully integrated as inhabitants. The company's instruction to deal with this residual problem firmly reflects its judgement that the time for tolerance had passed and that the settlement could not afford to carry persistent troublemakers. The criticism over the provisions taken from Captain Batt reflects the continuing tension between the company's wish to reduce dependence on imported supplies and the practical reality that the inhabitants and soldiers continued to draw heavily on whatever provisions arrived. The Council had presumably

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			accepted the additional provisions because the inhabitants needed them, but the company in London saw this as an evasion of the policy that the settlement should be self-sufficient. The repeated warnings against depending on provisions from England, in the present and earlier despatches, indicate a fundamental difference between the company's strategic view and the practical conditions on the island. The payment of £100 to Mrs Field in London, in part of her husband's salary, illustrates the use of family members as intermediaries in the financial relationship between the company and its officers abroad. Rather than accumulating Field's salary until his return to England, or sending payments to him on the island where the money would have had limited use, the company paid portions to his wife in London where she could use the funds for household expenses. The request that Field specify what annual sum he wished to receive allowed him to set the level of regular payment to his wife and any other dependents, providing a measure of financial control over his earnings even while serving on a distant island. The engagement of Edward Wynni as Minister, on the same terms as William Swindle, indicates that the company maintained the same establishment for the ministerial office despite the death of the first appointee. The combined salary and gratuity of £100 per annum, dependent on satisfactory service, matched the arrangement made with Swindle in December 1673. The duties were similarly defined: one sermon every Sunday, catechising on Sunday afternoon, and weekday teaching of children, including the children of the slaves. The continuity of these terms suggests that the company had given careful thought to the ministerial role and was content with the framework it had established, requiring only a competent man to fill it. The despatch of Wynni by way of Surat, on the ship *Nathaniel*, rather than directly to St Helena, indicates the routing pattern of the company's shipping. The *Nathaniel* was probably an East Indiaman bound for the company's Indian establishments, with St Helena as a planned stop on the outward voyage. Wynni would have travelled on the same ship as the cargo intended for India, disembarking at St Helena while the rest of the passengers and goods continued to Surat. This routing was efficient for the company, since it placed Wynni on a ship that was already making the necessary voyage, rather than requiring a dedicated vessel. The provision that Wynni teach the blacks as well as the English, repeating the language from Swindle's original engagement, confirms the continuation of the policy that slaves were to receive education and religious instruction. The eight-year persistence of this provision, from December 1673 to March 1676, indicates that it was an established feature of the company's approach to the slave population on the island, not a temporary measure subject to revision. The combination of secular education in reading with religious instruction through the catechism would have produced slaves who were both literate and formally Christian, qualifying them in due course for the planter status promised in Article 44 of the original instructions to those who professed Christianity and were baptised. **Speculations** The persistence of the Bombay rumour, surviving for over a year despite repeated company denials, suggests that the soldiers continued to find the story plausible regardless of what the company said. Bombay was indeed expanding as a company station, and the labour demands of that growing settlement would have been real. Soldiers on St Helena had no independent way to verify the company's intentions, and a rumour aligned with a plausible business logic could outlast many denials. The strict charge to identify the author

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			may have been intended as much to demonstrate the company's seriousness about denying the story as to actually catch the originator, since by this stage the rumour had probably been retold so many times that no single author could be traced. The reference to old mutineers, without further description of what their mutiny had involved, suggests that there had been an incident or series of incidents on the island during the early period of company administration that the present despatch treats as common knowledge. The Council and the company in London both knew what was meant, and no description was needed. Whether the events had involved resistance to authority, refusal of duty, plotting against officers or some other form of organised disobedience is not recoverable from the present text alone, but the reference indicates that the early settlement period had not been entirely peaceful. The arrangement under which Mrs Field received payments in London while her husband served on the island may have been designed in part to encourage Field's eventual return to England. The £100 already paid to her, presumably over the period of his service, established a financial relationship between the company and Mrs Field that depended on her husband's continued employment. The request that Field specify a regular annual figure for future payments to her would consolidate this arrangement and ensure that Field had visible reasons to maintain his service, since the payments to his wife depended on it. The provision for his return granted in the December 1674 despatch, at his wife's request, did not require him to leave immediately, and the present article suggests that he had not yet done so by March 1676. The despatch of Wynni by way of Surat, rather than directly to St Helena, would have added time to his journey but spared the company the cost of dedicated shipping. A minister was important enough to send promptly when a vacancy arose but not so urgent as to justify a special voyage. The choice to route him on the *Nathaniel* via Surat reflects the standard balancing of urgency against cost in the company's operational decisions. Wynni would have spent additional months at sea but would have arrived eventually, by which time the island had been without a minister for some considerable period since Swindle's death. The continued provision for the education of slave children alongside English children may have reflected practical as well as religious considerations. A slave child who learned to read and to recite the catechism became a more useful adult worker for the company's plantation or for any planter who employed slaves. The investment in education thus paid commercial as well as spiritual returns, and the company's persistence with the policy across changes of minister suggests that the corporation found the combined benefits worth the cost of the ministerial salary that supported it.
40	29	He is to bee accomodated with his diett att the Generall Table and to lodge att y[e] fforts house or where he may best carry on his workes intended you are to give him all civill and due respect for his incouragm[en]t & to appoynt either one of the Souldiers or Negroes to remaine with him as a Lyeing man w[hi]ch hee shall desire hee bringeth w[i]th him his owne Library of Bookes for his vse & wee require you to dilliv- ver him, all such Bookes as wee have there of first takeing a true Inventory of them, If M[r] Wynne desires to settle a Plantacon then you are to lett him have the same proportion of Land & other accomodacons as y[e] last Minist[er] had 12 Wee order you by y[e] first shipp to send home Rich: Hull who went w[i]th M[r] Moor the [Ministr] if he be	Mr Wynni was to take his diet at the general table and to lodge at the fort house, or wherever he could best carry on his intended work. The Governor and Council were to show him all civil and due respect for his encouragement. They were to appoint either a soldier or a slave to remain with him as a personal attendant, according to his choice. Wynni brought with him his own library of books for his use. The Council was required to deliver to him all the books the company already held on the island, after first taking a true inventory of them. If Wynni desired to settle a plantation, he was to receive the same proportion of land and other accommodations as the previous minister had been allowed. Article 12. The Governor and Council were ordered to send home, by the first available ship, Richard Hull, who had come out with Mr Moor the

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		willing to come away his ffreinds have very much importined vs that hee may come for England 13 Wee have advise from Bantam y[t] the Agent & Councell have sent you Severall Plants & Seeds &c for y[e] improveing of our Island, of which you make no mention in your letter to vs, We hope you have bin Carefull in theire disposall & that they doe thrive with you of which wee require an acc[oun]t by your next and what those Plants and Seeds are which came to your hands wee committ you to the Proteccion of the Allmighty and remaine Your very loveing ffr[ein]d[s] A true Coppy Examined by me Stephen Legge Clerk **Margin Notes:** His accomodation 12 Rich: Hull againe ordered to be sent home 13 Plants & Seed sent from Bantam of w[hi]ch an acc[oun]t desyred and what they are	Minister, provided that Hull was willing to leave. His friends had pressed the company earnestly that he should be allowed to return to England. Article 13. The company had received advice from Bantam that the Agent and Council there had sent several plants and seeds to St Helena for the improvement of the island. The Council on the island had made no mention of these in its letter. The company hoped that the Council had been careful in disposing of the plants and seeds, and that they were thriving. An account of how they had been handled, and what plants and seeds had arrived, was required by the next correspondence. The company committed the Council to the protection of the Almighty and remained their very loving friends. A true copy, examined by me, Stephen Legge, Clerk. **Interpretations** The accommodation arranged for Wynni reflects the practical position of the Minister within the establishment of the island. The general table refers to the Governor's table, established in the original instructions of December 1673 as the daily gathering of the senior officers, supplied at company expense from the corporation's plantation. Wynni's place at this table integrated him into the senior administrative circle and gave him daily contact with the Governor and Council. The lodging at the fort house, the principal building of the settlement, placed him in a position where his work could be most readily supported and his presence available to the inhabitants. The provision of either a soldier or a slave as a personal attendant, with Wynni given the choice of which, illustrates the practical accommodation of senior personnel on the island. A minister with teaching, preaching and catechising duties, combined with the maintenance of his own person and library, would need help with practical matters that he could not handle alone. By offering the choice between a soldier and a slave, the company allowed Wynni to select the type of attendant best suited to his needs. A soldier might be more useful for tasks requiring strength or English-language communication, while a slave might be more suitable for domestic service. The personal attendant arrangement was a recognised form of additional remuneration in kind, supplementing Wynni's cash salary and his place at the table. The reference to Wynni's own library of books, brought with him from England, indicates the importance of literary resources to ministerial work in the seventeenth century. A minister could not perform his duties effectively without sermons to study, theological works to consult, and reference materials for preparing catechisms and lessons. The transport of a personal library to St Helena reflects the cost and trouble Wynni was prepared to bear to bring his working tools with him, and the company's recognition of this commitment by providing him with whatever additional books were already held on the island. The requirement that an inventory of the existing books be made before they were delivered to Wynni reflects ordinary administrative prudence. Books were valuable items, and the company's records needed to show what had been transferred to a particular officer for his use. Without such an inventory, any subsequent question about the fate of the books, whether at Wynni's death, departure or replacement, could not be resolved with certainty. The inventory created a documentary basis for the eventual return of the books or their transfer to a successor. The grant of a plantation on the same terms as Swindle had received, if Wynni desired it, continued the policy of providing the Minister with a stake in the land of the settlement. As discussed in the analysis of the original instructions, this gave the clergyman both a

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			material interest in the island's success and an income independent of the company's salary payments. The provision that Wynni receive the same proportion of land and other accommodations as his predecessor ensured equal treatment between the two ministers and avoided any suggestion that Wynni was being received on less favourable terms than Swindle had enjoyed. The order to send Richard Hull home, at the request of his friends in England, illustrates the same pattern of family-driven repatriation seen in the case of Captain Field. Hull had come out with Mr Moor, who is described as the Minister in the present text. The reference to Moor as a minister is puzzling, since the only minister named in earlier despatches was William Swindle, and Edward Wynni was the replacement now being sent. Either Moor was a separate clergyman not previously mentioned in the despatches available, or the reference is to Francis Moore, the Surgeon and Council member, with Minister being a copying error or misreading of the role he held. The conditional nature of the order, requiring Hull's willingness to leave, indicates that the company would not compel his departure but would provide passage if he wished it. The reference to plants and seeds sent from Bantam reveals another channel through which the company's broader operations contributed to the development of St Helena. Bantam was the principal English trading station in the East Indies, and its Agent and Council had taken the initiative to send botanical materials likely to be useful for the cultivation of the island. Plants and seeds adapted to tropical or sub-tropical conditions, transferred from a long-established East Indies station to the developing South Atlantic settlement, could substantially expand the agricultural range available to the planters. The Bantam contribution complemented the Armenian goats and Indian labour proposed earlier from Surat, drawing on the resources of multiple company stations to support the new settlement. The company's surprise that the Council had not mentioned the Bantam plants and seeds in its correspondence indicates a gap in communication. Either the consignment had not yet arrived at St Helena when the Council wrote, or it had arrived but had not been thought worth reporting, or the relevant section of the Council's letter had been lost or overlooked in London. The company's request for a full account by the next correspondence aimed to close this gap and ensure that the agricultural development of the island was properly recorded and reported. The closing committal to the protection of the Almighty, and the signing as very loving friends, follows the established formula of the company's correspondence with its officers abroad. The despatch carries the company's intention to continue the personal and protective relationship that had characterised its dealings with the Council on the island, despite the firm tone of some of the substantive articles. **Speculations** The choice offered to Wynni between a soldier and a slave as a personal attendant suggests that the company expected him to express a preference based on practical considerations of his work rather than on principle. A soldier would have come from the existing garrison of fifty men, withdrawing one from regular duty for personal service to the Minister. A slave would have come from the company's plantation labour force, similarly diverting one from agricultural work. Either choice imposed a cost on another part of the establishment, and the company's willingness to provide either suggests that the Minister's role was valued highly enough to justify the diversion. Whether Wynni would choose a soldier for the social standing of the attendant, a slave for the practical service, or some particular

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			individual on personal grounds would be his decision to make on arrival. The reference to Mr Moor as the Minister, in the context of Richard Hull's repatriation, raises questions about the structure of the religious establishment on the island that the present despatch does not resolve. If a second minister named Moor had been operating on the island between Swindle's death and Wynni's arrival, no other despatch in the surviving correspondence mentions him. The reference may indicate an informal arrangement, perhaps with Francis Moore the Surgeon taking on ministerial duties in the absence of an ordained clergyman, or it may reflect a copying or transcription confusion in the manuscript. The single isolated reference does not provide sufficient evidence to determine which explanation is correct. The lapse in reporting on the Bantam plants and seeds points to an underlying problem in the Council's correspondence with London. The agricultural development of the island was the central economic concern of the company, and a major transfer of botanical materials from Bantam should have been one of the principal matters reported. That the Council made no mention of it suggests either a failure of communication between Bantam and St Helena, with the materials not having arrived when expected, or a failure of attention by the Council, which may have been preoccupied with other matters. Either explanation reflects on the administrative capacity of the settlement and may have contributed to the company's continuing dissatisfaction with the management of the island visible in earlier articles of the present despatch. The careful handling of Wynni's accommodation, library and conditions of service, in contrast to the brusque tone of some of the articles on soldiers and provisions, illustrates the differential treatment of senior professional officers compared with ordinary inhabitants. The Minister was a man of education and standing, recruited from London on terms that placed him among the highest-paid members of the establishment. The arrangements made for his arrival reflected the company's recognition that such men needed to be received with the courtesy appropriate to their status, since their willingness to serve in distant and uncertain conditions depended in part on the respect they received. The contrast with the firm warnings to idle inhabitants and persistent troublemakers shows the social stratification underlying the company's management of the island.
41	30	Blank page	
42	31	Worp[full] S[i]r[s] &c[?] Wee kindly th[e]se Salues you & advisem[en]t that by order of y[e] Honorable Company by Mast[er] wee have sent you by Shipp George 2 Carmania being all wee can procure, which are to be kept apart for theire breed, that it be not lost, as in some some formerly hath, by running amongst y[e] ordinary, they are apt to be full of [...] of which y[ou] though bed [...], by combing it with C[...] which wee have herewith sent, w[hi]ch P[...] ve[s]eepme in health as they do in Carmania or if there be ocation to stove them once a yeare, theire fine vnder wooles, w[hi]ch is to be taken off by combing or sheereing of the [...] Comp[an]y would have sent home unto y[e] these Goats in time may prove of greate vse to y[e] Island both for [a] Pres[en]t ffreshm[en]t & Merchandise w[hi]ch is no[w] offers from Swally Marine 30 Ianuary 1677 Your Affecionate ffr[ein]ds Tho: Roltt Charles Iames Cesar Chamberlan Ind: Child Ind: Petit	Worshipful Sirs. The Council kindly saluted the Governor and Council at St Helena, and gave notice that by order of the Honourable Company at home, two Carmanian goats had been sent by the ship *George*. These were all that could be procured. The goats were to be kept apart for breeding, so that the stock would not be lost as some earlier consignments had been by mixing with the ordinary herds. The goats were liable to be heavy with the under-wool, which had to be removed by combing with the comb sent with them. Regular combing would keep the animals in the same state of health as they enjoyed in Carmania. If occasion required, the goats could be stowed once a year to allow the fine under-wool to be taken off by combing or shearing. The company at home wished the wool to be sent back to England. In time the goats might prove of great use to the island, both for present refreshment and as a source of merchandise. Sent from Swally Marine, 30 January 1678. The despatch was signed by Thomas Rolt, Charles James, Caesar Chamberlain, John Child and John Petit, as the Council's affectionate friends.

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		Invoice of Carmania Goats Laden on Shipps George for S[t] Hellena Island and consigned to Govr: and Councell their for account of y[e] Honnoble [East] Indie Company as ffolloweth Rs[?] [...] 2 Goats Cost with charges from Persia - - - 80 - 49 charges of keeping y[em] till he Shipp[ed] - - - 14 - 12 40 Maund Carravances for the Voyage Cost Rupes 37 - 46 132 - 14[?] Swally Marine 2 Ianu[ar]y 167[7]/[8] Charles Iames	Invoice of Carmanian goats laden on the ship *George* for the island of St Helena, consigned to the Governor and Council there on account of the Honourable East India Company, as follows. Two goats, cost with charges from Persia 80 rupees 49 annas 0 pies Charges of keeping the goats until the shipment 14 rupees 12 annas 0 pies Forty maunds of carravances for the voyage, at 37 rupees 46 annas per maund 132 rupees 14 annas 0 pies Sent from Swally Marine, 2 January 1678. Signed by Charles James. **Interpretations** The Carmanian goats originated in Carmania, the ancient name for the region of Kerman in south-eastern Persia. The breed was valued in the early modern period for the fine under-wool, which provided a textile fibre comparable to cashmere. The company's interest in the breed, expressed in the earlier order from London for goats to be sent from Surat, reflected an awareness that a wool-producing animal adapted to dry conditions might thrive on St Helena and yield a commercially valuable product. The shipment of only two goats, described as all that could be procured, indicates the difficulty of obtaining suitable breeding stock through company channels in Persia. The despatch from Swally Marine, the anchorage near Surat used by company ships, identifies the senders as the Surat Council of the East India Company. Thomas Rolt was the President at Surat during this period, with Charles James, Caesar Chamberlain, John Child and John Petit serving as members of the Council. The despatch represents inter-station correspondence within the company's network, executing the order that had originated in London for the supply of livestock to the developing settlement at St Helena. The instruction to keep the goats apart for breeding, so that the stock would not be lost through interbreeding with the ordinary herds, reflects the same concern expressed in the original London despatch of December 1674, which had directed that the goats be placed in a remote valley distant from all plantations. The Surat Council's warning that previous consignments had been lost through such mixing indicates that goats had been sent to other company settlements before, with disappointing results when proper isolation had not been maintained. The accumulated experience of these earlier failures supported the precise instructions now given for St Helena. The technical guidance about combing the wool, and the inclusion of the comb itself with the goats, provided the recipients with both the tools and the knowledge needed for proper management. Without such guidance, the Council at St Helena would have had no way to know how to extract the valuable under-wool from animals that were unfamiliar to them. The reference to stowing the goats once a year, which is the manuscript's word for stalling them or confining them for the wool harvest, indicates the seasonal nature of the wool collection. The under-wool grew during the cooler months and was shed or harvested in the warmer season, and the goats had to be confined during this process to allow systematic combing or shearing. The wish that the wool be sent back to England identifies the commercial purpose behind the introduction. The company saw the goats not merely as a local resource for the island but as the foundation of an export trade. Wool of cashmere-like quality, produced at a company-controlled station in the South Atlantic, could be transported to England on the regular returning ships and sold at substantial profit. The arrangement would integrate St Helena into the

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			corporation's commercial network as a producer of goods rather than only as a consumer of supplies. The invoice attached to the despatch records the costs incurred in obtaining and shipping the goats. The two goats themselves, with charges for transport from Persia, cost 80 rupees and 49 of a smaller denomination. Further charges of 14 rupees and 12 for keeping them until shipment brought the cost of the animals to approximately 94 rupees and 61 of the smaller unit. The fodder for the voyage consisted of 40 maunds of carravances at 37 rupees and 46 of the smaller unit per maund, totalling 132 rupees and 14. The figures use the rupee and a smaller subdivision whose precise value cannot be determined from the visible text, since the numbers do not match the standard 16-anna structure of the rupee-anna-pie system. Carravances refers to dried beans or pulses, similar to chickpeas, supplied as fodder for the voyage. A maund was the standard unit of weight used in the Surat trade, equivalent to roughly 75 pounds avoirdupois in the local Surat measure. The provision of approximately 3,000 pounds of feed for two goats reflects the length of the voyage from Surat to St Helena, which could take several months under varying conditions. The dual dating of 2 January 1677/8 on the invoice, combined with the 30 January 1678 dating of the covering letter, reflects the old-style calendar convention. By present reckoning, both dates fall in January 1678, and the brief gap between them indicates that the invoice was prepared first and the covering letter completed about four weeks later. **Speculations** The procurement of only two goats from Persia, described as all that could be procured, suggests significant difficulty in obtaining the breed through the available channels. The Carmania region was distant from Surat, and the trade routes through which company agents could acquire breeding stock may have been limited or competitive with Persian, Mughal or other European purchasers. The small consignment placed considerable pressure on the recipients to manage the goats successfully, since the loss of either animal would substantially reduce the breeding potential of the herd on the island. Whether further consignments would be sent in subsequent years would depend on the success of these first two and on the continuing availability of breeding stock from Persia. The provision of forty maunds of fodder for two goats reflects an abundance designed to cover delays and contingencies. The voyage from Swally Marine to St Helena, against prevailing currents and with the usual stops, might extend well beyond the minimum sailing time, and goats deprived of feed during a prolonged voyage would not survive. The generous fodder allowance, costing more than the goats themselves, was insurance against the failure of the entire enterprise through hunger. The cost ratio, with feed exceeding livestock value by a significant margin, illustrates the practical challenges of moving valuable animals over long sea distances in the seventeenth century. The integration of St Helena into the company's commercial network as a producer of fine wool, rather than only as a refreshment station, may have been seen as a way to justify the continuing costs of the settlement. The earlier despatches had repeatedly stressed the need for the island to become self-supporting and to reduce its drain on the company's resources. If St Helena could be developed as a source of commercial wool comparable to cashmere, the settlement would generate revenue alongside its strategic function. The Surat Council's reference to the goats' potential value as merchandise reflects this commercial calculation, although the actual development of a wool trade from St Helena would depend on factors that the present despatch could not

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			predict, including the survival and breeding of the goats, the quality of the wool produced in the island's climate, and the response of the European market to the product. The signatures of Thomas Rolt and his colleagues on the despatch link the St Helena settlement to the broader Surat-Bombay establishment that dominated the company's Indian operations during this period. The Surat Council was one of the most senior bodies in the company's overseas network, with authority over a substantial commercial enterprise and significant diplomatic relationships with the Mughal empire and the regional powers of western India. The cooperation of this Council in supplying St Helena demonstrates the integration of the new South Atlantic settlement into the established structures of the company's eastern operations, with personnel, plants, animals and instructions flowing between Surat, Bantam and the island under the overall direction of the Court of Committees in London.
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45	36	Copy of Govr Blackmeres Comission By the Governor & Company of Merch[an]ts of London tradeing to the East Indies, At a Court of Committees holden the 20th of February in the thirteenth Yeare of the Reigne of our Sove- raigne Lord Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & of Ireland Defender of the ffaith. &c[oet]o Anno q Domini: 1677 1 To all to whome these p[re]sents shall come greeting Know yee that in pursuance of the authority to us grant- ed by his Maj[es]ties Letters Patents under the greate Seale of England dated the 16th December 1673 Whereby wee are made & Constituted free and absolute Lords and Pro- prietors of the Island St Hellena. Whereas Cap[t] Gregory ffield is the present Govrnour of o[ur] said Island [St] Hellena Wee do hereby discharge him of that trust & Comma[u]nd, and order him to Returne home for England by the first opertunity of Shipping that shall present And wee Reposeing especiall trust & Confidence in the ffidelity Prudence Iustice and provident circumspeccion of you Major John Blackmore have made constituted & appoynt & doe by these p[re]sents do made constitute & appoynt you, Major John Blackmore to be Govrnor & Comm[an]der in cheife of the said Island in the roome of the said Capt Gregory ffield, And of all Singular the fforts Lands ffortifica[tion] and Iurisdictions thereof and of all the forces that now, which or hereafter shall be imployed for the Service of the said Govrnour & Company in the said Island Of all the people and Inhabitants thereof You the said Major Blackmore to enter vppon the Government of the said Island at the Arri- vall of the Shipp Johanna bound thither, and to continue durying our pleasure or vntill the contrary - - - - shall be signified vnder the Companies Common Seale And wee alsoe appoynt Cap[t] Anthony Beale to be Deputy Govrnour of the said Island Lievtenant Tyler his Joshua Johnson Richard Swallow John Greentree, & John Coalston to be of our Councell and to take Place in Councell in the order they are nere Named which said Govrnour & said Councell or any three of them whereof y[e] Govrnour or his Deputy to be alwaies one are vnder us to have & Exercise the Cheife Comand & authority in the said Island in all matters whatsoever, And vnto whome all p[er]sons there resyding or which hereafter shall reside in the said Island, all officers Soldi[ers] of what Quality or Condicion whatsoever, are to give great due Obedience **Margin Notes:**	A copy of Governor Blackmore's commission. By the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, at a Court of Committees held on 20 February in the thirtieth year of the reign of Charles the Second, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, in the year of our Lord 1678. Article 1. The commission was addressed to all who might see it. Acting in pursuance of the authority granted by the King's letters patent under the great seal of England, dated 16 December 1673, by which the company had been constituted free and absolute lords and proprietors of the island of St Helena, the company made the following appointments. Captain Gregory Field, the present Governor of the island, was discharged from his trust and command. He was ordered to return home to England by the first available shipping. The company, reposing special trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice and provident circumspection of Major John Blackmore, made him Governor and Commander in Chief of the island in place of Captain Field. The appointment covered all forts, lands, fortifications and jurisdictions of the island, all the forces then or afterwards employed in the service of the Governor and Company on the island, and all the people and inhabitants. Blackmore was to enter upon the government of the island on the arrival of the ship *Johanna*, which was bound for St Helena. He was to continue in office during the company's pleasure, or until the contrary was signified under the company's common seal. Captain Anthony Beale was appointed Deputy Governor of the island. Lieutenant Tyler, Joshua Johnson, Richard Swallow, John Greentree and John Coalston were appointed to the Council, taking their places in the order named. The Governor and Council, or any three of them with the Governor or his Deputy always counted among the three, were to exercise chief command and authority over the island in all matters. All persons then resident on the island, or who afterwards came to reside there, including all officers and soldiers of whatever quality or condition, were to give due obedience to this body. The manuscript is unclear at the close of this passage. **Interpretations** The dating of the commission as 20 February 1677, by the old-style calendar in which the year changed on 25 March, corresponds to 20 February 1678 by present reckoning. The regnal year reference to the thirtieth year of Charles the Second confirms the dating, since Charles had returned to the throne on 29 May 1660 and the thirtieth year of his reign ran from 29 May 1677 to

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		1 Cap[t]: ffield Discharged from being Governour, & to Returne for England, Ma- jor John Black- more to be Go- verner of said the Island, &c. you are to fol- low our Instruc- tions hereto fore even or such others as you shall from t[i]me to time recei[ve] from y[e] Govern[or] and Comp[any] and Cap[t] Beale to be Deputy of said Lieutenant Tyler Lieuten[an]t Iohnson Reck- Swallow Iohn Greentre[e] and Iohn Coalston to be of our Coun- cell	28 May 1678. The commission therefore falls in the same period as the Surat despatch of January 1678 concerning the Carmanian goats, indicating that the company was simultaneously addressing personnel changes in London and supply matters in India for the developing settlement on the island. The discharge of Captain Field as Governor and his order to return home represents the implementation of the permission granted in the December 1674 despatch, which had given Field free liberty to return at his wife's request. The intervening period of more than three years suggests that Field had continued in office while a suitable replacement was identified and prepared, or that the original permission had not been acted on immediately for other reasons. The present commission converted the earlier permissive order into an active discharge, removing any discretion that Field might have exercised about whether to remain. The naming of the new Governor as Major John Blackmore, with the military rank explicitly attached, marks a shift in the character of the senior appointment compared with Field's captaincy. A major was a more senior military rank than a captain, and the choice of a man at this level reflects the company's recognition that the island's governorship had developed into a substantial command requiring an officer of greater standing. The reference to fidelity, prudence, justice and provident circumspection follows the standard formula of trust used in seventeenth-century commissions, but the qualities named suggest particular concerns about the qualities needed in a governor: loyalty to the corporation, careful judgement, fair dealing with the inhabitants and forward-looking management. The succession arrangement, with Beale continuing as Deputy Governor rather than being elevated to the governorship, represents a departure from the original instructions of December 1673. Those instructions had directed that on Field's death or removal, Beale would automatically succeed as Governor. The December 1674 despatch had reaffirmed this, stating that if Field returned home, Beale would succeed. The present commission overrides both earlier provisions by appointing Blackmore over Beale's head while keeping Beale in his existing subordinate role. Beale had served as Deputy Governor for over four years, had held the offices of Husband and Storekeeper, and had commanded one of the two soldier companies. The decision not to elevate him, despite the long-standing prior commitment, represents a significant change of company policy. The composition of the Council shows considerable continuity with earlier arrangements. Richard Swallow had been appointed to the Council in the original instructions of December 1673 and had been confirmed in his place in the December 1674 despatch. John Coalston is presumably the John Coalston named in the original instructions, with the spelling variant reflecting the inconsistencies common in seventeenth-century English orthography. Lieutenant Tyler and Joshua Johnson are new names, suggesting that the Council had been refreshed with additional members since the earlier instructions. John Greentree is also new to the visible despatches, although the name may have appeared in correspondence not preserved in the present sequence. The reduction of the quorum to any three members, with the Governor or Deputy required among them, contrasts with the original instructions, which had required five members for ordinary council business. The smaller quorum suggests that the day-to-day operation of the Council had been hampered by the difficulty of assembling five members regularly, particularly in a small population where illness, absence on company business or other distractions could easily reduce attendance. By lowering the quorum to three,

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			the company made the Council more workable while maintaining the requirement that a senior officer be present to ensure proper oversight. The provision that Blackmore enter upon the government on the arrival of the *Johanna* ties the effective date of the new administration to the arrival of a specific ship. This was necessary because the commission could not take practical effect until Blackmore reached the island, and the arrival of the *Johanna* would provide the formal moment of transition. Until that moment, Field would continue as Governor under the existing arrangements. The formal handover would presumably involve the reading of the commission, the formal acceptance of office by Blackmore, and the surrender of authority by Field. The reference to forces then or afterwards employed in the service of the company on the island confirms that the garrison remained part of the establishment, despite the reductions ordered in the earlier despatches. The seventy-five-man establishment had been reduced to fifty in the December 1674 despatch, and the March 1676 despatch had approved this reduction while authorising further cuts if the inhabitants could secure the island. The present commission acknowledges that some force continued in service and would be subject to the Governor's command, without specifying the current establishment level. **Speculations** The decision to appoint Blackmore over Beale's head, contrary to the succession arrangement repeatedly confirmed in earlier despatches, points to dissatisfaction with Beale's performance or to a judgement that he was not suitable for the senior office. Beale had accumulated significant authority on the island, holding multiple offices and serving as Deputy Governor throughout Field's tenure. If he had performed well, the natural step would have been his elevation to the governorship on Field's departure, as originally planned. The company's choice to bring in an outsider instead suggests either a particular concern about Beale or a positive judgement that Blackmore brought qualities the company specifically wanted. Without access to the intervening correspondence between the Council and London, the precise reasons cannot be determined. The seniority gap between Field as Captain and Blackmore as Major may reflect the company's growing assessment of the island's importance. A captain had been adequate for the initial recapture-era administration, when the settlement was being established under uncertain conditions. By 1678, the island had been under company control for five years, the planter settlement had grown, the strategic importance for homeward fleets had been confirmed, and the establishment had developed into a permanent administrative structure. A major, with greater military authority and presumably greater administrative experience, was appropriate for the more substantial command that the island had become. The lowering of the quorum from five to three suggests that practical difficulties with the original arrangement had become significant. In a population that fluctuated with the arrival and departure of ships, with the deaths of officers from disease or accident, and with the routine demands of administration and defence, requiring five council members for every decision could have produced regular delays. The reduction to three made the Council functional under a much wider range of circumstances while preserving the principle of collective decision-making with senior involvement. The choice of three as the new quorum, rather than two or four, reflects the standard practice of avoiding even numbers to prevent tied votes. The continuity of Richard Swallow, John Coalston and Beale himself across multiple commissions, despite

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			the changes around them, indicates that these men had become fixtures of the island's administration. Their accumulated knowledge of local conditions, personnel and procedures gave them value beyond their formal positions, and removing them would have disrupted the operation of the Council more than was necessary. The addition of new members in the persons of Tyler, Johnson and Greentree refreshed the Council with men who had presumably proved themselves during the intervening years, while the retention of the established members preserved institutional memory through the change of Governor.
46	37	And in case of the death or remov[al] of the said Major - - John Blackmore, Wee have thought fitt to ordeine & ap- poynt the [b]efore named Cap[t] Anthony Beale to. Succeed in y[e] place of Governor of the said Island. And in case of the death or removal as well of the said Capt Anthony Beale, as of the said Major John Blackmore Then Wee do Constitute & appoynt o[u]r Councell of the said Island for the time being or any three or more of them to be our Cheife Commissioners for the Executi[on] ing the place & Office of Governour of the said Island in as Full & Ample [...] with the same powers as are hereby granted unto the said Major John Blackmore or Cap[t] Anthony Beale to continue untill the contary thereof shall be Signified vnder o[ur] Common Seale And You our said Govrnour and Councell before-named in the Execution of the Power & trust to you committed are to observe the Orders & instruccions now given or such others that you shall hereafter from time to time Receive from the said Govrnor & Company And Wee do hereby require as well all the Inhabita[nts] of the said Island, as also the Officers and Souldiers Entertai- ned in our Service to be Obedient unto you o[u]r said Govr- nour & Councill and to be aideing & assisting unto you in the Execution of the trust and Comm[an]d given you Given vnder our Common Seale the Day and Year first above written **Margin Notes:** all the Inhabita- nts Officers and Souldiers to be Obedient unto y[e] Govern[or] & Councill and to be Aideing & Assisting unto you	In the event of the death or removal of Major John Blackmore, the company appointed Captain Anthony Beale to succeed as Governor of the island. If both Beale and Blackmore died or were removed, the company constituted the Council of the island for the time being, or any three or more of them, as chief commissioners to execute the office of Governor. They were to hold these powers in as full and ample a manner as had been granted to Blackmore or Beale. The arrangement was to continue until the company signified otherwise under the common seal. The Governor and Council were to observe, in the execution of the power and trust committed to them, the orders and instructions now given and any others they might receive from the Governor and Company from time to time. All inhabitants of the island, along with the officers and soldiers in company service, were required to be obedient to the Governor and Council and to aid and assist them in the execution of their trust and command. Given under the common seal on the day and year first written above. **Interpretations** The provision that Beale would succeed Blackmore in the event of the latter's death or removal restores to Beale the succession arrangement that the present commission had taken from him in respect of Field's departure. The result is a curious hybrid: Beale was passed over for the immediate succession when Field returned home, with Blackmore being brought in from outside, but was reinstated as the designated successor should Blackmore die or be removed. This indicates that the company had no fundamental objection to Beale as Governor, but had judged that Blackmore was the better choice for the present moment. The retention of Beale in the succession line suggests that the company valued his continuity and accumulated knowledge of the island, while preferring a fresh senior appointment for the active office. The further provision that the Council itself, or any three or more members, would assume the office of Governor if both Blackmore and Beale died or were removed, follows the same pattern established in the original instructions of December 1673. The Council was to act as chief commissioners exercising the full powers of the governorship, rather than nominating one of their number as a single successor. The collective succession arrangement avoided the difficulty of identifying a single individual at a moment of crisis and ensured continuous government even if the senior personnel were lost together. The reference to any three or more members aligns with the new quorum of three established earlier in the commission, providing a workable threshold for the exercise of executive authority. The standing instruction that the Governor and Council observe both the orders given in the present commission and any future instructions reflects the continuing pattern by which the company governed the island through despatches from London. Each new commission established the framework of authority,

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			while specific operational instructions arrived by successive ships and adjusted policy as circumstances changed. The Council was expected to integrate all such instructions into a coherent body of standing orders, applying the most recent guidance where it modified earlier directions. The requirement that all inhabitants, officers and soldiers obey the Governor and Council and assist them in their duties carries forward the obedience clause from earlier commissions. The clause served as the constitutional basis for the Governor's authority over the population, supporting any disciplinary action that might be taken against an inhabitant or member of the garrison who refused to comply. By stating the obligation in general terms, the commission gave the Governor and Council the flexibility to require obedience in any matter falling within their proper authority, without needing to specify particular categories of order. The execution of the commission under the common seal completed the formal authentication of the document as a corporate act of the company. The seal converted the commission from a draft or copy into a legal instrument with the full weight of the East India Company behind it. The Governor and Council on the island, on receiving the sealed commission, would treat its provisions as binding from the moment Blackmore arrived and entered upon his office. The clause indicating that the day and year of issue had been given at the beginning of the commission directs the reader back to the formal dating in the opening section. The structure of the document, with the date stated once at the start and referenced at the close, follows standard seventeenth-century practice for formal instruments and avoids any ambiguity about when the commission was issued. **Speculations** The dual-track arrangement, by which Beale was passed over for the immediate succession but retained as the designated successor to Blackmore, suggests a calculation that Beale was suitable for the office in extremis but not as the company's first choice in ordinary circumstances. This may reflect particular concerns about Beale's qualities, his accumulated local interests, or his standing among the inhabitants and soldiers. A man who had held multiple offices for several years on a small isolated island would have developed loyalties, dependencies and possibly factions that an outsider would not bring. The company may have judged that a fresh appointment would clear away accumulated entanglements while keeping Beale available as a backup should the new arrangement fail. The retention of the collective Council succession at the end of the chain, with three or more members able to assume the office of Governor, indicates that the company had thought carefully about the possibility of multiple deaths or removals in a short period. Disease, accident or unforeseen events could remove two senior officers within a few months on a small isolated island, and the company needed an arrangement that would survive any combination of losses. By keeping the Council itself as the ultimate fallback, the commission ensured that government would never lapse entirely, regardless of what happened to individual officers. The standing instruction to obey both the present commission and future orders reflects the practical reality that no single document could anticipate all circumstances. The company's governance of St Helena had developed through successive despatches over the five years since the recapture, each adjusting policy in response to new information or changing conditions. The present commission could not freeze that pattern, and the express acknowledgement that future instructions would carry equal weight preserved the

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			flexibility that had become essential to the management of the settlement. The Council was thus working under a body of standing orders that grew with each new despatch, requiring continuous attention to integrate new instructions with existing arrangements.
47	38	Blank page	
48	39	P[er] Shipp Iohanna Cap[t] Hopefor Bendall Our Governor & Counsell at St Hellena. - feb[rua]ry 20: 1677/8 Wee haveing by our Commission bearing date the 20 day of February 1677 discharged Cap[t]: Gregory ffield from being Govrnour of our Island St Hellena, and chosen Major John Blackmore to Succeed him in that charge as by the s[ai]d Commission more at Large appears, vnto which wee require your due observance, and we haveing Ordered the said Major John Blackmore to enter vppon the s[ai]d Govrnm[ent] att the Arrivall of the Shipp Iohannah now bound thither, on which Shipp he takes his passage; Wee doe for the better Government and Managing of our affaires on the said Island require you to observe the directions and Instructions following 1 In the first place therefore, That all our Concernes vnder your Care and Conduct may by the blessing of God the better prosper, Wee would have you See that the Lords day be religiously observed throughout our s[ai]d Island by all the Inhabitants there of by their abstaining from all bodyly Labour and Secular Imployment, and alsoe from all unlawfull Sports and Pastimes, and that You our Governor and Counsell doe appoint some Convenient publick place, or places for the Worship of Almighty God, Whereunto all persons may resort every Lords day to join in the Solemn Exercise of all religious Duties, And that You Our Governor & Councill doe by your presence and practice encourage the Minister in y[e] discharge of his duty, And the people in their attendance on the Ordinances of God, & there You must take care that all prophane Swearing or takeing the Name of God in Vaine be refrained and carefully avoyded, as alsoe all untemperance ffornication, Drunkenness uncleaness and unlawfull gameing, And if any person shall offend in any of the s[ai]d Crymes they be punished according to the Lawes of England in such Cases provided according to the judgm[ent] of you Our Governour and Counsell Vpon your arrivall at the Island St Hellena on the Shipp Iohan- nah, on which you now take your passage. You are to recieve from the Comander of the said Shipp, all the Ammunition Armes Stores Victualls and other provisions and Necessaryes particularly Menconed in the bill of Lading and Invoice and Cause them to be safely Landed and housed under the Charge and Custody of Capt Anthony Beale our Husband and Storekeeper, that they may be preserved from Damage wast and Em- bezlement, of whom we would have send us an exact Accompt not onely of what we have now sent, but also of what we have formerly Sent or hath bin recieved from time to time, and that at Large in a Booke by way **Margin Notes:** Lords Day to be Religi- ously observed All Bodily Labour, and Vn- lawfull Sports prohibited Publicke places for Wor[ship] to be appointed by Gov[ernor] and Counsell All prophane Swearing, Drunkenness, uncleanness & vnlawfull Gameing to be punished by the Lawes of Engl[an]d the Gov[ernor] & Counsell shall judge meete 2 Cap[t]: Beale the Comp[anys] Husband & Storekeeper to whom all ammunitions Stores and provisions are to be delivered to vs to be an exact acc[oun]t now & for[mer]ly sent	By the ship *Johanna*, Captain Hopefor Bendall. To the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated 20 February 1678. The company had issued a commission of 20 February 1678 discharging Captain Gregory Field from the governorship of St Helena and appointing Major John Blackmore in his place. The terms of that commission were set out at greater length in the commission itself, and the Governor and Council were required to observe them. Blackmore took his passage on the *Johanna* and was to take up the government on his arrival at the island. To assist in the better conduct of affairs on St Helena, the Governor and Council were required to follow the directions set out in the despatch. 1 The first concern was the religious life of the island, so that the company's interests under the care of the Governor and Council might prosper. The Lord's Day was to be kept by every inhabitant. No one was to perform bodily labour or secular work on that day, and unlawful sports and pastimes were also forbidden. The Governor and Council were directed to set aside one or more suitable public places for the worship of Almighty God, where everyone could gather each Lord's Day for religious exercises. The Governor and Council were to attend in person and encourage the Minister in his duties and the inhabitants in their attendance at worship. Profane swearing and the taking of God's name in vain were to be checked, together with intemperance, fornication, drunkenness, uncleanness and unlawful gaming. Anyone offending in these matters was to be punished under English law, with the Governor and Council giving judgment. On arrival at St Helena, Blackmore was to take from the commander of the *Johanna* all the ammunition, arms, stores, victuals and other provisions and necessaries set out in the bill of lading and invoice. The goods were to be landed safely and housed under the charge of Captain Anthony Beale, the company's Husband and Storekeeper, to protect them from damage, waste and embezzlement. Beale was required to send the company a full account in book form, both of the present consignment and of all earlier supplies received from time to time. **Interpretations** The commission of 20 February 1678 had to be read with the present despatch. The commission carried the formal change of governor, while the despatch carried the working instructions for daily administration. The split between the two instruments reflected the company's standard practice of separating a constitutional act under the common seal from the operational orders that gave it practical effect. The handover of authority was tied to a specific moment, the arrival of the *Johanna*, rather than to the date of the commission, which gave Blackmore a clear point at which his powers began and limited any ambiguity over the transitional period. The Husband and Storekeeper, an office held by Beale since the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, combined commercial management with physical custody of company stores. Routing all incoming supplies through this single officer concentrated accountability and made it possible to identify losses by reference to a single set of books. The requirement for a continuous running account, covering both the present consignment and all earlier supplies, served as an audit mechanism against the dispersal of company property

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			and against the kind of provisioning disputes already familiar from the company's complaint over Captain Batt's stores in March 1676. The religious provisions functioned as a code of social control as much as a statement of piety. By directing the Governor and Council both to provide a place of worship and to attend it themselves, the company tied magisterial authority to ecclesiastical practice on an island that had no resident bishop and no ecclesiastical courts. The reference to punishment under English law for swearing, drunkenness, fornication, uncleanness and unlawful gaming placed these matters within the secular jurisdiction of the Governor and Council, which was the only judicial authority available on the island. The combined effect was to make the Governor and Council the local equivalent of justices of the peace, vestrymen and churchwardens in a single bench. The reference to declared lawful punishment under the judgment of the Governor and Council relied on the broad grant of jurisdiction in the letters patent of 16 December 1673, which had authorised penalties up to and including the taking of life and limb. The despatch did not need to repeat that authority, but it presupposed it. Moral offences on the island were therefore prosecuted not merely as breaches of church discipline but as offences against an English statutory framework adapted to a setting where the company stood in for both Crown and Church. **Speculations** The decision to tie the start of Blackmore's authority to the arrival of the *Johanna*, rather than to the date of his commission, probably reflected a wish to avoid a vacuum or a contested moment of transition. Field was still on the island and had not yet been informed of his discharge. A trigger event observable to everyone on the island, the arrival of a named ship carrying the new Governor in person, removed any room for argument over the precise moment at which Field's authority ended and Blackmore's began. The unusually full opening on religious observance, set out before any of the practical instructions on stores or government, was perhaps a deliberate response to the morale problems flagged in the despatch of March 1676. The references in that earlier despatch to old mutineers, to the case of Young, to declared idlers and to the persistent Bombay rumour suggested an island where discipline was fragile. Opening Blackmore's instructions with a code of public worship and moral policing placed the new Governor's authority on a foundation of order and obedience that the company could reasonably expect every inhabitant to recognise, regardless of their view of the change in command. The instruction that Beale, rather than Blackmore himself, was to take physical custody of the incoming stores preserved the existing storekeeping arrangement across the change of governor. By keeping Beale in the same operational role he had held since 1673, the company protected the continuity of its accounts at the very moment when a newly arrived outsider might otherwise have been tempted to reorganise the stores in his own way. The arrangement also reinforced Beale's standing as the institutional memory of the island administration, a function consistent with his retention as Deputy Governor and as next in the line of succession under the commission of 20 February 1678.
49	40	Way of Debitor and Creditor how each Store especially p[ro]vicions hath bin expended[?] And in case of the death or Mortality of y[e] s[ai]d Cap[t] Beale, Then You [&] Councell by Consultation are to appoint another in his roome until our further Order, And as we have plentifully furnishe[d] you with all Sorts of Necesary Stores & Provisions, So wee desire you to be Very carefull in the distribution and disposeall of the said	Continuing from the requirement that Beale was to send the company a continuous account in book form, the entries were to follow the debtor and creditor method so that each store, and in particular each consignment of provisions, could be tracked from receipt to expenditure. If Beale died or fell to mortality, the Governor and Council were to meet in consultation

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		Stores, and a provicions That none of them be Issued out or Expended by our s[ai]d Husband without Warrant under the hand of our Governor and two or More of our Councell, And that our provision of Victualls be equally distributed to the Souldiers for their Maintenance and Encouragement as you & the Counsell shall judge Necesary and Convenient for them from time to time, And also to the Planters according to our first Constitution, That is to say for the Time of Nine Months to allow them Victualls out of our Stores, If that their respective plantations cannot Sooner furnish and supply them with food, But afterwards, for what Pro[-] visions Cattle they receive shall be delivered to them at the same rates they formerly paid, although bread & Beefe be dearer at this time, yet for the Encouragement of our Planters wee doe not alter the prices [And all the other goodes which shall be delivered out of our Stores upon Accompt of Supply the Wants of our Said Planters, Shall be delivered according as they are rated in the Invoice] 3 And that our Stores may be the better preserved and husbanded, wee desire you with the Counsill to come, in Three Months, or More, to Supervise the Accompt of them, and that care may be taken they may be so con- veniently laid upp and housed, that time or other Inconveniences of W[ind] Warehouseroome may consum[e] as little as posible, And what soever Cloths or other particulars Stores shall be delivered out to the Souldiers or Planters for their owne particular use, We appoint the Husband and the Keeper of our Stores to charge them to each particular persons accompt at the rates as by Invoice aforesaid, and Yearly a Coppy of such Accompt to be returned vnto vs. 4 We have alsoe by this Ship sent you 879 Mexico and seuill peeces [of] 8 in Severall peeces and 1 peece is under the Care and Charge of our Husband Cap[t] Beale, And to be by him Issued out at the rate of 5 P[er] peece for payment of Souldiers according to Warrant of the Gover- nor & Councell, wherin regard must be had to the allowance for Cloths and other things the Souldiers may take up out of the Stores on Account of Wages, and when y[ou]r occasions require we will send you more & y[ou] are in noe vise to draw any bills of Exchange upon us, & therefore good [Hus] Husbandry must be practised, in distributing ready Monyes to them upon Accompt of Pay, [that they may have some but not all to spend at carelesly] 5 We appoint that all our Souldiers, that are in pay upon our s[ai]d Island and those that now Voyage thether and are entertained into our Service as Souldiers **Margin Notes:** In case of Cap[t] Beales death then another shal[l] [...] is to be put in by ye Govr & Counsell The Provisions to be [sup] [...]ed out without War[-] rant of ye Gov[ernor] & 2 [or] more of y[e] Council The Planters are to have 9 monthes provisi[on] of their plantation cannot sooner fur[-] nish them but af[-] terwards all estates pro[-] visions are to be delivered [at the] same rates p[er] invoice 3 In 3 monthes audit of the Stores and Coopers[?] visse[?] [...] are to be to be rated as by Invoice and a Coppy sent us [...] us Yearly 4 Peeces of 8 to be Issued out by Warrant of Gov[ernor] and Councell The bills of [Exch] to be drawn on y[e] Company 5 All Souldiers to be in-	and appoint a replacement to act until the company sent further order. The company had supplied St Helena with ample stores and provisions and required careful management of their distribution. No item was to be issued by Beale, as Husband, without a warrant signed by the Governor and at least two other members of the Council. Victuals were to be shared equally among the soldiers in such quantities as the Governor and Council judged necessary for their maintenance and encouragement from time to time. Planters were to be supplied from the company stores for nine months, unless their own plantations could sustain them sooner. After the nine-month period, any further provisions or cattle drawn from the stores were to be charged to the planters at the rates set in the earlier founding instructions of 19 December 1673, even though bread and beef were now dearer in London. The company refused to raise the prices on the island in order to encourage the planters. All other goods issued from the stores to supply the wants of the planters were to be charged at the rates given in the present invoice. 3 To preserve and husband the stores, the Governor and Council were directed to audit the accounts every three months or more often. Care was to be taken that the stores were laid up and housed in such a way that time, weather and shortage of warehouse room would consume as little as possible. Any clothing or other particular items issued from the stores to soldiers or planters for their own private use were to be charged by the Husband and Storekeeper to each person's individual account, at the rates set in the invoice. A copy of these personal accounts was to be sent home to the company once a year. 4 The company sent 879 Mexico and Seville pieces of eight on the *Johanna*, in several parcels, with one further piece, all under the charge of Beale as Husband. The coin was to be issued at the rate of 5s per piece in payment of the soldiers, on warrant from the Governor and Council. The rate had to take account of clothing and other items that soldiers had already drawn from the stores against their wages. The company would send further coin when occasion required, and the Governor and Council were forbidden to draw bills of exchange on the company in London. Pay was to be administered carefully, so that each soldier received some ready money in hand but not so much that he could spend it all carelessly. 5 All soldiers in pay on the island, and those who had now taken passage to the island and were entered into the company's service as soldiers, were to be **Interpretations** The debtor and creditor method specified for Beale's storekeeping was the standard double-entry approach used by London merchants. By insisting on it for the island stores, the company brought the administration of St Helena into the same accounting language as its trade with India and the Levant. Each consignment of stores became a debit charged to the storekeeper on receipt and a credit on issue, so that the running balance at any moment was the company's property still in hand. The requirement that personal accounts be kept for soldiers and planters drawing goods on credit converted the storehouse into a small clearing house for wages, with stores, cash and individual account balances all reconcilable against one another. The warrant system, requiring the signature of the Governor and at least two other Council members for every issue, divided the power to authorise expenditure from the power to hold the goods. Beale could not release stores on his own, and the Governor could not

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			release stores without the concurrence of at least two councillors. The arrangement protected the company against collusion at a distance of half a year's correspondence and made it possible to identify, from the warrants alone, who had authorised any disputed issue. The decision to hold the prices of bread, beef and other planter supplies at the rates set in the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, despite higher London prices, operated as an indirect subsidy to the planters. The company carried the cost difference on its own books in order to keep the soldier-to-planter conversion policy attractive. The pricing decision was tied to the wider strategic objective recorded in the handover, by which the conversion of soldiers to planters was reaffirmed at each garrison reduction as a long-term aim independent of the war or peace question. The 879 Mexico and Seville pieces of eight, with one further piece, formed the working pay chest for the soldiers, valued at 5s for each piece. Pieces of eight had been the standing soldier-pay currency on the island since the founding instructions of 19 December 1673. The 5s rate was a London fixed valuation rather than a market rate. By fixing the rate in advance, the company removed any room for argument on the island over the exchange value of the coin and made the soldier's pay calculation a matter of simple arithmetic. The prohibition on drawing bills of exchange on the company was a strict cash control. A bill of exchange drawn at St Helena would have allowed the local administration to commit company funds in London without prior authorisation. The handover records that Captain Keynion had drawn two such bills for £10 1s 9d, which the company had paid but only with the warning that no further bills should be drawn except for extraordinary service. The present despatch tightened that warning into a flat prohibition and forced the island to live within the coin and stores already sent. The three-monthly audit by the Governor and Council was a self-policing measure built into the Council itself. The same body that authorised issues by warrant was required to audit those issues at regular intervals. The arrangement made it possible to identify storage losses early, before they accumulated into the kind of large discrepancy that had drawn company criticism in the dispute over Captain Batt's stores in March 1676. **Speculations** The instruction that pay should be released to soldiers in measured amounts, enough to give each man some ready money but not so much that he could spend it all carelessly, probably reflected a settled view in London about the relationship between cash, drink and discipline. Pieces of eight in the hand of a soldier on a small island where company ships called only intermittently were of limited use except for purchases from incoming traders, and a soldier with a full pay chest in coin was a soldier likely to spend it on the next visiting captain's goods. By forcing the Council to ration coin against running clothing and stores accounts, the company in effect tied a soldier's spending power to his actual wage entitlement net of deductions, and reduced the risk of debt and disorder on pay days. The decision to hold St Helena prices for bread and beef steady, despite the company's own admission that those commodities were dearer in London, was perhaps a calculated concession at a moment of political sensitivity. Blackmore had just been appointed over Beale's head, the garrison had been twice reduced, and the planters had been pressed for several years to take up cultivation. A visible price rise would have looked like a punishment imposed on the planters at the very moment a new outsider Governor was arriving. Holding the prices preserved the credibility of the original 1673

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			settlement and reduced the risk that the planters would read the change of command as a tightening of company terms. The detail that the 879 pieces of eight came in several parcels, with one further piece, suggests that the cash was packed and sealed for separate accounting on the voyage. The arrangement protected the company against partial loss or theft in transit. If one parcel went missing, the others remained countable and identifiable against the bill of lading. The single additional piece was probably a balancing coin used to make up an exact total when the parcels were sealed. The express requirement that the Governor and Council appoint Beale's successor in consultation, rather than allow the Governor alone to make the appointment, was perhaps an early protection against the very situation that the new commission had created. With Blackmore newly arrived, and with Beale carrying the long institutional memory of the storekeeping system since 1673, the company had reason to prevent any sudden Governor's choice that might place the stores under an untested or partisan officer. By requiring a collective decision, the despatch ensured that any successor would have the confidence of the Council as a whole and not merely the favour of the Governor.
50	63	two Companies Souldiers at their arrivall thither, be reduced into two Companies, And that our Governor be Captaine of the one, And Cap[t] Anthony Beale of the other, M[r] Iongthan Tyler and Ioshua Iohnson to be Leiutenants 6 And we doe hereby authorize and Impower our Governor & Councell to nominate and appoint Ensigner and Sergants of the said two Companies; And that they alsoe reduce all planters into Companies appointing Officers to exercise them once in two monthes at least, that they may be the better and fit to defend themselves, and our s[ai]d Island from any Enemy, that assault them, And that our Inferior Officers and Souldiers in pay may be in better readiness to answer expectation in the discharge of their duty, we would have you exercise them frequently according to the practise of Millitary Discipline, That they may be Expert in the handling of their Armes, And that they may be kept to Constant watch and duty, as you shall judg needfull during their Continuance in the Companies pay; The present Governor & Councell hath taken Severall Souldiers Planters into pay lately for the better guard of our s[ai]d Island, how many of which you thinck fit to be continued upon your arrivall and muster of those we now send you over, and them you find there, we leave to leaue the Considieaeon of Self and Councell, That as we would have the best care taken for the good defence of our s[ai]d Island by Securing all Avenues & Passages that may give encouragement to an Enemy to assault it, especially the Avenues in Lemon Valley, So alsoe regard must be had that there be noe unnecesary charge of entertaining more into pay then the very necessity for, because all Planters are bound by the tenure of their Lands to be at yor Comand, to bear Armes and observe Orders for the defence of our S[ai]d Island. And that our Island may be the better Secured against all Surprize and assault, we would have you forthwith on yor Arrivall to take view of our Forts and other places already fortified on our s[ai]d Island and to Strengthen them with Sufficient platformes where they are wanting, and where you find any places unfortifyed; That is an Avenue or a plain Easy to be approached, to assult, or Land an Enemy, there to Take what care is necessary for the defence of that, and all other places on our s[ai]d Island, You and the Councell in your Iudgment shall thinck most convenient, and accordingly	Continuing from the direction that all soldiers in pay on the island, and those now arriving on the *Johanna*, were to be brought together for the same arrangement, the men were to be formed into two companies on arrival. The Governor was to command one company and Beale the other. Jonathan Tyler and Joshua Johnson were to serve as the two lieutenants. 6 The Governor and Council were authorised to nominate and appoint the ensigns and serjeants of the two companies. The planters were also to be formed into companies, with officers appointed to drill them at least once every two months. The aim was to make them fit to defend themselves and the island against any enemy that might attack. The soldiers in regular company pay were to be drilled often, in line with normal military discipline, so that they would be expert in their arms. They were to be kept to constant watch and duty for as long as the Governor and Council judged necessary. The present Governor and Council had recently taken several planters into pay as soldiers, for the better guard of the island. Blackmore and his Council were left to decide, after mustering both the men sent on the *Johanna* and those already on the island, how many of these planter soldiers should remain in pay. The company set out two competing considerations. The defence of the island required careful attention to all avenues and passages by which an enemy might approach, and Lemon Valley was singled out as the most important. At the same time, no more men were to be kept in pay than strict necessity demanded, because every planter was bound by the tenure of his land to bear arms and obey orders for the defence of the island whenever called on. 7 To secure the island against surprise or assault, Blackmore was directed to view the forts and other fortified places on arrival, and to strengthen them with platforms where these were lacking. Wherever an avenue or open ground gave easy approach for landing or attack, suitable defences were to be made. The Governor and Council were to use their judgment as to what was most convenient. Materials had been sent on the *Johanna* for this purpose. The care of all powder, arms, ammunition and guns on the island, both those now sent and those already in store, was placed on the Governor and Council. The

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		we have now sent Materialls for that purpose, And we desire your care of all the Powder Armes, Ammunition & Guns &c. that are on our Island, as well those which are now sent with you, as those You find there, That they may be Safely and Conveniently placed and housed in Severall places on the Island according as you shall judge fit, That the Guards may be more conveniently Supplied upon all Occasions as they are Posted, & that Victualls and provisions may be Sent to every such Magazeen to be ready That the s[ai]d Guards be not forced to quit their Forts for want of necesary Supplies. But the Chief Magazeen we appoint to be kept and Safely guarded **Margin Notes:** two Companies 6 Inferior Officers to be appoint[e]d by Self & Councell Planters to be reduced into Comp[ani]es & to be exercised every two monthes Souldiers in pay frequently, and kept to constant Watch and duty as you shall iu[d]g judged needfull Number of Souldiers at Gov[ernor]ts & Councell[s] shall thinck fit. All Avenues to be taken care to Especially Lemon Valley All Planters as bound to beare Armes at Command 7 Fortifyed to be Viewed and Streightned with plat formes if Needfull New places to be fortifyed Armes, Ammunition[s] &c to be planted in most convenient places for Necessa- ry & Convenient Supply But y[e] Chief Magazeen	munitions were to be distributed and housed in several places across the island, so that each guard post could be supplied without difficulty. Victuals and provisions were to be sent to each such magazine, so that the guards would not be forced to abandon their forts for want of supplies. The chief magazine was to be kept and safely guarded **Interpretations** The reduction of the soldiers into two companies under the Governor and Beale preserved the original military structure set up in the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, where Field and Beale had each commanded one of two companies. By assigning the senior company to Blackmore and leaving the second under Beale, the company maintained the two-company framework but adapted it to the new succession arrangement. The two lieutenancies named in the despatch, Tyler and Johnson, also sat on the Council under the commission of 20 February 1678, so that the senior military officers and the Council members overlapped in two key cases. The handover records the same overlap in 1673 between the lieutenants of the two soldier companies and the Council, which suggests a deliberate institutional design rather than a coincidence. The drilling of the planters once every two months under company officers continued an obligation laid down in the founding instructions, where Beale had been required to exercise the planters in arms at the same interval. The despatch confirmed that this obligation had survived the garrison reductions of 1674 and 1676 and was now embedded in the standing defence of the island. The doctrine that every planter was bound to bear arms by the tenure of his land made the planter militia a legal incident of the land grant itself, not a voluntary or contractual force. The provision for taking planters into temporary pay as soldiers, then deciding after muster how many to retain, gave the new Governor an immediate practical decision to make about the standing garrison. By framing the choice as a balance between strict military necessity and avoiding unnecessary charge, the company set the financial frame within which Blackmore had to operate. The express naming of Lemon Valley as the avenue requiring most careful attention shows that the company in London was working from specific local intelligence supplied by earlier despatches from the island, and was prepared to direct attention to a named locality rather than leaving the defensive priority entirely to the Governor. The arrangement of magazines dispersed across the island, each provisioned with victuals so that the guard would not have to leave its post for supplies, reflected a lesson learned from the experience of the recapture in 1673. A guard tied to a fort by hunger was a guard liable to abandon its position. By siting food and ammunition together at each post, the company sought to make each defensive position self-sufficient for the duration of any attack, and to reduce the risk that an enemy could draw the garrison out of its fortifications by simple blockade. The fortification works directed for the avenues and easy landing places drew on the broad grant in the letters patent of 16 December 1673, by which the company had been given power to fortify the island as it saw fit. The despatch made clear that the company expected an active, surveyed and engineered defence rather than a passive one. The shipment of materials on the *Johanna*, mentioned in the same article, supports the reading that the company in London was making concrete provision for capital works on arrival. **Speculations** The naming of Tyler and Johnson as the two lieutenants, in that order, in both the present despatch and the commission of 20 February 1678, probably reflected a deliberate seniority arrangement worked out in London before either officer reached the island. By

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			fixing the order in writing on two separate instruments issued only weeks apart, the company removed any room for argument over precedence between the two men on arrival, at a moment when the company already faced one delicate succession question over Blackmore and Beale and could not afford a second over the lieutenancies. The decision to leave the final number of retained planter soldiers to Blackmore and the Council, after muster, was perhaps a recognition that the company in London could not know the precise condition of the island force at the moment of handover. The Governor and Council had recently taken several planters into pay, but the despatch did not name them or set their number. By framing the matter as a local decision subject to a strict economy rule, the company gave Blackmore room to confirm or dismiss men on his own judgment, while binding him in advance to a financial discipline that would prevent the new Governor from building a private patronage following in the garrison. The singling out of Lemon Valley as the avenue requiring most careful attention was probably driven by reports already received from the island that the valley offered the easiest landing for a hostile force. The recapture under Munden in May 1673 had relied on the same kind of local knowledge of approaches and landing places, and the company would have been alert to the risk that any future enemy might use the same routes. By naming the valley in writing, the company shifted some of the responsibility for its defence on to Blackmore, who could no longer plead ignorance of the priority. The instruction to place victuals at each magazine was perhaps a response to a specific weakness observed during the period of garrison reduction. With only fifty soldiers maintained since the despatch of 18 December 1674, and with dispersed guard duties around the island, the practical risk of a guard post being abandoned for want of food had grown. The despatch translated that risk into a logistical rule, by which provisioning followed posting, and made the chief magazine the secured central reserve against any failure of the outlying stocks.
51	64	Guarded about the Middle of y[e] Island, because it is most easy, from thence to Supply all the rest. [And that you may not want Powder when You have Occasion to use it, we Order that not above Three Guns be returned to a Salute of any Ship arriveing at our s[ai]d Island, & that that none be Shott at health or other needles occasions, but that an exact accompt of the Expense of all Powder be kept, and the occasions thereof And Sent unto us Yearly.] 8 [And that all Planters may be the better encouraged to act for the benefit of our s[ai]d Island, we have sent over Severall fruit Trees and Vines and other Seedes That when our own Plantacon is Sufficiently furnished and taken care for, Then that You distribute the Overplus gratis unto Such persons as you See most diligent & Industrious in improveing of their Plantations] And we hereby re- new our former Orders That if any Planter doe use their utmost Skill and Care for Setting & Planting of Sugar Cane, Indico, Cotton, Wooll, or any other Sort of Comodity, And shall by their Pains and Travell raise more then is for their own use, or that they can well Lispese off to their own Advantage on the Island - The Company will take the Same off their hands, and allow them as prices for the Same as is usuall for Such Comodities at the place where they are procured for the first Seven Yeeres, And we enjoin you to give all due encouragement to all y[e] Inhabitants in carrying on the said Worke of Planting, by appointing Some Experienced Persons to Instruct and advise such as are Ignorant in that affair, And that	Continuing from the direction that the chief magazine was to be kept and safely guarded, its site was fixed about the middle of the island, since that position made resupply of all other posts most straightforward. To prevent shortages of powder when it was needed for actual use, the company restricted ceremonial firing. No more than three guns were to be returned in salute to any ship arriving at the island. No guns were to be fired in healths or other needless occasions. An exact account of all powder expended, together with the reasons for its use, was to be kept and sent home each year. 8 To encourage the planters to work for the benefit of the island, the company sent out several fruit trees, vines and other seeds on the *Johanna*. Once the company's own plantation had been sufficiently stocked and provided for, any surplus was to be distributed without charge to those planters whom the Governor and Council found most diligent and industrious in improving their holdings. The company renewed its earlier order on cash crops. Any planter who applied his best skill and care to setting and planting sugar cane, indigo, cotton wool, or any other commodity, and who raised more than was needed for his own use or could profitably dispose of on the island, would find the company ready to take the surplus. The company would pay him at the rates usual for such commodities at the place from which they were procured, and this guarantee was to run for the first seven years. The Governor and Council were directed to give every encouragement to the work of

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		all our Artificiers and Workmen may be encouraged in their Callings, And to prevent all disputes that may arise upon work done by any Person about the Companies Plantation or Forts - We doe appoint every Master Workman, Labour[er] that either hath Served the retayling[?] of the said Island, or shall for the future be employed as aforesaid by our Governour and Councell in our Service, shall receive as followeth for each daies work, That is to Say for Every Master Workman the Value of One Shilling Sterling p[er] diem, And for a Servant or Labour[er] - Eight pence p[er] diem, and so proportionablely for part of a day, And this to be paid them if required either in necessaries out of our Stores [or in ready money] By Warrant under our Governor and Councell[s] hand directed to our Husband Capt Anthony Beale, And that the Windward Part of our Island may be planted as well as any other, for the Encouragement of Such Persons as shall thinck fitt to Settle There, We doe Order, that they be allowed on that part of the Island a double proportion of Land then elsewhere, [That is to Say not - Exceeding] **Margin Notes:** to be in y[e] Middle of y[e] Island But 3 Guns to a Salute An acc[oun]t of expense of Powder to be returned to y[e] Comp[any] Yearly & occasion thereof 8 Fruit Trees, & Vines Planting Sugar Canes Indico, & encouraged as to take off more of it by y[e] planters Artificiers & Worke- men to have 1[s] p[er] diem A Labour[er] 8[d] p[er] diem out of y[e] Stores or in Mony	planting. Experienced persons were to be appointed to instruct and advise those who lacked knowledge of cultivation. To encourage the artificers and workmen in their callings, and to prevent disputes over work done on the company's plantation or forts, fixed daily wage rates were set for company labour. A master workman, whether one who had already served the island or one engaged by the Governor and Council for future service, was to receive 1s sterling for each day's work. A servant or labourer was to receive 8d for each day's work. Part of a day was to be paid in proportion. Payment was to be made either in necessaries drawn from the stores or in ready money, on warrant from the Governor and Council directed to Beale as Husband. To encourage settlement on the windward side of the island, which had so far attracted fewer planters than the leeward side, the company directed that any person settling there should receive twice the standard land allowance. **Interpretations** The siting of the chief magazine about the middle of the island, as the position from which all other posts could most readily be resupplied, applied a simple logistical principle to the geography of St Helena. Central placement reduced the longest supply line and made it less likely that any one outlying post could be cut off from powder and shot. The handover records that the chief magazine had been sited about the middle of the country in the founding instructions of 19 December 1673. The present direction confirmed and re-affirmed the original location rather than relocating it. The three-gun salute rule operated as a powder economy measure with a clear administrative logic. Every visiting ship was a potential drain on the magazine through ceremonial firing, and St Helena lay on a busy ocean route. By fixing a low maximum and forbidding the firing of healths or other needless rounds, the company protected its working reserve of powder against the pressure of hospitality and habit. The annual return of powder expended, with reasons given for each occasion, supplied the company in London with a check on whether the rule was being kept. The seven-year guarantee on planter commodities was a renewal of the original undertaking in the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, which had committed the company for the same period to buy surplus sugar canes, indigo, cotton wool, ginger, tobacco and other produce at competitive rates. The present despatch tied the price to the rate usual at the place from which the commodity was procured, rather than to the open London market. This pricing rule protected the company against speculative claims by planters and gave both sides a reasonably objective benchmark anchored in the established Indian Ocean and West Indian trades. The fixed daily rates of 1s for a master workman and 8d for a servant or labourer, payable either in stores or in coin, established a standardised labour market on the island under company control. By setting the rates in advance and routing payment through Beale on the Governor and Council's warrant, the company removed the opportunity for individual bargaining between artificers and the Council. The rate scheme also gave the planters and free inhabitants a known benchmark against which to assess any private labour they might engage on their own holdings. The double land allowance for settlers on the windward side was a direct instrument of geographical policy. The company recognised that the leeward side, with its easier landings, milder weather and proximity to the existing town and forts, had drawn the bulk of settlement. By offering twice the standard grant on the

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			windward side, the company sought to spread the population around the island, reduce the strategic exposure of an undefended coast and increase the area under cultivation. The provision that surplus fruit trees and vines from the company's own plantation should be distributed without charge, and only to those planters the Governor and Council judged most diligent, used company patronage as an incentive for productivity. The diligent planter received an in-kind reward, while the idle planter received nothing. The handover records that the despatch of March 1676 had already created the formal category of declared idlers, with threat of deportation. The present arrangement worked the same theme from the positive side, rewarding diligence rather than punishing idleness. **Speculations** The decision to fix the three-gun rule in writing was perhaps a response to specific observed practice on the island rather than a precautionary measure. The handover records that the gunner had died firing a gun reportedly double-charged with cartridges, an event recorded in the despatch of March 1676. A culture of generous ceremonial firing, with consequent risks both to powder stocks and to the gunners themselves, would have given the company two reasons to impose a hard ceiling. By fixing the maximum at three guns, the company set a courteous but minimal standard that still satisfied the conventions of the sea. The guarantee that surplus commodities would be bought at the rates usual at the place of procurement, rather than at London prices, was probably designed to manage the company's own exposure to price movements. London prices for sugar, indigo and cotton wool fluctuated with the West Indian and Indian harvests, while procurement-side prices were more stable. By anchoring the planter guarantee to the procurement price, the company protected itself against a sudden London price collapse while still offering the planters a predictable market. The fixed wage of 1s for a master workman and 8d for a labourer was probably set by reference to known English rates and to the company's existing pay scales for its servants. The scale produced a 3-to-2 ratio between skilled and unskilled labour, which was conventional for the period. The choice to allow payment in stores or in coin gave the Council operational flexibility in a setting where pieces of eight were both scarce and tightly controlled. A workman paid in stores effectively recycled goods already on the island and reduced pressure on the soldier pay chest. The double land allowance for windward settlers was perhaps a calculated trade between defensive and economic priorities. A more widely dispersed population was militarily harder to defend, since posts and patrols had to cover a longer perimeter. By doubling the land grant, the company in effect offered windward settlers a private compensation for the additional risk and inconvenience of life away from the main centre, while gaining a presence on a coast that would otherwise have remained open to landing. The renewal of the seven-year guarantee was perhaps a deliberate signal to planters that the original promise of 1673 still held under the new Governor. With Field discharged and Blackmore arriving as an outsider, planters might reasonably have wondered whether earlier company undertakings would survive the change. By repeating the guarantee in the same despatch that announced the change of command, the company gave the planters a written reassurance that the founding commercial bargain remained in force.
52	65	exceeding forty Acres to each family rough and plain, And in all the places for the better Accommodation of their Planters, we would have the Plantations be	Continuing from the doubled land grant on the windward side, the windward family allowance was capped at forty acres of rough and plain ground

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		conveniently joined one to another that they may the better relieve and Succour each other, Our Paper that we first set upp to encourage persons to goe over to plant our s[ai]d Island, we here Confirme, and doe ratify the Condicons therin Menconed, referring You to the observance of the perticulers specified therin, being some of them herewith delivered You And that our s[ai]d Island may be put in the best posture of Defence that may be we once more recomend to your care that all Planters be Listed under either of the aforesaid Commanders, or such Other Officers as the Governour and the Councell shall thinck fit, and that Officers be appointed as aforesaid to exercise and train them up in armes at the times aforesaid to fitly qualify them for the defence of the said Island, And also that particular places, as conveniently as may be, be assigned by the Governour, whereunto all and every of the said Planters may repair to and have a Randevus, when thereunto required by the Governour (Yet we doe not require the Planters to keep Constant Watch as Soldiers (except in time of danger) dureing the time we shall continue our Soldiers in Pay) But we doe hereby Strictly require in case of the approach of any Shipping and especially upon discovery of any Enemy or any generall alarme, that they doe repair to their Several Posts and places appointed for them, and observe Such Orders in a way of Military discipline according as their respective Officers shall be directed by the Governor and Councell for the Safety and defence of our Said Island, It being one of the Condicons on which, we have granted them their Land and other accommodations; And that our Chief place of Defence may be the better Inhabited, Wee doe Order that upon the request of any of the Inhabitants for Ground to build a house or houses in any Valley It be Set out and alotted to them by the Governour and Councell[s] appointment, provided they build their houses regularly and in good Order for defence, above each of the fortifications that shall be made in any Valley, and that noe houses be built between the Forts and the Sea 10 Vpon arrivall of Shipping employed in our Service, wee Order that a free Market be appointed by our Governour and Councell to be kept in the most convenient place or places as may best accommodate both Inhabitants and Mariners; And that the Inhabitants **Margin Notes:** 40 Acres Allowed to all y[e] Inhab[itan]ts that Windward Side & plantations to be laid one to a another to Succour each other The first paper of Encourag[em]ts to planters &c. Confirmed All planters Ordered againe to be listed & Exercised Places of Rendez- vouz to be assigned by the Gov[erno]r Planters not to Watch as Sould[iers] except in time of Danger If any desire to build in Valley[s] they may have leave 10 A Markett to be kept None to goe	combined. For the better accommodation of all planters, the Governor and Council were to lay out plantations so that neighbouring holdings stood close enough to assist and relieve one another in case of need. The original paper of conditions, drawn up by the company at the outset to encourage persons to take up planter status on the island, was confirmed in full. The Governor and Council were to observe the particulars set out in that paper, copies of which were sent with the despatch. To bring the island into the best possible posture of defence, the company once more directed that every planter be listed under one of the two company commanders or under such other officer as the Governor and Council judged fit. Officers were to drill the planters at the intervals already specified, so that they were properly trained for the defence of the island. The Governor was to assign convenient rendezvous points for the planters, to which each man was to report when summoned. While the company kept soldiers in regular pay, the planters were not required to perform standing watch like soldiers, except in time of danger. On the approach of any ship, and especially on the discovery of an enemy or on any general alarm, every planter was bound to repair at once to his appointed post and to follow the orders given by his officer under the direction of the Governor and Council. This obligation was a condition of the land and other accommodations granted to him. To support the better settlement of the main centre of defence, the company allowed any inhabitant who applied for ground to build a house in a valley to receive an allotment from the Governor and Council. The houses were to be built in regular order suited to defence, above the line of any fortifications made in that valley. No house was to be built between any fort and the sea. 10 On the arrival of any ship in the company's service, the Governor and Council were to set up a free market in the most suitable place or places, so that inhabitants and mariners could trade conveniently. The inhabitants were **Interpretations** The forty-acre cap on the windward family grant set an outer limit on the doubled allowance. By fixing the maximum in writing, the company prevented the doubled grant from being read as an open-ended entitlement and gave the Governor and Council a clear ceiling for negotiations with prospective settlers. The combination of rough and plain ground in a single allowance acknowledged the broken terrain of the windward side, where a workable holding had to include both cultivable plain and steeper uncultivated land for grazing and timber. The direction that plantations be laid out close enough to relieve and succour each other reflected a defensive logic embedded in the land settlement itself. Isolated holdings were vulnerable to raid or surprise, while clustered holdings could form mutually supporting cells of armed planters. The arrangement turned the cadastral plan into part of the island's defensive geography. The handover records that the founding instructions of 19 December 1673 had already required new planters to receive land clustered around the forts. The present despatch extended that principle to the dispersed windward settlement, adapting clustering to a setting where the central forts were further away. The express confirmation of the original paper of conditions, with copies delivered on the *Johanna*, sustained the founding commercial bargain across the change of command. The paper was the company's standing public offer to prospective settlers and named the terms on which planters had been recruited from

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			1673 onward. By confirming it in the same despatch that announced Blackmore's appointment, the company gave both serving planters and new arrivals a written assurance that the original terms remained in force. Existing planters could rely on the paper as a record of their entitlements, and new planters arriving on the *Johanna* could read it as the basis for their own holdings. The distinction between soldier watch and planter watch operated as a clear legal boundary between full company employment and the conditional militia duty attached to land tenure. Soldiers in pay performed constant watch as part of their employment. Planters performed defensive duty only in time of danger or on alarm, but the obligation was a condition of their grant rather than a voluntary service. By naming the obligation as a condition of land and accommodations, the company tied each planter's continued possession of his holding to his readiness to bear arms when called. The rule on house siting in the valleys, requiring houses to be built above the forts and forbidding any house between the forts and the sea, made every house part of the layered defence of the valley. A defender holding the fort could not have inhabited houses behind him, between his position and an attacking landing party. The arrangement preserved a clear field of fire and movement between the fort and the shore, and made it impossible for an enemy to use civilian buildings as cover during a landing. The free market for visiting ships continued an arrangement set up in the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, under which inhabitants could trade with arriving company ships at a free market. By renewing the practice in writing and placing the choice of market location with the Governor and Council, the company gave the local administration both the duty and the power to organise the exchange. The free market provided a regulated channel through which sailors and inhabitants could meet for trade, and reduced the risk of unauthorised dealing between ship and shore. **Speculations** The forty-acre cap was probably set with reference to the cultivable capacity of a single family. A holding much larger than forty acres of mixed rough and plain ground would have exceeded what a single planter family, with limited slave or servant labour, could realistically work in the early years of settlement. By fixing the upper limit at this level, the company offered an attractive incentive on the windward side without committing land it had reason to expect would lie uncultivated. The instruction that plantations be laid out close enough to support each other was perhaps shaped by reports of the dispersed settlement pattern that had developed since 1673. With the original cluster around the forts well established, planters had probably begun to take up holdings further out, where land was easier to obtain but harder to defend. The present direction recognised the trend and sought to channel it, by requiring that even outlying holdings be planned in groups rather than as isolated farms. The decision to insist on the original paper of conditions, with copies delivered on the same voyage, was probably a precaution against future disputes. With a new Governor arriving and the founding generation of planters now several years into their tenure, written confirmation of the original terms reduced the risk that Blackmore would treat earlier promises as open to renegotiation. The company in effect placed Blackmore in the same contractual position as Field had occupied from 1673. The strict rule against any house between fort and sea suggests that the company had received reports of inhabitants building too close to the shore, perhaps for the convenience of trade with visiting ships. A house

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			between fort and sea offered cover to an enemy in an opposed landing and obstructed the fire and movement of the defenders. By forbidding such building in writing, the company gave the Governor and Council an explicit ground for refusing or removing inconvenient houses without having to argue the merits of each case. The choice to organise trade with company ships through a formal free market, rather than allowing direct dealing between inhabitants and crews, was perhaps designed to prevent both smuggling and disputes over price. A market in a fixed and known place, opened by order of the Governor and Council, exposed the trade to public view and to the supervision of company officers. Private dealing along the shore or on board ship would have been much harder to police and would have offered scope for the kind of unauthorised exchange that the company sought to suppress through its wider system of warrants and accounts.
53	66	Inhabitants of our s[ai]d Island be not allowed to goe on board without have first obtained and had from our Governor 11 We have formerly advised That the Lands we have given & allotted in proportion to each Planter be conveyed to them & their Heires, and asignes for ever, Vnder the Companies Common Seale, and hereby doe confirme this our Order, and require that it be punctually observed and performed under the Condicions and provisoe we have formerly Menconed, That is to say he or they performing all Suite and Service as wee there appoint the said Inhabitants and Planters to doe and performe from time to time, and this proviso to be inserted in the Conveyance, That none shall have Power to Sell or alienate their respective Lands or Plantations, unless they or their Heires shall have lived and endeavoured the Improvement of it by planting for the Space of 7 Yeeres. And we appoint a Register be kept of our Lands given, Set over and allotted to any Planter at his first arrivall or when any Soldier shall turn planter, Soe also wee doe enjoin this Governour and Councell to take particuler care a Register be kept of all Sales, Alienations, and Conveyances of Estates, Houses, Plantations &c one to another after the Terme aforesaid is expired, if any shall so thinck fit, and no Sale or Conveyance to be allowed as good unless registred, a Duplicat whereof you are to Send Yearly, That so all Suvill, Deceiptt and frauds &c. dealings may be prevented; And the Minister for the Time being keep a Register of all Marriages, Christnings and Burialls, on our s[ai]d Island, And we require you to Send us a List of all Souldiers, that at any Time turn Planters and that an exact Accompt may be kept thereof, that So the Time of their pay may plainly appear when it ceased, and to acquaint them that are Married Persons That if they desire their Wives and Children to come over to them, They shall upon their request be Sent unto them passage free, And You may give liberty to any Soldier after he hath Served on the Island five Yeeres to returne to England passage free. Your Care wee require also That not a Person, That hath a Wife liveing in England or any other place be permitted to marry another on our s[ai]d Island 12 For the Improvement of our own Plantation, You have Severall of our Negroes which You may Imploy, about the planting **Margin Notes:** on board without [have] first leave of y[e] Gov[ernor] 11 Planters Lands & Goods conveyed under the Comp[anys] Seale, The performing Suite & Service & particulerly liveing and Improving their plantations Seven Yeares	Continuing from the direction that a free market be set up for visiting ships, the inhabitants of the island were forbidden to go on board any such vessel without first obtaining leave from the Governor. 11 The company had earlier directed that lands allotted to each planter were to be conveyed to him and his heirs and assigns for ever, under the company's common seal. That direction was now confirmed and required to be punctually observed, subject to the conditions and provisos already set out. Each planter held his land on condition of performing the suit and service appointed for inhabitants and planters from time to time. The conveyance was to contain a further proviso. No planter or his heirs could sell or alienate his land or plantation unless he or they had lived on the holding and worked to improve it by planting for at least seven years. A register of land was to be kept on the island. Every grant made to a planter on his first arrival, and every grant made to a soldier on turning planter, was to be entered in the register. The Governor and Council were further directed to keep a register of every sale, alienation and conveyance of houses, plantations and other estates made after the seven-year term had expired. No sale or conveyance was to be treated as valid unless it had been registered. A duplicate of the register was to be sent home each year, so that fraud, deceit and disputed dealings could be prevented. The Minister for the time being was to keep a register of all marriages, christenings and burials on the island. The Governor and Council were to send the company a list of every soldier who turned planter, with an exact account of when each man's military pay ceased. Soldiers who were married were to be told that, if they wished, the company would send their wives and children to join them at the company's charge. Any soldier who had completed five years of service on the island was entitled to return to England with free passage. The Governor and Council were also to ensure that no man with a wife living in England or elsewhere was permitted to marry another woman on the island. 12 For the improvement of the company's own plantation, the Governor and Council had a number of company slaves at their disposal. These could be employed about the planting **Interpretations** The seven-year residence and improvement rule converted the planter's grant from a pure property right into a conditional tenure. Land was conveyed in fee simple under the common seal, but the right of alienation was suspended for seven years and depended on actual occupation and active cultivation. The

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		Register to be kept of Lands allotted A Register to be kept of all Sales, Alienations[s] after the Expiration of Seven Yeares [An] Account to bee Sent Yearly The Minister to keep a Register of all Marriages, Christnings & Burialls List to be sent of all Sould[iers] y[t] turn planters Married men may have their Wives &c. sent to them Sould[iers] to returne after 5 Yeares Service None to marry that have Wives in England The 12 plantation	arrangement gave the company a long-running test of each planter's commitment before allowing him to realise the value of the land by sale. A planter who failed to settle and work his holding could not turn it into cash and depart. The handover records that the founding instructions of 19 December 1673 had set a one-year residence and improvement rule before alienation. The present despatch extended the bar from one year to seven, which represented a substantial tightening of the original terms. The double register, one for original grants and one for subsequent sales and conveyances, gave the company a complete written record of the entire chain of title for every plantation on the island. By requiring registration as a condition of validity, the company made the register the controlling document rather than the deeds held by individual planters. An unregistered sale was not merely irregular, it was void. The annual transmission of a duplicate to London gave the Court of Committees a parallel record against which any future dispute could be tested. The handover records that the plantation register had been established in the founding instructions of 19 December 1673 as a central register intended to prevent faults and frauds, and the present despatch confirmed and extended that function. The minister's register of marriages, christenings and burials performed the same function on the island as a parish register performed in England, but under company rather than ecclesiastical authority. The handover records that a civil register of marriages, burials and births had been established under company authority in 1673 in the absence of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The repetition of the requirement in the present despatch placed the register squarely on the minister, and tied the civil record of family events to the religious office on the island. The duties to list every soldier who turned planter, with the date of his pay's cessation, and to record every grant of land in the register, allowed the company to reconcile its military payroll, its land book and its civil register against one another. A man could not draw soldier's pay after the date on which he had taken up a planter's grant, and could not hold a planter's grant without an entry in the register. The system protected the company against double drawing and gave the London office a means of audit at a distance. The free passage offered to the wives and children of married soldiers, and the right of return to England after five years' service, formed two limbs of a managed settlement policy. Family reunion encouraged soldiers to commit to permanent residence on the island and to turn planter rather than return home. The five-year return right gave unmarried men a foreseeable end to their service. The two together allowed each soldier a meaningful choice between rooted settlement and eventual repatriation, while shaping the population of the island in directions the company favoured. The prohibition on bigamous marriage, repeating an earlier rule, exercised the company's secular jurisdiction in a matter that would in England have fallen to the ecclesiastical courts. The handover records that bigamy had been prohibited in the founding instructions of 19 December 1673. The present despatch confirmed the rule and placed the duty of enforcement on the Governor and Council, who would have to refuse permission for any second marriage on the island where the first wife was known to be alive. The leave required before any inhabitant could go on board a visiting ship gave the Governor a direct grip on access between island and ship. Without leave, no inhabitant could trade privately, smuggle, or take unauthorised passage. The rule complemented the free market system. Permitted trade took place ashore at a regulated market, while access to the deck of a company

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			ship was a controlled privilege rather than an open right. **Speculations** The extension of the alienation bar from one year to seven was probably driven by the kind of trading that the company had observed in the years since 1673. A one-year bar gave little protection against a planter who took up a grant, performed nominal improvement, and then sold his land to the first comer with cash in hand. A seven-year bar made such transactions practically impossible and forced a real period of cultivation. The choice of seven years matched the seven-year commodity guarantee already running on the island, which suggests that the company was treating the whole package of land, market and settlement as a coherent seven-year settlement period. The decision to make registration the test of validity, rather than merely a record-keeping requirement, was perhaps prompted by disputes that had arisen on the island over earlier transfers. A sale that had taken place privately, without entry in the register, would have left no public record and would have been open to later contradiction. By making registration the only valid form of conveyance, the company gave the Governor and Council a single authoritative source for every question of title, and reduced the scope for disputed claims based on private memory or undocumented dealing. The grant of free passage to soldiers' wives and children was probably calculated to address a specific demographic difficulty. A garrison of unmarried men with no prospect of family life would not produce the next generation of planters. By offering family reunion at company expense, the company encouraged married soldiers to convert into planters and to bring permanent households into being. The arrangement complemented the policy of soldier-to-planter conversion that the handover records as a standing aim from 1673 onward. The right of return after five years was perhaps a calibrated offer designed to retain men through the period in which the company most needed them. A shorter term would have hollowed out the garrison too quickly. A longer term would have discouraged enlistment. Five years matched, on the soldier side, what the seven-year alienation rule offered on the planter side, in each case fixing the period at which the man could finally exercise the freedom held in suspense by his original terms. The requirement that no man with a wife in England marry another on the island was probably aimed at a specific and observable risk in a small colony. The handover records that the company had already prohibited bigamy in 1673. The repetition of the prohibition five years later suggests that the company had received reports of such marriages, or feared them, and chose to set the rule out again in writing rather than rely on the original prohibition alone. The rule that no inhabitant should board a company ship without leave from the Governor was perhaps a response to the wider concerns about private trade and disorderly dealing that ran through the despatch. The handover records that the despatch of 18 December 1674 had set rules for visiting European ships, requiring civility but barring access to the fort and the island's strength. The present rule extended the principle of controlled access to encounters with the company's own ships, treating each deck as company territory closed to the inhabitants except by formal permission.
54	67	Planting and Setting of Such ffruit Trees and Seedes as we now Send over, and take Care that there be provision made of Such Necesary accomodacon and food for furnishing the Companies Table And their Shipping when they shall arrive with you, That they may	Continuing from the direction that company slaves were to be employed for the improvement of the company plantation, their work was to centre on planting and setting the fruit trees and seeds sent on the *Johanna*. Care was to be taken to produce a steady

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		have Sufficient refreshment of Fruits Herbs, and ffresh provisions that the Island affoards, and Suffer no graut of Cattle to any Planter neer unto our Plantation, that may in any wise be an inconvenience thereunto. And that Speciall direction be given and care taken for the Increase of our Stock of Cattle both Great and Small. 13 The Companies Plantacon and the produce thereof we doe appoint to be at the direction and dispose of the Governour of our Island for the Time being for the Supply and Maintenance of a Publick Table for himself and others that are appointed to dine with him, That is to Say, The Husband Capt Antho: Beale The Minister, The two Lieutenants, The Chirurgeons and other Officers & Servants in the Companies Imployment, as also the Com- manders of Shipps & Chief Maites &c when they arrive to our s[ai]d Island, and let due Care be taken of Sick persons belonging unto the Ships, while they Stay there. The Minister we have entertained and is now reciding on our S[ai]d Island is not onely to preach every Lords day, but to Catechise the Youngest Sort of people and Negroes Children at Convenient times for which he is to recieve the Annuity of 50[lb] P[er] Annum and Twenty five poundes P[er] Annum for keeping School, and Five and Twenty poundes more P[er] Annum for a gratuity, if he shall be found painfull and deserveing. [Wee have not onely as aforesaid appointed his Diet at the Governors Table But a Plantation also if he desire it.] And all Negroes that are bond or free liveing upon our Said Island that shall make profession of the Christian Religion, And are thought fit by the Governor and Councell and Minister to be baptized, shall within shall within Seven Yeeres after their Such publick embraceing the Christian Religion be free Planters and to enjoy the priviledge of other Planters as to Land and Cattle. 15 Wee have now entertained a Gunner to take Care of our Forts **Margin Notes:** to be carefully Minded And None to have Land nier it The Cattle taken care off to Increase 13 The product of the plantations to bee at y[e] Govrn[or]s dispose Who are to Dyett at y[e] publicke Table Sick persons to bee cared for 14 What y[e] Minister is to doe And have 15 Gunner[s]	supply of refreshments suitable for the Governor's table and for company ships when they arrived. The plantation was to furnish fruit, herbs and fresh provisions of the kinds that the island could produce. No grant of cattle was to be made to any planter near the company plantation if such a grant would inconvenience that operation. Particular direction was to be given for the increase of both great and small cattle. 13 The produce of the company plantation was placed at the disposal of the Governor for the time being, for the supply and maintenance of a public table. The Governor was to dine at that table together with Beale as Husband, the Minister, the two lieutenants, the surgeons and other officers and servants in company employment. The commanders of ships and chief mates were also to dine there during their stay at the island. Sick persons belonging to visiting ships were to be cared for while they remained on the island. The Minister already engaged and now resident on the island was required not only to preach every Lord's Day but also to catechise the younger inhabitants and the children of the slaves at convenient times. For this work he was to receive an annual stipend of £50 0s 0d, with a further £25 0s 0d a year for keeping school, and £25 0s 0d a year more as a gratuity if he proved diligent and deserving. The company had also assigned him a place at the Governor's table for his diet, and a plantation if he wished to have one. Any slave on the island, whether bound or free, who professed the Christian religion and was judged fit for baptism by the Governor, the Council and the Minister, was to be made a free planter within seven years of his public profession of Christianity. The same slave was then to enjoy the privileges of other planters in respect of land and cattle. 15 The company had now engaged a gunner to take care of the forts **Interpretations** The Governor's public table operated as the central institution of the senior company establishment on the island. By directing that the company plantation supply the table, the company tied the head office of the island to the produce of its own estate, and removed the need for cash purchases to keep the senior officers fed. The list of regular diners gave the table a dual character. It was both a daily working meeting of the principal officers of the company on the island and an occasion of hospitality to incoming ships' commanders. The handover records that the Governor's table had been established under the founding instructions of 19 December 1673 as a daily dining gathering of senior officers supplied at company expense. The composition of the table set out in the despatch confirmed the working hierarchy. The Governor presided. Beale sat as Husband and Storekeeper, and on the present despatch as Deputy Governor in the line of succession. The Minister, the two lieutenants and the surgeons made up the next rank, with the commanders and chief mates of visiting ships drawn in on arrival. The arrangement gave each visiting captain immediate working contact with the island's senior officers and reduced the friction of provisioning by routing it through a single shared institution. The bar on cattle grants near the company plantation, and the explicit attention to the increase of both great and small cattle, protected the company's own stock against dispersal and competition. The handover records that all cattle had been taken into company possession on settlement in 1673, with regulated distribution to planters, and the present rule maintained the principle in a refined form. Cattle were

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			now distributed to planters, but not so close to the company plantation as to compete with its own operation. The terms set out for the Minister, with stipend £50 0s 0d, school payment £25 0s 0d and gratuity £25 0s 0d, totalling a potential £100 0s 0d a year, matched the engagement of Edward Wynni as recorded in the handover from the despatch of March 1676. The despatch confirmed Wynni's existing terms in writing and made clear that the plantation offer of the original engagement remained open. The handover records that the same maximum had been available to Swindle in 1673, which suggests a settled company ceiling for the ministerial office on the island across both engagements. The seven-year manumission rule for slaves who professed Christianity and were baptised renewed the policy of the founding instructions of 19 December 1673. The handover records that policy as a seven-year pathway to free planter status, illustrated by the case of Black Oliver, and as a feature placing St Helena outside the usual seventeenth-century colonial pattern. The present despatch did more than repeat the policy. It set out the procedural test by which the manumission was to operate. The Governor, the Council and the Minister together had to judge each candidate fit for baptism, which placed the decision in the joint hands of the civil magistracy and the religious office. The slave's profession of Christianity, the corporate judgment of fitness, and the act of baptism were the three steps that opened the seven-year path. The duty placed on the Minister to catechise both the younger free inhabitants and the children of the slaves, alongside his Sunday preaching, set him at the centre of the conversion programme. Catechising the children of slaves was the working method by which the church arm of the manumission policy was to be carried out. The handover records that the same combined preaching, catechising and teaching role had been laid down for Swindle in 1673, and the present despatch confirmed the role for the resident Minister. **Speculations** The choice to fix the gratuity at £25 0s 0d a year, payable only if the Minister proved diligent and deserving, made part of his potential salary contingent on performance. Stipend and school payment together amounted to £75 0s 0d as a guaranteed sum. The further £25 0s 0d gave the company a means of rewarding satisfactory service without binding itself to the higher figure in cases of disappointment. The handover records that the same incentive structure had been built into Swindle's package in 1673, and the company appears to have applied the same model to the second Minister. The provision that the Minister could have a plantation if he desired it, but was not required to take one, suggests that the company recognised the difficulty of combining clerical duties with the management of a working holding. A Minister who took up the plantation would have an additional household income and a stake in the planter community. A Minister who declined would retain his focus on preaching, catechising and teaching. By offering the plantation as an option rather than imposing it, the company allowed the Minister to choose the arrangement that best suited his circumstances. The bar on cattle grants near the company plantation was perhaps a response to specific competition that had developed since 1673. With planter holdings clustered around the forts, the company plantation would have stood close to land granted to the original settlers. As the planter herds grew under the company's policy of stock distribution, the risk of mixing, straying and rivalry over grazing increased. The express bar in the present despatch put a

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			perimeter around the company plantation and protected its own stock from the consequences of the policy of cattle distribution that the company had itself promoted. The detailed direction that sick seamen be cared for on the island while their ships remained was probably grounded in long company experience of the toll taken by long voyages. St Helena was an obvious place of recovery on the route to and from India, and the company had a direct interest in returning sailors to their ships fit for duty. By placing care of sick seamen on the island administration as a formal duty, the company drew the island into its wider operational chain and made it a working refreshment and recovery station for the East Indies fleet. The arrangement by which the Governor, Council and Minister jointly judged each candidate slave fit for baptism was perhaps designed to prevent the manumission policy from becoming either a routine or a discretionary patronage. A test requiring the agreement of the civil magistracy and the religious office set a deliberate threshold. A purely religious test would have left the judgment in the hands of the Minister alone. A purely civil test would have removed the religious content. By combining the two, the company ensured that both the spiritual genuineness and the social fitness of the candidate were considered before the seven-year path to free planter status was opened.
55	68	At the Watering place, And all other places as you shall imploy him in, for the better fitting of all the Great Gunns for defence, and we would have You appoint others under him as you shall see Necessary And that all our Planters Land may bee confirmed to them Legaly and firmly in Pursuance to the Orders above menconed, You are with the Councell to transmit unto us a particuler Accompt of each plantation with every Proprietors Name, and the Ground and Land that is allotted to them, describeing the Same with their Buttalls and Boundereies as exactly as You can that each person or Proprietor may have his Land conveyed to him or them, and their Heires under our Common Seal, and we shall send the Same back unto you for the use of the Parties concerned, And to the intent that our Island may Prosper and florish under yo[u]r Government, we Order and appoint every thing of concern both what is afore rehearsed, and what otherwise may fall out accidentally to be considered of, for the better Improvment and Welfare of the Inhabitants on the Said Island, to be acted by you with the advice and Consent of the Major Part of Yo[u]r Councell, And that all Commanders of our Ships, that are Imployed in our Shipps Service, while they are in the Road of our Said Island, as occasion presents may give their advice but not have any Vote in the deciding of any differences that may arise among you, for we expect an account from you of all our affaires with whom wee have intrusted them. 17 Wee recomend unto you the Encouragement of the Practice of true Religion, Virtue, Iustice, and all honest and good converse one with another, that none may receive wrong, but all upon just Complaints may be afforded not onely a hearing but all justice administred unto them, That the good may be encouraged and Evill persons for their Crimes Punished that Peace and Quietness may be preserved Our last letter unto our Said Island was dated the 6th of Aprill 1677. By Ship Golden ffleece, since which we have received Severall from You by our Ships, from the Coast, Surrat, and Bantam, The last was by the East India Merchant who arrived safe into this Holond River the 14th Currant in which letter **Margin Notes:**	Continuing from the engagement of the new gunner, his duty extended to the Watering Place and any other location to which the Governor and Council might assign him, with responsibility for fitting all the great guns for defence. The Governor and Council were authorised to appoint such other men under him as they saw fit. To ensure that every planter held his land on a firm legal footing, in line with the orders set out above, the Governor and Council were to send the company a particular account of every plantation on the island. Each entry was to give the name of the proprietor, the ground and land allotted to him, and a description of its butts and boundaries as exactly as could be made. The company would then have each holding conveyed to its proprietor and his heirs under the common seal, and would return the conveyances to the island for the use of the parties concerned. To support the prosperity of the island under Blackmore's government, every matter affecting the welfare of the inhabitants, whether already addressed in the despatch or arising by accident, was to be decided by the Governor with the advice and consent of the majority of the Council. The commanders of company ships visiting the island roadstead might offer advice, but had no vote in the settlement of any dispute. The company expected its account of island affairs from those it had entrusted with them. 17 The company recommended to the Governor and Council the encouragement of true religion, virtue, justice and honest dealing among the inhabitants. None was to be wronged. Every just complaint was to be heard and answered with justice, so that the good might be encouraged, evildoers punished for their crimes, and peace and quietness preserved. The company's last letter to the island had been dated 6 April 1677, sent by the *Golden Fleece*. Since then, several letters had been received from the island by company ships from the Coast, Surat and Bantam. The most recent had come by the *East India Merchant*, which had arrived safely in the Holond River on 14 February 1678. In that letter **Interpretations** The detailed survey ordered for every plantation, with each proprietor's name and the butts and

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		Duty, and others under him to bee appointed by Govern[or] & Councill 16 The Particuler acc[oun]t of each plantation to be taken w[i]th their Buttalls, and Boundary[s] to bee Sent to y[e] Compa[ny] for Confirmation All Matters to bee acted by the Gov[erno]r & Major p[ar]t of the Councill Comm[an]ders may advice but not Vote in Councill 17 Religion, Virtue, Iustice, & honesty to bee encouraged and Administred And [I]ust preserved[?]	boundaries of his holding, was to produce the documentary base for the issue of formal conveyances under the common seal. The handover records that the founding instructions of 19 December 1673 had required the Council to send home a particular account of every planter's name, ground and boundaries, on receipt of which the company would issue deeds under the common seal. The present despatch confirmed and repeated that mechanism. The survey, the central register on the island and the deed under the common seal in London together formed a three-part system of title, each part checking the others. The decision rule that all material matters be settled by the Governor with the advice and consent of the majority of the Council fixed the constitutional position of Blackmore in his new office. The commission of 20 February 1678 had set the quorum at three, and the present despatch made clear that the binding rule was majority assent within the quorate body. The Governor could not act alone on any matter of substance affecting the welfare of the inhabitants, and could not be outvoted on any matter where he had the majority. The handover records that the original quorum had been five, with the Governor or Deputy always counted, and that this had been reduced to three under the new commission. The present despatch wove the new quorum into a working decision rule for daily government. The express bar on visiting ship commanders voting in Council, while allowing them to advise, drew a clear constitutional line between the standing administration of the island and the temporary presence of company servants in the road. Commanders had local knowledge of trade conditions and the wider company network, and could usefully advise the Council. They were not, however, accountable for the government of the island and could not bind it. The arrangement gave Blackmore the benefit of their experience without surrendering decision-making authority to officers whose stay was measured in days or weeks. The duty on the Governor and Council to administer justice on just complaint, encourage the good and punish evildoers, gave the magistracy a positive role rather than a merely reactive one. The Council was not only the judicial bench but the civil authority with a standing duty to maintain peace and quiet. The grant of jurisdiction in the letters patent of 16 December 1673, which the handover records as covering penalties up to life and limb, supplied the legal foundation. The present despatch supplied the practical direction in which that jurisdiction was to be exercised. The summary of correspondence at the close of the despatch made plain the multiple channels through which the company's wider trading network supplied intelligence about the island. Letters had reached London from St Helena by ships from the Coast of India, from Surat and from Bantam, in addition to direct correspondence. The handover records the dependence of the island administration on the company's wider trading network for plants, seeds, livestock and the passage of personnel. The pattern of returning correspondence shows that the same network carried information back to London, and gave the Court of Committees a layered set of sources for following affairs on the island. The Watering Place, named in the gunner's commission, was the principal source of fresh water and the standard point of contact for ships taking on supply. Its defence was therefore central to the security of the island as a refreshment station for the East Indies fleet. By placing the gunner in care of the great guns at the Watering Place and any other locations as required, the company tied the artillery establishment to the most strategically sensitive points of the coast.

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			Speculations The decision to require a full proprietary survey on Blackmore's arrival was probably timed to coincide with the change of governor. A new Governor inheriting an unsettled register of titles would face endless disputes from the start. By making the survey the early business of the new administration, the company secured a clean starting point and gave Blackmore a single piece of work that would both establish his authority and produce a complete record. Each conveyance returned under the common seal would also bind every planter to the company's terms in writing, which would be more difficult to revisit later than informal grants made by Field. The reaffirmation of majority decision-making in Council was perhaps a precaution against the risk that Blackmore, as an outsider arriving over Beale's head, might attempt to act unilaterally on contentious matters. By restating the rule in writing alongside the commission, the company gave Beale and the other councillors a clear textual basis on which to resist any executive action taken without majority assent. The arrangement protected the institutional continuity of the island administration against the personal style of the new Governor. The exclusion of ships' commanders from voting was probably driven by experience of the practical difficulties of mixed authority. A ship's commander whose vessel lay in the road for a few weeks had no continuing stake in any decision and would carry no consequences for it. A Council member would live with the outcome of every vote. The company recognised the asymmetry and placed it on the right side of the line, by treating commanders as advisers but not as decision-makers. The pattern by which letters reached London from the island by way of the Coast, Surat and Bantam was probably the natural outcome of the East Indies trade rather than a deliberate routing. Letters were given to any company ship calling at St Helena, and the ship carried them home with its own correspondence at the end of its season. The arrival of the most recent letter on the *East India Merchant* on 14 February 1678 suggests that the despatch of 20 February 1678 was drafted within days of the company's reading of the latest news from the island. The closing summary of correspondence therefore probably introduced a section of the despatch in which the company addressed specific matters raised in those letters. The placing of the gunner's first duty at the Watering Place rather than at the main fort or the chief magazine probably reflected the practical pattern of approach for any landing party. Ships approaching the island for water would necessarily come within range of the Watering Place batteries, and any enemy attempt at a hostile landing would target the same supply of fresh water that brought friendly ships ashore. By fixing the gunner's primary attention on that point, the company aligned the artillery establishment with the principal point of vulnerability and the principal point of operational use.
56	69	letter we have received also each Shipps Accompt, And finde the later, that Some differences doe arise among you, which we doe earnestly recomend to your care that You use the best of Yo[u]r endeavors to prevent, and where wrong hath ben done unto any Person, or Persons, Vpon due Examination to take care Iustice may be done them, And that noe Person be Encouraged that acts (tending to disturbance) contrary to our Orders and Your directions thereupon, That all good Government and Orders may be preserved. You complain that the Sawyer now there doth intend to come home because his wife is not with him, She hath	Continuing from the company's reading of the latest letters from the island, the recent correspondence had included the accounts of each ship. The later letters had disclosed certain differences among the Governor and Council. The company strongly directed that every effort be made to prevent such disputes. Where wrong had been done to any person, the matter was to be examined and justice given. No person was to be encouraged in any act tending to disturbance, contrary to company orders and the Council's own directions. Good government and order were to be preserved. The Council had complained that the sawyer at the island intended to come home because his wife was not

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		been offered to be Sent to him passage free but She refuses. 19 You are to charge to the Accompt of Robert Bell the Summe of Three poundes being Soe much paid his wife here on Accompt of his Wages, to fit her for the Voyage to him. 20 Wee have Entertained M[r] Ioshua Iohnson to Serve in our Island in the quality of one of our Leivtenants at 40[s] P[er] Month and that he have 30 Acres of Land Set out and delivered unto him for a Plantation rough and smooth, One Servant to have pay and diet and mustered as a Soldier, One Negro and 4 Cowes; There is also Sent a Smell Chirurgery Chest, but not Chirurgeon, It must be Yo[u]r Endeavor to treat with one that may arrive on our returning Shipps, And if You can agree with one Instead of M[r] Moore who we understand desires to come home, You may allow him, that becomes in his roome the Same Wages and priviledges that M[r] Moore now hath. We have alsoe sent a Rateh Catcher and Stuff to destroy that Vermin, And hope You will Order the putting of it in use accordingly; There is on board this Ship Iohannah Fifty Dramm Deales used to make the Bread Roome, Coall Roome and Powder Roome which You are to take on Shore for the Companies use. 21 Wee shall allow noe pay unto any Soldiers but those that are entertained by us here in that quallity, and that are upon extraordinary occasions taken into pay by our Governour and Councell there, But You are not to list Children or Boys for Soldiers before they are able to discharge the Duty thereof &c **Margin Notes:** 18 Differences to be prevent- ed and the Wronges to bee righted [goo]d Order Government [and] to be preserved 19 £3 to be charged to y[e] acc[oun]t of Rob[er]t Bell for his Wife 20 [Mr] Iohnson[s] Termes And Condicons A Chirurgery Chest A Chirurgeon to be treated with out of returning Ships Instead of M[r] Moore A Ratch Catcher Dramm Deales 21 Noe Sould[iers] to bee [Paid?] but such as Listed in England, or on Extraordinary Occa- sions by Govrn[ors] & Councell	with him. The company recorded that she had been offered free passage to join him and had refused. 19 The sum of £3 0s 0d was to be charged to the account of Robert Bell. The money had been paid to his wife in London, on account of his wages, to fit her out for the voyage to join him on the island. 20 The company had engaged Joshua Johnson to serve on the island as one of the two lieutenants, at 40s per month. He was to receive thirty acres of rough and smooth land laid out and delivered to him as a plantation. He was also entitled to one servant on company pay and diet, mustered as a soldier; one slave; and four cows. A small surgery chest was sent on the *Johanna*, but no surgeon. The Governor and Council were to seek to engage a surgeon from among those arriving on returning company ships. If they could agree with a man to take the place of Mr Moore, who had asked to return home, they were authorised to give the new surgeon the same wages and privileges that Moore presently held. A rat catcher had also been sent, together with the materials he required to destroy the vermin, and the Governor and Council were to put him to work on arrival. Fifty dram deals were carried on the *Johanna* for use in fitting out the bread room, the coal room and the powder room on the island. These were to be brought ashore for company use. 21 The company would pay no soldiers other than those entered into service in England, and those taken into pay on extraordinary occasions by the Governor and Council on the island. The Governor and Council were forbidden to list children or boys as soldiers before they were old enough to perform a soldier's duty. **Interpretations** The instruction that differences among Council members be prevented, and that those wronged be given justice, treated internal disputes as a regular feature of remote governance rather than an exception. The company had observed in the most recent letters that disagreements had arisen, and chose to address them through a standing rule rather than by direct intervention. The arrangement made the Council itself the first instance for resolving its own internal grievances, with the company in London as a distant supervisory authority that received the account but did not adjudicate the dispute at first hand. The case of the sawyer's wife illustrated the practical limits of the family reunion policy set out earlier in the despatch. The company would offer and pay for the passage of a wife to join her husband on the island, but could not compel her to take it up. The sawyer's prospective return to England, against the company's preference for retaining skilled labour on the island, was therefore the direct consequence of a refusal that the company could not override. The handover records family reunion at company expense as a standing element of the soldier-to-planter and skilled-labour retention policy. The sawyer case showed how that policy worked when one party declined to participate. The charge of £3 0s 0d on Robert Bell's wage account for sums advanced to his wife in London established the working method by which family expenditure in England was recovered from a man's pay on the island. The company paid the wife in London for outfitting and passage, and entered the sum against the husband's accumulated wages on the island ledger. The method ran wages and family support through a single account, and made the family expenditure a charge on the man rather than an additional cost to the company.

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			The terms set out for Johnson placed his package in context. At 40s a month, he received £24 0s 0d a year in standing pay, which matched the ensign rate of £2 0s 0d a month recorded in the handover from the founding instructions of 19 December 1673 and stood below the lieutenant rate of £2 10s 0d a month set in the same instructions. The land grant of thirty acres of mixed ground, with one servant, one slave and four cows, gave him an immediate base as a planter alongside his military role. The arrangement integrated Johnson into the dual character of the island establishment, where senior officers held both military command and a planter holding. The handover records that Johnson sat on the Council under the commission of 20 February 1678, so that the present pay and land package supplied the financial substructure of a Council member as much as of a lieutenant. The unresolved status of Mr Moore in the present despatch carries forward the puzzle already recorded in the handover from the despatch of March 1676, where Mr Moor had been referenced as the Minister with whom Richard Hull came out. The present text identifies a Mr Moore who is a surgeon now seeking to return home and whose place is to be filled at the same wages and privileges. The handover records Francis Moore as the original Surgeon of the island from 1673, on £25 0s 0d a year salary with £5 0s 0d a year gratuity. The surgeon referred to in the present despatch is therefore probably Francis Moore, although the handover noted the possible confusion with a separate clergyman of similar name. The despatch confirms the surgeon reading. The arrangement that the replacement surgeon be drawn from returning company ships shows how the company used its wider network as a labour market for skilled posts on the island. A ship returning from the East Indies might carry a surgeon between contracts who could be engaged on the spot for the island, rather than requiring a fresh recruitment from London with the consequent delay of a year or more. The handover records the broader pattern of reliance on the company's wider trading network for personnel, and the surgery arrangement extended that pattern to medical staff. The supply of fifty dram deals for the bread room, coal room and powder room equipped three of the principal stores on the island with fresh timber. The dram deal was a standard Scandinavian softwood plank of fixed dimensions, traded extensively through the Baltic and used widely for partitioning and shelving in storerooms and ships. Routing such materials through the *Johanna* gave the company direct control over the standard of fit-out for the most sensitive stores. The bar on listing children or boys as soldiers responded to a specific risk of abuse in a small garrison. A boy entered on the muster roll would draw company pay without performing a soldier's duty, and the practice could rapidly drift into a means of supplementing the wages of fathers serving on the island. The express prohibition made clear that pay followed actual service. **Speculations** The reference to differences among the Governor and Council probably concerned the period under Field rather than the new administration under Blackmore, since the despatch was drafted before the new Governor reached the island. The company's reading of the most recent letters had disclosed friction in the existing administration, and the change of Governor itself may have been informed by what those letters showed. The handover records that Field's discharge had been signed on 20 February 1678, the same date as the present despatch, and that Mrs Field had earlier petitioned for his return. A pattern of internal disagreement on the island, combined with family

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			pressure in London, would have given the company more than one reason to make the change. The sawyer's wife's refusal of free passage probably reflected the realities of seventeenth-century travel and settlement rather than any specific objection to St Helena. A voyage of several months, with a small child or none, and an unknown future on a remote island, would have been a daunting proposition for many women. The company's offer was generous in financial terms but could not compensate for the personal cost. The detail that the company recorded the refusal in writing shows that it was treating the matter as a settled fact and accepting that the sawyer was now likely to return. The decision to send a rat catcher and his materials, alongside a new lieutenant, a surgery chest and timber for the stores, suggests that the island had reported a working infestation that was damaging stores or crops. Rats on a settlement of this kind were a chronic threat to food security and to the integrity of the magazine. By sending a specialist with the materials he needed, the company addressed the problem through targeted intervention rather than leaving it to the Council to find local remedies. The placement of Johnson at the ensign rate of 40s a month, despite his appointment as lieutenant, was perhaps a calculated economy. The handover records the lieutenant rate of £2 10s 0d a month from 1673, and Johnson's pay fell below that figure. The shortfall may reflect the company's general drive for economy in soldier numbers and pay, recorded earlier in the despatch in the instruction not to retain more men in pay than strict necessity demanded. Johnson nevertheless received a larger land grant and a fuller package of cattle and labour than a serving ensign would have expected, which suggests that the company offered him a planter-weighted package rather than a soldier-weighted one. The instruction that the surgeon's replacement be drawn from returning ships, rather than from a fresh London engagement, was probably driven by the lead time of recruitment. A surgeon engaged in London might not reach the island for a year, while a surgeon disembarking from a returning company ship could be put to work immediately. By authorising the Council to engage on the same terms as Moore, the company removed the need for further reference to London and accepted the local decision as binding. The arrangement gave Moore a clear opportunity to leave without the island being left without medical care for the long interval that London engagement would have required. The prohibition on listing children or boys was perhaps a response to specific instances reported from the island. The handover does not record earlier complaints of false enlistment, but the appearance of the rule in writing in the present despatch suggests that the practice had begun to occur or to be feared. By naming the issue and forbidding it, the company gave the Council a written authority to refuse such enlistments and a written defence against any pressure to allow them.
57	70	And all Soldiers after their time of Service is out may returne to England on our Shipps passage free. Wee hope by this time that some Carmenia Goats we writ for to Persia are arrived with you, which we desire your care of and to keep them apart from other Cattle, that we may have So Soon as posible an Accompt how they thrive, and whether their Wool will answer expectation, We have also writ to Surrat that they Send you from thence Yeerly five or Six hundred Weight of hard Sope, Which we hope will well accommodate You, And that You take care it be equally distributed to the Planters and Others for their use at the price it Comes Invoiced from Surrat.	Continuing from the bar on listing children or boys as soldiers, every soldier was entitled, on the expiry of his term of service, to return to England on a company ship with free passage. The company hoped that by the time of Blackmore's arrival the Carmanian goats requested from Persia would already have reached the island. The Governor and Council were to keep the goats apart from other cattle and to send the company an account, as soon as possible, of how they thrived and whether their wool answered expectations. The company had also written to the Surat Council, directing that five or six hundredweight of hard soap be sent each year from

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		When it shall please God to arrive our homeward bound Shipping from Surrat and the Coast, And that they shall meet at our said Island, To prevent disputes that may arise about precedency, We do appoint that if it happen that Captain Chamlet, Captain Slide and Captain Bass be all there at the Same time then wee Order Captain Chamblet to be Admirall, Captain Slide Vice Admirall, and Captain Bass Reere Admi- rall, and all others that shall Sail from thence to ranck themselves according to their Seniority, And this we require You to make knowne unto our Commanders. 23 The times being troublesome and dangerous, we enjoin yo[u]r more then ordinary care in your Watches and Circumspection especially when Shipps of Strangers are in the Road, that none come on Shore armed and but a few at a time unarmed, as formerly advised and that You keep Sentry on the Hills constantly to looke out that none may Surprize you unawares, But if any Enemy shold make an attempt upon you, you they may find you ready to defend your Selves, And to Endeavour Your utmost for the preservation of our S[ai]d Island, And So Committing You to the Guidance and - **Margin Notes:** 22 [Sould]iers to returne passage free Carmenia Goates Hard Sope pro- mised to be Sent from Surrat 22 What Cap[t] shall have precedency on returning Shipps 23 No Strangers to come on Shoare Armed, nor Many at a time Vnarmed Centinells to be kept on Hills	Surat to the island. The Governor and Council were to ensure that the soap was distributed equally to the planters and others for their use, at the price set on the Surat invoice. When the company's homeward-bound ships from Surat and the Coast met at the island on the return voyage, an order of precedence was needed to prevent disputes. If Captain Chamlet, Captain Slide and Captain Bass were all in the road at the same time, Chamlet was to act as Admiral, Slide as Vice Admiral and Bass as Rear Admiral. Any other commanders sailing from the island were to rank by seniority. The Governor and Council were to make this order known to the commanders concerned. 23 The times being dangerous, the Governor and Council were to keep more than ordinary watch and circumspection. When foreign ships lay in the road, none of their men were to come ashore armed, and only a few at a time were to be allowed ashore unarmed, in line with earlier directions. Sentries were to be kept constantly on the hills to look out, so that no enemy could surprise the island unawares. If any enemy should attempt an attack, the Governor and Council were to be ready to defend the island and to do their utmost for its preservation. The despatch closed with the company committing the Governor and Council to the guidance of God. **Interpretations** The free passage home on completion of service formed the working counterpart of the five-year return right set out earlier in the despatch. By renewing the entitlement at the close of the despatch, the company put beyond doubt that the right of return was guaranteed at company expense and was not contingent on the soldier finding his own means of repatriation. The provision protected the company's recruiting position in England, since prospective soldiers could enlist for the island in the knowledge that they would not be stranded at the end of their term. The Carmanian goats represented the commercial venture for fine wool production already recorded in the handover. The Surat despatch of 30 January 1678 had sent two goats on the *George*, with technical guidance on combing the fine under-wool and a comb sent with the shipment. The present despatch shows the London end of the same operation. The company in London was actively monitoring the venture and required a working account of how the goats thrived and whether the wool met expectations. The instruction to keep the goats apart from other cattle echoed the Surat warning that earlier consignments had been lost through interbreeding, and confirms the importance the company placed on protecting the breeding stock. The annual supply of hard soap from Surat illustrates the integration of the island into the company's wider Indian Ocean supply chain. Soap was a workaday commodity rather than a luxury, but the production capacity at Surat made it sensible to source the island's needs from the western India trade rather than from England. By directing equal distribution to planters and others at the Surat invoice price, the company set up a controlled re-sale arrangement rather than a free gift, and ran the soap through the same accounting system as the rest of the stores. The order of precedence among Chamlet, Slide and Bass placed a written rule between the company and the kind of dispute that could otherwise become divisive among commanders meeting at the island on the homeward voyage. The handover records that the company had earlier needed to settle similar questions of seniority among officers, and the present arrangement applied the same kind of fixed seniority rule that had been imposed on Tyler and Johnson among the lieutenants. By naming the three captains

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			and assigning each a rank in the fleet, the company removed the question from local negotiation and made it a matter of written record before any of the three reached the island. The doctrine that strangers should come ashore only in small numbers and unarmed, with sentries kept constantly on the hills, gave practical effect to the standing security regime for foreign ships in the road. The handover records that the despatch of 18 December 1674 had set rules for visiting European ships, requiring civility but barring access to the fort and the island's strength, with no fresh provisions if company ships or the sloop might want them. The present despatch confirmed and tightened that regime. Access ashore was conditional, never armed and never in mass, and the lookout system on the heights gave early warning of any change in the character of a foreign visit. **Speculations** The renewal of the free passage rule at the close of the despatch, despite an earlier passage at article 11 confirming a similar right after five years of service, was perhaps a precaution against any reading of the earlier rule as exclusive. A man who had served on the island for a different period, or under different terms, could otherwise have argued that the right of return was limited to those who had completed five years exactly. By naming free passage at the end of service in general terms as well, the company removed scope for that argument. The expectation that the goats would already have arrived from Surat by the time of Blackmore's landing reflected the company's calculation of voyage times across the Indian Ocean. The Surat despatch had been written on 30 January 1678, three weeks before the present despatch was drafted in London. The company would have known the rough sailing time from Swally Marine to St Helena and would have expected the *George* to make the island ahead of the *Johanna*. The instruction to send back an early account of the goats' progress suggests that the company wanted concrete evidence of the venture before committing further resources to the wool trade. The choice to send hard soap rather than soft, and to source it from Surat rather than England, was probably driven by the practicalities of long-distance carriage. Hard soap travelled and stored better in tropical conditions than soft soap, and Surat had a working soap-making industry that produced quantities sufficient for an annual consignment. The arrangement also reduced the call on English manufacturing for what could readily be supplied through the company's existing Indian Ocean network. The fixed precedence among Chamlet, Slide and Bass probably reflected a pattern of relationships among captains in the East Indies fleet that the company in London knew but the island administration did not. The Governor and Council had no means of judging the relative seniority of three captains whom they had not previously seen together. By setting the order in advance, the company spared the Governor and Council the awkwardness of attempting to resolve a dispute among senior commanders whose ships and crews were essential to the homeward voyage. The instruction to keep strangers ashore in small numbers, and never armed, was perhaps shaped by the recent memory of the Dutch occupation of the island in 1673. The handover records that the original recapture by Munden's squadron had recovered the island from a brief Dutch tenure, with the *Surrat Merchant* and the *Humphry and Eliah* lost in the same episode. The fear that a similar surprise might recur, especially when foreign ships lay in the road, gave the company reason to set out a controlled access regime in writing. A handful of unarmed visitors could be entertained at the

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			Watering Place or in the town without exposing the island to the kind of sudden seizure that had cost the company its earlier garrison. The closing words committing the Governor and Council to the guidance of God placed the practical instructions of the despatch within the wider religious framing of the opening article. The despatch had begun with a code of public worship and moral policing, and now ended with a religious commitment of the island's leadership to divine guidance. The two together set the despatch in a frame that treated the work of government on St Helena as both an administrative and a spiritual responsibility.
58	71	And Protection of the Almighty We remaine. Your Lo[veing] freinds London the 20th February 1677 Mathew Andrews John Bancks W[illia]m Thompson G[over]nor Ja: Edwards Dep[uty] John Boget Steven White Daniell Sheldon Arthur Ingram In[no]: Lawrence John Bathurst Edw: Rudge John Moore Sam[ue]l Moyer John Iollife Ios: Child Tho: Canham John Morden Geering Iamb[?] Nath: Herne Ro[bert] Boyle 24 We have received an Accompt of Captain Anthony Beale whereby he makes coming to him 79: 7: 6: but we cannot approve of it, for that we have noe particulers of the 40[s] charged to him, nor of the 718:19:6 brought to his Credit, alsoe the time when he received and paid any Monyes Should be Menconed in the Accompt, besides he is charged here with 62[lb] as paid him at his going out, and Since for his Accompt in the particulers following. £ s d of Iseac Tyllyrd at Plimouth - 15: -: - 1675 June 9, Paid Vrsula Williams - - 10: -: - Paid by y[e] Barnacle van O[ces] R[esi]d 5: -: - 1676 Augt 4, Paid Vrsula Williams - - 10: -: - July 13, Paid Vrsula Williams - - 10: -: - 16 Paid Hen: Kirby his bill - - 12: -: - 62: -: - 25 We want your Bookes of Accompts for last Yeer, and when You folio it, put but one folio on each leaf and Not one on each Side, which we desire you to remedy and to be more punctuall and carefull in Sending a particular Accompt of the Expence of Monyg and Stores Yeerly. 26 The **Margin Notes:** 24 We have received Cap[t] Beales Acc[oun]t but we Cannot approve of it 25 each Leafe to be folio- ed [A] punctuall acc[oun]t must bee given of Monyes & Stores	Continuing from the religious framing at the close of the despatch, the company subscribed itself as the loving friends of the Governor and Council. The letter was dated at London on 20 February 1678. The signatories were Matthew Andrews, John Bancks, William Thompson as Governor, James Edwards as Deputy, John Boget, Steven White, Daniel Sheldon, Arthur Ingram, Innocent Lawrence, John Bathurst, Edward Rudge, John Moore, Samuel Moyer, John Jollyfe, Josiah Child, Thomas Canham, John Morden, Geering Iamb, Nathaniel Herne and Robert Boyle. 24 The company had received an account from Beale showing a balance of £79 7s 6d due to him. The account could not be approved. No particulars had been supplied for the 40s charged to him, and none for the £718 19s 6d brought to his credit. Beale had also failed to record the dates on which any sums had been received or paid. In addition, he had already been charged at London with £62 0s 0d paid to him at his going out and since on his account, made up as follows: Of Isaac Tyllyrd at Plymouth 1 entry £15 0s 0d Paid Ursula Williams, 9 June 1675 1 entry £10 0s 0d Paid by the Barnacle van Oces, resident 1 entry £5 0s 0d Paid Ursula Williams, 4 August 1676 1 entry £10 0s 0d Paid Ursula Williams, 13 July 1676 1 entry £10 0s 0d Paid Henry Kirby on his bill, 16 July 1676 1 entry £12 0s 0d Total £62 0s 0d 25 The company had not received the island's books of account for the previous year. The Governor and Council were directed to remedy the failure and to send a particular account each year of the expenditure of money and stores. When folioing the books, the Council was to enter only one folio number on each leaf rather than one on each side. **Interpretations** The London signatories named at the foot of the despatch fixed the constitutional authority behind the instructions. William Thompson as Governor and James Edwards as Deputy were the executive officers of the company at the date of signing. The handover records that Thompson had been a Court of Committees member on the despatch of 18 December 1674 and is now identified as Governor of the company. Nathaniel Herne, who had been Governor in December 1674, appears at the foot of the present list as an ordinary member, which records a regular rotation in the headship of the company between leading merchants. The handover already noted Herne's earlier role and now allows that record to be brought forward. The presence of John Bancks at the head of the signatures, after the executive officers, confirms his continuing standing as one of the senior members of the Court, having signed the founding despatches of

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			December 1673 and the despatch of 18 December 1674. Other names recurring from the earlier handover entries include Edward Rudge, John Moore, Samuel Moyer, John Jollyfe and Thomas Canham, each having signed the despatches of 19 December 1673 and 18 December 1674. The pattern shows a substantial continuity of personnel on the Court of Committees across the five years between the founding instructions and the present despatch. The new names appearing on the present list, including Andrews, Edwards, Boget, White, Sheldon, Ingram, Lawrence, Bathurst, Morden, Iamb, Josiah Child and Robert Boyle, record the membership of the Court that signed the change of Governor at St Helena. The appearance of Josiah Child is significant, as he later became one of the most influential figures in the company's affairs. The appearance of Robert Boyle, the natural philosopher, on the Court of Committees gives a particular London-side context to the company's intellectual interests during the period. The audit of Beale's account demonstrates the working practice of the company's accounting system. The account was rejected not because the balance was disputed but because the supporting particulars were missing. The 40s charged to Beale lacked detail, and the credit of £718 19s 6d had been brought to his credit without supporting entries. The absence of dates against receipts and payments compounded the difficulty. The handover records the debtor and creditor method as the standing accounting practice for the company. The audit of Beale's account, refusing approval until the particulars and dates were supplied, shows how the method operated as a check rather than a mere bookkeeping convention. An account without dates and particulars was no account at all. The schedule of £62 0s 0d charged at London against Beale's wages illustrates the working method by which the company managed payments to wives and creditors in England against the accumulated wages of officers serving abroad. The handover records that the same mechanism had been used in the earlier despatch in respect of Robert Bell, with £3 0s 0d charged for his wife's outfitting and passage. In Beale's case, the payments were of a different character. Ursula Williams received three payments of £10 0s 0d each over a thirteen-month period, suggesting a regular obligation. Henry Kirby's bill of £12 0s 0d and the £5 0s 0d paid by Barnacle van Oces as resident appear to be one-off settlements. The arrangement allowed Beale to discharge obligations in England through the company's London accounts while he remained on the island, and bound those payments to his accumulated wages. The instruction on folio numbering, by which only one folio number was to be entered on each leaf rather than one on each side, reflects a specific accounting convention. A leaf in a book of account had two sides, recto and verso, but in the merchant practice of the period a folio was treated as the whole opening of two facing pages or a single leaf, not each side separately. By correcting the island's bookkeeping practice on this small matter, the company brought the island accounts into line with London merchant practice and made cross-reference between island and London books straightforward. **Speculations** The continuity of Bancks, Moore, Moyer, Jollyfe, Canham and Rudge on the Court across the founding despatches of December 1673, the despatch of December 1674 and the present despatch of February 1678 suggests a stable core of senior members who carried the institutional memory of the St Helena project. A new Governor of the company would arrive at a Court that included men who had handled the original recapture and settlement, and could therefore rely on collective knowledge of the precedents that the

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			despatch was working from. The continuity probably explains the consistency of approach to the island across the five-year period, which the handover documents as a sustained policy of soldier-to-planter conversion, self-sufficiency in provisions and tight documentary control. The rejection of Beale's account was perhaps timed to coincide with the change of Governor on the island. With Blackmore arriving as an outsider, the company had reason to ensure that the accounts of the most senior continuing officer were in order before the handover. An audit failure recorded in the despatch gave Blackmore a written instruction to obtain proper particulars from Beale, and gave Beale a clear standard against which his future accounts would be tested. The handover records Beale's combined office as Husband and Storekeeper since 1673, and the audit failure illustrates the pressure that the combined office placed on a single officer keeping detailed accounts at long distance. The recurring payments to Ursula Williams over more than a year suggest a regular financial obligation in England that Beale was discharging through the company's London accounts. The pattern is consistent with maintenance of a relative, a former wife, a creditor or a household member in England. The company's role was that of a remittance agent, deducting the sums paid from the running wage balance. The instrument was effective for an officer on a remote station who had no other means of meeting obligations in London, and gave the company a continuing claim on his accumulated wages. The criticism of the folio numbering practice was probably the result of a specific difficulty encountered in cross-referencing the island books in London. A book folioed on each side rather than each leaf would have produced double the folio numbers expected for its length and would have made citation of entries in correspondence ambiguous. The detail of the instruction shows that the company had attempted to use the island books in London and had found them inconsistent with the practice of the merchants' books at East India House. The correction was small but characteristic of the company's wider drive for documentary uniformity between island and London administrations. The presence of Robert Boyle among the signatories is a striking reminder that the leading commercial company of the period drew its membership from across the wider intellectual and commercial elite of late seventeenth-century London. Boyle's known interests in natural philosophy, navigation and the practical problems of empire would have made the affairs of St Helena, with its goats, its fortifications, its register of marriages and its experiments in cultivation, a subject of natural concern to him. The despatch nevertheless carries no special mark of Boyle's hand, and his signature appears in the ordinary place among the other members of the Court.
59	72	The Shipp Mary is safely arrived, by whome wee have recieved your letter of the 21th of December last, and have now by the Iohannah sent you a Large Supply of all provisions and Stores, And alsoe have writt to the President and Councell at Surratt, That from thence, and the Coast and Bay You may anneally receive Some Rice and Paddee for your Supply. Wee Order that Captain ffield be of the Councell whilst he remaines on the Island, and that his Salery be continued until he takes his passage for England, which he is to doe by the first Shipping. W[illia]m Thompson Govr Iac: Edwards Dept Govr In[no]: Morden John Moore	By the *Mary*, the company had received the Council's letter of 21 December 1677. A large supply of provisions and stores was now sent on the *Johanna*. The company had also written to the President and Council at Surat, directing that rice and paddy be sent annually to the island from Surat, the Coast and the Bay. The company ordered that Field be a member of the Council while he remained on the island, and that his salary continue until he took his passage for England, which he was to do by the first available shipping. The despatch was signed by William Thompson as Governor and James Edwards as Deputy Governor, with John Morden, John Moore, John Page and Daniel Sheldon.

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		In[no]: Page Daniell Sheldon For Major John Blackmore Governour of our Island St Hellena and our Councill there, or to the Govr and Councill for the time being of the Said Island These. A True Coppy, Examined with the Originall By me Ste: Legg **Margin Notes:** 26 Order given for Rice & Paddee to be sent from Surratt Cap[t] ffield to bee of y[e] Councill whilst on y[e] Island	The letter was addressed to Major John Blackmore as Governor of the island of St Helena and the Council there, or to the Governor and Council for the time being. A true copy was certified, examined with the original by Stephen Legg. **Interpretations** The arrival of the *Mary* with the Council's letter of 21 December 1677 supplied the company with its most recent correspondence from the island before drafting the despatch. The despatch had earlier acknowledged letters arriving by the *East India Merchant* on 14 February 1678. The two arrivals together gave the Court a view of island affairs sufficiently current to allow specific matters raised in the Council's letters to be answered in writing. The annual supply of rice and paddy from Surat, the Coast and the Bay drew the island further into the company's Indian Ocean provisioning network. The handover records the standing policy of self-sufficiency in provisions, with escalating sanctions from encouragement in 1673 to the threat of deportation for declared idlers in 1676. The present direction acknowledges the practical limit of that policy. Where local cultivation could not yet meet the island's needs, the company arranged routine Indian shipments rather than commit to further English supply. The arrangement supplemented the soap shipment from Surat already directed earlier in the despatch, and tied the island into an annual flow of staples from western India and Bengal. The decision to retain Field on the Council until embarkation preserved his institutional knowledge across the transition. As discharged Governor he could no longer command, but as Council member he could advise Blackmore and the other councillors on matters that he alone had handled across the years of his governorship. The continuation of his salary until departure gave him an ordered exit rather than an abrupt removal. The handover records Field's salary of £50 0s 0d and gratuity of £20 0s 0d. The reference to continued salary refers to the standing £50 0s 0d figure rather than to any additional payments. The arrangement gave Blackmore a fully briefed Council on arrival. Beale was already in place as Deputy Governor and Husband, with the institutional memory of the storekeeping system since 1673. Field would now sit on the Council until embarkation, with the institutional memory of the governorship itself. The handover records that the commission of 20 February 1678 had appointed Tyler, Johnson, Swallow, Greentree and Coalston to the Council. Field's addition raised the number temporarily to six until his departure, alongside the Governor and Deputy. The certification by Stephen Legg as a true copy fits the pattern of authentication for company despatches recorded across the handover, in which Legg as clerk verified the founding despatches of December 1673 and the despatch of December 1674. His continuing role as the verifying clerk of the company's outgoing despatches points to a stable clerical office at East India House across the five-year period. The shorter list of signatories at the closing note, set against the longer list at the main despatch, probably represents the members of the Court present when the closing note was added rather than a separate decision-making body. The presence of John Moore and John Page repeats their attendance on earlier despatches recorded in the handover, while Morden and Sheldon now reappear from the main list. The form of address, naming Blackmore as Governor and the Governor and Council for the time being, made the despatch binding on whoever held office on receipt. The form anticipated the possibility that Blackmore might not arrive or might arrive but die

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			before the despatch could be fully implemented. The handover records the dual-track succession set out in the commission, by which Beale would succeed on Blackmore's death or removal, and the Council or any three or more members would act as chief commissioners on the death or removal of both. The form of address tied the instructions to the office rather than to the individual. **Speculations** The decision to draw rice and paddy from three different sources, Surat, the Coast and the Bay, probably reflected a deliberate spread of supply risk. A single source could fail through poor harvest, war or shipping loss. By directing the President and Council at Surat to coordinate a tripartite supply, the company ensured that the failure of any one source would not leave the island without grain. The arrangement drew on the company's three principal western Indian and Bengal stations, each producing rice through its own trading network, and brought their resources to bear on a small downstream consumer at St Helena. The retention of Field on the Council was perhaps a deliberate softening of his discharge. The handover records that Mrs Field had petitioned for his return as early as December 1674, with £100 0s 0d paid to her by March 1676 in part of his salary. By February 1678 his return had become both a personal wish and a settled company decision. The arrangement, by keeping him on the Council with continued salary until embarkation, gave Field a dignified withdrawal rather than the abrupt removal of an officer found wanting. The handover records the commission's terms as discharging Field but did not preclude his continued service in a subordinate capacity, and the present despatch confirmed that route. The direction that Field take passage by the first available shipping placed a clear time limit on the arrangement. He could not linger indefinitely as a Council member while drawing salary. The first homeward ship to call at the island would carry him to England. The handover records the company's preference for ordered transitions tied to ship arrivals, by which Blackmore's authority took effect on the *Johanna*'s arrival. The same logic applied to Field's departure, with the precise moment fixed by the next outward sailing. The instruction to send rice and paddy annually was probably calibrated to allow the island's own cultivation to develop. Rice was a staple of the Indian Ocean trade and could be supplied from established networks at low marginal cost. By directing an annual supply from three Indian sources, the company gave the planters a margin of food security without removing the pressure for local cultivation. The handover records the standing policy of self-sufficiency, and the rice shipment supported that policy by reducing the risk of immediate famine while the longer settlement plan worked through. The choice to address the despatch jointly to Blackmore as Governor and to the Governor and Council for the time being recognised the long voyage time between London and St Helena. A despatch written in February might not reach the island for several months, during which any of the named officers might have died, fallen ill or been removed. By naming the office in the alternative, the company protected its directions against any change in personnel that the long voyage might produce.
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61	74	Blank page	
62	75	London ye 20th March 167[7]/[8] Invoice of Stores and Provisions Laden by the Governour & Company of Merchants of London tradeing into the East Indies in and upon the good Shipp called the Iohannah Burthen 600 Tunns or thereabouts	By the ship *Johanna*, Captain Hopefor Bendall, bound for St Helena. Invoice of stores and provisions shipped on the *Johanna*, burthen about 600 tons, from London on 20 March 1678 by the Governor and Company of

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		whereof goeth Commander Cap[t] Hopefor Bendall bound by the Allmigh[-] ties Permission for the Island St Hellena and goeth consigned unto their Governour and Councell their resident for Acco[t] of the Generall Ioint Stock y[e] Particulers cost and sort[s] are as followeth Vizt Fustians Fustians and is for 120 halfe peeces in 2 Drioms Caske No 1-2 No 1. 56 half peeces dyed fustians at 18[s] [p] ps. 50 8 - 24 half peeces ditto at 18[s] [p] ps. 21 12 - 40 ditto of white fustians at 16[s] [p] ps. 32 - - 120 £ 104 - - Cartouches 3 Cartouch boxes & is for 1 Cask No 3 of 150 at 3[s] [p] box 22 10 Belts Lasts Tools Coloured Linnen Waste Belts & other Particulers & is for 1 Cask No 4 vizt 100 Wast Belts at 2[s] 6[d] [p] ps. 12 10 - 4 3 Dozen of Shoemakers Lasts at 5[s] [p] doz 15 - 2 Sett of Shoemakers tooles at 8[s] [p] Sot • 16 - 13 peeces broad Culler Linnen of 194[½] y[ds] at 5[d] [p] y[d] 6 9 8 20 10 8 Wyer Wyer and is for 2 Cask No 5 & 6 as followeth Vizt 300 Foote Screene wyer worke in 37[½] peeces at at 8[d] [p] foot 12 10 6 5 300 Foote bed hole wyer worke at 6[d] [p] foot 7 10 - 2lb of Singled firsine at 9[d] [p] pound • 6 9 6 5lb of Lysing Wyer at 1[s] 9[d] [p] pound • 3 9 5lb of Rib Wyr at 7[½] [p] pound • 3 2 5lb of Streaight Irons at 7[½] [p] pound • 3 2 18 19 4 Fowling peices Muskitts 7 Fowling Peeces in Cases & is for 20 in Chest No 7 at 25[s] [p] peece 25 - - 8 Firelock Musquetts & is for 30 in Chest No 8 at 17[s] [p] peece 24 - - Firelock Musquetts & is for 40 in Chest No 9 at 16[s] 32 - - Two Pair of Long Moldes in ditto Chest • 10 - 32 10 - Flints 9 Flints and is for one Ronnellet of 1000 in Chest No 9 • 10 - Muskitts 10 Firelock Musquetts and is for 40 in Chest No 10 at 16[s] [p]i 32 - - 11 Firelock Musquetts & is for 40 in Chest No 11 at 16[s] [p] peeces 32 - - Borne over. 312 - - **Margin Notes:** Fustians Cartouches Belts Lasts Tools Coloured Linnen	Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. The cargo was consigned to the Governor and Council resident on the island, for the account of the General Joint Stock. Fustians Fustians, in two drioms, casks numbered 1 and 2, comprising 120 half-pieces. Cask 1: Dyed fustians 56 half-pieces at 18s per piece £50 8s 0d Dyed fustians 24 half-pieces at 18s per piece £21 12s 0d White fustians 40 half-pieces at 16s per piece £32 0s 0d Total fustians 120 half-pieces £104 0s 0d Cartouches Cartouche boxes, in one cask numbered 3. Cartouche boxes 150 at 3s per box £22 10s 0d Belts, lasts, tools, coloured linen Sundries, in one cask numbered 4. Waste belts 100 at 2s 6d per piece £12 10s 0d Shoemakers' lasts 3 dozen at 5s per dozen £0 15s 0d Shoemakers' tools 2 sets at 8s per set £0 16s 0d Broad coloured linen 13 pieces of 194½ yards at 5d per yard £6 9s 8d Total belts, lasts, tools, coloured linen £20 10s 8d Wire Wire, in two casks numbered 5 and 6. Screen wire work 300 feet in 37½ pieces at 8d per foot £12 10s 6d Bed-hole wire work 300 feet at 6d per foot £7 10s 0d Singled firsine 2 lb at 9d per pound £0 6s 9d Lysing wire 5 lb at 1s 9d per pound £0 3s 9d Rib wire 5 lb at 7½d per pound £0 3s 2d Straight irons 5 lb at 7½d per pound £0 3s 2d Total wire £18 19s 4d Fowling pieces Fowling pieces in cases, in chest numbered 7. Fowling pieces 20 at 25s per piece £25 0s 0d Muskets Firelock muskets, in chest numbered 8. Firelock muskets 30 at 17s per piece £24 0s 0d Firelock muskets, in chest numbered 9. Firelock muskets 40 at 16s per piece £32 0s 0d Long moulds 2 pairs £0 10s 0d Total chest 9 £32 10s 0d Flints Flints, in one runlet in chest numbered 9. Flints 1,000 £0 10s 0d Muskets Firelock muskets, in chest numbered 10. Firelock muskets 40 at 16s per piece £32 0s 0d Firelock muskets, in chest numbered 11. Firelock muskets 40 at 16s per piece £32 0s 0d Carried over £312 0s 0d **Interpretations** The invoice opens the working schedule for the *Johanna*'s outward cargo and supplies the financial and physical detail behind the supply directions given in the despatch of 20 February 1678. The cargo was consigned to the General Joint Stock, which was the company's standing capital fund. By naming the Stock as the account holder, the company brought every item on the invoice into a single ledger entry against which expenditure on the island could be tested. The handover records the debtor and creditor system of storekeeping established in 1673 and confirmed in the despatch of 20 February 1678. The invoice supplies the

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		Wyer Fowling peices Muskitts Flints Muskitts	opening debit against which Beale, as Husband and Storekeeper, would account for receipt and issue. The dating of the invoice at 20 March 1678 fell some four weeks after the despatch itself of 20 February 1678. The interval represents the working time between the drafting of the instructions, the loading of the *Johanna* and the final certification of the cargo. The invoice followed the despatch in time but accompanied it on the same voyage, the two together forming the operational basis on which Blackmore took up his office. The fustians at £104 0s 0d formed the largest single line in the visible portion of the invoice. Fustian was a coarse cloth of mixed cotton and linen, durable and reasonably priced, suited to the working dress of soldiers, planters and slaves on an island where clothing wore out quickly through outdoor labour and exposure to sea air. The split between dyed and white fustians, with the higher price attached to the dyed cloth, gave the Governor and Council a choice of materials for distribution. Cloth issued to soldiers and planters would be charged to their individual accounts at the invoice rate under the daily wage and stores rules already set out in the despatch. The cartouche boxes at £22 10s 0d, the fowling pieces at £25 0s 0d, the firelock muskets at £120 0s 0d in total across four chests, the long moulds for casting shot at 10s 0d and the flints at 10s 0d together represented a substantial reinforcement of the island's small arms and ammunition supplies. The muskets at 16s and 17s a piece, with one fowling-piece chest at the higher rate of 25s, supplied the soldier companies and the planter militia with the means of fulfilling the defensive obligations set out in the despatch. The provision of long moulds with the muskets enabled the gunner and his assistants to cast shot on the island, reducing dependence on London for that consumable. The belts, shoemakers' lasts, shoemakers' tools and broad coloured linen at £20 10s 8d show the company supplying the practical means of clothing and shoeing the island's workforce. Three dozen lasts and two sets of shoemakers' tools were a workshop's worth of equipment, sufficient to support a working cobbler on the island. The coloured linen in 194½ yards at 5d per yard supplied dress fabric in quantities sufficient for the inhabitants to provide for themselves at the invoice rate. The wire schedule at £18 19s 4d included screen wire work in 37½ pieces, bed-hole wire work, firsine, lysing wire, rib wire and straight irons. The variety of wire types points to specific construction needs on the island, with screen wire and bed-hole wire suited to the fitting of windows, partitions, ventilation openings and similar work in stores and houses. The supply of small quantities of specialised wire reduces the cost of attempting to obtain such items by ad-hoc orders later. The packing of the cargo by numbered casks and chests, ranging from cask 1 of fustians to chest 11 of muskets, gave Beale a means of receiving and accounting for the cargo by container rather than by item. Each numbered package could be checked against the invoice on landing, with any discrepancy traced to a specific package. The arrangement matched the bookkeeping practice of the East India trade, in which packing numbers travelled with the goods through every stage of the voyage and provided the primary reference for accounting at both ends. The pattern of bulk-buying at fixed unit rates reflected the company's purchasing power in the London markets. Fustian at 16s and 18s per half-piece, muskets at 16s and 17s a piece, cartouche boxes at 3s a box, and so on, represented standard rates negotiated through the company's regular suppliers. By recording the unit rates on the invoice, the company gave Beale a clear basis for charging out goods to soldiers, planters and others at the same rates, in line with the standing

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			direction that issues from the stores be entered at invoice prices. **Speculations** The choice of fustian as the largest cloth supply was probably driven by the working requirements of the island population. A cloth of mixed cotton and linen, hard-wearing and easy to maintain, suited the daily labour of soldiers, planters, slaves and servants in the open. The decision to send a substantial supply of both white and dyed fustian, in roughly even quantities, suggests that the company expected the cloth to serve both the workaday needs of the wider population and the dress requirements of the senior officers and their households. The order of items on the invoice probably reflects the order in which the cargo was loaded on the *Johanna*, with bulk cloth at the head of the manifest and arms and ammunition placed in higher-numbered chests. The arms would have been loaded last for ease of access on arrival, since the muskets, fowling pieces and ammunition needed to be issued before any general distribution of goods could be made. The arrangement also placed the most valuable and dangerous items in the most easily controlled positions in the hold. The supply of three dozen shoemakers' lasts and two sets of shoemakers' tools suggests that the company expected the island to support a working cobbler's trade rather than relying on imported finished footwear. Shoes wore out quickly in the working conditions of the island, and a single supply from London could not have met the needs of the inhabitants. By providing the means of production on the island, the company allowed for repair and manufacture in situ, reducing dependence on further shipments and creating an opening for a planter or soldier with the necessary skill to establish a trade. The 1,000 flints sent in a single runlet in chest 9 represented a substantial reserve of consumable parts for the firelock muskets. A working flintlock musket might require several flints in the course of a year of regular use, and a garrison of fifty soldiers, supplemented by a planter militia, would consume flints at a noticeable rate. By supplying 1,000 flints alongside the muskets and moulds, the company provided the means for the island to maintain its small arms at working capacity for several years without further supply. The carriage of long moulds for casting shot alongside the muskets confirms that the company expected the island to manufacture its own shot rather than rely on imported ammunition. Lead would still need to be supplied from London or elsewhere, but the casting capacity placed the immediate production of musket balls in the hands of the gunner and his assistants. The arrangement complemented the gunner's posting at the Watering Place and other locations, by giving him the means of supplying the small arms ammunition needed for the muskets distributed among the soldiers and planters.
63	76	Brought over £ 312 - - No Haberdashers Ware and is for [...] Trunke No 12 Vizt 3 Dozen of [...] [...] [...] [...] at 26[s] [p] doz 1 Doz: of Coloured at 29 1 9 5lb of White Thread 6 7[½] 1 9 9 ditto 6 7 1 9 9 6 Ditto 5 7 [...] ditto 4 2 [...] 5lb White Thread 9 6 • 9 6 Ditto • 12 -	The submitted text is heavily fragmented, with many figures and items rendered illegible by manuscript damage and the difficulty of reading the haberdashery schedule. Where any line cannot be confidently reconstructed, the missing element is marked with [...] in line with the rule on illegible portions. I have not attempted to reconstruct quantities, rates or sums where these cannot be supported by the visible text. Carried over £312 0s 0d Haberdashers' ware Haberdashers' ware, in one trunk numbered 12. [...] 3 dozen at 26s per dozen [...] Coloured [...] 1 dozen at 29s per dozen £1 9s 0d White thread 5 lb at [...] £1 9s 9d

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		Ditto • 14 4 2[½]lb of [...] Coloured Silk at 21 7[?] [p] [...] 2 14 - 1lb of Light Coloured Ditto at 27 7[?] [p] [...] 2 - 8 4 Gross of [...] Cotton 12 - [p] yr 2 8 5 Pa[i]rs of 6 Ferret 3[s] 6 [p] ps 3 17 - 1 Dozen of Holland Tapes • 10 - 1 Dotts of Colloured Tapes • 7 6 All Ditto of reel Ditto • 10 2 1 Ditto of Blew Ditto • 12 - 1 ditto of [...] Pins • 7 2 Sorts 1 Ditto of Ditto • 8 6 1 Ditto of Ditto • 9 2 of 1 Gross of Thimbles • 7 2 2 Bagg[s] of Silk Buttons at 10 10 [p] bag 1 1 8 6 Gross of [Cart] Silk Butt[ons] at 9 9 [p] yr 2 17 - Haber- dashers 12 6 Ditto of Breast Ditto 2 2 [...] yr • 13 - 12 Ditto of Coate Gimp 1 9 • 19 - 6 ditto of Breast 1 2 • 7 - 12 Ditto of Coat Thread 1 - • 12 - 12 Ditto of Breast • 6 • 6 - Ware 12 Ditto of Silk Wastcoats 2 - 1 4 - 6 Ditto of White Wastcoats 1 6 • 9 - 6 Ditto of Ditto 1 - • 6 - 2 Ditto of Leather Lacer 3 6 • 7 - 2 Ditto of Blew Points 4 2 • 8 4 2 Ditto of flatt l[...] Lacer 4 - • 8 - 2 Ditto of White Points 1 3 • 2 6 1 Ditto of flatt lacer • 12 - 12 Peeces of 4[s] 8[s] Caddies 1 10 [p] ps 1 2 - 1 Gross of red Blew & Coloured Silkings 3 6 • 13 6 2 Papers of White [...]illing 3 6 • 10 6 4 Papers of Ditto 2 8 [p] ps • 10 8 2 Ditto of binding 3 7 • 7 2 2 Papers of Ditto 3 1	White thread 5 lb at [...] £1 9s 9d [...] 6 lb at [...] [...] [...] 4 lb at [...] [...] White thread 5 lb at [...] £0 9s 6d [...] [...] at [...] £0 12s 0d [...] [...] at [...] £0 14s 4d [...] coloured silk 2½ lb at [...] £2 14s 0d Light coloured silk 1 lb at [...] £2 0s 8d [...] cotton 4 gross at 12s per gross £2 8s 0d [...] ferret 5 pairs at 3s 6d per piece £3 17s 0d Holland tapes 1 dozen £0 10s 0d Coloured tapes 1 dozen £0 7s 6d Reel tapes 1 dozen £0 10s 2d Blue tapes 1 dozen £0 12s 0d Pins 1 dozen £0 7s 2d Pins 1 dozen £0 8s 6d Pins 1 dozen £0 9s 2d Thimbles 1 gross £0 7s 2d Silk buttons 2 bags at 10s 10d per bag £1 1s 8d Silk buttons 6 gross at 9s 9d per gross £2 17s 0d Breast buttons 6 gross at [...] £0 13s 0d Coat gimp 12 gross at 1s 9d £0 19s 0d Breast gimp 6 gross at 1s 2d £0 7s 0d Coat thread 12 gross at 1s 0d £0 12s 0d Breast thread 12 gross at [...] £0 6s 0d Silk waistcoats 12 gross at 2s 0d £1 4s 0d White waistcoats 6 gross at 1s 6d £0 9s 0d White waistcoats 6 gross at 1s 0d £0 6s 0d Leather laces 2 gross at 3s 6d £0 7s 0d Blue points 2 gross at 4s 2d £0 8s 4d Flat [...] laces 2 gross at 4s 0d £0 8s 0d White points 2 gross at 1s 3d £0 2s 6d Flat laces 1 gross £0 12s 0d Caddies 12 pieces of 4 or 8 yards at 1s 10d per piece £1 2s 0d Red, blue and coloured silkings 1 gross at 3s 6d £0 13s 6d White [...] 2 papers at 3s 6d £0 10s 6d [...] 4 papers at 2s 8d per piece £0 10s 8d Binding 2 papers at 3s 7d £0 7s 2d Binding 2 papers at 3s 1d £0 6s 2d Silk galloon 1 gross at 26s £1 6s 0d Horn combs 3 dozen at 1s 10d per dozen £0 5s 6d Horn combs 6 dozen at 3s 7d per dozen £1 1s 6d Ivory combs 4 dozen at 7s 2d per dozen £1 8s 8d Box combs 4 dozen at 1s 10d per dozen £0 7s 4d Needles 1,100 £0 9s 2d Needles 100 at 2s 3d per hundred [...] Lace needles [...] at 2s 5d per hundred [...] [Hopper] laces 4 dozen at 7s 2d per dozen £1 8s 8d [...] pins 4 dozen at 2s 1d £0 8s 4d Writing paper [...] reams at 7s 9d per ream £0 15s 6d Total haberdashers' ware £49 12s 6d Carried over £361 12s 6d **Interpretations** The haberdashery trunk represents the small wares of dress, sewing and personal use sent to the island in a single packed unit. The grouping of so wide a range of items, from threads and silks to combs, pins, buttons, tapes, points, laces, gimps, paper and needles, into one trunk reflected the company's practice of consolidating low-bulk consumer goods for efficient packing and accounting. Beale would receive the trunk as a single numbered container and would issue its contents over the months and years following, with each issue charged to the receiving inhabitant's account at the invoice rate. The breadth of the schedule shows the company supplying a settler population with the materials of a working domestic economy. Threads in cotton, silk and linen, buttons of several kinds, tapes for binding, points for fastening clothes, gimps for trimming garments,

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		• 6 2 1 Gross of Silk Galloone 26 1 1 6 - 3 Doz: of Horne Combs 1 10[d] [p] doz • 5 6 6 Doz: of Ditto 3 7 1 1 6 4 Doz: of Ivory Comb[s] 7 2 1 8 8 4 Dozen of Box Combs 1 10 • 7 4 1100 of Needles • 9 2 100 of [½] Needles 2 3 [¼] [...] [hundred] of Lase Needles 2 5 4 Dozen of [Hopper] [Laces] 7 2 [p] doz 1 8 8 4 doz of [...] Pin 2 1 • 8 4 [...] Rheames of Writing Paper 7 9 [p] rh • 15 6 49 12 6 Borne over. 361 12 6 **Margin Notes:** All Sorts of Haber- dashers Ware	combs of horn, ivory and box wood, needles in quantity and pins for sewing, together with writing paper, equipped the inhabitants for the maintenance and renewal of their own dress and household effects. The dependence on London for such items, even in the smallest quantities, reflects the absence of any retail market on the island. The company supplied the goods through its stores and recovered the cost through the wages and accounts of those who drew them. The presence of writing paper in the haberdashery trunk indicates a deliberate provision for clerical work on the island. The registers of land grants, sales, marriages, christenings and burials required by the despatch of 20 February 1678, together with the books of account that Beale was directed to keep, all depended on a steady supply of paper. By including it in the cargo of the *Johanna*, the company ensured that the documentary controls set out in the despatch could be put into practice from the moment of Blackmore's arrival. The arrangement of unit rates and quantities, while heavily damaged in the manuscript, follows the same principle visible in the fustian and musket schedules. Each line records a quantity, a unit rate and a sum, with the sum extended into the right-hand column. The total of £49 12s 6d represents the sum of all the haberdashery lines, recoverable from the running total even where individual line readings are uncertain. The aggregate is then added to the £312 0s 0d carried over from the earlier portion of the invoice to produce the new running total of £361 12s 6d. The invoice line for needles is recorded in unusually large numbers, with 1,100 needles entered against £0 9s 2d. Needles were a perishable item subject to rust and breakage, and a population of several hundred soldiers, planters, slaves and servants would consume them at a noticeable rate. The supply of more than a thousand needles in a single shipment represented a working reserve sufficient to cover the island's sewing needs for several years. The supply of horn, ivory and box combs in graduated quantities and prices, with ivory at the highest rate of 7s 2d per dozen and horn at the lowest of 1s 10d per dozen, gave the Governor and Council a range of items suited to different sections of the inhabitants. Combs were standard personal items of the period and a working necessity for managing both head and clothing in conditions where lice and other pests were a constant problem. The variety of prices allowed for differentiated distribution, with ivory combs available to senior officers and horn or box combs to soldiers, planters and slaves. **Speculations** The decision to consolidate so wide a range of small items into a single trunk was probably driven by the economics of packing and freight. A single numbered container could be loaded, manifested, examined on arrival and entered in the stores accounts as one unit. The same items, if packed in many small parcels, would have multiplied the bookkeeping work at every stage. By concentrating them in trunk 12, the company kept the invoice short and the storekeeping manageable. The inclusion of items of finished dress, such as silk and white waistcoats, alongside the raw materials of sewing, suggests that the company expected both ready-to-wear and made-on-island clothing to be drawn from the same stores. A planter or his wife could draw a finished waistcoat from the stores at one rate, or could draw fustian, fabric trims, buttons and thread to make their own garment at a lower aggregate cost. The arrangement supplied both modes of clothing through the same supply chain and the same accounts. The supply of buttons in such varied form, including silk buttons, breast buttons, coat thread,

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			breast thread, coat gimp and breast gimp, reflects the standard pattern of seventeenth-century English dress, in which buttons and trims of different types served the different parts of a coat and breast garment. The fact that the company provided each in turn suggests a working knowledge of the construction of period clothing, and an expectation that the women of the island would carry out the actual making of garments using the supplied materials. The supply of writing paper in reams rather than quires reflected the substantial documentary burden that the despatch had imposed on the Governor and Council. Multiple registers, sets of books, annual returns to London, conveyances under the common seal, warrants for stores issues and certificates for soldiers all consumed paper at a steady rate. The company in London understood the volume of paperwork it was demanding and supplied the material to support it, treating writing paper as a standard administrative consumable rather than a discretionary item. The visible damage to so many lines of the manuscript, particularly to the unit rates and quantities of threads, silks, buttons and small trims, reflects the practical realities of paper records kept over several centuries. The aggregate figure of £49 12s 6d for the trunk nevertheless provides a check against which the visible lines can be tested, and the carry-forward of £361 12s 6d gives the next image a clear starting point for the continued invoice schedule.
64	77	Brought over £ 361 12 6 No Drumms with ye appurtanc[e] & is fo[r] 6 Cask nombred 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, & 18 Containing as followeth vizt 13 14 15 6 Drums at 20[s] [p] [pt] 6 - - Drums 16 12 pair of Drum heads 12 Belts of Lased brass and 17 12 Drumm Lines at 10[s] [p] [pt] 6 - - 18 12 Hancks of Snares 40[s] 2 - - 14 - - Hatts and is for 1 Cask No 19 containing Vizt Hatts 19 5 Dozen of Mens felts at 5[s] 3[d] [p] pi 15 15 - 3 Dozen of Boys felt at 3[s] - [p] pi 5 8 - 21 3 - Tin Ware & is for one Caske No 20 q[t] Vizt 1 Dozen of Lanthornes 1 1 - 1 Dozen of Small ditto • 18 - 1[½] Dozen of Small Sauce Panns at 4[s] 9[d] [p] doz • 7 2 1[½] Dozen of Large ditto at 6[s] - - • 9 - Tin ware 20 2 Dozen of Lamps with 2 brass Spouts at 12[s] - - 1 4 - 1 Dozen of [Tit] Potts • 6 3 1 Dozen of Large Stew Panns 1 1 - 1 Dozen of the next Size • 17 6 1 Dozen of Large Pudding Panns • 10 - 1 Dozen ditto Small • 6 3	Carried over £361 12s 6d Drums Drums and their appurtenances, in six casks numbered 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18. Casks 13, 14 and 15: Drums 6 at 20s per piece £6 0s 0d Cask 16: Drum heads, drum belts laced with brass, and other appurtenances 12 pairs and 12 belts [...] Cask 17: Drum lines 12 at 10s per piece £6 0s 0d Cask 18: Hanks of snares 12 at 40s £2 0s 0d Total drums £14 0s 0d Hats Hats, in one cask numbered 19. Men's felt hats 5 dozen at 5s 3d per piece £15 15s 0d Boys' felt hats 3 dozen at 3s per piece £5 8s 0d Total hats £21 3s 0d Tin ware Tin ware, in one cask numbered 20. Lanterns 1 dozen £1 1s 0d Small lanterns 1 dozen £0 18s 0d Small saucepans 1½ dozen at 4s 9d per dozen £0 7s 2d Large saucepans 1½ dozen at 6s per dozen £0 9s 0d Lamps with two brass spouts 2 dozen at 12s per dozen £1 4s 0d [Tit] pots 1 dozen £0 6s 3d Large stew pans 1 dozen £1 1s 0d Stew pans of the next size 1 dozen £0 17s 6d Large pudding pans 1 dozen £0 10s 0d Small pudding pans 1 dozen £0 6s 3d Large spoons 4 dozen at 4d per dozen £0 16s 0d Small spoons 2 dozen at 3s per dozen £0 6s 0d Total tin ware £8 1s 2d Bodies Bodies, in one box numbered 21.

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		4 Dozen of Spoons large at 4[d] [p] doz • 16 - 2 Dozen Ditto Small at 3[s] - - • 6 - 8 1 2 Bodies and is for one box Nombred 21 q[t] as followeth Vizt 5 Pair of Childrens Ticken bodies at 1[s] 9[d] [p] pi • 8 9 5 Pair Ditto at 2[s] • 10 - 5 Pair Ditto at 2[s] 6[d] • 12 6 5 Pair Ditto at 3[s] - - • 15 - 5 Pair Ditto at 3[s] - - 1 16 - All 12 Pair of Womens Ticken bodies at 3[s] - - 2 - - Sorts at 3[s] 4[d] 2 - - of 21 12 Pair Ditto at 3[s] 9[d] 2 5 - 12 Pair Ditto at 4[s] - - 1 4 - Bod[ies] 6 Pair Ditto at 4[s] 6[d] 1 7 - 6 Pair Ditto at 4[s] 8[d] 1 8 - 6 Pair Ditto at 5[s] - - 1 10 - 5 Pair Womens Paragon bodies & Stom[ar] at 6[s] 6[d] - - 1 12 6 5 Pair Ditto at 7[s] - - 1 15 - 5 Pair Ditto at 7[s] 6[d] 1 17 6 5 Pair Ditto at 8[s] - - 2 - - 21 01 3 Backswordes and is for one Chest No 22 q[t] Vizt 22 72 Backswordes at 8[s] 6[d] [p] pi 30 12 - 30 12 - Swords Borne Over. 456 9 11 **Margin Notes:** Drums Hatts Tin ware All Sorts of Bod[ies] Swords	Children's ticken bodies 5 pairs at 1s 9d per pair £0 8s 9d Children's ticken bodies 5 pairs at 2s per pair £0 10s 0d Children's ticken bodies 5 pairs at 2s 6d per pair £0 12s 6d Children's ticken bodies 5 pairs at 3s per pair £0 15s 0d Children's ticken bodies 5 pairs at [...] £1 16s 0d Women's ticken bodies 12 pairs at 3s per pair £2 0s 0d Women's ticken bodies 12 pairs at 3s 4d per pair £2 0s 0d Women's ticken bodies 12 pairs at 3s 9d per pair £2 5s 0d Women's ticken bodies 12 pairs at 4s per pair £1 4s 0d Women's ticken bodies 6 pairs at 4s 6d per pair £1 7s 0d Women's ticken bodies 6 pairs at 4s 8d per pair £1 8s 0d Women's ticken bodies 6 pairs at 5s per pair £1 10s 0d Women's paragon bodies and stomachers 5 pairs at 6s 6d per pair £1 12s 6d Women's paragon bodies and stomachers 5 pairs at 7s per pair £1 15s 0d Women's paragon bodies and stomachers 5 pairs at 7s 6d per pair £1 17s 6d Women's paragon bodies and stomachers 5 pairs at 8s per pair £2 0s 0d Total bodies £21 1s 3d Backswords Backswords, in one chest numbered 22. Backswords 72 at 8s 6d per piece £30 12s 0d Total backswords £30 12s 0d Carried over £456 9s 11d **Interpretations** The schedule of drums, with six drums, twelve drum heads, twelve belts laced with brass, twelve drum lines and twelve hanks of snares, supplied the musical and signalling equipment for the two soldier companies on the island. The handover records that the soldiers had been formed into two companies under Field and Beale by the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, and the despatch of 20 February 1678 reaffirmed the two-company structure under Blackmore and Beale. The supply of six drums, three for each company, gave each soldier company a working complement of drums with replacement parts. Drums were the principal means of signalling commands to soldiers in the field and of regulating watches, parades and alarms in garrison, and their reliable supply was essential to the working order of the companies. The shipment of spare drum heads, belts, lines and snares in roughly equal numbers to the drums themselves shows the company's recognition that drums were items of high wear. Drum heads of stretched skin perished rapidly in damp or salt-laden conditions, and snares of gut or twisted hair broke in service. By sending twelve of each part for six drums, the company supplied each drum with one or two replacements of every wearable component, sufficient to keep the instruments in working order for several years. The hats at £21 3s 0d, with five dozen men's felt hats at 5s 3d per piece and three dozen boys' felt hats at 3s per piece, supply the population with standard head dress at two price levels. Men's felts at the higher rate suited the dress requirements of soldiers, planters and senior officers, while boys' felts at the lower rate served the younger inhabitants. The inclusion of boys' hats in

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			the cargo confirms the demographic spread that the company expected on the island, with families and children among the settler population rather than soldiers alone. The handover records the family reunion policy by which soldiers' wives and children were sent out at company expense, and the boys' hats supplied a routine clothing item for the resulting households. The tin ware schedule at £8 1s 2d covered domestic equipment for the cooking and lighting of the inhabitants. Lanterns large and small for night use, saucepans, stew pans, pudding pans and spoons for cooking, lamps with brass spouts for steady lighting, and a dozen [tit] pots whose form is uncertain in the manuscript, together gave the households of the island a basic supply of metal kitchen and lighting equipment. The variety of sizes within each category, including small and large lanterns, small and large saucepans, two sizes of stew pan and two sizes of pudding pan, suggests that the supply was designed to meet households of different size and means. The bodies in box 21, at a total of £21 1s 3d, comprised pairs of stiffened undergarments worn by women and children of the period. The schedule distinguished children's ticken bodies in five graduated prices from 1s 9d to a higher rate, women's ticken bodies in seven graduated prices from 3s to 5s, and women's paragon bodies and stomachers in four graduated prices from 6s 6d to 8s. Ticken was a strong twilled linen or cotton used for working garments, while paragon was a finer mixed fabric of silk and worsted suited to better dress. The graduated range allowed the company to supply bodies fit for both the working population and the senior officers' households, and to provide for children as well as women. The deliberate provision of women's and children's undergarments in such quantity confirms that the island was no longer the male garrison of 1673. The presence of more than seventy pairs of women's bodies in a single shipment, alongside twenty-five pairs of children's bodies, indicates a settled domestic population. The handover records the soldier-to-planter conversion policy and the family reunion arrangements as standing features of the company's settlement strategy from 1673 onward. The body schedule supplies physical evidence of the success of that policy by the time of the Johanna voyage. The seventy-two backswords at 8s 6d per piece, totalling £30 12s 0d, supplied the soldiers and planter militia with hand weapons for close defence. A backsword was a single-edged cutting sword used by soldiers of the period as a side arm. The supply of seventy-two swords, in a single chest, matched broadly with the muster strength of the garrison and the senior planter militia. The combination of backswords with the muskets, fowling pieces and cartouche boxes earlier in the invoice gave the island a complete small-arms supply for both ranged and close defence. **Speculations** The decision to send drums and their parts in dedicated casks, numbered 13 to 18, was probably driven by the need to protect the drums and their fragile heads from damage in the hold of the *Johanna*. A drum packed in a cask with its appurtenances grouped around it would travel more safely than one stowed loose among other goods. The dedication of six casks to the drum supply, three for the drums themselves and three for the parts, reflects the company's careful protection of items that could not easily be replaced from local materials on the island. The graduated prices of women's bodies, from 3s through to 8s a pair, were probably designed to match the working hierarchy of the island population. A planter's wife working her holding required a hard-wearing ticken body at the lower rates, while the wife of a senior officer or a wealthier planter might draw a

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			paragon body and stomacher at the higher rates. The schedule effectively created a stratified retail offering through a single shipment, with each social rank served at an appropriate price point. The supply of so many backswords, at seventy-two pieces, was perhaps calibrated to the combined strength of the soldier companies and the most active members of the planter militia. The garrison stood at fifty soldiers under the reduction confirmed by the despatch of 20 February 1678. The remaining twenty-two backswords would have served the lieutenants, sergeants, the Governor, the Deputy and a working core of armed planters. The total was sufficient to arm every active defender of the island with a side weapon to complement the musket. The variety of tin ware in the cask, with lanterns, saucepans, stew pans, pudding pans, spoons, lamps and pots, suggests that the company supplied the basic equipment of the island kitchens rather than expecting inhabitants to import their own. The handover records the steady policy of supplying domestic equipment through the company's stores, recovered by charge against individual accounts. The tin ware extended the principle to metal cooking and lighting equipment. The inclusion of boys' felt hats at a lower price than men's felts may have reflected an intention by the company to encourage the wearing of standard head dress across the settler population, including the children of planters and soldiers. The supply of a graduated range of items at differentiated prices, from hats to bodies to combs, ran consistently through the invoice, suggesting that the company conceived of the island stores as a stratified retail outlet capable of serving every household at a price point matched to its means. The placement of the backsword chest immediately after the drum and hat schedules, and before further military stores, reflects the working logic of the invoice. Drums for signalling, hats for dress and recognition, and swords for close defence, formed a coherent military equipment group within the broader cargo. The packing arrangement allowed Beale and the gunner to draw the equipment for the soldier companies from a series of clearly identified casks and chests on arrival.
65	78	Brought over £ 456 9 11 22 No Flower 23 to 62. Flower and is for 40 Barrells Nombred from No 23 to No 62 inclusively q[t] 67 2: 2: 11 at 28[s] [p] Cent 72 12 - Pease 63 to 69 Pease and is for 7 Hogsheds nombred from No 63 to No 69 inclusively containing 50[½] Bushells at 4[s] 6[d] [p] Bushell 11 7 3 Wheate 70 Wheat & is for Caske No 70 q[t] 7 Bushells & 1 Peck c[...] at 1[s] 6[d] [p] Bushell 1 19 2 Barley 71 Barley and is for 1 Cask No 71 q[t] 5 Bushells at 4[s] [p] Bushell 1 - - Linnen Cloth Linnen Cloth and is for 1 Cask No 72 q[t] 7 Peeces & 24 of Shoemakers Threed as followeth Vizt 72 Shoemakers Threed	Carried over £456 9s 11d Flour Flour, in 40 barrels numbered from 23 to 62 inclusive. Flour 67 hundredweight 2 quarters 2 stone 11 lb at 28s per hundredweight £72 12s 0d Peas Peas, in 7 hogsheads numbered from 63 to 69 inclusive. Peas 50½ bushels at 4s 6d per bushel £11 7s 3d Wheat Wheat, in cask numbered 70. Wheat 7 bushels and 1 peck at 1s 6d per bushel £1 19s 2d Barley Barley, in cask numbered 71. Barley 5 bushels at 4s per bushel £1 0s 0d Linen cloth and shoemakers' thread Linen cloth, in cask numbered 72, comprising 7 pieces and 24 [...] of shoemakers' thread. Linen cloth 7 pieces of 235½ ells at 16d per ell £18 18s 0d Shoemakers' thread 24 at 20s per [...] £2 0s 0d Total cask 72 £20 18s 0d Linen cloth, in cask numbered 73, comprising 7 pieces. Linen cloth 7 pieces of 272½ ells at 16d per ell £18 3s 4d

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		7 Peeces Linnen Cloth of 235[½] Ells at 16[d] [p] Ell 18 18 - 24 of Shoemakers Threed at 20[s] [p] [...] 2 - - 20 18 - 73 Linnen Cloth and is for 1 Cask No 73 q[t] 7 Peeces Vizt 7 Peeces Linnen Cloth q[t] 272[½] Ells at 16[d] [p] Ell 18 3 4 74 Linnen Cloth & is for 1 Caske No 74 q[t] 7 Peeces & 5 of Shoe[-] Makers Threed as followeth Vizt 7 Peeces q[t] 240 Ells Linnen Cloth at 14[d] [p] Ell 16 6 8 5 of Shoemakers Threed at 20[s] [p] [...] • 8 4 16 15 - 75 Linnen Cloth & is for 1 Cask[e] No 75 q[t] 4 Peeces Vizt 4 Peeces Linnen Cloth q[t] 164 Ells at 12[d] [p] Ell 8 4 - 46 Ells of Streining Cloth at 9[d] [p] Ell 1 14 6 9 18 6 Black [Felts] Edged 76 Black Felts and is for 1 Caske No 76 q[t] 50 lined & Edged at 5[s] 3[d] [p] pe 13 2 6 13 2 6 Bedds 77 to 79 Beds, Pillows, & Ruggs and is for 3 Cases No 77, 78 & 79 Conta[ining] 50 at 11[s] [p] Bed, Pillow & Rugg amounts to 27 10 - Bookes Printed and is for One Booke No 80 Viz 4 Dozen of English Primmers at 2[s] 6[d] [p] doz • 10 - 4 Dozen of Horne Bookes at 1[s] - - • 4 - Bookes 80 4 Dozen of Psalters at 1[s] - [p] book • 2 8 4 Dozen of Bibles at 4[s] - [p] [pcs] • 9 12 - 4 Dozen of Testaments at 1[s] 6[d] [p] pcs 3 12 - 2 Dozen of [Pieties] at 1[s] 6 1 16 - 18 2 - Chimicall [preparation] 81 Chymicall Preparations and is for one Small box No 81 amounts to 5 - - Borne over 672 17 8 **Margin Notes:** Flower Pease Wheate Barley Linnen Cloth Shoemakers Threed Black [Felts] Edged Bedds Bookes Chimicall [preparation]	Linen cloth and shoemakers' thread Linen cloth, in cask numbered 74, comprising 7 pieces and 5 [...] of shoemakers' thread. Linen cloth 7 pieces of 240 ells at 14d per ell £16 6s 8d Shoemakers' thread 5 at 20s per [...] £0 8s 4d Total cask 74 £16 15s 0d Linen cloth Linen cloth, in cask numbered 75, comprising 4 pieces and a quantity of straining cloth. Linen cloth 4 pieces of 164 ells at 12d per ell £8 4s 0d Straining cloth 46 ells at 9d per ell £1 14s 6d Total cask 75 £9 18s 6d Black felts edged Black felts, in cask numbered 76. Black felts lined and edged 50 at 5s 3d per piece £13 2s 6d Total black felts £13 2s 6d Beds Beds, pillows and rugs, in three cases numbered 77, 78 and 79. Beds, pillows and rugs 50 sets at 11s per set £27 10s 0d Books Printed books, in one book-case numbered 80. English primers 4 dozen at 2s 6d per dozen £0 10s 0d Horn books 4 dozen at 1s per dozen £0 4s 0d Psalters 4 dozen at 1s per book £2 8s 0d Bibles 4 dozen at 4s per piece £9 12s 0d Testaments 4 dozen at 1s 6d per piece £3 12s 0d [Pieties] 2 dozen at 1s 6d per piece £1 16s 0d Total books £18 2s 0d Chemical preparation Chemical preparations, in one small box numbered 81. Chemical preparations £5 0s 0d Carried over £672 17s 8d **Interpretations** The grain and pulses, totalling £86 18s 5d across flour, peas, wheat and barley, made up the largest single block of the new shipment so far recorded in the invoice. The forty barrels of flour at £72 12s 0d formed the dominant element. The handover records the company's standing policy of self-sufficiency in provisions and the escalating sanctions, from encouragement in 1673 to the threat of deportation for declared idlers in 1676. The substantial flour shipment shows the limit of that policy in practice. The island still required English bread grain to feed its garrison and inhabitants, while the despatch of 20 February 1678 had at the same time arranged annual rice and paddy shipments from Surat, the Coast and the Bay. The two together gave the population a layered food supply, with English flour for bread and Indian rice for boiled grain. The smaller quantities of peas, wheat and barley supplied specialised grain requirements. Peas served as a staple of soldiers' rations boiled into pottage, while wheat could be reserved for higher-quality bread and barley for malting or for animal feed. The presence of all four grains in the shipment indicates a working understanding of the dietary range of the inhabitants and the operational requirements of the garrison. The linen cloth and shoemakers' thread schedule, totalling £67 14s 10d across four casks, supplied the island with bulk fabric for shirts, sheets, household linens and other domestic uses, alongside the specialised thread for the cobbler's trade. The pricing showed a

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			clear gradient, with linen at 16d per ell in the higher-quality casks and 12d per ell in the lower, and straining cloth at 9d per ell for the coarsest grade. The arrangement gave the Governor and Council a stratified supply of cloth suitable for distribution to different sections of the inhabitants at differentiated prices. The shoemakers' thread complemented the lasts and tools sent earlier in trunk 4 of the invoice and confirms the company's investment in a working cobbler's establishment on the island. The fifty black felt hats, lined and edged, at £13 2s 6d, supplied a second style of head dress alongside the men's and boys' felts in cask 19. The lined and edged construction suggests a higher-quality hat suitable for soldiers on parade, senior officers and householders of standing. The supply of a single batch of fifty matched broadly the garrison strength under the reduction confirmed by the despatch of 20 February 1678, suggesting that the felts may have been intended primarily for soldier use rather than for general distribution. The fifty sets of beds, pillows and rugs at £27 10s 0d furnished the new arrivals with the basic bedding required for residence on the island. The supply of fifty matched sets confirms the company's intention to bring substantial new population to the island on the *Johanna*. Each set, at 11s, comprised a bed, a pillow and a rug, the rug here referring to a thick woollen coverlet rather than a floor covering. The matched set approach allowed the Governor and Council to issue bedding to each newcomer as a single transaction, charged to the recipient's account at the invoice rate. The book shipment at £18 2s 0d supplied the island with religious and educational texts in quantity. The Bibles at £9 12s 0d formed the largest single book line, with four dozen copies at 4s per piece. Testaments at four dozen and Psalters at four dozen each represented further substantial supplies of biblical text. The English primers at four dozen and horn books at four dozen supplied basic educational material for the children of the inhabitants and the slaves. The handover records that the Minister was directed to catechise the youngest sort of people and the children of the slaves, and to keep school under the schoolmaster portion of his stipend. The book shipment supplied the materials for that work. The four dozen Bibles at 4s per piece represented an unusually generous provision for an island population of a few hundred. The supply reflects the religious framing of the despatch of 20 February 1678, which had opened with a strict code of public worship and moral policing under the Governor and Council. The Bibles supplied the working text for the public worship that the despatch required, and the supplementary Psalters and Testaments allowed the Minister and the schoolmaster to use a range of biblical texts in different settings. The small box of chemical preparations at £5 0s 0d supplied medical materials in support of the surgical establishment on the island. The handover records that a surgery chest had also been sent on the same voyage, with the company seeking to engage a new surgeon to replace Moore, who had asked to return home. The chemical preparations would supply the medical compounds, ointments and tinctures needed for the surgeon's work, complementing the instruments and equipment in the chest itself. **Speculations** The decision to send forty barrels of flour in a single shipment was probably driven by a careful calculation of the island's bread requirements over the period until the next provision ship. With the garrison reduced to fifty soldiers and a wider population including planters, slaves, women and children, the flour supply represented a working reserve for perhaps

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			a year or more. The handover records that the despatch of 20 February 1678 had also arranged Indian rice supplies, and the flour was probably intended to maintain the wheat-based bread element of the diet while rice supplied the boiled grain element. The variety of linen cloth grades, from 16d through 14d to 12d per ell, with straining cloth at 9d, suggests that the company had received specific orders from the island for cloth of different qualities. A single grade would have served the same total quantity for less administrative effort, but would not have met the differentiated needs of soldiers, planters, women, children and senior officers' households. The graduated supply continued the pattern visible across the invoice, in which the company supplied stratified goods at differentiated price points. The supply of four dozen Bibles, alongside four dozen Testaments and four dozen Psalters, was perhaps calculated to provide one of each text per household on the island. The numbers exceeded the strict requirement of a single garrison church and suggest that the company anticipated household and private use rather than congregational use only. The handover records that the engagement of Edward Wynni as Minister in 1676 had included the provision that he bring his own library and inherit the books already on the island after inventory. The present supply added a substantial number of biblical texts to that existing stock. The chemical preparations at £5 0s 0d represented a careful but limited investment in the island's medical capacity. The smaller box, by contrast with the surgery chest sent on the same voyage, suggests that the chemicals were specifically the consumable materials needed for the surgeon's compounds, rather than the durable instruments in the chest. The company had to balance the medical needs of the island against the cost of compounds prepared in London and shipped at considerable expense, and the £5 0s 0d figure represented a working compromise. The fifty sets of beds, pillows and rugs probably matched the soldier reinforcement and the new planter intake sent on the *Johanna*. A new arrival to the island would not have been able to obtain bedding locally, and the company's standard practice was to supply such items through the stores at invoice price. By packing each set as a matched unit at 11s, the company simplified both the loading and the issue of the items on the island, and gave each new arrival a complete bedding allocation at a known price. The varied grades of linen cloth and the inclusion of straining cloth suggest a deliberate provision for both clothing and household uses. Straining cloth was used for the filtering of liquids in cookery and dairy work, and its presence in the cargo confirms that the company expected the inhabitants to engage in working dairy and brewing activities on the island. The handover records the company's policy of distributing cattle to planters and supporting the increase of stock, and the supply of straining cloth supports the resulting domestic dairy work.
66	79	Brought over £ 672 17 8 Turners Ware and is for 2 Chests No 82, 83 and Severall other Particulers packt up & nombred 84, 85, & 86. 100 Straw hatts at 2[d] - [p] pe • 10 - 82 24 Yards Cheese Cloth at - 7[½] [p] [y] • 15 - 40 Trays for Milke at 2[d] - [p] pi • 4 - Turners ware	Carried over £672 17s 8d Turners' ware Turners' ware, in two chests numbered 82 and 83, and several other particulars packed and numbered 84, 85 and 86. Straw hats 100 at 2d per piece £0 10s 0d Cheese cloth 24 yards at 7½d per yard £0 15s 0d Milk trays 40 at 2d per piece £0 4s 0d Milk sieves 4 at 6d per piece £0 2s 0d Cheese tubs 6 at 6s per piece £1 16s 0d Milk bowls 40 at 7½d per piece £1 5s 0d Butter churn 1 £0 5s 6d Skimming dishes 60 at 2½d per piece £0 12s 6d

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		83 4 Sieves for Milke at - 6 [p] [pts] • 2 - 6 Cheese Tubs at 6[s] - [p] [...] 1 16 - 84 40 Bowles for Milke at 7[½] [p] pi 1 5 - 85 1 Churne for butter • 5 6 86 [60] Skimming dishes at 2[½] [p] pi • 12 6 Things loose in y[e] Shipp Vz Churnes Pail[s] Sieves 9 Churnes for Butter at 5[s] 6[d] [p] pi 2 9 6 20 Iron bound Payles at 3[s] - - 3 - - 16 Sieves at - 6 • 8 - 24 13 6 Knives and is for one box No 87 q[t] as followeth Vizt 2 Lases of Beat hornes at 3[s] 1[d] [p] lase • 6 2 2 Lases of [Burtted] hefts at 3[s] 6 • 7 - 2 Lases of brass Studded hefts 6 - • 12 - All 2 Dozen of Ivory hefts 7[s] - 1[s] [p] doz • 14 - 1 Dozen black horne hefts • 3 6 Sorts 1 Dozen Stiel[s] and bone hafts • 2 6 of 87 1 Dozen white pind hefts & Slow points • 2 - 1 dozen black wood hefts • 1 6 Knives 1 dozen red & white hafts • 1 6 1 dozen Green hefts • 2 6 1 dozen black warp Points • 1 6 2 Dozen large [Sheets] at 2[s] 6[d] [p] doz • 5 - A 2 foot pole Cheine 2 19 - Stockings and is for one Case No C containing Viz[t] 240 Paire of Mens Worsted at 2[s] 6[d] [p] pair 30 - - 72 Pair of Womens vil Worsted at 2[s] 4[d] [p] pair 8 8 - All Sorts of C 4 Dozen Ditto Woolen at 1[s] 3[d] [p] pair 3 - - 3 Dozen Childrens Woolen at - 7[d] [p] pair 1 1 - 3 Dozen ditto at - 8[d] [p] pair 1 4 - stockings 2 Dozen ditto at - 8[½] [p] pi • 17 - 1 Dozen Children [W] Woolen at - 4[d] [p] pair • 4 - 1 Dozen Ditto at - 6[½] [p] pi • 6 6 45 - 6 Salt 1 to 10	Churns, pails, sieves Items loose in the ship. Butter churns 9 at 5s 6d per piece £2 9s 6d Iron-bound pails 20 at 3s per piece £3 0s 0d Sieves 16 at 6d per piece £0 8s 0d Total turners' ware, churns, pails and sieves £24 13s 6d Knives Knives, in one box numbered 87. Beat-horn handles 2 laces at 3s 1d per lace £0 6s 2d [Burtted] hafted knives 2 laces at 3s 6d per lace £0 7s 0d Brass-studded hafted knives 2 laces at 6s per lace £0 12s 0d Ivory hafted knives 2 dozen at 7s per dozen £0 14s 0d Black horn hafted knives 1 dozen £0 3s 6d Steel and bone hafted knives 1 dozen £0 2s 6d White-pinned hafted knives with slow points 1 dozen £0 2s 0d Black wood hafted knives 1 dozen £0 1s 6d Red and white hafted knives 1 dozen £0 1s 6d Green hafted knives 1 dozen £0 2s 6d Black warp pointed knives 1 dozen £0 1s 6d Large [sheets] 2 dozen at 2s 6d per dozen £0 5s 0d Two-foot pole chain 1 [...] Total knives £2 19s 0d Stockings Stockings, in one case marked C. Men's worsted stockings 240 pairs at 2s 6d per pair £30 0s 0d Women's worsted stockings 72 pairs at 2s 4d per pair £8 8s 0d Woollen stockings 4 dozen at 1s 3d per pair £3 0s 0d Children's woollen stockings 3 dozen at 7d per pair £1 1s 0d Children's woollen stockings 3 dozen at 8d per pair £1 4s 0d Children's woollen stockings 2 dozen at 8½d per pair £0 17s 0d Children's woollen stockings 1 dozen at 4d per pair £0 4s 0d Children's woollen stockings 1 dozen at 6½d per pair £0 6s 6d Total stockings £45 0s 6d Salt Salt, in ten casks numbered from 1 to 10 inclusive. Salt 114¾ bushels at 2s per bushel £11 8s 9d Total to here £756 19s 5d **Interpretations** The turners' ware, churns, pails and sieves, together totalling £24 13s 6d, supplied the island with the working equipment of a domestic dairy. Milk trays, milk bowls, milk sieves, cheese tubs, cheese cloth, butter churns, skimming dishes and iron-bound pails between them gave the inhabitants the materials to process milk from the company's cattle into butter and cheese. The handover records that the despatch of 20 February 1678 had directed special care for the increase of both great and small cattle, and that planters had been receiving cattle from the company for distribution since the founding instructions of 19 December 1673. The dairy equipment in this part of the cargo extended that policy by giving the planters the means to make use of the milk their stock produced. The deliberate variety of dairy items, with forty milk trays, forty milk bowls, six cheese tubs, ten churns of two kinds, twenty pails and twenty sieves of two kinds, suggests that the company expected dairy production to spread across multiple planter households rather than being concentrated in a single company

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		Salt and is for 10 Cask Nombed from No 1 to Number 10 inclusively conta[ining] 114 Bushells [¾] at 2[s] [p] Bushell 11 8 9 756 19 5 **Margin Notes:** Turners ware Churnes Pail[s] Sieves All Sorts of Knives All Sorts of stockings Salt	operation. The supply of butter churns at 5s 6d per piece and cheese tubs at 6s per piece in modest numbers fitted the scale of household dairying, with each planter family taking responsibility for the milk produced by its own cattle. The handover records the bar on cattle grants near the company plantation, and the dairy supply confirms that planter holdings, rather than the company plantation, were the principal site of milk production. The hundred straw hats at 2d per piece, totalling 10s, supplied the cheapest possible head dress for the working population. The price point places these hats well below the men's felts at 5s 3d, the boys' felts at 3s and the black lined felts at 5s 3d each. A straw hat at 2d represented a working item for outdoor labour, suited to soldiers, planters, slaves and servants working in the open. The supply of a hundred of them at minimal cost gave the Governor and Council a means of providing protection from sun and weather for the lowest tier of the population without committing substantial resources to dress. The knives at £2 19s 0d, in a varied schedule of materials and finishes, supplied both functional and decorative cutlery. The ivory and brass-studded knives served the senior officers' tables, while the black horn, black wood, green, red and white hafted knives suited the lower ranks. The presence of two dozen large [sheets] (probably large sheaths) and a two-foot pole chain suggests accessories used with the knives for safe carriage and storage. The graduated price range, from 1s 6d per dozen for the cheapest wooden-handled knives to 7s per dozen for ivory, reflects the stratified retail logic visible across the invoice. The stockings at £45 0s 6d formed the largest single line in the section visible here, exceeding even the £30 12s 0d backsword shipment recorded earlier. The supply of 240 pairs of men's worsted stockings at 2s 6d per pair, alongside 72 pairs of women's worsted stockings at 2s 4d, and a further 12 dozen pairs of woollen stockings at lower prices for children and others, provided substantial quantities of footwear coverings for the island population. The graduated children's stocking sizes, with five separate price points from 4d per pair to 8½d per pair, fitted children of different ages and confirms the established demographic spread on the island. The salt at £11 8s 9d for 114¾ bushels supplied a fundamental preservation material at a substantial scale. Salt was essential for the curing of meat, fish and butter, all of which the island would produce in quantity from its expanding cattle stock and fishery. The handover records that the founding instructions of 19 December 1673 had established a common fishery using the boats left by Munden, with fish distributed equally. The salt supply provided the means of preserving the fishery's catch beyond immediate consumption. The 240 pairs of men's worsted stockings at 2s 6d per pair, totalling £30 0s 0d, broadly matched the male working population of soldiers, planters and male servants on the island. The handover records the garrison at fifty soldiers under the reduction of 1676, with a wider planter population beyond. The supply of around 240 pairs of men's stockings represented several pairs per man across the standing male population, sufficient to allow for rotation, wear and replacement over the period until the next provision shipment. **Speculations** The supply of nine separate butter churns of one kind, with a tenth of a different kind packed elsewhere in the cargo, suggests that the company anticipated butter making by individual planter households rather than collective dairy operations. A single large central churn would have been more economical of equipment but would have required planters to bring their milk to a common point. By supplying multiple smaller churns,

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			the company allowed each household to process its own milk on its own land, which suited the dispersed settlement pattern of the island. The decision to send a hundred straw hats at the minimal price of 2d per piece was probably driven by the working conditions on the island. The hats provided cheap protection from sun and rain for soldiers on watch, planters in the fields and slaves at company plantation work. The very low unit price would have allowed the Governor and Council to issue the hats freely without imposing a meaningful charge against any recipient's account. The hats therefore functioned as a near-disposable working item rather than as a stratified retail offering. The graduated stocking schedule, with adult worsted stockings at 2s 4d and 2s 6d per pair and children's woollen stockings at 4d to 8½d per pair, mirrored the body and clothing schedules earlier in the invoice. The company maintained a consistent stratified supply across all categories of clothing, with each social rank, sex and age provided for at an appropriate price point. The breadth of the children's stocking range, with five separate price points by size, confirms that the company supplied for children across the full age range of an island population rather than for a narrow demographic. The substantial quantity of salt, at over 114 bushels, was perhaps calibrated to support both household consumption and large-scale preservation activity. The handover records the founding common fishery and the company's policy of producing both meat and cured provisions on the island. With cattle herds expanding under the company's distribution policy, and with the fishery running, the salt supply represented an investment in the island's capacity to produce its own preserved foodstuffs. The supply also reduced the future dependence on London for preserved meat and fish. The variety of knife finishes, from ivory to wood, represented more than simple stratified retail. The use of knives at the table, in the kitchen and in working trades was differentiated by social rank in seventeenth-century practice, with the materials of the handle signalling the status of the user. The company's supply of every grade allowed the Governor and Council to issue knives appropriate to the recipient's standing, with ivory and brass-studded knives going to senior officers and the cheapest wooden-handled knives serving the lower ranks. The arrangement made the stores a means of confirming social rank as well as supplying functional goods. The supply of cheese cloth, milk sieves and straining cloth (recorded in the earlier portion of the invoice) together with the dairy equipment in the present section confirms that the company in London understood the technical requirements of butter and cheese making. The full complement of items for filtering, settling, churning, pressing and salting suggests informed consultation with experienced dairying practitioners in London, who would have specified the items needed to support a working dairy operation on the island.
67	80	Brought over £ 756 19 5 No Nails &c. and is for 19 barrells No from No 1 to No 19 Vizt [...] [...] [...] [...] Net [...] [...] [...] 1 Waight Nailes 2 1 14 - 11 - 2 1 8 2 ditto 2 1 14 - 11 - 2 1 3 3 Ditto 2 2 16 - 13[½] - 2 2 2[½]	Carried over £756 19s 5d Nails Nails, in nineteen barrels numbered from 1 to 19. The schedule records each barrel by gross weight, packaging tare, and net weight, with rates applied per hundredweight. Several figures and totals are damaged in the manuscript and cannot be fully reconstructed. Cask 1 weight nails Net weight 2 quarters 1 stone 8 lb [...] Cask 2 weight nails Net weight 2 quarters 1 stone 3 lb [...]

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		4 Ditto 1 1 10 - 10 - 1 1 - 5 Ditto Gross 11 3 - • 2 1 10 2 14 at 32 - 1[..] 16 19 6 Nailes 6 8d Nailes 1 3 20 - 13[½] - 1 3 6[½] 7 20d Ditto 1 3 22 - 10[½] - 1 3 10[½] 8 20d Ditto 1 3 26 - 12 - 1 3 14 9 20d Ditto 2 - 14 - 11 - 2 - 3 10 8d Ditto 1 3 19 - 14 - 1 3 5 11 6d Ditto 1 3 24 - 12 - 1 3 24 12 8d Ditto 2 - 9 - 12 - 1 3 2[½] 13 8d Ditto 2 - 12 - 12 - 1 3 20 14 6d Ditto 1 1 29 - 11 - 1 1 12 15 6d Ditto Gross 19 1 9 1 - 7 18 - 23 at 40[s] [p] [pi] 36 8 2 16 5000: 4d ditto at 2[s] - [p] [m] 5 12 - 17 8000 3d nayles at 1[s] 8 [p] [m] 6 13 - 18 30000 2d Ditto at 1[s] 4[d] [p] [m] 8 13 4 Aces [r]2[½] Broad Hoes [...] 2[a] ditto Natters at [...] [p] doz 2 1 8 6 Carpenters Heads at 2[s] 6[d] [p] pi • 15 - Carpenters Adzes & Axes 2[½] Ditto Nursery Hoes at 15[s] [p] doz 1 11 3 6 Carpenters Axes at 4[s] - [p] pi 1 4 - Pen mall[s] 3 Penn Malls Waigh 18 [...] at 10[s] [p] pi • 15 - Hookes and Hinges 19 Pair of hookes & hinges via 5 9 [...] at 5[s] [p] [...] 14 7 - 6 Pair Ditto • 4 6 Stocklocks 19 24 Stocklocks 7 [...] at • 11 - 6 ditto at • 8 6 24 Vizt 6 [...] at • 7 - 6 [...] at • 6 - Staples Spikes Gimletts Spades Showells 2[½] Squarre Staples • 5 - 6 Spikes & 12 Waight Naile gimblets at 4[s] [p] doz • 6 - 2 Dozen Small Gimblets at 2[s] - [p] doz • 4 - 25 Large Steele Spades at 3[s] 6[d] [p] pi 4 7 6 25 Shovells at 1[s] 4[d] [p] pi 1 13 4 90 10 8 Seedes and is for 2 Boxes No 83 & 84 Vizt	Cask 3 weight nails Net weight 2 quarters 2 stone 2½ lb [...] Cask 4 weight nails Net weight 1 quarter 1 stone 0 lb [...] Cask 5 weight nails Net weight 2 quarters 14 lb [...] Subtotal weight nails casks 1 to 5 Gross 11 hundredweight 3 quarters Net 11 hundredweight 2 stone 14 lb at 32s per hundredweight £16 19s 6d Cask 6 8d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 6½ lb [...] Cask 7 20d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 10½ lb [...] Cask 8 20d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 14 lb [...] Cask 9 20d nails Net weight 2 quarters 3 lb [...] Cask 10 8d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 5 lb [...] Cask 11 6d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 24 lb [...] Cask 12 8d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 2½ lb [...] Cask 13 8d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 20 lb [...] Cask 14 6d nails Net weight 1 quarter 1 stone 12 lb [...] Cask 15 6d nails Net weight [...] [...] Subtotal nails casks 6 to 15 Gross 19 hundredweight 1 quarter 9 lb Net 18 hundredweight 23 lb at 40s per hundredweight £36 8s 2d 4d nails 5,000 at 2s per thousand £5 12s 0d 3d nails 8,000 at 1s 8d per thousand £6 13s 0d 2d nails 30,000 at 1s 4d per thousand £8 13s 4d Carpenters' adzes and axes Broad hoes and natters 2½ dozen at [...] per dozen £2 1s 8d Carpenters' adzes 6 at 2s 6d per piece £0 15s 0d Nursery hoes 2½ dozen at 15s per dozen £1 11s 3d Carpenters' axes 6 at 4s per piece £1 4s 0d Pin mauls Pin mauls 3 weighing 18 [...] at 10s per piece £0 15s 0d Hooks and hinges Hooks and hinges 19 pairs weighing 5 stone 9 lb at 5s per [...] £14 7s 0d Hooks and hinges 6 pairs £0 4s 6d Stocklocks Stocklocks in cask 19. Stocklocks 24 weighing 7 [...] £0 11s 0d Stocklocks 6 at [...] £0 8s 6d Stocklocks 24 at 6 [...] £0 7s 0d Stocklocks 6 at [...] £0 6s 0d Staples, spikes, gimlets, spades, shovels Square staples 2½ dozen £0 5s 0d Spike and weight nail gimlets 6 spikes and 12 gimlets at 4s per dozen £0 6s 0d Small gimlets 2 dozen at 2s per dozen £0 4s 0d Large steel spades 25 at 3s 6d per piece £4 7s 6d Shovels 25 at 1s 4d per piece £1 13s 4d Total nails and ironmongery £90 10s 8d Seeds Seeds, in two boxes numbered 83 and 84. Carrot seed 10 lb at 2s per pound £1 0s 0d Parsnip seed 10 lb at 1s 3d per pound £0 12s 6d Parsley seed 10 lb at 1s per pound £0 10s 0d Onion seed 10 lb at 2s per pound £1 0s 0d Turnip seed 10 lb at 1s 3d per pound £0 12s 6d Cabbage seed 5 lb at 6s per pound £1 10s 0d Colewort seed 10 lb at 1s per pound £0 10s 0d Total seeds £5 15s 0d Carried over £853 15s 1d **Interpretations**

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		10lb Carrot Seed at 2[s] - [p] [lb] 1 - - All Sorts of [Seeds] 10lb Pearsnip Seede at 1[s] 3[d] [p] [lb] • 12 6 84 10lb Parsley Seede at 1[s] - [p] [lb] • 10 - 10lb Onyon Seede at 2[s] - [p] [lb] 1 - - 11 10lb Turnip Seede at 1[s] 3 • 12 6 5lb Cabbage Seede at 6[s] - - 1 10 - 10lb Colewart Seede at 1[s] - - 1 - - 6 5 - Borne over 853 15 1 **Margin Notes:** Nailes Aces Carpenters Adzes & Axes Pen mall[s] Hookes and Hinges Stocklocks Staples Spikes Gimletts Spades Showells All Sorts of [Seeds]	The nail and ironmongery schedule, totalling £90 10s 8d, supplied the island with the structural and finishing materials of its building programme. The handover records that the despatch of 20 February 1678 had directed Blackmore to view the forts on arrival and strengthen them with platforms where these were lacking, with materials sent on the *Johanna* for that purpose. The nails of varying sizes, from the largest 20d nails through 8d, 6d, 4d, 3d and 2d sizes, alongside spikes, hooks, hinges, stocklocks, staples and gimlets, gave the island the means of carrying out both the fortification works and the domestic and storehouse construction projects required by the despatch. The nail sizes refer to the standard English penny scale, in which the number indicated the price per hundred of that size and corresponded to the length and weight of the nail. The 20d nails were the largest, suitable for heavy framing and timber work. The 8d, 6d, 4d, 3d and 2d nails covered progressively lighter work, with the smallest 2d nails serving lath, board and trim fixing. The supply of 30,000 of the smallest 2d nails alongside 8,000 of the 3d size and 5,000 of the 4d size indicates a substantial fitting-out programme for the island. The carpenters' tools, with broad hoes, natters, nursery hoes, adzes, axes, mauls and gimlets, supplied the working equipment for both construction and cultivation. The handover records the despatch's direction for experienced persons to be appointed to instruct planters in cultivation, and the variety of agricultural hand tools in the shipment confirms the company's continuing investment in the means of working the soil. The 2½ dozen broad hoes and 2½ dozen nursery hoes, alongside the carpenters' adzes and axes, gave the island a substantial supply of replacement and additional tools for the planter population. The twenty-five large steel spades at £4 7s 6d and twenty-five shovels at £1 13s 4d together supplied a significant addition to the island's digging and earth-moving capacity. The combination of spades and shovels in matched numbers reflects their different uses, with spades for cutting into ground and shovels for moving loose material. The handover records the fortification programme directed in the despatch, and these tools would have served both the construction of platforms and the ongoing agricultural work of the planters. The hooks and hinges, stocklocks, staples and gimlets supplied the hardware required for doors, gates, windows, chests and other fittings of buildings. The 25 pairs of hooks and hinges, alongside 60 stocklocks in four price grades, indicate a substantial fitting-out of buildings on the island, whether new houses for the incoming planters, the storehouse, the fort buildings, or the storerooms identified for the bread, coal and powder. The four grades of stocklock allowed for differentiated security on different doors, with the cheaper locks suiting outbuildings and the more expensive locks the secure stores. The seed schedule at £5 15s 0d supplied the island with seven varieties of vegetable seed in quantities adequate for substantial garden plots. Carrot, parsnip, parsley, onion, turnip and colewort seeds at ten pounds each, alongside cabbage seed at five pounds, gave the planters the materials for a working kitchen garden producing the bulk of the household vegetable supply. The cabbage seed at 6s per pound stood at the highest unit price, reflecting either the higher cost of the seed or the smaller quantity required to plant a given area, since cabbage seed is finer than the others. The handover records the company's standing policy of self-sufficiency in provisions, and the vegetable seed shipment supported that policy by giving the planters the means of producing their own vegetables.

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			The presence of pin mauls, gimlets and staples in the schedule supplied the specialised hardware items needed for ironwork and timber work that could not be made on the island. A pin maul was a heavy wooden hammer used for driving wooden pins or pegs in timber framing, while gimlets were small hand-drills for boring pilot holes. By including these alongside the nails and hinges, the company supplied a complete tool kit for the construction work that the despatch had ordered. **Speculations** The deliberate supply of nails in graduated sizes, with the smallest 2d nails in much larger numbers than the largest 20d nails, was probably calibrated to the typical pattern of building work on the island. Heavy framing in 20d nails required relatively few pieces per structure, while lath, board, trim and finish work in 2d nails required tens of thousands of nails for the same structure. The 30,000 2d nails alongside the smaller numbers of larger sizes provided a balanced supply for both the structural and finishing stages of the company's construction programme. The supply of 25 large steel spades and 25 shovels in matching numbers may have reflected a specific direction from the island for tool replacement. The original tools sent in 1673 would have worn out by 1678, particularly those used by the company slaves on the company plantation and the planters on their own holdings. The matched batch of 25 of each suggests a planned replacement programme rather than an open-ended supply, with the 25 figure perhaps corresponding to a planned distribution to specific holdings or work parties. The vegetable seed supply at modest cost of £5 15s 0d represented an investment in the island's domestic food supply that yielded disproportionate returns over time. A few pounds of carrot, parsnip, onion, turnip and cabbage seed could produce many seasons of vegetables on the island if the planters saved seed from their own crops in subsequent years. The shipment therefore functioned as both an immediate supply and an investment in the longer-term seed stock of the island. The cabbage seed at the higher rate per pound may have been included in smaller quantity because cabbage seed is naturally finer. The four grades of stocklock, ranging in price from 6s to 11s per dozen, allowed the company to differentiate security according to the value and sensitivity of what was being secured. The handover records the dispersed magazine arrangements directed in the despatch, with the chief magazine in the middle of the island and smaller magazines at the guard posts, alongside the bread room, coal room and powder room for which the dram deals were sent. Each of these required locks of different grades, with the most secure locks on the powder room and the chief magazine, and lighter locks on outbuildings. The supply of 19 pairs of hooks and hinges in one batch, with the precise weight of 5 stone 9 lb recorded, suggests that the company in London was attempting to fix the unit cost by weight rather than by piece for items where the weight varied with the size. Heavy gate hinges weighed more than light door hinges, and a price per pound or per stone gave a consistent rate across the range. The arrangement allowed the company to send appropriate hinges for both heavy fort gates and lighter house doors within a single supply unit. The presence of pin mauls in the schedule, used for driving wooden pins in timber framing, indicates that the company expected significant timber construction work on the island. The traditional English mortise-and-tenon timber frame was assembled using wooden pegs rather than iron nails for the main joints, and a pin maul was the standard tool for driving these pegs. The supply of pin mauls alongside large quantities of iron nails suggests that the company anticipated both heavy

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			timber framing and lighter board construction in the same building programme.
68	81	Brought over £ 853 15 1 No Nailes and is for 19 barrells from No 20 to No 38 inclusively. q[t] [...] [...] [...] 20 Spikes 2 - 2 Tare @ 23 - 10 21 Ditto 2 - 21 - 16 22 Waight Nailes 2 1 6 - 17 23 Ditto 2 - 23 - 17 24 Ditto 2 - 21 - 16 11 1 17 2 26 2 26 10 2 19 At 32 [p] Cent. 1 17 1 6 Nailes 25 20 Nayles 1 3 6 Tare - 19 26 20 Ditto 1 3 4 - 16 27 20 Ditto 1 2 27 - 16 28 10 Ditto 1 3 16 - 17 29 10 Ditto 1 3 12 - 16 30 10 Ditto 1 3 21 - 16 31 20 Ditto 1 3 6 - 17 32 8 Ditto 1 3 20 - 16 33 8 Ditto 2 - 11 - 16 34 6 Ditto 1 3 27 - 17 18 3 10 1 1 26 1 1 26 17 1 12 At 40 [p] Cent 34 14 3 35 52000 Ditto at 2[s] - [p] [m] 5 4 - 36 90000 Ditto at 1[s] 8 [p] [m] 7 10 - 37 130000 Ditto at 1[s] 4 [p] [m] 9 - - 25 Pair of hinges via 0: 21 [...] at 5[s] [p] [...] 1 12 6 Hinges Gimletts Mall[s] Axes Adzes Gimletts Hoes 6 Speake Gimblets at - 6 [p] pi • 3 - 3 Penn Malls via 18 at 10[s] [p] [...] • 15 - 6 Broad Axes at 4 - [p] pi 1 4 - 6 Adzes at 2[s] 6 [p] pt • 15 - 2 Dozen of Gimblets at 20[s] - [p] doz 2 1 8 344 25 Broad Hoes at 15[s] - [p] doz 1 11 3 25 Narrow Ditto at 1[s] 10 [p] peeces 1 2 - Stocklocks 12 Stocklocks at - 10 [p] pi • 5 10 7 Ditto at - 8 [p] peece • 4 - 6 Ditto • 5 - Spades Staples Showells	Carried over £853 15s 1d Nails Nails, in nineteen barrels numbered from 20 to 38 inclusive. Cask 20 spikes Net weight 2 quarters 2 lb, tare 23 lb [...] Cask 21 spikes Net weight 2 quarters 21 lb, tare 16 lb [...] Cask 22 weight nails Net weight 2 quarters 1 stone 6 lb, tare 17 lb [...] Cask 23 weight nails Net weight 2 quarters 23 lb, tare 17 lb [...] Cask 24 weight nails Net weight 2 quarters 21 lb, tare 16 lb [...] Subtotal casks 20 to 24 Gross 11 hundredweight 1 quarter 17 lb Less tare 2 quarters 26 lb Net 10 hundredweight 2 quarters 19 lb at 32s per hundredweight £1 17s 1d 6 Cask 25 20d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 6 lb, tare 19 lb [...] Cask 26 20d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 4 lb, tare 16 lb [...] Cask 27 20d nails Net weight 1 quarter 2 stone 27 lb, tare 16 lb [...] Cask 28 10d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 16 lb, tare 17 lb [...] Cask 29 10d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 12 lb, tare 16 lb [...] Cask 30 10d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 21 lb, tare 16 lb [...] Cask 31 20d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 6 lb, tare 17 lb [...] Cask 32 8d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 20 lb, tare 16 lb [...] Cask 33 8d nails Net weight 2 quarters 11 lb, tare 16 lb [...] Cask 34 6d nails Net weight 1 quarter 3 stone 27 lb, tare 17 lb [...] Subtotal casks 25 to 34 Gross 18 hundredweight 3 quarters 10 lb Less tare 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 26 lb Net 17 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 lb at 40s per hundredweight £34 14s 3d 4d nails 52,000 at 2s per thousand £5 4s 0d 3d nails 90,000 at 1s 8d per thousand £7 10s 0d 2d nails 130,000 at 1s 4d per thousand £9 0s 0d Hinges, gimlets, mauls, axes, adzes, hoes Hinges 25 pairs weighing 21 [...] at 5s per [...] £1 12s 6d Spike gimlets 6 at 6d per piece £0 3s 0d Pin mauls 3 weighing 18 [...] at 10s per [...] £0 15s 0d Broad axes 6 at 4s per piece £1 4s 0d Adzes 6 at 2s 6d per piece £0 15s 0d Gimlets 2 dozen at 20s per dozen £2 1s 8d Broad hoes 25 at 15s per dozen £1 11s 3d Narrow hoes 25 at 1s 10d per piece £1 2s 0d Stocklocks Stocklocks 12 at 10d per piece £0 5s 10d Stocklocks 7 at 8d per piece £0 4s 0d Stocklocks 6 at [...] £0 5s 0d Spades, staples, shovels Square staples 25 at 3s 6d per piece £4 7s 6d Large spades 25 at 1s 4d per piece £1 13s 4d Shovels 25 at [...] [...] Total nails and ironmongery £89 13s 0d Flags and colours Flags and colours, in one box superscribed Colours. Flags 4 at 45s per piece £9 0s 0d Field colours 6 at 10s per piece £3 0s 0d

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		25 Squeare Steeples at 3[s] 6 [p] peece 4 7 6 25 Large Spades at 1[s] 4 [p] peeces 1 13 4 25 Shovells 89 13 [...] Flaggs & Colours and is for one box Superscribed Colloures. 4 Flaggs at 45[s] - [p] [...] 9 - - Flaggs & Colours 6 field Collours at 10[s] - [p] pi 3 - - 12 - - Halberds and is for 12 at 10[s] - [p] pi 6 - - Halberds Halfe pikes Halfe Pikes 4 Dozen at 3[s] - [p] pi 8 12 - 965 - 11 Borne over **Margin Notes:** Nailes Hinges Gimletts Mall[s] Axes Adzes Gimletts Hoes Stocklocks Spades Staples Showells Flaggs & Colours Halberds Halfe pikes	Total flags and colours £12 0s 0d Halberds and half pikes Halberds 12 at 10s per piece £6 0s 0d Half pikes 4 dozen at 3s per piece £8 12s 0d Carried over £965 0s 11d **Interpretations** The continuation of the nail and ironmongery schedule, totalling £89 13s 0d, extended the construction supply to a second batch of nineteen barrels in addition to the nineteen recorded in the previous section. The total nail and ironmongery supply across both schedules thus reached approximately £180 4s 0d, an exceptional investment in construction materials. The handover records the despatch's direction for fortification works, platform construction, dispersed magazine building and the fitting out of the bread, coal and powder rooms. The scale of the nail supply across two consecutive schedules indicates that the company was equipping the island for a sustained programme of building and renovation rather than a single project. The second schedule introduces spikes in casks 20 and 21, separately from the smaller weight nails and standard penny-sized nails of the remaining casks. Spikes were the heaviest fastenings used in ship-grade or fort-grade timber work, suitable for joining major timbers in fortifications and heavy structural framing. Their inclusion in the cargo confirms the company's expectation of substantial fortification and platform work on Blackmore's arrival, going beyond the lighter framing and finishing work served by the standard penny-sized nails. The 130,000 of 2d nails in cask 37 and 90,000 of 3d nails in cask 36, combined with the earlier shipment of 30,000 of 2d nails and 8,000 of 3d nails, represented a total small-nail supply of 160,000 of 2d nails and 98,000 of 3d nails. These quantities far exceeded what would be required for any single building project and indicate a working stock for the island sufficient for several years of construction and repair. The economic logic of bulk supply applied: shipping a single large batch of nails consumed less cargo space and accounting effort per unit than multiple smaller shipments. The flags and colours at £12 0s 0d supplied the ceremonial and signalling equipment for the soldier companies and the fortifications. Four flags at 45s each represented the larger flags suitable for display on the forts and at the principal points of the island, while six field colours at 10s each served the soldier companies and planter militia in the field. The handover records the formation of two soldier companies under Blackmore and Beale and the listing of planters under company officers, with rendezvous points to be assigned by the Governor. The field colours supplied the visual identifiers under which the troops would muster and operate. The halberds at £6 0s 0d and half pikes at £8 12s 0d supplied the pole arms used by sergeants and senior soldiers for signalling, ceremonial display and close combat. A halberd, with its combined axe-blade, spike and hook, was the traditional sergeant's weapon, used both as a symbol of rank and as a functional weapon. The supply of twelve halberds matched broadly with the sergeants of the two soldier companies. The four dozen half pikes at 3s per piece supplied additional shorter pole arms for general use in the soldier companies and by the planter militia. The hardware items including 25 hinges, 25 stocklocks, 25 square staples, 25 spades and 25 shovels reflect a deliberate batch supply of building components for a specific number of structures. The repetition of the figure 25 across hinges, stocklocks, staples, spades and shovels suggests that the company supplied

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			complete fitting-out sets for 25 individual buildings, doors, gates or work parties. The handover records that the despatch had directed the rapid settlement of new planters on the island, with cottages to be built for them by company slaves while they lodged with established planters. The hardware batches of 25 may correspond to the cottage-building programme for the incoming planter intake. The substantial supply of broad and narrow hoes, 25 of each, alongside 25 large spades and 25 shovels, gave the island an exceptional quantity of agricultural and construction hand tools. The handover records the strategic objective of self-sufficiency in provisions and the conversion of soldiers to planters, with each planter family equipped to work its own holding. The supply of hoes in particular fitted the needs of cultivation in the broken volcanic soil of St Helena, where heavy ploughing was impractical and hand-hoe cultivation was the standard method. **Speculations** The total construction supply across the two nail schedules, at approximately £180 0s 0d, represented one of the largest single categories in the *Johanna* cargo. The investment matched the scale of building work that the despatch of 20 February 1678 had directed. The handover records the fortification works at Lemon Valley and elsewhere, the dispersed magazine programme, the bread room, coal room and powder room fit-out, and the planter cottage-building programme. A building programme of this scale, undertaken on an island where structural materials had to be imported, required precisely the supply of nails, spikes, hinges, locks, staples and hand tools that the invoice provided. The recurring figure of 25 across hinges, stocklocks, staples, spades and shovels probably reflects a planned supply of complete fitting-out sets for 25 specific projects. The most likely interpretation is the new planter intake on the *Johanna*. Each new planter family would receive a complete house-building set, with hinges and lock for one door, staples for fixings, a spade and a shovel for working the holding. The arrangement converted the cargo into a series of standardised settlement packages, each capable of supporting the establishment of one new planter family. A second possibility is that the 25 figure relates to a specific defensive works programme, with hardware for 25 specified structures across the fortification scheme. The supply of four large flags at 45s each, in addition to six field colours at 10s, exceeded the strict requirement of the soldier companies. The four flags were probably intended for hoisting at the principal forts and other public points of the island, marking company sovereignty and command. The handover records the despatch's direction that no foreign ship enter the fort and that the island's strength be concealed from strangers. The flags would have signalled the island's identity to friendly approaching ships from a distance while not exposing operational details. The presence of halberds in the cargo, despite the increasing obsolescence of pole arms in field warfare by the late seventeenth century, reflects their continuing role as symbols of rank and as ceremonial weapons. A sergeant of the period was expected to carry a halberd as the mark of his office, and the supply of twelve halberds matched broadly with the sergeants of the two soldier companies under Blackmore and Beale. The half pikes at four dozen suggest a wider distribution as a defensive weapon for use by men whose primary role was not infantry combat, perhaps including artillery crews protecting their guns and planters defending the inner approaches of their holdings. The pricing of the 2d nails at 1s 4d per thousand and the 3d nails at 1s 8d per thousand showed the standard volume discounts available to a major

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			institutional purchaser like the company. By placing orders for nails in tens of thousands rather than hundreds, the company secured per-unit prices that would not have been available to smaller buyers. The pricing pattern across the schedule, with the smallest nails at the lowest per-thousand rate, reflected the natural economics of nail manufacture, where the same heating and hammering process produced more pieces from a given quantity of metal in the smaller sizes. The presence of six broad axes and six adzes alongside the carpenters' axes recorded in the previous schedule confirmed a substantial supply of timber-working tools. A broad axe was a heavy hewing axe used for squaring logs into beams, while an adze was used for finishing the surfaces of timbers after broad axe work. The supply of these tools alongside the standard carpenters' axes and pin mauls suggests that the company anticipated significant timber preparation work on the island itself, with logs being squared into structural timbers on site rather than imported as finished beams. The arrangement would have made sense for an island where timber could be felled locally and worked into building materials with the imported tools.
69	82	Brought over £ 965 - 11 Calves baggs Calves Baggs & is for 50 in one Bundlet at 1[s] 4 [p] bagg and one Small Lanterne of Lead Superscribed Calves bagg for St Hellena 3 10 - Long Pikes Long Pikes and is for 50 q[t] 5 Parcells at 4[s] [p] Pike 10 - - Wine Vinegar Oyle & Cotton Yearne & is for 13 Cask Nombred from No 1 to No 13 Vizt Vinegar 1 to 6 Wine Vinegar 6 quarter Cask No from No 1 to 6 containing 175 Gallons at 18[d] [p] Gallon 13 2 6 Sweet Oyle 7 to 10 Sweet Oyle and is for 4 Quarter Cask Nombred 7. 8. 9 & 10 containing 115 Gallons 5 [...] at 4[s] 6 [p] Gallon 25 17 6 Lamp 11 & 12 Lamp Oyle and is for 2 quarter Cask Nombred 11 & 12 q[t] 58 Gallons 3 [½] [...] at 1[s] 6 [p] Gallon 4 7 - Cotton yarne 13 Cotton Yarne & is for one Cask No 13 q[t] 217 at 18 [p] [...] 16 5 6 Brandy 14 to 31 Brandy and is for 18 Quarter Cask Nombed from No 14 to No 31 inclusively q[t] 565 gallons at 4[s] [p] Gallon 113 - - Beefe Beefe and is for 26 Hodgheeads Iron bound with Six Hoops Nombred Viz from No 1 to No 22 q[t] 8 peeces of Beefe & and from No 1 to No 4 q[t] 4 peeces of beefe poiz all & & 193: 9: 12 at 30[s] [p] Cent 200 15 8 Shoes and is for 2 Caske No A & No B containing Viz All A 100 Pair of french Falls at 3[s] - [p] pair 15 - - 206 pair mens Pleane & womens widow heels 2: 6 [p] pi 25 15 -	Carried over £965 0s 11d Calves' bags Calves' bags 50 in one bundle at 1s 4d per bag £3 6s 8d One small lead lantern, superscribed Calves' bag for St Helena Total calves' bags £3 10s 0d Long pikes Long pikes 50 in five parcels at 4s per pike £10 0s 0d Wine, vinegar, oil and cotton yarn Wine, vinegar, oil and cotton yarn, in thirteen casks numbered from 1 to 13. Wine vinegar Wine vinegar, in six quarter casks numbered 1 to 6. Wine vinegar 175 gallons at 1s 6d per gallon £13 2s 6d Sweet oil Sweet oil, in four quarter casks numbered 7 to 10. Sweet oil 115 gallons 5 [...] at 4s 6d per gallon £25 17s 6d Lamp oil Lamp oil, in two quarter casks numbered 11 and 12. Lamp oil 58 gallons 3½ [...] at 1s 6d per gallon £4 7s 0d Cotton yarn Cotton yarn, in one cask numbered 13. Cotton yarn 217 [...] at 18d per [...] £16 5s 6d Brandy Brandy, in eighteen quarter casks numbered from 14 to 31 inclusive. Brandy 565 gallons at 4s per gallon £113 0s 0d Beef Beef, in twenty-six hogsheads, iron-bound with six hoops, numbered as follows. Hogsheads 1 to 22 8 pieces of beef each Hogsheads 1 to 4 4 pieces of beef each Total beef weight 193 hundredweight 9 quarters 12 lb at 30s per hundredweight £200 15s 8d Shoes Shoes, in two casks numbered A and B. Cask A: French falls 100 pairs at 3s per pair £15 0s 0d Men's plain shoes and women's widow heels 206 pairs at 2s 6d per pair £25 15s 0d French falls 100 pairs at 3s 4d per pair £17 13s 4d Cask B:

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		Sorts & 100 pair of french falls 3: 4 [p] [pri] 17 13 4 of B [...] Dozen of boys french falls at 2: 6 [p] pri • 10 - 1[½] Dozen of Boys Pleeine Shoes at 2: 2 [p] pair 1 19 - Shoes 2 Dozen of Girls wooden heel 2: 2 [p] pair 2 12 - 2 Dozen of Childrens [Rangled] Shoes 1: 8 [p] [pri] 2 - - 4 Dozen of Childrens Pumps • 10 [p] [pri] 2 - - 68 9 4 Freing Penns & Pothookes & is as followeth Viz [c] [p] [...] No 1 conta 14 53 - 3 10 2 - - 16 - 1 - 2: 27[½] Frying Pannes and 3 - 16 - 3: - - 4 - 14 - 3: 19 5 - 21 - 1: - - 6 - 21 - 1 - 25[½] Pannes 102 - 5: 1: 27 at 40[s] [p] [...] 12 12 8 Pothooks 90 Pair of Pot hookes at 8[d] [p] pair 15 12 8 Borne Over 1436 1 1 **Margin Notes:** Calves baggs Long Pikes Vinegar Sweet Oyle Lamp Cotton yarne Brandy Beefe All Sorts of Shoes Frying Pannes and Pothooks	Boys' French falls [...] dozen at 2s 6d per pair £0 10s 0d Boys' plain shoes 1½ dozen at 2s 2d per pair £1 19s 0d Girls' wooden heels 2 dozen at 2s 2d per pair £2 12s 0d Children's [rangled] shoes 2 dozen at 1s 8d per pair £2 0s 0d Children's pumps 4 dozen at 10d per pair £2 0s 0d Total shoes £68 9s 4d Frying pans and pot hooks Frying pans in numbered casks. Cask 1 frying pans 14 pieces, gross 53 lb, tare 3 lb, net 10 lb [...] Cask 2 frying pans 16 pieces, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 27½ lb Cask 3 frying pans 16 pieces, 3 hundredweight Cask 4 frying pans 14 pieces, 3 hundredweight 19 lb Cask 5 frying pans 21 pieces, 1 hundredweight Cask 6 frying pans 21 pieces, 1 hundredweight 25½ lb Subtotal frying pans 102 pieces, 5 hundredweight 1 quarter 27 lb at 40s per hundredweight £12 12s 8d Pot hooks Pot hooks 90 pairs at 8d per pair £3 0s 0d Total frying pans and pot hooks £15 12s 8d Carried over £1,436 1s 1d **Interpretations** The calves' bags and small lead lantern in a single labelled bundle supplied a specialised item connected with the dairy and cattle operations of the island. A calf bag was a leather or canvas covering used in the management of young calves, typically to prevent them from feeding on their mothers' milk so that the milk could be drawn for human consumption. The supply of fifty calf bags, sufficient for managing a substantial herd of nursing calves, complemented the dairy equipment supplied earlier in the cargo and confirms the company's expectation of significant milk and dairy production on the island. The handover records the despatch's direction for special care for the increase of cattle, and the calf bags supplied the practical equipment for managing the resulting calves. The fifty long pikes at £10 0s 0d supplied a substantial reserve of the longer pole arm used in defensive infantry formations. A long pike, typically twelve to sixteen feet in length, was the standard weapon for receiving cavalry charges and for forming defensive blocks against assault. The supply of fifty pikes, broadly matching the garrison strength of fifty soldiers, gave each soldier the option of fighting as a pikeman in defensive formation as well as serving as a musketeer. The combination of pikes, half pikes and halberds across the cargo gave the soldier companies the full range of pole arms available to the period. The drinks supply, with 175 gallons of wine vinegar, 115 gallons of sweet oil, 58 gallons of lamp oil and 565 gallons of brandy, totalled £156 7s 0d across seventeen casks. The brandy at 565 gallons formed the largest single liquid line, supplying the soldiers and inhabitants with the standard spirit of the period for medicinal, ceremonial and recreational use. The wine vinegar served as both a flavouring and a preservative, while the sweet oil supplied cooking and medicinal needs. The lamp oil supplied lighting at the standard rate, complementing the lanterns and lamps in the tin ware schedule. The cotton yarn at £16 5s 6d supplied the raw material for weaving cotton fabric on the island. The presence of cotton yarn in significant quantity, together with the wire schedule earlier in the cargo and the

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			supply of needles and thread in the haberdashery trunk, suggests that the company expected at least some cloth production to take place on the island. The handover records the seven-year commodity guarantee under which the company would buy surplus cotton wool, alongside other commodities, at competitive rates, and the cotton yarn fitted within the wider commercial framework of the island as a producer of cotton goods. The beef supply at £200 15s 8d formed the largest single line in the visible portion of this section of the invoice. The twenty-six hogsheads, containing 184 pieces of beef in total, at 193 hundredweight, supplied the garrison and inhabitants with substantial preserved meat for the period until local cattle production could meet demand. The iron-bound, six-hoop construction of the hogsheads indicated heavy-duty cooperage suited to long voyages, and reflects the company's expectation that the beef would need to travel without spoilage and be stored on the island after arrival. The handover records the supply of beef to the island from London since the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, and the present shipment continued that policy while local cattle herds were built up. The shoes at £68 9s 4d supplied a substantial provision of footwear for the population. The graduated supply, with men's French falls at 3s and 3s 4d, men's plain shoes and women's widow heels at 2s 6d, boys' shoes in two grades, girls' wooden heels, children's [rangled] shoes and children's pumps, covered the full demographic range of the island. The total of approximately 500 pairs of shoes represented several pairs for each member of the established population, sufficient for normal wear and replacement until the cobbler's establishment on the island could meet ongoing demand from the lasts, tools and thread supplied earlier in the cargo. The frying pans and pot hooks at £15 12s 8d supplied the cooking equipment for households across the island. The 102 frying pans in six casks gave roughly two pans per household, sufficient for daily cooking with replacements available from the stores. The 90 pairs of pot hooks at 8d per pair supplied the iron fittings used to hang pots over open fires, a standard kitchen requirement for cooking by suspension over hearths. The combination of frying pans and pot hooks, alongside the tin ware schedule earlier in the cargo, gave the island households the basic equipment of an English working kitchen. **Speculations** The supply of fifty calf bags, with the small lead lantern packed alongside them, perhaps represented a specific request from the island in response to the cattle distribution policy. With cattle being given to incoming planters and being distributed across multiple holdings, the management of nursing calves had become a significant practical issue. The calf bags allowed planters to draw milk from cows while preventing the calves from consuming it, which was essential to building up the household milk and dairy production identified earlier in the invoice. The lead lantern, sent alongside, was possibly intended for use in dairying activities carried out before dawn or after dark. The presence of 565 gallons of brandy in eighteen casks at £113 0s 0d represented a substantial liquor supply for a population of a few hundred. The quantity, working out at over a gallon per soldier per year if equally distributed among the garrison alone, suggests that the brandy served multiple purposes. Beyond direct consumption, brandy was used for medicinal purposes, for preserving fruits and other foods, and as a trading commodity with visiting ships. The handover records the free market for visiting ships, and brandy would have featured among the items traded with sailors on shore.

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			The supply of cotton yarn, alongside the linen cloth and the wider haberdashery items, suggests that the company envisaged some textile production on the island. The handover records the seven-year commodity guarantee covering cotton wool among other produce, and the cotton yarn may have served as the raw material for experimental cloth weaving on the island. A successful production of cotton fabric would have allowed the island to participate in the wider East India textile trade as a producer rather than only a consumer, though the small scale of the cotton yarn supply suggests that any such production was experimental rather than industrial. The substantial beef supply at £200 15s 8d, the largest single line in this section of the invoice, reflected the practical limit of the company's policy of self-sufficiency in provisions. Despite the standing direction for the island to feed itself, the population still required imported preserved meat at significant scale. The handover records the steady policy of building up cattle herds on the island through company distribution to planters, but the herds had not yet reached the scale needed to displace imported beef. The arrangement amounted to a transitional supply, with imported English beef bridging the gap until local cattle production matured. The shoe supply, with approximately 500 pairs covering men, women, boys, girls and small children, represented a careful allocation across the demographic spread of the island. The variety of styles, including French falls (a fashionable shoe with broad heels), plain shoes, widow heels, wooden heels, [rangled] shoes (perhaps a particular regional or design style) and pumps, gave the inhabitants choice between dressy and working footwear. The supply of children's shoes in multiple sizes confirms the established demographic spread on the island, with children of varying ages requiring different sizes. The detailed weight-and-tare recording of the frying pans, with each cask weighed individually and the tare deducted to give the net weight, reflected the company's careful accounting practice for iron goods sold by weight. The same method had been applied to the nails in both schedules and represented standard mercantile practice for heavy goods. The net weights then formed the basis for pricing at 40s per hundredweight, giving an objective basis for the value of the supply that could be reconciled both at the London end and on arrival at the island.
70	83	Brought over £ 1436 1 1 Paper Inke Bookes &c. and is for one Bale No 85 Viz 6 Rheame finest [Athorne] at 7[s] [p] [Rheam] 2 2 - Paper 1 R[m] of fine Duch Demy • 17 6 1000 Duch quills at 1: 6 [p] Cent • 15 - 1 Dozen of [...]uill[?] Penells • 2 6 Inke 6 Best Penknifes at 1: 2: [p] pri • 7 2 12 Inke glasses & Standishes • 2 6 and 3 Best [...] Rulers at - 9 [p] pi • 2 3 85 1 Iournall Ledger & Waste Booke of 11 quires fine Duch Demy & binding at 1: 2 [p] quire	Carried over £1,436 1s 1d Paper, ink, books and writing materials Paper, ink and books, in one bale numbered 85. Finest [Athorne] paper 6 reams at 7s per ream £2 2s 0d Fine Dutch demy paper 1 ream £0 17s 6d Dutch quills 1,000 at 1s 6d per hundred £0 15s 0d [...]uill pencils 1 dozen £0 2s 6d Best penknives 6 at 1s 2d per piece £0 7s 2d Ink glasses and standishes 12 £0 2s 6d Best [...] rulers 3 at 9d per piece £0 2s 3d Journal, ledger and waste book 11 quires of fine Dutch demy with binding at 1s 2d per quire £0 14s 8d Ruling the same At 4d per [...] £0 3s 4d Extra binding in vellum and cut 3 points at [...] £0 10s 6d Dutch demy books 3 books of 11 quires at 8d per quire £0 7s 4d Binding the same in vellum and pasteboard At 2s 6d per yard £0 7s 6d Ink 2 lb at 9s 6d per [...] £0 19s 0d Wax 2 [...] at 3s per [...] £0 6s 0d Wafers 1 box of 1,000 £0 1s 4d Total paper, ink, books and writing materials

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		• 14 8 Writing For ruleing ditto at - 4 [p] [...] • 3 4 Bookes For binding Extreordenary in Vellum & cut 3: 6 points • 10 6 3 Bookes Duch Demy of 11 quires at - 8 [p] quire • 7 4 For binding ditto in Vellom & Pasthood 2: 6 [p] yard • 7 6 2lb of [...] Inke at 9: 6 [p] [...] • 19 - 2 [...] Wax at 3: - [p] [...] • 6 - 1 box q[t] 1000 Wafers • 1 4 7 18 9 Iron Potts & Kettles & is for 100 q[t] Vizt 9 Poiz 2 - 23 Iron 10 - - 2 1 15 11 - - 2 2 15 Potts 12 - - 3 1 16 13 - - 3 1 22 and 14 - - 3 2 14 10 - - 2 2 13 Kettles 9 - - - 2 3 2 [...] - - - 2 - 24 5 - - - 1 2 3 At 30[s] [p] Cent [...] - 100 27 - 17 40 14 7 Musquet & Dropp Shott & is as followeth Viz 10 barrells of Musket Shott q[t] each 1 [...] at 18 [p] [...] 9 - - Musket Shott Dropp shott Drop shott 5 [...] at 18 [p] [...] 4 10 - 13 10 - Iron Ordneare & is for 7 Falcons Viz [...] q[t] [...] 3 2 9 3 3 19 7 Falcons 3 3 - - 3 2 21 3 3 - - ordnance 3 2 11 3 2 19 24 3 23 at 18[s] [p] Cent 23 7 3 3 18 9 shott 280 Round Shott for Falcons pz at 2[s] [...] reach 5: 8: 14 at 14[s] [p] C[...] Boine over. 1525 10 5 **Margin Notes:** Paper Inke and Writing Bookes Iron Potts and Kettles Musket Shott Dropp shott ordnance shott	£7 18s 9d Iron pots and kettles Iron pots and kettles, 100 in total. Pot No 9 Weight 2 quarters 23 lb Pot No 10 Weight 2 quarters 1 stone 15 lb Pot No 11 Weight 2 quarters 2 stone 15 lb Pot No 12 Weight 3 quarters 1 stone 16 lb Pot No 13 Weight 3 quarters 1 stone 22 lb Pot No 14 Weight 3 quarters 2 stone 14 lb Pot 10-lb size Weight 2 quarters 2 stone 13 lb Kettle 9-lb size Weight 2 quarters 3 stone 2 lb Kettle [...] size Weight 2 quarters 24 lb Kettle 5-lb size Weight 1 quarter 2 stone 3 lb Total iron pots and kettles 100 pieces, gross 27 hundredweight 17 lb at 30s per hundredweight £40 14s 7d Musket shot and drop shot Musket shot 10 barrels of 1 [...] each at 18s per [...] £9 0s 0d Drop shot 5 [...] at 18s per [...] £4 10s 0d Total musket and drop shot £13 10s 0d Iron ordnance Falcons, in 7 pieces. Falcon 1 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 9 lb Falcon 2 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 19 lb Falcon 3 3 hundredweight 3 quarters Falcon 4 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 21 lb Falcon 5 3 hundredweight 3 quarters Falcon 6 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 11 lb Falcon 7 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 19 lb Total falcons 24 hundredweight 3 quarters 23 lb at 18s per hundredweight £23 7s 3d Round shot for falcons Round shot 280 pieces, weight 5 hundredweight 8 quarters 14 lb at 14s per hundredweight £3 18s 9d Carried over £1,525 10s 5d **Interpretations** The paper, ink and book supply at £7 18s 9d represented a complete equipment of writing materials for the island's working administration. The handover records the extensive documentary requirements imposed by the despatch of 20 February 1678, with the central register of land grants and conveyances, the registers of marriages, christenings and burials, the soldier accounts, the planter accounts, the warrants for stores issues, the certificates of soldiers' service, the annual returns of stores and personnel, the powder accounts and the duplicates sent home to London. The supply of the *Johanna* fitted the documentary demands of the despatch by providing the physical material to support every aspect of the administration. The shipment included a dedicated journal, ledger and waste book of 11 quires in fine Dutch demy paper, bound in vellum, with the additional binding noted as cut. The three together formed the standard accounting set of the period, with the waste book serving as the day-by-day record of transactions, the journal organising the entries chronologically, and the ledger maintaining the running accounts for each item or person. The handover records that the despatch had rejected Beale's account for lack of particulars and dates, and required the books of account to be supplied yearly. The new journal, ledger and waste book gave Beale and the Council fresh books in which to maintain the accounts under the standard required by the company. The three additional Dutch demy books at 11 quires each, bound in vellum and pasteboard, supplied further bound volumes for the registers required by the despatch. The combination of the formal account books and the subsidiary registers gave the Governor and Council a complete documentary infrastructure for the administration. The vellum and pasteboard binding indicated durable construction suited to long use in a

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			humid maritime environment, where unbound paper would have deteriorated rapidly. The 1,000 Dutch quills at 15s and 1,000 wafers at 1s 4d gave the administration a substantial reserve of consumables. Quills wore down rapidly and required regular replacement, with a clerk consuming several quills per day of active writing. The 1,000-quill supply represented several years of writing material. The wafers were small discs of starch and gum used to seal letters and bind sheets together, the standard form of letter sealing for everyday correspondence. The supply of 1,000 in a box represented a working reserve for substantial outgoing and internal correspondence. The iron pots and kettles at £40 14s 7d, totalling 100 pieces, supplied the island with substantial cooking equipment in cast iron. The variety of sizes, with pots numbered from at least 9 to 14 by weight and kettles in three different sizes, gave each household and the company kitchen a range of vessels suited to different uses. The handover records the establishment of the Governor's table at company expense, and the iron pots and kettles supplied the cooking equipment for both that institution and the individual planter households. The supply at 30s per hundredweight reflected the standard wholesale rate for cast iron cooking ware. The musket shot and drop shot at £13 10s 0d supplied the ammunition for the firelock muskets sent earlier in the cargo. Musket shot was the standard ball ammunition for muskets, while drop shot was finer shot used in fowling pieces for hunting birds and small game. The combined supply matched the dual armament shipped on the *Johanna*, with the 150 firelock muskets requiring musket shot and the 20 fowling pieces requiring drop shot. The handover records the seven-year commodity guarantee under which the island could produce its own goods for the company, but ammunition remained a London supply since the island had no powder or shot manufacturing capacity. The seven falcons at £23 7s 3d represented an exceptional reinforcement of the island's heavy weapons. A falcon was a light naval and field cannon of the period, firing a ball of approximately three pounds. The seven falcons together, ranging in weight from approximately 3 hundredweight 2 quarters to 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 19 lb, formed a coherent battery of light artillery suitable for fortification work. The handover records the despatch's direction for Blackmore to strengthen the forts with platforms and to take view of unfortified places that needed defence. The seven falcons supplied the artillery for those works. The 280 round shot for the falcons at £3 18s 9d provided the immediate ammunition reserve for the new guns. The handover records the gunner's posting at the Watering Place and his responsibility for all great guns, and the round shot gave him the working ammunition to use the new ordnance. The supply of 40 rounds per gun represented a working reserve sufficient for an extended defensive engagement, with replacement ammunition to be cast on the island using the long moulds supplied earlier in the cargo. The pricing of the round shot at 14s per hundredweight, against 18s for the cast iron guns themselves, reflected the simpler casting process for spherical shot compared with the more complex construction of a cannon. **Speculations** The supply of three fully bound books in addition to the journal, ledger and waste book set probably reflected the company's recognition that the island administration required more book volumes than a single accounting set could provide. The three additional books may have been intended for the central register of land grants and conveyances, the register of marriages, christenings and burials, and the register of soldiers' pay and accounts. Each of these registers had been mandated by the despatch and would require its

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			own dedicated volume. The supply of pre-bound books, rather than loose quires for the island to bind itself, ensured that the registers would be created in a durable format from the outset. The supply of finest [Athorne] paper at 7s per ream alongside the fine Dutch demy paper at 17s 6d per ream gave the administration a choice between two paper qualities at different price points. The Dutch demy was probably the higher-quality paper for the formal account books and official correspondence, while the [Athorne] (possibly Auvergne or some other named source) paper at the lower price served general working purposes. The differentiation matched the stratified retail logic visible across the invoice, with each consumable supplied in multiple grades at differentiated prices. The seven falcons represented a substantial commitment of capital and shipping space to the strategic objective of fortification. At approximately 24 hundredweight in total iron, the falcons added significant artillery capacity to the island. The handover records that Lemon Valley was singled out as the avenue requiring most careful attention against enemy landing, and the falcons would have been suitable for placement at Lemon Valley and other strategic points around the island. The arrangement complemented the existing great guns by adding light, manoeuvrable artillery suited to dispersed deployment. The 280 round shot for the falcons, at 40 per gun, represented a careful calculation of immediate ammunition needs. A working defensive engagement at one of the island's avenues might consume 20 to 30 rounds per gun in actual fire, with additional ammunition required for practice and inspection. The 40-round supply gave each gun ammunition for an extended engagement plus a working reserve, on the assumption that the long moulds supplied earlier in the cargo would allow further round shot to be cast on the island if needed. The wafers and wax in the writing supply gave the administration two different sealing materials suited to different purposes. Wax was the formal sealing material for important documents, particularly those requiring authentication, while wafers were the everyday sealing material for routine correspondence. The handover records the use of the company's common seal for the formal conveyances of land to be returned from London under the seal. The wax in the present supply served the working seals of the Governor and Council, used to authenticate their outgoing correspondence and warrants under their own authority on the island. The supply of 100 iron pots and kettles in graduated sizes mirrored the demographic and economic stratification visible across the cargo. Larger pots in the highest sizes served the Governor's table and the company kitchens at the fort. Medium pots suited the households of senior officers and established planters. Smaller pots and the kettles served the lower ranks and the slaves. The supply of 100 vessels for an island population of several hundred gave roughly one pot or kettle per two adults, sufficient for the working kitchen needs of the population.
71	84	Brought over £ 1525 10 5 Trees & Plants & is for 4 Chests q[t] as followeth vizt 30 Pear Trees 1 14 - 30 Apple Trees 1 10 - 20 Plumm Trees • 16 8 20 Cherry Trees • 16 8 Trees 10 Peach Trees	Carried over £1,525 10s 5d Trees and plants Trees and plants, in four chests. Pear trees 30 £1 14s 0d Apple trees 30 £1 10s 0d Plum trees 20 £0 16s 8d Cherry trees 20 £0 16s 8d Peach trees 10 £0 15s 0d Apricot trees 10 £0 10s 0d Mulberry trees 6 £1 10s 0d Gooseberry trees 50 £0 8s 4d

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		• 15 - 10 Apricock Trees • 10 - 6 Mulberry Trees 1 10 - 50 Goosberry Trees • 8 4 and 50 Currant Ditto • 8 4 20 Barbaries • 10 - 20 Quince Trees • 15 - 50 Rasberry ditto ○ 6 Plants 4 Medlar Trees ○ 6 5 Necktreens • 15 - 10 Figg Trees • 10 - 20 Vines 1 - - 20 Filberd Trees • 10 - 10 Chesnut Ditto • 7 6 20 Walnut Ditto • 15 - 20 Damask Rose Trees • 4 - 20 Seedling Trees • 10 - 4 Chests to put them into • 12 - 15 15 - Fishing Lines & is for one burrell wood bound Superscribed Fishing Lines for St Hellena q[t] Vizt 40 Fathom Large lines for Albacores q[t] 2 Doz at 30[s] [p] doz 3 - - [fishing] lines 30 Fathom each line for d[itto] of 6 Doz at 24[s] [p] doz 7 4 - of all 24 Fathom each Line for Boneta q[t] 6 Doz at 15[s] [p] doz 4 10 - 22 Ditto each line for Dolphin q[t] 6 Doz at 10[s] [p] doz 3 - - Sorts 14 Ditto each Line for Rockfish q[t] 10 Doz at 7[s] 6 [p] doz 3 15 - 15 Ditto each line for Porgafish q[t] 10 doz at 6[s] - [p] doz 3 - - 12 Ditto each line for Breeame 10 doz at 5[s] - [p] doz 2 10 - and 10 Ditto each line for Makerell q[t] 10 doz at 2[s] - [p] doz 1 5 - 28 4 - Fishing hookes & is for one burrell Superscribed fishing hookes for St Hellena q[t] Viz 10 Dozen Albacore hookes at 5[s] - [p] doz 2 10 - 10 Dozen of Ditto at 4[s] - [p] doz 2 - - Hookes 40 Dozen of Boneta at 2[s] - [p] doz 4 - - 40 Dozen of Dolphin hookes at 1[s] 3 [p] doz 2 10 - 50 Dozen of Rockfish hookes at 1[s] - [p] doz 2 01 8 60 Dozen of Bream hookes at 1[s] - [p] doz 1 5 - 80 Dozen of Mackerel ditto at 1[s] - [p] doz 100 Dozen of [Conger] hookes at 1[s] - [p] doz 1 5 -	Currant trees 50 £0 8s 4d Barberries 20 £0 10s 0d Quince trees 20 £0 15s 0d Raspberry plants 50 £0 4s 0d Medlar trees 4 £0 6s 0d Nectarines 5 £0 15s 0d Fig trees 10 £0 10s 0d Vines 20 £1 0s 0d Filbert trees 20 £0 10s 0d Chestnut trees 10 £0 7s 6d Walnut trees 20 £0 15s 0d Damask rose trees 20 £0 4s 0d Seedling trees 20 £0 10s 0d Four chests for packing £0 12s 0d Total trees and plants £15 15s 0d Fishing lines Fishing lines of all sorts, in one wood-bound barrel superscribed Fishing Lines for St Helena. Large albacore lines 2 dozen of 40 fathoms each at 30s per dozen £3 0s 0d Albacore lines 6 dozen of 30 fathoms each at 24s per dozen £7 4s 0d Bonito lines 6 dozen of 24 fathoms each at 15s per dozen £4 10s 0d Dolphin lines 6 dozen of 22 fathoms each at 10s per dozen £3 0s 0d Rockfish lines 10 dozen of 14 fathoms each at 7s 6d per dozen £3 15s 0d Porgy lines 10 dozen of 15 fathoms each at 6s per dozen £3 0s 0d Bream lines 10 dozen of 12 fathoms each at 5s per dozen £2 10s 0d Mackerel lines 10 dozen of 10 fathoms each at 2s per dozen £1 5s 0d Total fishing lines £28 4s 0d Fishing hooks Fishing hooks, in one barrel superscribed Fishing Hooks for St Helena. Albacore hooks 10 dozen at 5s per dozen £2 10s 0d Albacore hooks 10 dozen at 4s per dozen £2 0s 0d Bonito hooks 40 dozen at 2s per dozen £4 0s 0d Dolphin hooks 40 dozen at 1s 3d per dozen £2 10s 0d Rockfish hooks 50 dozen at 1s per dozen £2 1s 8d Bream hooks 60 dozen at 1s per dozen £1 5s 0d Mackerel hooks 80 dozen at 1s per dozen [...] [Conger] hooks 100 dozen at 1s per dozen £1 5s 0d [Rockfish] hooks 60 dozen at 1s per dozen £2 0s 0d Total fishing hooks £18 11s 8d Carried over £1,588 1s 1d **Interpretations** The trees and plants schedule at £15 15s 0d represented an unusually broad supply of fruit, nut and ornamental stock for the island. The handover records the despatch of 18 December 1674, which had sent a large supply of seeds, and the present shipment confirms the company's continuing investment in establishing a working orchard and garden economy on the island. The variety of stock, with fruit trees including pear, apple, plum, cherry, peach, apricot, mulberry, quince, fig, medlar and nectarine, nut trees including walnut, chestnut and filbert, soft fruit including gooseberry, currant, raspberry and barberry, vines and damask roses, together gave the island the basis of a complete English orchard alongside Mediterranean and other warm-climate species. The despatch of 20 February 1678 had directed that the company plantation produce a steady supply of fruit, herbs and fresh provisions for the Governor's

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		60 Dozen of [Rockfish] hookes at 1[s] - [p] doz 2 - - 18 11 8 1588 1 1 Borne over **Margin Notes:** Trees and Plants [fishing] lines of all Sorts and Hookes	table and for visiting ships. The trees and plants in the *Johanna* cargo supplied the means of fulfilling that direction over the medium term, since most fruit trees took several years to come into bearing. The investment therefore looked beyond the immediate seasons to the establishment of a permanent producing capacity on the island. The handover records the policy of giving surplus stock from the company plantation to the most diligent planters as an incentive for productivity. The fishing lines at £28 4s 0d represented a substantial investment in the island's fishery. The variety of lines, in eight different specifications covering albacore, bonito, dolphin, rockfish, porgy, bream and mackerel, reflected the diverse fish species available in the waters around the island. The lengths of the lines, from 40 fathoms for albacore down to 10 fathoms for mackerel, matched the typical depths at which each species was caught. The 40-fathom albacore lines were suited to the deep-water tuna species, while the shorter mackerel lines suited surface fishing for that smaller pelagic species. The fishing hooks at £18 11s 8d supplied substantial quantities of hooks matched to each species, with larger and stronger hooks for albacore and progressively smaller hooks for the smaller species. The total of approximately 450 dozen hooks represented over 5,000 individual hooks, sufficient for sustained fishing operations across multiple boats. The handover records the establishment of the common fishery in 1673 using the boats left by Sir Richard Munden, and the present supply continued the company's investment in that fishery on a substantial scale. The combination of lines and hooks for both albacore and bonito in significant quantity reflected the importance of these tuna species in the waters around the island. Both were valuable food fish that could be caught in significant numbers and were suitable both for fresh consumption and for preservation by salting. The handover records the salt supply of 114¾ bushels in the present cargo, and the fishing equipment combined with the salt supply gave the island the means of building up a substantial preserved fish industry. The dolphin lines and hooks, in this period referring to the dolphinfish or dorado rather than the marine mammal, supplied for another important pelagic species in the South Atlantic. The rockfish, porgy and bream were inshore species that could be caught from the rocky coastline of the island without the need for substantial boats. The mackerel was a seasonal species available in surface schools at particular times of the year. The variety of equipment suited to each species gave the island the means of exploiting the full range of available fisheries throughout the year. The packing of the trees and plants in four dedicated chests at 12s for the timber reflected the special care required for living plant material on a long voyage. The plants would have travelled with their roots wrapped in damp moss or earth, in chests designed to retain moisture without becoming waterLegged. The handover records that earlier shipments of plants and seeds from Bantam had reached the island, and the company appears to have applied similar techniques to the London end of the supply chain. **Speculations** The unusual breadth of the tree and plant supply, with over twenty different species and varieties, was probably driven by the company's experimental approach to establishing fruit production on the island. Without prior knowledge of which species would thrive in the climate and soil conditions of St Helena, the company supplied a wide range of stock and left to local experience the determination of which species would establish themselves successfully. The arrangement spread the risk across multiple species, with the expectation that even if some failed others would

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			succeed, giving the island a varied permanent fruit supply over time. The damask rose trees in the shipment served decorative and culinary purposes rather than fruit production. Damask roses were grown in seventeenth-century English gardens for their fragrance and for the production of rose water and rose petals used in cooking and confectionery. The supply of 20 damask rose trees, at the modest cost of 4s, suggested an investment in the cultural and culinary refinement of the senior households on the island rather than in commercial agriculture. The handover records the establishment of the Governor's table at company expense, and the rose products may have been intended to enhance the catering at that institution. The substantial fishing line and hook supply, totalling nearly £47 across both schedules, represented one of the largest investments in the productive infrastructure of the island in the cargo. The investment exceeded the entire seed and tree supply by a factor of three, indicating that the company viewed fishing rather than orcharding as the more immediate path to food self-sufficiency on the island. The handover records the founding common fishery from 1673, and the present supply represented a significant expansion of that operation. The lines and hooks for albacore in particular, with 8 dozen lines and 20 dozen hooks, suggested an intention to develop a substantial tuna fishery suitable for both fresh consumption and salt preservation. The supply of 100 dozen [conger] hooks, the largest single hook quantity in the schedule, may have reflected the abundance of moray and conger eels in the waters around the island. These large, robust eels were a substantial food fish in seventeenth-century European cookery and could be caught in significant numbers from the rocky coastline. The supply of 1,200 [conger] hooks was sufficient for sustained fishing for these species across multiple seasons. The graduated pricing of the fishing hooks, from 5s per dozen for the largest albacore hooks down to 1s per dozen for the smaller species, reflected the different sizes and weights of metal required for each. The albacore hooks needed to be substantial enough to hold a fish that might weigh over 50 pounds, while the mackerel hooks could be made from much smaller pieces of wire. The pricing therefore tracked the material cost rather than any artificial mark-up by species. The presence of vines in the supply, at 20 plants for £1 0s 0d, alongside the wine vinegar shipment earlier in the cargo, suggested that the company contemplated some experimental wine production on the island. The climate of St Helena, with its mild oceanic conditions, was not ideal for traditional vine cultivation, but the experimental supply of vines reflected the standard seventeenth-century English colonial practice of attempting wine production in new settlements. Whether the vines would establish themselves and produce useful wine was a matter for trial.
72	85	Brought over £ 1588 1 1 No Tarr Tarr and is for 12 barrells each barrell with 6 Iron bound hoopes at 30[s] [p] barrell 18 - - Pitch Pitch and is for 10 barrells with 6 Iron hoops on each Barrell at 35[s] [p] barrell 17 10 - Powder Gunpowder & is for 50 barrells at 3: 10 [p] barrell	Carried over £1,588 1s 1d Tar Tar 12 barrels, each iron-bound with 6 hoops, at 30s per barrel £18 0s 0d Pitch Pitch 10 barrels, each iron-bound with 6 hoops, at 35s per barrel £17 10s 0d Gunpowder Gunpowder 50 barrels at £3 10s 0d per barrel £175 0s 0d Deals Yellow dram deals 1,200 at 16s per [...] £80 0s 0d

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		175 - - Deales Yellow Dram Deales & is for 1200 at 16[s] [p] [pt] 80 - - Coales Sea Coales and is for 10 Chauldron at 40[s] [p] Chauldron 20 - - Match Meitch and is for 8 Hodgheads Superscribed on each Cask Viz Meitch for St Hellena Wei[ghing] 10 [...] at 23[s] [p] Cent 11 10 - sheepskins Sheepskinns &c. & is for 1 Cask q[t] 20 with the Wool on them & 24 Pruneing Irons Superscribed Sheepskinns and Pruneing Irons for St Hellena Vizt 20 Sheepskinns at 2[s] 6 [p] pi 2 10 - 24 Pruneing Irons at 8[d] [p] pi • 16 - 3 6 - wheele barrowes Wheelbarrowes & is for 12 at 6[s] [p] peece 3 12 - Lindsey woolsey Lindsey Woolsey and is for 1 Bale No 2 q[t] 25 peeces Vizt 2 20 [Bleues] [...] 5 Whits 499 Yards at 2[s] [p] yard 49 18 - Serges 1 Serges and is for one Bale No 1 q[t] 30 Peeces at 45[s] [p] peece 67 10 - Soape Soape and is for 3 Caiske No 1, 2, 3 q[t] Vizt No 1 q[t] 1: 3: 7: Tare - : - 20 2 - 1: 3: 5: - : - : 27 3 - 1: 3: 9: - : - : 32 Cask 3 q[t] 5: 1: 21 - : - 3: 1 2: 1 4: 2: 20: at 65[s] [p] Cent 15 4 4 Boxes & is for 2 No 85 & 86 with 1 quart bottle q[t] Medicines to kill Ratts Vizt 85 1 Box of Severall Sorts of Powders Mixed togeither Ratts bane 86 Waigh 60 besides the box at 2[s] - [p] [...] 6 - - 1 Ditto Weighing 28 besides the box at - 5 [p] [...] • 11 8 7lb of Suger besides the box at - 4 [p] [...] • 2 4 2lb of Waters in a quart bottle at - 4 [p] Oz • 10 8 7 4 8 Borne over. 2056 16 1 **Margin Notes:** Tarr Pitch Powder Deales Coales Match sheepskins wheele barrowes Lindsey woolsey Serges Soape Ratts bane	Sea coal Sea coal 10 chaldrons at 40s per chaldron £20 0s 0d Match Match for St Helena, in 8 hogsheads. Match 10 hundredweight at 23s per hundredweight £11 10s 0d Sheepskins and pruning irons Sheepskins and pruning irons, in one cask superscribed Sheepskins and Pruning Irons for St Helena. Sheepskins with the wool on 20 at 2s 6d per piece £2 10s 0d Pruning irons 24 at 8d per piece £0 16s 0d Total sheepskins and pruning irons £3 6s 0d Wheelbarrows Wheelbarrows 12 at 6s per piece £3 12s 0d Linsey-woolsey Linsey-woolsey, in one bale numbered 2. Blues and whites 25 pieces of 499 yards (20 blues and 5 whites) at 2s per yard £49 18s 0d Serges Serges, in one bale numbered 1. Serges 30 pieces at 45s per piece £67 10s 0d Soap Soap, in three casks numbered 1, 2 and 3. Cask 1 Gross 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 7 lb, tare 20 lb Cask 2 Gross 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 5 lb, tare 27 lb Cask 3 Gross 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 9 lb, tare 32 lb Total soap Gross 5 hundredweight 1 quarter 21 lb Less tare 3 quarters 1 lb Net 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 lb at 65s per hundredweight £15 4s 4d Rat's bane Boxes numbered 85 and 86, with a quart bottle, containing medicines to kill rats. Box 85: powders of several sorts mixed together 60 lb at 2s per pound £6 0s 0d Box 86: powder of one sort 28 lb at 5d per pound £0 11s 8d Sugar 7 lb at 4d per pound £0 2s 4d Waters in a quart bottle 2 lb at 4d per ounce £0 10s 8d Total rat's bane £7 4s 8d Carried over £2,056 16s 1d **Interpretations** The tar and pitch at £35 10s 0d combined supplied the materials for waterproofing and preserving timber, rigging and other items exposed to weather. The handover records the company's investment in fortification works and the construction of platforms on Blackmore's arrival, alongside the storehouse and dispersed magazines. The tar and pitch served both the maintenance of company boats and the protection of timber construction in the salt-laden atmosphere of the island. The supply of 12 barrels of tar and 10 barrels of pitch represented a substantial reserve sufficient for sustained maintenance work over an extended period. The 50 barrels of gunpowder at £175 0s 0d formed the largest single line in the visible portion of this section of the invoice and one of the largest in the entire cargo. The handover records the despatch of 20 February 1678 with its strict economy on powder use, the three-gun salute rule, the prohibition on healths and other needless firing, and the requirement for an annual return of powder expended. The substantial new supply of 50 barrels gave the island a working reserve sufficient to maintain its defensive capacity, support the firing of the seven new falcons, and meet the firing requirements of the soldier companies in drill and watch. The chief

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			magazine at the middle of the island, identified in the despatch, would have received the powder for distribution to the outlying magazines as needed. The 1,200 yellow dram deals at £80 0s 0d represented a substantial timber supply. The handover records the despatch of 20 February 1678 noting fifty dram deals sent for fitting out the bread room, coal room and powder room, but the present larger supply went well beyond those specific projects. Dram deals were standard softwood planks imported from the Baltic and used widely in construction, partitioning, shelving, flooring and the fitting out of stores. The supply of 1,200 deals indicated a major construction programme on Blackmore's arrival, consistent with the fortification works, the dispersed magazines, the planter cottages and the general maintenance of company buildings. The 10 chaldrons of sea coal at £20 0s 0d supplied fuel for the company kitchens, smithy and other heat-requiring operations. A chaldron of sea coal contained approximately 25 to 30 hundredweight of coal, giving a total supply of roughly 12 to 15 tons. The handover records the despatch's reference to the coal room as one of the rooms to be fitted out with dram deals, confirming that coal was a regular item of supply for the island. The supply served both general heating and cooking needs and the more specialised work of the gunner and any smith employed on the island. The match at £11 10s 0d supplied the slow-burning cord used in the firing of guns and as a means of carrying fire between locations. The 10 hundredweight of match in 8 hogsheads, at 23s per hundredweight, represented a working reserve for the artillery operations of the island. Although the firelock muskets supplied earlier in the cargo did not use match, the great guns, the matchlock muskets that may still have been in service, and various ceremonial and signalling functions all relied on match. The supply confirms the continuing role of match in the island's defensive infrastructure. The sheepskins with wool at £2 10s 0d, together with the pruning irons at £0 16s 0d, supplied specialised items for sheep handling and orchard maintenance. The 20 sheepskins probably served as protective covers or working materials for handling sheep, since the wool was retained on them. The 24 pruning irons gave the island the means of maintaining the substantial orchard supplied earlier in the cargo, with fruit and nut trees requiring regular pruning to maintain productivity. The handover records the company plantation, and the pruning irons would have served both the company orchard and the planters' private trees. The serges at £67 10s 0d, with 30 pieces at 45s each, supplied a substantial quantity of woollen cloth in the standard mid-weight that served for outer garments such as coats, breeches and women's gowns. The linsey-woolsey at £49 18s 0d, with 499 yards across 25 pieces in blues and whites, supplied a lighter mixed-fabric cloth of linen warp and woollen weft, suitable for everyday working dress. The two together gave the island a substantial wool-based cloth supply complementing the linen cloth and fustian shipped earlier in the cargo. The handover records the stratified retail logic of the company stores, and the woollen and mixed cloths fitted within that pattern at higher price points than the working fustians. The soap at £15 4s 4d supplied 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 lb of hard soap at 65s per hundredweight. The handover records the despatch of 20 February 1678 directing that hard soap be sent annually from Surat at five or six hundredweight per year, for equal distribution among planters and others at the Surat invoice price. The present London soap shipment supplied an immediate quantity ahead of the Surat arrangement coming into effect, ensuring that the island had soap on Blackmore's arrival rather than waiting for

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			the Indian supply. The two together would give the island a steady soap supply through both London and Surat shipments. The rat's bane at £7 4s 8d supplied a working quantity of rat poison in three forms: a mixed powder of several sorts, a single-type powder, sugar to bait the poison, and a liquid preparation in a quart bottle. The handover records the despatch of 20 February 1678 sending a rat catcher with materials to destroy the vermin, and the present supply was probably the materials the rat catcher would use. The variety of preparations, mixed powder, single powder, sugar bait and liquid, suggested a systematic approach to controlling the rat population through multiple poisoning methods. **Speculations** The 50 barrels of gunpowder probably represented several years of working consumption for the island's defensive needs. Under the strict economy directed by the despatch, with the three-gun salute rule and the prohibition on healths, the working consumption of powder would have been limited. The major potential consumption events were actual defensive engagements, which were rare, and routine practice and drill firing, which the company allowed under the gunner's supervision. The 50-barrel supply therefore represented a strategic reserve as much as an operational supply, giving the island the capacity to sustain a substantial defensive engagement if required. The supply of 1,200 dram deals went well beyond the fifty dram deals mentioned in the despatch for the bread, coal and powder rooms. The much larger quantity in the cargo indicated a broader construction programme that the despatch did not explicitly enumerate. The handover records the planter cottage building programme directed in the despatch of 18 December 1674 and continued in the present despatch, and the substantial deal supply suggests that the housing programme had developed into a major construction effort by 1678. The 1,200 deals would have provided framing, flooring, partitioning and shelving for a substantial number of buildings. The 30 pieces of serge at 45s each, in a single bale, may have been intended primarily for the soldiers' coats and other military garments. The handover records the formation of the two soldier companies under Blackmore and Beale, and the supply of serge in a single uniform style and price point suggested a coordinated supply for military dress rather than scattered domestic use. A complete serge supply for the 50 soldiers of the garrison, at perhaps 2 to 3 yards per coat, would have consumed a substantial portion of the 30-piece supply, leaving the remainder for officer dress and other senior uses. The decision to send English soap from London alongside the directed Indian soap supply from Surat probably reflected a transitional arrangement. The handover records the direction in the despatch for the Surat shipments to begin annually, but the first such shipment would not arrive until after the *Johanna* delivered the present cargo. The London soap therefore filled the gap until the Indian supply chain was established, giving the island a guaranteed supply of soap from the moment of Blackmore's arrival rather than waiting for the Indian arrangement to mature. The variety of rat poisons in the cargo, with mixed and single powders, sugar bait and liquid preparations, suggested either a systematic experimental approach or a recognition that different rat populations responded to different poisons. The sugar at 7 lb served as the carrier to make the poison palatable to the rats, with the various powders mixed into the sugar to create poisoned bait stations. The liquid preparation in the quart bottle probably served as a separate poison for use in different locations, perhaps applied to areas

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			where dry powder would not be effective. The handover records the despatch's order to put the rat catcher to work, and the variety of preparations gave him the materials for a multi-pronged attack on the vermin. The supply of 12 wheelbarrows at £3 12s 0d represented a small but practically important investment in the island's working equipment. A wheelbarrow was a fundamental tool for moving earth, stones, building materials and other heavy items around a working site or holding. The supply of 12 gave the company and the planters a working complement of barrows for use on the fortification works, the construction projects and the agricultural operations of the island. The relatively modest price reflected the simple construction of period wheelbarrows in timber and iron. The presence of 24 pruning irons in the same cask as the sheepskins suggested a packing arrangement based on convenience rather than category. The pruning irons fitted within the agricultural and horticultural focus of the supply, alongside the trees, plants and seeds shipped earlier in the cargo, and gave the island the specialised tools needed to maintain the fruit and nut trees through proper pruning. Without these tools, the substantial tree supply would have produced reduced yields over time as the unpruned trees became overgrown and less productive.
73	86	Brought over £ 2056 16 1 No Chirurgery one Chest amounts to 20 - - Bisket Bisquett and is for 63 Butts full the remainder being Stowed in the Bread roome q[t] in all 400 [...] at 20[s] [p] Cent 400 - - Peeces of Eight 1 Peeces of Eight and is for 1 Bagg No 1. q[t] 879 ps at 5[s] [p] ps 219 15 - Bell One Bell with a Stock to it wa 60 at 15[s] [p] [...] 3 15 - Powder Cartouches Wooden Cartouch cases with whole bottommes to carry Powder in 46 at 2[s] [p] ps 4 12 - Rough Suett Beefe Rough Suett and is for one quarter Caske Iron bound amounts to 5 - - Beefe and is for 1 Rundlett q[t] 12 peeces each peece & is in all q 6 at 6[s] 8[d] [p] [...] 2 8 - Oaken Timber Oaken Timber and is for 20 peeces q[t] 353 foot at 15[d] [p] foot 22 1 3 Oaken Plenck and is for 62 peeces of 3 Inches q[t] 1627 foot at 7[d] [p] foot 47 9 1 Firre Baulks Large Square firr baulkes about 20 foot long & 12 & 14 Inches Square 20 pi at 25[s] [p] baulke 25 - - Chalke Chaulke and is for Tenn Tunns w being loose in the Shipp 3 - - The Iohanna's Invoice for St Hellena amounts to xxxx 2809 16 5 Francis Boyer Accomptant Generall.	Carried over £2,056 16s 1d Surgery chest One surgery chest £20 0s 0d Biscuit Biscuit, in 63 butts full with the remainder stowed in the bread room. Biscuit 400 hundredweight at 20s per hundredweight £400 0s 0d Pieces of eight Pieces of eight, in one bag numbered 1. Pieces of eight 879 at 5s per piece £219 15s 0d Bell Bell with a stock 60 lb at 15s per [...] £3 15s 0d Powder cartouches Wooden cartouche cases with whole bottoms to carry powder in 46 at 2s per piece £4 12s 0d Rough suet Rough suet, in one quarter cask iron-bound £5 0s 0d Beef Beef, in one runlet. Beef 12 pieces, total weight 6 hundredweight, at 6s 8d per hundredweight £2 8s 0d Oaken timber Oaken timber 20 pieces of 353 feet at 15d per foot £22 1s 3d Oaken plank 62 pieces of 3 inches, 1,627 feet at 7d per foot £47 9s 1d Fir baulks Fir baulks 20 pieces, each about 20 feet long and 12 to 14 inches square, at 25s per baulk £25 0s 0d Chalk Chalk 10 tons, loose in the ship £3 0s 0d The *Iohanna*'s invoice for St Helena amounts to £2,809 16s 5d. Francis Boyer, Accomptant General. **Interpretations** The surgery chest at £20 0s 0d supplied the working instruments and equipment for the medical establishment on the island. The handover records the despatch of 20 February 1678 noting that a small surgery chest had been sent without a surgeon, with the Governor and Council authorised to engage a replacement from returning company ships. The present chest forms the physical object referred to in that despatch direction. The £20 0s 0d valuation, combined with the £5 0s 0d for chemical preparations

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			in the earlier portion of the cargo, gave the island a medical equipment supply totalling £25 0s 0d, sufficient for a working surgical and apothecary practice. The biscuit at £400 0s 0d formed the single largest line in the entire invoice and the largest provisioning item of the cargo. The 400 hundredweight of biscuit, distributed across 63 butts and the bread room, supplied ship's biscuit at substantial scale for the garrison, the inhabitants and the visiting company ships. The handover records the despatch's standing policy of self-sufficiency in provisions, but biscuit was a specialised baked product requiring substantial ovens and skilled bakers to produce. The supply of biscuit from London at this scale acknowledged that the island could not yet produce ship's biscuit in the quantities required, particularly for victualling visiting company ships returning to England via the island. The 879 pieces of eight at £219 15s 0d, valued at 5s per piece, supplied the soldier pay chest as identified in the despatch of 20 February 1678. The handover records the despatch entry confirming the same 879 pieces of eight under Beale's care, to be issued at 5s per piece on warrant of the Governor and Council. The invoice line confirms the practical arrangement, with the coin entered as a single bag numbered 1 in the cargo and valued at the same rate as the despatch directed for issue. The arrangement gave the coin a clear identity as soldier pay from the moment of loading in London to the moment of distribution on the island. The bell with stock at £3 15s 0d supplied a working signalling and timekeeping instrument for the island. The 60 lb bell, valued at 15s per [...] (probably per stone), would have been the standard size for a small chapel, watch or alarm bell. The handover records the despatch's direction on regular religious observance and on public worship at appointed places, and the bell would have served both to call the inhabitants to worship on the Lord's Day and to mark the watches and the working day. The bell may also have served as an alarm signal in the event of an enemy approach. The 46 wooden cartouche cases at £4 12s 0d supplied containers for the safe carriage of powder to the great guns and the soldier companies. The handover records the gunner's posting at the Watering Place and other locations, and the cartouche cases would have allowed him and his assistants to carry pre-measured charges of powder from the chief magazine to the gun positions. The wooden cases with whole bottoms supplied a level of protection against accidental ignition or moisture damage during the carriage of powder around the island. The oaken timber and plank at £69 10s 4d combined, together with the 20 large fir baulks at £25 0s 0d, supplied substantial quantities of structural timber for major construction work. The handover records the despatch's direction for fortification works, platform construction and the dispersed magazine programme, all of which required substantial structural timber. The fir baulks of approximately 20 feet long and 12 to 14 inches square represented heavy framing timber suitable for gun platforms, large doors, fort superstructures and major roof beams. The oaken timber and plank supplied the harder, more durable wood for the most exposed and load-bearing elements of the construction. The 10 tons of chalk at £3 0s 0d supplied a bulk material for use as a building component, a soil amendment or a chemical reagent. Chalk could be burned to produce quicklime, which served as both a building mortar component and an agricultural soil amendment. The handover records the substantial planter agricultural establishment on the island, and chalk for liming could have improved the productivity of the volcanic soils. The supply of chalk loose in the ship, rather than packed in casks, took advantage of

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			available cargo space at the bottom of the hold where the dense material would serve as ballast as well as cargo. The closing total of £2,809 16s 5d represents the complete value of the *Johanna*'s invoice for St Helena. The certification by Francis Boyer as Accomptant General supplied the final London authentication of the cargo, parallel to the certification of the despatch by Stephen Legg as clerk. The invoice as a whole forms one of the largest documented supplies to the island in the period, reflecting both the change of Governor under the commission of 20 February 1678 and the cumulative needs of the established population. The runlet of beef at £2 8s 0d, with 12 pieces totalling 6 hundredweight, supplied a small additional beef provision on top of the much larger £200 15s 8d supply earlier in the cargo. The pricing at 6s 8d per hundredweight, against 30s per hundredweight in the earlier shipment, reflected a different grade of beef or a specific cost arrangement for this particular small lot. The rough suet at £5 0s 0d supplied beef fat used in cooking, candle making and other domestic and industrial purposes. **Speculations** The substantial biscuit supply at £400 0s 0d, exceeding even the beef supply of £200 15s 8d, may have been calibrated to serve as a strategic provision reserve as well as a working supply. Biscuit was the standard naval and military preserved bread, capable of lasting many months in dry storage. The handover records the despatch's direction for the establishment of dispersed magazines with victuals supplied to each. The biscuit could have served as the staple stored at each magazine, giving the guards food that would not spoil during long deployments at their posts. The valuation of the 879 pieces of eight at 5s per piece, both on the invoice and in the despatch direction, established the working exchange rate for the soldier pay system. The handover records the rate as a London fixed valuation rather than a market rate. By using the same rate on both the cargo manifest and the operational direction to the Governor and Council, the company removed any room for discrepancy between the value entered on the books in London and the value at which the coin would be issued on the island. The arrangement made the soldier pay calculation a simple matter of recording how many pieces of eight had been issued and at what 5s rate. The supply of 46 wooden cartouche cases probably represented a specific calculation of the number of charges required for the seven falcons supplied earlier in the cargo, plus a reserve. With 280 round shot for the falcons, at 40 rounds per gun, and a cartouche case carrying a single charge of powder for one shot, the supply of 46 cases gave each gun approximately 6 to 7 charges in immediate ready use, with the bulk of the powder remaining safely in the magazines and being brought up to the gun positions in batches of 46 cases as needed. The arrangement allowed for sustained firing while limiting the powder exposed at any one moment near the guns. The bell at £3 15s 0d may have been intended specifically for the public place of worship that the despatch had directed the Governor and Council to appoint. The handover records the despatch's direction on Lord's Day observance and the establishment of the place of worship. A bell to call the inhabitants to worship would have been a practical requirement, particularly given the dispersed pattern of planter holdings around the island. The 60 lb bell would have produced a sound audible across substantial distances and could also have served as an alarm bell if needed. The variety of structural timber, with hardwood oak for the most demanding applications and softwood fir for the larger framing members, reflected the

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			specialised construction requirements of fortifications and major buildings. Oak provided the durability and resistance to decay needed for posts, sills and other exposed structural elements, while fir provided the longer and lighter timbers needed for spans, roof structures and platform decking. The combination of the two woods gave the island the materials for a complete structural construction programme. The bulk supply of 10 tons of chalk, used as both cargo and ballast, was probably the result of an opportunistic packing decision rather than a strategic supply requirement. The chalk could be loaded into the hold at minimal extra freight cost, since the ship needed ballast for the voyage. By using a useful material as ballast, the company maximised the practical value of the *Johanna*'s loading. The chalk would have served on the island for lime production and soil amendment, both useful but not critical applications, with the unloading at the island taking the place of dumping conventional ballast at a port of call. The final invoice total of £2,809 16s 5d represented a remarkable commitment of resources to the island in a single voyage. The handover records the company's continuing investment in St Helena since the recapture of 1673, with multiple ships sent over the intervening years carrying provisions, stores and people. The *Johanna* shipment exceeded the typical scale of earlier voyages by including the falcons, the substantial nail and ironmongery supply, the new Governor's establishment and the major timber and structural materials supply. The change of governor under the commission of 20 February 1678 marked a significant moment in the company's administration of the island, and the cargo of the *Johanna* gave Blackmore the means to take up his office with substantial new resources.
74	87	Worship &c. By your this Yeares Europe Shipping, the Sampson, President, and Vnicorner who arrived at Bombay the 16th 22th & last of Aug[us]t Wee rec[eive]d Orders from y[e] Honble Company to Send by them for y[e] Vse of their Island St Hellena, a Quant[ity] of Rice 83 Tunns of Paddy, with 600 Weight of Hayre; all which Wee have Complyed with, according to thes Inclosed Invoice; and Bill of Lading; therefore You may pleas[e] to demand of it their derivall with You, As to y[e] Paddy they did further Command us, to send You directions for it[s] heating fitt for y[e] Vse, which thatt You may the better Know, Wee have sent You a Handmill, Wooden Pestle, & Morter, & a Cuple of Sannns, which are to bee employed as thus, ffirst You must grind y[e] Paddy in y[e] Mill, to take off y[e] outward Huskes which with the Sannns must bee well cleered, then putt into y[e] Wooden Morter, & beaten with y[e] Pestle, which takes off y[e] Lowest thinn Skinn, & makes it White & fitt for Vse. They have likewise Ordered us Yearly to Send You Some Male & Female Goates of Carmenia, with Caution to keep them from Degeneratbeing in their Cast, by the Mixture with any other Goates, which Three Tommend to Yo[r] Observance, having now sent You Males 6 & females by the Sev[er]all Shipps, Soe Wishing You health & prosp[er]ity in Yo[r] Present Charges, Wee Committ You to y[e] protection of the Almightys; and Remaines Swalley Marine ye 30th January 167[7]/[8] Your very Loveing Ffreindes. Tho: Rolt. Charles Iames. Cesar Chamberlan. J. Child Note thatt y[e] Mill &c. are laden on board y[e] President.	Continuing from the *Johanna* invoice for St Helena, the Surat Council addressed its own letter to the Governor and Council of St Helena. By the Europe shipping of the present year, the *Sampson*, the *President* and the *Unicorn*, which arrived at Bombay on 16, 22 and last August, the Surat Council had received orders from the Honourable Company to send to St Helena a quantity of rice, 83 tons of paddy and 600 weight of hair. The Surat Council had carried out these orders, as set out in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. The Governor and Council were to receive these goods on arrival. The Honourable Company had further directed the Surat Council to send instructions for treating the paddy to make it fit for use. The Surat Council therefore sent a handmill, a wooden pestle and mortar and a couple of sannns. The paddy was first to be ground in the mill to remove the outer husks, which were then to be cleared away by means of the sannns. The grain was then to be placed in the wooden mortar and beaten with the pestle. This action removed the thin inner skin and produced white grain fit for use. The Honourable Company had also directed the Surat Council to send male and female Carmanian goats to the island each year, with a strict caution that they be kept from degenerating by interbreeding with any other goats. The Surat Council recommended this practice to the careful attention of the Governor and Council, having now sent six males and an unspecified number of females across the present ships. The Surat Council wished the Governor and Council health and prosperity in their charge and committed them to the protection of the Almighty. The letter was signed by Thomas Rolt, Charles James, Caesar Chamberlain and J. Child, at Swally Marine on 30 January 1678. It was noted that the mill and its associated equipment were laden on board the *President*. **Interpretations**

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			The Surat Council's letter forms the practical complement to the despatch of 20 February 1678 from London. The handover records the London despatch's direction that rice and paddy be sent annually to St Helena from Surat, the Coast and the Bay, and that hard soap be sent annually from Surat. The Surat letter shows the corresponding instruction reaching the Surat Council through the company's Europe shipping, and the Surat Council carrying it out by sending rice and paddy on the same ships back to St Helena. The arrangement demonstrates the working integration of the company's London and Indian operations in respect of the island's supply chain. The three Europe ships, the *Sampson*, the *President* and the *Unicorn*, had reached Bombay across August 1677, three weeks ahead of the Surat Council's despatch of 30 January 1678. The interval represents the time taken for the ships to make the passage from Bombay to Swally Marine, for the orders to be considered and acted on, and for the return cargo to be loaded for the homeward voyage by way of St Helena. The arrangement made the homeward shipping the natural carrier for the Indian Ocean supply of St Helena, with the ships taking the island as a refreshment and provisioning stop on the route back to England. The 83 tons of paddy formed a substantial supply of rough rice, sufficient to provide the island with a multi-year reserve of staple grain. Paddy was the unhusked form of rice, in which the grain retained its protective outer husk. The handover records the standing policy of self-sufficiency in provisions and the difficulties that the policy had encountered on the island. The supply of paddy in this volume, alongside the flour and other grain from London, gave the island a substantial buffer against any failure of local cultivation. The decision to send paddy rather than husked rice reflected the longer keeping qualities of the unhusked grain, which would store better through the warm voyage and the periods of intermediate storage on the island. The 600 weight of hair, although the precise use is not specified in the letter, was probably intended for plastering, rope-making or felt production. Hair was a standard component of seventeenth-century lime plaster, where it acted as a binder to reduce cracking as the plaster set. It also served in coarse rope and felt production. The supply of 600 weight from Surat at the company's direction suggests a planned application on the island, probably in connection with the construction programme set out in the despatch. The detailed instructions for treating the paddy demonstrate the Surat Council's role as the technical adviser on Indian commodities. The two-stage process of milling to remove the outer husk and pounding to remove the inner skin gave the Governor and Council the practical method for converting raw paddy into white rice fit for consumption. The supply of a handmill, a wooden pestle and mortar, and a couple of sannns (probably Wynnowing sieves or trays) provided the equipment for carrying out the process on the island. The arrangement made the island self-sufficient in rice processing, requiring only the raw paddy supply rather than finished rice. The Carmanian goats venture continued from the Surat Council's earlier despatch of the same date. The handover records the earlier Surat consignment by the *George* of two Carmanian goats from Persia with technical guidance on combing the fine under-wool. The present letter records that the Surat Council had now sent six male goats and an unspecified number of females across the several ships, marking a substantial expansion of the venture. The strict caution against interbreeding with other goats repeated the warning from the earlier consignment and confirmed the

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			importance the company placed on protecting the breeding stock for the fine wool venture. The signatories repeated three of the four members named on the Surat Council's earlier letter of the same date, with Thomas Rolt as President, Charles James and Caesar Chamberlain among the signatories. The handover records the earlier letter with the additional signature of John Petit. The present letter substitutes J. Child for Petit. The handover records Josiah Child as a member of the Court of Committees in London who signed the despatch of 20 February 1678. The J. Child of the Surat letter is probably John Child, brother of Josiah, who was active in the company's Indian operations, rather than Josiah himself. The location at Swally Marine, recorded again in the despatch, confirms the use of the Surat anchorage as the working point of issue for company despatches from the western India operation. The handover records Swally Marine as the anchorage near Surat used by company ships. The dating of the despatch at 30 January 1678 places it three weeks before the London despatch of 20 February 1678. The Surat Council acted on the directions from the Europe shipping of August 1677, while the London Court of Committees acted on intelligence reaching it through different channels, with the two ends of the company's operation working in parallel to coordinate the supply of the island. **Speculations** The supply of 83 tons of paddy in a single shipment probably reflected the Surat Council's understanding of the working capacity of the ships available and the storage capacity of the island. A larger quantity might have exceeded the ships' available cargo space, while a smaller quantity would have provided too short a buffer against future failures of supply. The 83-ton figure represented a calculated balance between immediate supply needs and the longer-term ambition of building up the island's grain reserves. The handover records the despatch's direction for annual rice and paddy shipments, and 83 tons established a working benchmark for the scale of those annual shipments. The instruction that the goats not be allowed to interbreed with other goats reflected a specific scientific concern with the genetic purity of the breeding stock. The handover records the earlier Surat warning that previous consignments had been lost through interbreeding. The Surat Council probably had specific local knowledge of the difficulties of maintaining pure breeding lines in the Persian goat trade, and applied that knowledge to the St Helena venture. The expansion from two animals in the earlier consignment to at least six males plus females in the present shipment suggested that the company had identified a workable breeding population size and was now committing it to the venture. The note that the mill and associated equipment were laden on board the *President* rather than distributed across the three ships was probably intended to ensure that the processing equipment travelled together. A handmill, pestle, mortar and sannns scattered across three different ships would have been useless until all the ships arrived at the island, and any loss of one ship would have left the island with rice paddy but no means of processing it. By concentrating the equipment on a single ship, the Surat Council ensured that either the equipment arrived complete or did not arrive at all, with the latter outcome being recoverable by sending replacement equipment from Surat in due course. The 600 weight of hair, sent without specification of its intended use, may have represented an experimental supply for the island's construction or production activities. The handover records the substantial building programme directed in the despatch, and hair would have been a useful additive to lime plaster for the interior surfaces of houses, stores

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			and fortifications. The supply may also have been intended for rope-making or felt production as part of the island's growing range of small industries. The decision to send the despatch in two parallel forms, one from London via the *Johanna* dated 20 February 1678 and another from Surat via the homeward shipping dated 30 January 1678, gave the island administration two independent sources of authoritative instruction on the same matters. The handover records the indirect routes of intelligence and supply via Barbados, Bantam and other company stations, and the present arrangement extended that pattern of multi-channel communication to the rice and paddy supply. If either despatch failed to arrive, the other would still convey the company's intentions to the island. The expansion of the Carmanian goats venture from two animals to a substantial breeding herd, with at least six males and a probably matching or greater number of females, suggested that the company had moved from an experimental trial to a serious commercial commitment. The handover records the substantial cost of the original two animals, with 80 rupees and 49 (in the non-standard Surat accounting subdivision) plus fodder and shipping. The scale of the present consignment indicated significant further capital investment by the company in the fine wool venture, perhaps reflecting optimistic intelligence about the prospects of cashmere-style wool production on the island.
75	88	Sampson President & Unicorne Invoice of Provisions &c. Laden by y[e] Hon[oura]ble [Tho]: Rolt President & Councell in Surratt on board Shipp[s] Sampson, President & Unicorne, & goe Consigned to y[e] Gov[ernor] & [Sir] Councill on St Hellena for Acco[t] the Hon[oura]ble East India Compa[ny] their Generall Joint Stock Marked Vizt Rs P[gs] 100 Rice 100 ba[gs] each 6 ma[unds] is 600 ma[unds] or 30 [Candy]s 41 [p] Sampson, 37 [p] the President & 22 [p] Unicorne R 56 ba[gs] cont[ent] Island 16:16 m[aunds] at 20[s] [p] Candy 376 - R 44 ba[gs] cont 13:14 m[aunds] at 18[s] [p] Candy 237: 43 573 43 30 Paddy 30 ba[gs] each 6 Maris 9 Candys at 11[s] 4[d] [...] 10 3 30 12 [p] Sampson, 11 [p] President, 7 [p] Unicorne 3 Strape 3 Chests one in each Shipp cont 18 Ma[unds] at 2 [s] m[aund] 36 - 1 Handmill [p] [President] with an Iron Pin 5 - 2 Wooden Pestle & Morter [p] ditto 2 18 3 Wynnows for Some [p] ditto cont[s] 1 12 Charges of baggs, Chests, Boathire Cartage &c [...] 131 37 853 02 12 P[ar]ticulers (2 on y[e] Sampson 3 Cost not Knowne Carmenia Goates 14 on y[e] Vnicorne) 40 87 Provisions for y[e] Goates in y[e] Voyage to y[e] am[ount] of 893 49 Swalley Marine y[e] 21th Janu[ary] 167[8]/[9] Charles Iames A Po[stscript] m[em]: y[e] [...] Shipp Sampson but [...] Reception of [...] [Salvage of] Stones now [in] full y[e] [...] mentioned in y[e] Invoice y[e] [...] [...] [...] [...] May 13 [...] have 8000 [...] of Rice [...] [...] [...] - Fort St George Janu[ary] 23rd 167[8]/[9] To y[e] Worshippll y[e] Gov[ernor]: & Councell at St Helena S[i]rs	The invoice from Surat is heavily damaged in places, and several figures in the rupee subdivision do not match the standard 16-anna structure. The visible portions have been reconstructed below. The continuation from Fort St George is also fragmentary at the margins. By the ships *Sampson*, *President* and *Unicorn*, the Surat invoice of provisions and stores laden by Thomas Rolt as President and the Surat Council on board the three ships, consigned to the Governor and Council on St Helena for the account of the General Joint Stock of the Honourable East India Company. Rice, in 100 bags of 6 maunds each, totalling 600 maunds or 30 candies. 41 bags on the *Sampson*, 37 bags on the *President* and 22 bags on the *Unicorn*. Rice 56 bags of 16 maunds 16 [seers] at 20 rupees per candy 376 rupees 0 [...] Rice 44 bags of 13 maunds 14 [seers] at 18 rupees per candy 237 rupees 43 [...] Subtotal rice 100 bags 573 rupees 43 [...] Paddy, in 30 bags of 6 maunds each, totalling 9 candies, at 11 rupees 4 annas per [...]. 12 bags on the *Sampson*, 11 bags on the *President* and 7 bags on the *Unicorn*. Paddy 30 bags 103 rupees 30 [...] Strap, in 3 chests, one in each ship, containing 18 maunds at 2 rupees per maund 36 rupees 0 [...] Handmill with an iron pin, on the *President* 5 rupees 0 [...] Wooden pestle and mortar, on the *President* 2 rupees 18 [...] Wynnows, three for some [purpose], on the *President* 1 rupee 12 [...] Charges of bags, chests, boat hire, cartage and other expenses 131 rupees 37 [...] Subtotal cargo 853 rupees 02 [...] Carmanian goats 12 animals (2 on the *Sampson*, 3 [...], 14 on the *Unicorn*) 40 rupees 87 [...] Provisions for the goats on the voyage [...] Total invoice 893 rupees 49 [...]

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		The Hon[oura]ble Comp[an]y haveing bin pleased to [Ord]: vs to send You ffive Tons of Rice & one Tunn of Paddy upon each of their Shipps returning home from y[e] Coast of y[e] yeare We have accordingly taken Care to Lade y[e] [...] Quantity, or more upon eu[er]y Shipp of y[e] fower bound homew[ard] hence, for w[hi]ch You will receive y[e] Invoice, & Bills of Lading therewith. The Rice of these P[ar]ts is of a Coar[ser] [Grain]e yn t[h]is greate at Surratt in Bengala, that wch wee have sent You is Course but New, & Good. The Paddy is alsoe Nev[i] & altho Paddy will keep Long, yn Rice, yet aft[er] 5: 6: 7 Yeares Old t'is not so Wholesome as new Paddy, for it will brin[g] those that eat it into y[e] Bloody Flux aft[er] it is of y[t] Age, as hath bin this last Year Experimented by Some of the [...] P[ar]ties of [an?] Caule besieged by Sevagee not farr from yc, wherein most of y[ou]r men Dyed by eating the Rice of Old Paddy. Therefore it is accustomar[y] in all Castles where they Lay in store of such [Graines] to change it every two or three Yeares for so Long it keeps well; & is each[?] those who in [Garrisons] Wee	The invoice was signed by Charles James at Swally Marine on 21 January 1679. A postscript followed, partly illegible. It noted the *Sampson* and referred to the receipt of [...] salvage of stones, and to a date of 13 May with reference to 8,000 [...] of rice. The Fort St George letter, dated 23 January 1679, was addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena. The Coast Council reported that the Honourable Company had directed them to send five tons of rice and one ton of paddy on each of the company's ships returning home from the Coast in the present year. The Coast Council had accordingly loaded the required quantity, or more, on every one of the four ships bound homeward, with the invoices and bills of lading enclosed. The rice of the Coast was of a coarser grain than that of Surat or Bengal. The rice sent on this occasion was coarse but new and good. The paddy was also new. Although paddy kept longer than rice, paddy that was five, six or seven years old was not so wholesome as new paddy. Old paddy could produce the bloody flux in those who ate it. This had been demonstrated in the past year by an episode at a fort besieged by Sevagee not far from Fort St George, in which most of the men had died from eating rice prepared from old paddy. It was therefore customary in all castles holding stores of such grains to change them every two or three years, since paddy kept well for that length of time, and this practice was followed by garrisons. **Interpretations** The Surat invoice records the practical implementation of the Indian Ocean provisioning scheme directed in the despatch of 20 February 1678. The handover records the despatch's direction that rice and paddy be sent annually to St Helena from Surat, the Coast and the Bay. The Surat shipment of 100 bags of rice and 30 bags of paddy, spread across the three Europe ships in their homeward voyage, gave practical effect to the direction. The use of three separate ships also spread the risk of loss, in line with the company's standing approach to dispersed shipping. The invoice gives a working insight into the cost structure of the Indian provisioning operation. The rice at 20 and 18 rupees per candy across the two grades, paddy at 11 rupees 4 annas, and the additional charges for bags, chests, boat hire and cartage at 131 rupees 37 [...], indicate that the total cost in Indian rupees was modest by comparison with the London invoice of the *Johanna*. The handover records the standing accounting practice for Indian transactions in rupees, with the subdivisions following local Surat conventions. The total of 853 rupees 02 [...] for cargo and 893 rupees 49 [...] including the goats represented a manageable annual expenditure for the substantial supply of grain to the island. The processing equipment for the paddy, with the handmill, the wooden pestle and mortar, and the three Wynnows, supplied the means for converting raw paddy into edible rice on the island. The handover records the Surat Council's letter of 30 January 1678 explaining the two-stage process. The invoice confirms the physical supply of the equipment, with the items laden on the *President* in line with the note in the covering letter. The total cost of the equipment at 8 rupees 30 [...] was trivial in comparison with the grain supply, but the equipment was essential for the use of the grain. The 12 Carmanian goats represented a significant expansion of the venture from the original two animals sent by the *George* in January 1678. The handover records the substantial cost of those original animals at 80 rupees and 49 (in the non-standard subdivision) plus charges, and the present supply of 12 animals at 40 rupees 87 [...] represented a much lower per-unit cost. The reduction probably reflected the establishment of

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			regular supply arrangements from Persia rather than the one-off purchase that the original two animals had represented. The handover records the company's growing commercial commitment to the fine wool venture, and the present consignment confirmed that the company was willing to commit substantial breeding stock to the project. The Fort St George letter from the Coast Council records the parallel implementation of the directed shipment of rice and paddy from the Coast. The handover records the despatch's direction for shipments from three sources, Surat, the Coast and the Bay, and the Fort St George letter confirms that the second of these sources was responding to the same direction. The Coast Council's commitment to send five tons of rice and one ton of paddy on each of the four homeward-bound ships represented a substantial annual contribution, totalling 20 tons of rice and 4 tons of paddy across the four ships in the year. The Coast Council's technical advice on the storage life of paddy and the dangers of consuming old paddy reflected the experienced practical knowledge of the company's Indian operation. The reference to the bloody flux from old paddy, supported by the recent example at the fort besieged by Sevagee, gave the island administration specific guidance on the management of its grain stores. The handover records the despatch's direction for the establishment of dispersed magazines with provisions, and the Coast Council's advice provided the working knowledge needed for proper stock management. The recommendation that grain stores be rotated every two or three years gave the island a practical management standard for its provisioning operation. The reference to Sevagee in the Fort St George letter records the impact of the Maratha leader on the company's Indian operations. Sevagee was Shivaji, the Maratha ruler whose campaigns across the 1670s had brought disruption and military pressure to the Mughal-controlled territories where the company's Indian stations operated. The handover records the company's wider Indian Ocean operations and the role of the Surat, Coast and Bay stations in supplying St Helena. The reference to a fort besieged by Sevagee, where most of the men had died from eating old rice, illustrated the practical lessons learned in the difficult conditions of the company's Indian operations. The dating of the Surat invoice at 21 January 1679 and the Fort St George letter at 23 January 1679 placed both documents almost exactly one year after the original Surat despatch of 30 January 1678. The chronological pattern showed the working cycle of the company's Indian Ocean supply chain. The London direction was issued in February 1678, reached India through the Europe shipping arriving at Bombay in August 1677 (the previous year's voyage carrying the orders for the year ahead), was acted on by the Surat and Coast Councils, and produced the supplies dispatched to St Helena on the homeward shipping of the 1678–1679 season. The signatories of the Surat invoice included only Charles James, in contrast to the four signatories of the covering letter of 30 January 1678. The reduced signature probably reflected the working clerical role that James had taken in producing the invoice, rather than a separate Council decision on its content. The covering letter required the formal endorsement of the Council as a whole, while the detailed invoice was a working document signed by the responsible Council member. **Speculations** The variation in the per-candy rates of rice on the Surat invoice, with 56 bags at 20 rupees per candy and 44 bags at 18 rupees per candy, probably reflected the different qualities of rice obtained from different

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			sources or different harvests. The handover records the company's standing approach to differentiated supply, and the same principle appears to have applied to the Indian Ocean rice trade. By supplying rice in two grades, the Surat Council gave the Governor and Council of St Helena flexibility in distribution, with the higher-grade rice perhaps reserved for the Governor's table and the lower-grade rice for general distribution. The reduced per-unit cost of the Carmanian goats, from approximately 65 rupees per animal in the original consignment to approximately 3 rupees 50 [...] per animal in the present consignment, was probably the result of the establishment of regular supply arrangements with Persian traders. The handover records the difficulty of procuring breeding stock from Persia for the original consignment, with only two animals available. The much larger present supply suggested that the company's agents in Persia had now established a working source of supply with predictable pricing, allowing the venture to scale up significantly. The Coast Council's commitment to send rice and paddy on each of the four homeward-bound ships, rather than concentrating the supply on one or two ships, applied the same risk-spreading principle as the Surat Council's distribution across three ships. The handover records the standing concern about losses to shipping accidents and enemy action, and the dispersed shipment pattern reduced the risk that any single loss would deprive the island of its provisioning supply. The arrangement also gave each ship a useful cargo addition to its homeward voyage, since the rice and paddy would be sold or transferred at St Helena rather than carried all the way back to England. The Coast Council's technical advice on grain storage probably reflected hard-won practical experience in the company's Indian operations. The reference to the fort besieged by Sevagee, where men died from eating old rice, gave a specific recent example that the island administration could understand and respect. The handover records the standing practical concerns about provisioning and the threats of disease in colonial settings. The Coast Council's advice translated those general concerns into specific operational guidance for the management of the island's grain stores, with practical implications for both the storage facilities and the rotation of stock. The substantial scale of the combined Indian Ocean supply, with 100 bags of rice and 30 bags of paddy from Surat plus 20 tons of rice and 4 tons of paddy from the Coast, together totalling over 50 tons of grain, exceeded the immediate consumption needs of the island population. The over-supply pattern probably reflected the company's deliberate strategy of building up substantial reserves on the island, both to insulate against future supply failures and to support the requirements of visiting company ships. The handover records the establishment of the Governor's table at company expense, with provisions for visiting ships' commanders, and the substantial grain reserves would have supported this provisioning role for the homeward fleet. The Carmanian goats venture, with 12 animals now sent across the three ships, had reached a scale where the establishment of a viable breeding population on the island was within reach. The handover records the technical guidance on combing the fine under-wool and the warning against interbreeding. The expansion to 12 animals, with both males and females in the mix, gave the island a working breeding herd from which the company hoped to develop fine wool production on a commercial scale. The arrangement showed the company moving from initial experimentation to serious commercial development of the venture.

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76	89	Wee have alsoe sent You upon each of these ffour Shipps a burdle of seed paddy; each parcell being [se]v[er]all Sort or Kind of Seed w[hi]ch is sown[e] at 4 [se]v[er]all Seasons of y[e] Yeare, concerning w[hi]ch Wee Send You herewith a Pap[er] of Direccions by each Shipp to referr, alsoe Wee Send You by the Williamson a Large Wooden Pestle & Morter, suc[h] as these people Vse to beat y[e] Paddy in to take [off] the husk[s] from y[e] Rice & Wee would have Sent You a Black [ffe]llow, or two that knowes how to Manure y[e] Ground Sow, [Re]ap & Gath[er] y[e] Paddy w[he]n Ripe, but y[e] Comma[n]d[ers] tell us there is little hopes of Padding growing on y[e] Iceland, it being very Stoney Ground, & difficult to Convey Such quantities of Wat[er] to it as Paddy delights in. Therefore Wee forbeare Sending You Such people, untill furth[er] Advice from Yo[ur] Selves or y[e] Hon[oura]ble Compa[ny]: concerning y[e] Same A[lso] in Regard Wee understand y[t] Arrack is acceptable upon y[e] Iceland, & in Case You should bee attached would be very serviceable for incourageing Yo[ur] men, & haveing an Overplus Sent us fro[m] y[e] Bay Wee have Sent You two Butts of Bengala Arrack One upon y[e] Nathaniell, & yo[t]h[er] upon y[e] Society, w[hi]ch Wee With safe to You, & if You desire any more hereaft[er] You may please to procure y[e] Hon[oura]ble Comp[any] Ord[er] to us to Send it You, soe [Co]mending You to y[e] protection of Almightie God Wee remaine Your very loveing Friends Streynsham Master Joseph Hynmerss John Bridges Timothy Wilkes Richard Mohun	Continuing from the Coast Council's advice on the dangers of consuming old paddy, the Coast Council had also sent a bundle of seed paddy on each of the four ships. Each parcel contained several different sorts of seed, suitable for sowing at four different seasons of the year. The Coast Council enclosed a paper of directions by each ship to explain the sowing arrangements. The Coast Council had also sent a large wooden pestle and mortar on the *Williamson*, of the kind that Indian rice growers used to beat the paddy and remove the husks from the rice. The Coast Council would have sent one or two black men experienced in working the ground, sowing, reaping and harvesting paddy when ripe. The commanders of the homeward-bound ships had reported, however, that there was little prospect of paddy growing on the island, the ground being very stony and the supply of water unsuitable for the quantities that paddy required for cultivation. The Coast Council therefore withheld sending such workers until further advice from the Governor and Council or the Honourable Company. The Coast Council had also learned that arrack was acceptable on the island and would be useful in case of attack as a means of encouraging the men. Having a surplus sent from the Bay, the Coast Council sent two butts of Bengal arrack to the island, one on the *Nathaniel* and the other on the *Society*. The Coast Council wished the consignment safe arrival. If the Governor and Council desired further supplies in the future, they were to obtain an order from the Honourable Company directing the Coast Council to send it. The Coast Council committed the Governor and Council to the protection of Almighty God. The letter was signed by Streynsham Master, Joseph Hynmerss, John Bridges, Timothy Wilkes and Richard Mohun. **Interpretations** The supply of seed paddy from the Coast represented an investment in the longer-term ambition of paddy cultivation on the island, rather than merely the supply of finished grain. The handover records the standing policy of self-sufficiency in provisions, with the despatch of 20 February 1678 confirming that policy. The Coast Council's seed paddy supply complemented the seeds shipment from London on the *Johanna*, with the Coast contributing the paddy variety that the island had no source for in England. The arrangement gave the island the possibility of establishing its own paddy cultivation if conditions allowed. The four different sorts of seed, suitable for sowing at four different seasons, reflected the technical complexity of paddy cultivation. Different paddy varieties were adapted to different sowing seasons and water conditions, and a successful paddy economy required a working understanding of which variety to plant at which time. The Coast Council's enclosure of a paper of directions by each ship gave the Governor and Council the technical guidance needed to attempt the cultivation, with the redundancy of multiple copies ensuring that the directions would survive even if some of the ships failed to arrive. The withholding of experienced Indian paddy workers from the supply, on the advice of the commanders, illustrated the practical limits of the Coast Council's enthusiasm for the venture. The handover records the despatch's direction for cultivation to be attempted on the island and the appointment of experienced persons to instruct planters. The Coast Council had been prepared to send Indian labourers to provide that instruction in paddy cultivation, but had deferred to the practical judgement of the commanders who knew the island. The arrangement showed the company's willingness to commit substantial human resources to its colonial ventures when these were

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			judged practical, and its willingness to defer such commitments when local advice suggested otherwise. The reference to the ground of the island being very stony and the difficulty of conveying sufficient water for paddy cultivation reflected the commanders' working knowledge of the island's terrain. The handover records the geographical character of St Helena as a volcanic island with broken terrain. Paddy required large quantities of water and level ground for flooding, neither of which the island offered in significant measure. The commanders' assessment was probably accurate, although the company chose to continue the experiment by sending seed in the hope that some cultivation might be possible on suitable parcels of land. The 2 butts of Bengal arrack sent on the *Nathaniel* and the *Society* supplied a substantial quantity of the Indian spirit to the island. Arrack was distilled from various ingredients including palm sap, molasses and rice, and was the standard spirit of the Indian Ocean trade. The handover records the substantial brandy supply on the *Johanna* at 565 gallons, and the additional arrack from the Coast added a second spirit type to the island's drink supply. The references to arrack as serviceable in case of attack and for encouraging the men reflected the standard military practice of issuing spirits to soldiers before action. The conditional commitment to further arrack supplies, requiring an order from the Honourable Company before further shipments would be made, reflected the Coast Council's careful approach to extending its supply arrangements. The handover records the standing direction that the Surat and Coast Councils act on orders from the company rather than on initiatives of their own. The Coast Council had sent the two butts on its own judgement, using a surplus from the Bay, but would not commit to further regular supplies without express direction from London. The arrangement preserved the proper hierarchy of authority within the company's Indian Ocean operations. The signatories of the Coast Council letter included Streynsham Master as the first name, identifying him as the senior member of the Coast Council. Joseph Hynmerss, John Bridges, Timothy Wilkes and Richard Mohun followed him. The handover records the Surat Council under Thomas Rolt with Charles James, Caesar Chamberlain, John Child and John Petit. The two Indian station Councils thus represented separate working bodies, each with its own senior personnel, both responding to the same company directions from London regarding the supply of St Helena. The large wooden pestle and mortar on the *Williamson*, supplementing the smaller equipment sent from Surat, suggested that the Coast Council expected the island to need processing capacity for substantial quantities of paddy if cultivation could be established. The handover records the smaller wooden pestle and mortar sent from Surat on the *President*. The two sets of equipment together would give the island both household-scale and larger-scale processing capacity, suited to either limited local production or substantial imported supply. **Speculations** The supply of four different sorts of paddy seed, each suited to a different sowing season, probably represented a deliberate attempt to identify which variety might succeed on the island despite the unfavourable terrain. The Coast Council, while accepting the commanders' negative assessment of the prospects for paddy cultivation, may have hoped that one of the four varieties would prove unexpectedly successful in the specific micro-conditions of one or more parts of the island. The arrangement spread the experimental risk across multiple varieties, with the

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			expectation that even partial success would justify the modest cost of the seed supply. The decision to defer sending experienced Indian paddy workers was probably influenced by the practical and political costs of moving such workers across long distances. The handover records the company's continuing work in establishing the demographic structure of the island, with the family reunion policy and the soldier-to-planter conversion programme. The introduction of Indian agricultural labourers would have added a new demographic element whose long-term status was uncertain. By deferring the question pending further advice, the Coast Council allowed the company in London to consider the implications before committing to the policy. The Bengal arrack supply from a surplus from the Bay reflected the working integration of the three Indian stations of the company. The handover records the despatch's direction for the supply chain from Surat, the Coast and the Bay. The Coast Council's use of a Bay surplus to supply arrack to St Helena demonstrated the working interchange of resources between the Indian stations, with each station drawing on the others when its own supplies fell short or when surpluses were available elsewhere. The arrangement showed the maturity of the company's Indian Ocean operations by 1678. The reference to arrack as useful for encouraging the men in case of attack reflected the standard military practice of issuing spirits to soldiers before action. The handover records the substantial defensive arrangements directed in the despatch of 20 February 1678, including the fortification works, the dispersed magazines, and the planter militia. The arrack supply added a working resource for the morale and combat readiness of the garrison, available to the Governor and Council for distribution as occasion required. The arrangement showed the Coast Council's practical understanding of the conditions of military service on a remote island. The careful framing of the conditions for further arrack supplies, requiring company orders rather than direct Coast Council action, reflected the company's standing concern with maintaining centralised control over its operations. The handover records the company's standing direction that supplies be sent on direct order from London. The Coast Council's willingness to send the present two butts on its own initiative, but only as a one-off using surplus from the Bay, walked the line between practical responsiveness and observance of the proper hierarchy. The arrangement gave the Coast Council credit for practical initiative while preserving the formal authority of the London Court. The composition of the Coast Council, with five named signatories headed by Streynsham Master, indicated a substantial working body at Fort St George. The handover records the standing pattern of company Council membership at the major stations, and the Coast Council's size and composition fitted within that pattern. The seniority of Master as the first signatory pointed to his role as the de facto President of the Coast Council, although the formal title may have varied by station and period. The arrangement gave the Coast Council the working authority needed to handle the practical decisions of station administration, with major policy questions referred to London. The conditional approach to further commitments, both for paddy workers and for arrack, reflected the Coast Council's awareness of the experimental nature of the St Helena venture. The handover records the wide range of experimental policies the company had pursued on the island, including the goat venture, the soldier-to-planter conversion, the seven-year manumission pathway, and the various crop trials. The

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			Coast Council's letter showed the same experimental approach extending to the Indian Ocean supply chain, with arrangements committed for a season at a time and adjusted as practical experience accumulated.
77	90	Fort St George 28th Janu[ar]y 1678 Invoice of Rice and Paddy Laden by y[e] Right Wor[shipfu]ll [Streyn]sham Master Esq[uire] Agent Gou[ernor]: and Councell for y[e] Account of y[e] Honourable Com- pany of Merchants of London Tradeing to y[e] East Indies in & vppon y[e] good Shipp called y[e] Willi[-] amson Burden 600 Tunns or there abouts whereof is Commander for this present [Voi]age Cap[t] [Will]m Bass Bound by the Almighties P[er]mision for y[e] Island of St Hellena, and goes Consigned [to] to y[e] Wor[ship]ll y[e] Gouern[or]: and Councill of St Hellena y[e] P[ar]ticulars and Cost as followeth Vizt Williamson Rice 50 Baggs, each Bagg is 224 mauns Candy 22 8 Maun[ds]	Continuing from the Coast Council's letter on the supply of seed paddy, arrack and processing equipment, the Coast Council issued an invoice for the cargo on the *Williamson*. Dated at Fort St George on 28 January 1679. The invoice of rice and paddy was laden by Streynsham Master, Esquire, Agent Governor, and the Council, for the account of the Honourable Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies. The goods were shipped on the *Williamson*, of about 600 tons burthen, under Captain William Bass, bound by the Almighty's permission for St Helena, and consigned to the Governor and Council of St Helena. Rice, in 50 bags on the *Williamson*. Rice 50 bags, each of 224 maunds, totalling 22 candies 8 maunds **Interpretations** The Coast Council's invoice on the *Williamson* records the practical implementation of the directed shipment of five tons of rice and one ton of paddy on each of the four homeward-bound ships. The handover records the despatch's direction for annual rice and paddy shipments from the Coast, Surat and the Bay, and the Coast Council's letter of 23 January 1679 confirmed the implementation of that direction. The present invoice forms the working document for one of the four ships involved in the supply, supplied with cargo loaded directly from the Coast for delivery to the island. The naming of Streynsham Master as Agent Governor at Fort St George supplied his formal title in the Coast establishment. The handover records the standing pattern of company station administration, with each major station headed by a senior officer with a specific title. The Agent Governor title for Master placed him at the head of the Coast establishment, with the Council members supporting him in the working administration. The arrangement gave the Coast a clear chain of command and a single authoritative voice in correspondence with the company in London and with the other stations. The *Williamson*, at about 600 tons burthen, was of similar size to the *Johanna* recorded earlier in the cargo schedule. The handover records the *Johanna* as a 600-ton ship under Captain Hopefor Bendall. The matching size of the two ships indicated the company's use of vessels of a standard size for its major voyages, with 600 tons representing a working compromise between cargo capacity, manoeuvrability and crew requirements. The route from the Coast back to England via St Helena, like the route from London out to St Helena and on to India, called for ships of this scale. Captain William Bass commanded the *Williamson*. The handover records Captain Bass as one of three named captains in the despatch of 20 February 1678, designated to act as Rear Admiral if he, Captain Chamlet and Captain Slide all lay in the road of St Helena at the same time. The arrangement set in the despatch thus took practical effect through Bass's command of the *Williamson* on the homeward voyage from the Coast. The handover records the company's careful settlement of questions of seniority among captains in advance, and the present invoice confirms that Bass was indeed one of the captains involved in the homeward fleet. The dating of the invoice at 28 January 1679 placed it five days after the Coast Council's covering letter of 23 January 1679. The interval represented the working time between the issue of the policy decision and the production of the detailed invoice for one of the four

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			ships. The handover records the parallel dating arrangements in the company's documentary practice, with covering letters and detailed invoices typically following one another at short intervals. The 50 bags of rice at 224 maunds totalled 22 candies 8 maunds, broadly matching the directed allocation of five tons of rice per ship for the four homeward-bound vessels. The handover records the Coast Council's commitment to send the required quantity, or more, on every ship, and the *Williamson*'s 22 candies 8 maunds approached the directed quantity in Indian weight units. The unit of measurement, in Indian maunds and candies rather than English tons, reflected the local commercial practice at the Coast.
78	91	Fort St Georgde y[e] 28 of Janu[ar]y 1678 Invoyce of Rice and Pady Laden by y[e] Right Wor[shipfu]ll [Streyn]sham Master Esq[uire] Agent Gouern[or] & Councell for Acc[oun]t of y[e] Honourable Companie of Merch[an]ts of London Tradeing to y[e] East Indies in and vpon y[e] good Shipp called y[e] Falcon Burden 640 [Tunns] or there abouts whereof is Commander for this present Voyage Cap[t] Jo: Stafford bound by y[e] Almighties P[er]mission for y[e] Island of St Hellena and goes Cons[ig]ned [...] to y[e] Wor[shi]p[full] the Gou[ernor] and Councell of St Hellena y[e] P[ar]ticulars & Cost as followeth Viz Falcon Rice 30 Baggs of 60 Mu[a]nds of Bengala is C[andy] 0 Maun[ds] 26 which cost in Bengala Rup: 244 4 [...] 1 [...] [...] 10 02 - Rice 30 Baggs each Bagg contines C[andy] 2[...]s C 6: 0: 0 makes Paddy 13 3: 20 each Maund is 14 Measures 27 Mast[er] 3763 at [...] [p] Measures 1 fanam: is fan: ms 76 q[t] which at 32 1/2 fanams for 1 P[a]g[ode] 19 17 3 Double baggs, portridge & Boathire 4 26: - 024 7 3 Paddy 10 Baggs each Bagg q[t] 2 is C[andy] 0: 0: 0 maket Cand[y] 4: 9 Maunds 15 each Maund is 18 Mast[er] is Measures 1620 of 19 Measures for 1 fanam: is fan[am] 124: 4 Cash, w[hi]ch al 35 [p] fanams [p] Pgs 3: 18 Double Baggs portridge & boathire P 1: 21 4 5 12 5[?] Paddy 1 Bagg Seed Paddy called Pancharee q[t] 80 lb is 22: 5 [...] Meal, mas 200 at 11 Mas[ter]s for 1 fanam, amount to Pgs 18 1 Double bagg, portridge & boathire P 0 5 4 1 03 5 Rice 60 Baggs & 11 Baggs Paddy Amounts to Pagodes 36 17 5 Errors Excepted Joseph Hynmers The Rice & Paddy was [Towards] 600 Weight Short of the Reciett or y[e] Bill of Ladeing, except y[e] [...] [fr]ought wanting & soe it is Mentioned in the [...] [..] of May 31th 1679.	Continuing from the *Williamson* invoice, the Coast Council issued a separate invoice for the cargo on the *Falcon*. Dated at Fort St George on 28 January 1679. The invoice of rice and paddy was laden by Streynsham Master, Esquire, Agent Governor, and the Council, for the account of the Honourable Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies. The goods were shipped on the *Falcon*, of about 640 tons burthen, under Captain John Stafford, bound by the Almighty's permission for St Helena, and consigned to the Governor and Council of St Helena. Rice 30 bags of 60 maunds of Bengal, totalling 0 candies 26 maunds Cost in Bengal 244 rupees 4 [...] 1 [...] £10 2s 0d Rice 30 bags, each containing 2 [...], totalling 6 candies, made into paddy weighing 13 candies 3 maunds 20 [...], each maund being 14 measures 3,763 [measures] at [...] per fanam, totalling 76 fanams 1 [...] At 32½ fanams per pagoda £19 17s 3d With double bags, portage and boat hire at 4 fanams 26 [...] £24 7s 3d Paddy 10 bags, each of 2 [...], totalling 4 candies 9 maunds 15 [...], each maund being 18 measures 1,620 measures at 19 measures for 1 fanam, totalling 124 fanams 4 cash At 35 fanams per pagoda £3 18s 0d With double bags, portage and boat hire at 1 fanam 21 [...] £4 5s 12d [...] Paddy 1 bag of seed paddy called pancharee, totalling 80 lb, valued at 22 [...] 5 [...] 200 [measures] at 11 measures for 1 fanam, totalling 18 pagodas 1 [...] With double bag, portage and boat hire at 0 fanams 5 [...] £1 3s 5d Total cargo 60 bags of rice and 11 bags of paddy 36 pagodas 17 [...] 5 [...] Errors excepted. Signed by Joseph Hynmers. A note added that the rice and paddy were about 600 weight short of the receipt or the bill of lading, except for the [...] freight wanting, and that this was mentioned in the [...] of 31 May 1679. **Interpretations** The *Falcon* invoice illustrates the use of multiple currency systems at the Coast station. The cost calculations involved rupees from Bengal, fanams as the principal local Coast currency, pagodas as the higher-denomination unit, and cash as the smaller subdivision. The conversion rates of 32½ fanams per pagoda for one shipment and 35 fanams per pagoda for another reflected the variable rates at which different commodities were valued in the local commercial system. The handover records the use of Indian currency in the Surat invoices, and the present invoice extends the documentary record to the Coast currency system at Fort St George. The 30 bags of Bengal rice represented a separate transaction from the 30 bags of paddy-derived rice and the 10 bags of paddy. The Bengal rice had been purchased in Bengal at a cost of 244 rupees, suggesting that the Coast Council had obtained the higher-quality Bengal rice through inter-station purchase from the Bay station rather than producing it locally. The

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			arrangement showed the working integration of the company's Indian stations, with the Coast purchasing from the Bay to fulfil its St Helena obligation. The handover records the despatch's direction for the Bay to participate in the supply chain to St Helena, and the present arrangement shows that participation working in practice through inter-station trade rather than direct shipment from the Bay. The seed paddy of the pancharee variety, sent as 1 bag of 80 lb, formed part of the experimental cultivation programme described in the Coast Council's letter. The handover records the Coast Council's commitment to send seed paddy on each of the ships, with paper directions for sowing at the different seasons. The pancharee variety thus represented one specific paddy type included in the experimental supply. The relatively small quantity, at 80 lb in a single bag, was sufficient for trial cultivation rather than commercial planting, in line with the experimental character of the scheme. The arithmetic of the *Falcon* invoice records the working accounting practice at the Coast station. The two paddy shipments, derived from the 30 bags converted from rice and the 10 bags loaded directly, together with the 1 bag of seed paddy and the 30 bags of Bengal rice, made up the complete cargo entry. The handover records the standing concern with proper accounting in the despatches, and the Coast Council's invoice followed the standard pattern by stating each component with its quantity, conversion factors, unit price and final sum. Captain John Stafford commanded the *Falcon*. The handover does not record Stafford in the earlier entries, and his name does not appear in the order of precedence for the homeward fleet set in the despatch of 20 February 1678. The arrangement among Chamlet, Slide and Bass therefore did not include Stafford, who probably arrived at the island on a separate occasion or whose seniority among the captains was understood differently. The handover records the company's careful arrangements for managing captain precedence in the road, and Stafford's command of one of the four homeward-bound ships from the Coast added a further captain to the supply network without disturbing the established precedence among the three named captains. The note that the cargo was 600 weight short of the bill of lading, with reference to a document of 31 May 1679, indicated that a shortfall in the actual delivery had been noted and recorded. The handover records the company's standing concern with documentary controls and reconciliation between bills of lading and actual receipts. The note shows that the Coast Council was prepared to acknowledge a discrepancy in writing and to refer to a document that explained it. The reference to May 1679, more than four months after the loading at Fort St George in January, suggests that the discrepancy was identified on arrival at the island and noted in subsequent correspondence. The 640 tons burthen of the *Falcon* placed her among the larger company ships of the period, slightly exceeding the *Williamson* and *Johanna* at 600 tons. The handover records the use of vessels of around 600 tons for the major voyages, and the *Falcon* fitted within that range with a small additional capacity. The variation in tonnage among the ships of the homeward fleet reflected the variety of vessels in the company's service, with each ship's specific tonnage matched to the cargo it was expected to carry. The signing of the invoice by Joseph Hynmers rather than by Streynsham Master, although Master is named as the Agent Governor, parallels the earlier *Williamson* invoice arrangement. The handover records the Coast Council with Master as the senior officer and Hynmers as one of the other Council members. The

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			clerical role of producing the detailed invoice fell to Hynmers, with Master's authority over the cargo recorded in the title rather than the signature. The arrangement allowed for the efficient production of multiple invoices, one for each ship, without requiring the personal signature of the Agent Governor on each. **Speculations** The differing conversion rates of 32½ fanams per pagoda for the rice and 35 fanams per pagoda for the paddy probably reflected the standard practice of differentiating commodity prices by reference to the local currency conventions rather than fixed equivalents. The handover records the standing complexity of the Indian currency systems, with multiple denominations and variable rates between them. The use of two different rates within a single invoice illustrated the technical sophistication of the company's accounting at the Coast station, with each commodity priced according to the convention applicable to its specific market. The decision to purchase rice from Bengal for shipment to St Helena, rather than producing all the rice locally at the Coast, was probably driven by quality considerations and supply availability. Bengal rice was considered superior to Coast rice for many purposes, and the despatch of 23 January 1679 had noted that Coast rice was of a coarser grain than that of Surat or Bengal. By including Bengal rice in the *Falcon* shipment, the Coast Council was supplying the island with a higher-quality grain alongside the local Coast varieties. The arrangement allowed the company to draw on the best available rice from across the Indian Ocean network for the St Helena supply. The shortfall of 600 weight in the *Falcon* cargo, against the bill of lading, may have resulted from any of several causes including loss during loading, breakage of bags during handling, theft, or simple weighing inaccuracy. The handover records the standing concern with proper accounting and the documentary controls established for the storekeeping system. The recording of the shortfall in writing and the reference to a subsequent document of 31 May 1679 illustrated the working practice by which discrepancies were noted and tracked rather than simply absorbed. The arrangement preserved the audit trail and gave Beale and the Council the basis for any future investigation of the cause of the loss. The supply of the pancharee seed paddy as a single 80 lb bag, separately invoiced and priced, gave the experimental cultivation programme a clear identity in the documentary record. The handover records the Coast Council's commitment to send several different varieties of seed paddy on the ships, and the pancharee variety formed part of that supply. By accounting for the seed paddy separately from the food grain, the Coast Council recorded the experimental purpose of the supply and distinguished it from the commercial food supply. The arrangement made it easy for the island administration to identify the seed grain on arrival and to set it aside for cultivation trials rather than for consumption. The naming of Captain John Stafford as commander of the *Falcon* added a new captain to the network of named officers serving the company in the Indian Ocean trade. The handover records the captains involved in the St Helena supply chain, with Chamlet, Slide, Bass, Potter, Legay, Batt and Bendall named in earlier entries. Stafford joins this group as a new entry from the Coast operation. The arrangement of multiple captains across the company's homeward fleet showed the scale of the operation by 1679, with several ships under different commanders running the route from India to England via St Helena each year. The reference to errors excepted in the signing of the invoice represented the standard mercantile

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			disclaimer of the period. The clerk acknowledged that the invoice might contain arithmetic or transcription errors, and reserved the right to correct them on subsequent reconciliation. The handover records the standing concern with proper accounting in the company's documents. The errors-excepted disclaimer protected the Coast Council against any claim of fraud or misrepresentation arising from genuine clerical mistakes, while preserving the integrity of the underlying record. The combination of different currencies and conversion factors in the single invoice illustrated the working complexity of the company's Indian Ocean accounting. The handover records the use of rupees in the Surat invoices and the use of pieces of eight on St Helena. The Coast invoice extends the picture by adding fanams, pagodas and cash as the local currency system, with rupees imported from Bengal as a parallel system. The arrangement required the Coast Council clerks to maintain a working knowledge of multiple currency conventions and conversion rates, and to apply them correctly in producing accurate invoices for shipments to different destinations.
79	92	Fort St George y[e] 28 Janu[ar]y 1678 Invoice of Rice Paddy and Arrack Laden by y[e] Right Worpll y[e] [Streyn]sham Master Esq[uire] Agent & Gou[ernor] and Councill for Acc[oun]t of y[e] Hon[oura]ble Companye of Mer[ch]ants of London trading to y[e] East Indies in and vppon y[e] good Shipp called y[e] Society burden 270 Tunns or there abouts whereof is Commander for this present Voyage Cap[t] [...] Thompson, bound (by y[e] Almighties P[er]mission) for y[e] Island of St Hellena and goes Consigned to the Worp[ipfull] y[e] Gou[ernor] and Councell of St Hellena y[e] [par]ticulars and Cost as followeth Viz Society Arrack 1 Butt w[hich] cost in Bengala Rupees 118[½] at 9 fanams [p] Rupee amounts to Pagodes 29 22 9 Society Rice 30 baggs each bagg is 224[lb] makes Candy 22 8 Maunds each Maund of 115 Measures, is Measures 6173 at 5[..] Measures for 1 fanam is fan: 1145[...] [..] fan[ams] [...] for 1 Pagoda amounts to Pgs 32 - 17 - - B[?] Double baggs, Porteridg & boat hire - 7 31 - - 2 40 12 5 Paddy 40 baggs each bagg q[t] 224[lb] is 8720: 0 - 0 makes Candy 4 8 19 Maunds at 15[lb] each maund for 400 Measures p[er] measure 1620 at 13 Measures for 1 fanam, is fanam 124, 4 Cash at 36 fanams for 1 Pagoda amounts to Pgs 3: 10: 1 Double baggs, Porteridg & boat hire - 1: 20: 4 5 0 25 Paddy 1 Bagg called Pancharee Seed Pady q[t] [lb] 291 - is 62 [...] [...] makes measure 200 at 11 meas[ures] for 1 fanam. Amounts to - - P 0: 10: 1 Double bagg, Porteridg & boat hire - P 0: 5: 4 0 23 5 Arrack 1 Butt, Rice 30 Baggs, Pady 41 Amounts to [...] P 75 26 0 Errors Excepted Joseph Hynmerss.	Continuing from the *Falcon* invoice, the Coast Council issued a separate invoice for the cargo on the *Society*. Dated at Fort St George on 28 January 1679. The invoice of rice, paddy and arrack was laden by Streynsham Master, Esquire, Agent Governor, and the Council, for the account of the Honourable Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies. The goods were shipped on the *Society*, of about 270 tons burthen, under Captain [...] Thompson, bound by the Almighty's permission for St Helena, and consigned to the Governor and Council of St Helena. Arrack 1 butt Cost in Bengal 118½ rupees at 9 fanams per rupee 29 pagodas 22 [...] 9 [...] Rice 30 bags, each of 224 lb, totalling 22 candies 8 maunds, each maund being 115 measures 6,173 measures at 5[...] measures per fanam, totalling 1,145 [...] fanams At [...] fanams per pagoda 32 pagodas 0 [...] 17 [...] With double bags, portage and boat hire at 7 [...] 31 [...] 2 pagodas 40 [...] 12 [...] 5 Paddy 40 bags, each of 224 lb, totalling 8,720 lb, making 4 candies 8 maunds 19 [...] At 15 lb per maund for 400 measures, per measure 1,620, at 13 measures per fanam 124 fanams 4 cash At 36 fanams per pagoda 3 pagodas 10 [...] 1 [...] With double bags, portage and boat hire at 1 [...] 20 [...] 4 pagodas 5 [...] 0 [...] 25 Paddy 1 bag of pancharee seed paddy, weighing 291 lb, totalling 62 [...] 200 measures at 11 measures per fanam 18 pagodas 1 [...] With double bag, portage and boat hire at 5 [...] 0 pagodas 23 [...] 5 [...] Total cargo 1 butt of arrack, 30 bags of rice and 41 bags of paddy 75 pagodas 26 [...] 0 [...] Errors excepted. Signed by Joseph Hynmerss. **Interpretations** The *Society* invoice records the third of the four homeward-bound ships from the Coast carrying supplies to St Helena. The handover records the Coast Council's commitment to send rice and paddy on each of the four ships, with the *Williamson*, the *Falcon* and the *Society* recorded in successive invoices. The Coast Council's commitment to the supply scheme is illustrated by the careful production of separate invoices for each ship rather than a combined document, with each invoice giving the Governor and Council of St Helena a complete record of the cargo received from each vessel. The smaller size of the *Society* at 270 tons burthen, against the 600 tons of the *Williamson* and the 640 tons of the *Falcon*, indicated the variety of vessels in the company's homeward fleet. The handover records the use of ships of varying sizes for different routes and

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			cargoes, and the *Society*'s smaller capacity reflected her use for cargo of more modest scale. Even so, the *Society* carried 30 bags of rice, 41 bags of paddy and 1 butt of arrack, making her contribution to the St Helena supply substantial in relation to her tonnage. The butt of Bengal arrack on the *Society* matched the directed shipment of two butts mentioned in the Coast Council's letter, one of which was sent on the *Nathaniel* and the other on the *Society*. The handover records the Coast Council's letter referring to the arrack as serviceable in case of attack and for encouraging the men. The arrack on the *Society* therefore formed part of the practical supply for the morale and combat readiness of the garrison directed by the Coast Council. The cost of the Bengal arrack at 118½ rupees, converted to fanams and then to pagodas at 9 fanams per rupee, illustrated the working currency conversion practice at the Coast station. The Bengal price in rupees was converted to the Coast accounting unit of pagodas via the intermediate fanam unit, producing a value of 29 pagodas 22 [...] 9 [...] for the single butt. The handover records the use of multiple currency systems in the Indian Ocean trade, and the present invoice continues that documentation by adding the rupee-to-fanam conversion to the existing record of fanam, pagoda and cash relationships. The 30 bags of rice on the *Society*, totalling 22 candies 8 maunds, matched the quantity carried on the *Williamson* and indicated that the Coast Council was applying a standard allocation across the ships. The handover records the directed five tons of rice per ship, and the matching quantities on the *Williamson* and the *Society* confirmed the consistency of the Coast Council's implementation. The variation in price between the rice on the *Falcon* and the rice on the *Society* reflected the different sources of rice rather than different quantities. The 40 bags of paddy on the *Society*, against the 10 bags on the *Falcon*, indicated that the paddy distribution across the ships was not as even as the rice distribution. The handover records the directed one ton of paddy per ship, and the *Society* significantly exceeded that quantity while the *Falcon* fell short. The arrangement may have reflected practical loading considerations at the Coast, with the larger ships taking smaller paddy loads and the smaller ships compensating with larger paddy loads to balance the overall supply. The pancharee seed paddy of 1 bag at 291 lb on the *Society*, against 80 lb on the *Falcon*, showed a similar variation in the experimental seed supply. The Coast Council's commitment to send seed paddy on each ship was applied with different quantities, perhaps reflecting the availability of seed at the time of loading or the priority assigned to each ship for the experimental supply. The arrangement maintained the principle of dispersed shipment while adjusting the quantities to the practical circumstances of each loading. The signing of the invoice by Joseph Hynmerss, here spelled with the s where the earlier *Falcon* invoice gave Hynmers without the s, indicated the variability of spelling in seventeenth-century documents. The handover records the standing pattern of company clerical practice, with names often appearing in different forms across documents from the same period. The Hynmers/Hynmerss variation falls within the normal range of seventeenth-century spelling and does not indicate a different person. The naming of Captain [...] Thompson as commander of the *Society*, with the first name illegible in the manuscript, added a new captain to the homeward fleet. The handover records the captains involved in the St Helena supply chain. Captain Thompson on the *Society* joins this group as a further captain whose first name cannot be confidently reconstructed from the visible text.

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			The total cargo value of 75 pagodas 26 [...] 0 [...] represented a substantial supply for a single ship, particularly for one of only 270 tons burthen. The handover records the careful pattern of accounting for company shipments, and the working invoice for the *Society* confirms the consistency of that practice across the Coast operation. **Speculations** The use of a smaller ship like the *Society* in the homeward fleet may have reflected the practical realities of fitting cargo to available vessels. The handover records the four-ship homeward fleet from the Coast, and the inclusion of a 270-ton vessel alongside the larger ships allowed the Coast Council to use whatever shipping capacity was available rather than waiting for ships of uniform size. The arrangement showed the flexibility of the company's operations, with the supply requirements being met by the actual available shipping rather than by an idealised fleet composition. The distribution of the experimental seed paddy across the four ships, with varying quantities, was probably driven by the availability of seed at the time of loading each ship. The Coast Council had committed to send seed paddy on each of the four ships but may have had limited stocks of each variety, requiring it to allocate what was available across the available shipping. The arrangement maintained the principle of dispersed shipment, with the experimental supply protected against single-ship loss, while adjusting the quantities to the actual seed availability. The pricing of the arrack at 29 pagodas 22 [...] 9 [...] for a single butt, against grain cargoes of similar value totalling many bags, illustrated the relative value of distilled spirits in the Indian Ocean trade. The handover records the substantial brandy supply on the *Johanna* at 565 gallons, and the arrack from the Coast represented a smaller but more valuable supplement to the spirits available on the island. The single butt of arrack per ship, against substantial bag counts of rice and paddy, reflected the higher unit value of the arrack and the careful management of its supply. The conversion rate of 9 fanams per rupee, applied to the Bengal arrack price, may have reflected the standard exchange rate between the two currency systems at the time of the invoice. The handover records the use of rupees in the Surat documents and pagodas in the Coast documents. The conversion rate gave the Coast Council a basis for valuing imports from Bengal in the local currency of the Coast, and the consistency of the rate would have been essential for accurate accounting across the company's stations. The systematic structure of the four-ship homeward shipment, with separate invoices for each ship and consistent overall quantities of rice across the ships, demonstrated the maturity of the company's Indian Ocean supply chain by 1679. The handover records the standing pattern of multi-source provisioning to St Helena, and the *Society* invoice illustrates one of the working components of that pattern. The arrangement ensured that the directed supply was delivered through multiple channels, with each ship contributing to the cumulative supply received at the island. The pancharee seed paddy variety, named in both the *Falcon* and *Society* invoices but probably representing only one of the four varieties referred to in the Coast Council's covering letter, suggested that the seed supply across all four ships covered the full set of varieties suited to the four sowing seasons of the year. The handover records the experimental cultivation programme, and the seed supply across the four ships represented the practical implementation of that programme, with each ship carrying seed sufficient for trial cultivation of one or more varieties.

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80	93	Fort St George y[e] 30 of Iani 1678 Invoice of Arrack Rice & Paddy laden by [...] [...] & ffreeman Matt Gray Esquire [...] [...] & Councill for Acco[un]t of the Hon[bl]e Company of M[er]ch[an]ts of London tradeing to ye East Indies in [...] [...] the Shipp called the Iohanna Burden 770 Tunns o[r] [...] [...] [...] [...] whereof is Comma[n]der for this present Voi[age] Capt William [Hannan] bound by [the] Almigh[t]ys [...] [...] [...] the Island of St Hellena, and now Consigned to the Wor[shi]pfull the Gov[er]no[r] & Councell in St Holena the Particulers & Cost as followeth Vizt Iohanna Arrack for 1 Butt of Bengala Arrack Cost Rupees 118 [...] which at 9 fanams [p] Rupee amounts to Pagodes 29 31 3 Rice 30 Baggs Bengala Rice contain[in]g 60 Bengala Maund which at 7 [...] [p] Maund makes C 4 [...] 4 - 20 - [...] [purshased] their at Rupees 244 4 [...] each Rupee Valued here at 9 fanams Amounts to P 6 02 - Nathaniel Riese 30 Baggs Madras Rice each bagg confines C 2 [...] 4 0 0 makes Candy 13 3 Maunds & 20 [...] each Maund is 14 Measures, is Measures 3763 att 5 [...] Measures for 1 fanam is fan: 692 at f 3[2] 4 [pri]s. Pagodes 19. 17. 3 double baggs portridge & Boathire 4 26 - 0 24 07 3 Paddy for 10 baggs each Bagg q[t] 224 [lb] is [...] 0 [...] 0 [...] makes Candy 4 - 9 Maund[s] & 15 [...] each Maund is 18 Measur[es] is Measures 1620 at 13 Measures for 1 fanam, is fanams 124 4 Cash, which at f anams 36 [p] [...] Pagodo makes P 3: 18: 1 Double bagg, portridg & boat hire P 1: 20: 4 05 02 [...] Paddy for 1 Bagg Seed Paddy called [Pancha]m ta confiamed [-] 291 lb is 62 [...] 2 [...] which contines Measures 200 at 11 Measures for 1 fanam Amounts to P 0: 18: 1 Measures for 1 fanam Amounts to P 0: 05: 04 double baggs, portridge & Boat hire 0 23 5 Arrack 1 Butt, 60 Baggs Rice, & 11 Baggs of Paddy Amountts Pagodes 65 31 5 Errors Excepted Ioseph Hynmerss The Rice & Paddy Wanted about 200 W[eight] of this Inv[oi]ce, & the much was Mentioned in y[e] Reciept on the Bill of Lading, but not in the [...] [...] We sent by the Iohanna [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] 1679. Also [...] [...] of the Butt of arrack was Wanting as Menconed in the Reciept.	Continuing from the *Society* invoice, the Coast Council issued a further invoice for the cargo on the *Nathaniel*. The manuscript identifies the ship as the *Johanna* in places and as the *Nathaniel* in the margin, with internal inconsistencies suggesting a transcription error in the original. The vessel concerned was the *Nathaniel*, as identified in the Coast Council's earlier letter on the supply of arrack to St Helena. Dated at Fort St George on 30 January 1678. The invoice of arrack, rice and paddy was laden by [...] Matthias Gray, Esquire, and the Council, for the account of the Honourable Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies. The goods were shipped on the *Nathaniel*, of about 770 tons burthen, under Captain William Hannan, bound by the Almighty's permission for St Helena, and consigned to the Governor and Council of St Helena. Arrack 1 butt of Bengal arrack Cost 118 rupees at 9 fanams per rupee 29 pagodas 31 [...] 3 [...] Rice 30 bags of Bengal rice containing 60 Bengal maunds At 7 [...] per maund totalling 4 candies 4 maunds 20 [...] Purchased at 244 rupees 4 [...] each rupee valued at 9 fanams 6 pagodas 2 [...] 0 [...] Rice 30 bags of Madras rice, each containing 2 [...], totalling 13 candies 3 maunds 20 [...] Each maund being 14 measures 3,763 measures at 5 [...] measures per fanam, totalling 692 fanams At 32 fanams 4 [...] per pagoda 19 pagodas 17 [...] 3 [...] With double bags, portage and boat hire at 4 [...] 26 [...] 24 pagodas 7 [...] 3 [...] Paddy 10 bags, each of 224 lb, totalling 4 candies 9 maunds 15 [...] Each maund being 18 measures, totalling 1,620 measures at 13 measures per fanam 124 fanams 4 cash At 36 fanams per pagoda 3 pagodas 18 [...] 1 [...] With double bag, portage and boat hire at 1 [...] 20 [...] 5 pagodas 2 [...] Paddy 1 bag of pancharee seed paddy Weighing 291 lb, totalling 62 [...] 2 [...] Containing 200 measures at 11 measures per fanam 0 pagodas 18 [...] 1 [...] With double bag, portage and boat hire at 5 [...] 4 [...] 0 pagodas 23 [...] 5 [...] Total cargo 1 butt of arrack, 60 bags of rice and 11 bags of paddy 65 pagodas 31 [...] 5 [...] Errors excepted. Signed by Joseph Hynmerss. A note added that the rice and paddy were about 200 weight short of the invoice. This shortfall had been mentioned in the receipt on the bill of lading, but not in the [...] sent by the *Johanna* of [...] 1679. A shortfall was also noted in the butt of arrack, as mentioned in the receipt. **Interpretations** The *Nathaniel* invoice completes the documentation of the four-ship homeward fleet from the Coast carrying supplies to St Helena. The handover records the Coast Council's commitment to send rice and paddy on each of the four ships, with the *Williamson*, the *Falcon*, the *Society* and now the *Nathaniel* recorded in successive invoices. The Coast Council's commitment to the supply scheme is illustrated by the careful production of separate invoices for each ship, giving the Governor and Council of St Helena a complete documentary record of the cargoes received. The *Nathaniel* at 770 tons burthen was the largest of the four ships, exceeding the *Falcon* at 640 tons, the *Williamson* at 600 tons and the *Society* at 270 tons. The handover records the use of vessels of varying sizes for different routes and cargoes, and the *Nathaniel*'s larger capacity allowed her to carry a substantial cargo of arrack, rice and paddy alongside her other homeward freight. The variation in ship sizes across the homeward fleet reflected the practical realities of the company's shipping operations, with each available vessel pressed into service for the supply mission. The dating of the invoice at 30 June 1678 differs significantly from the January 1679 dates of the

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			Williamson, *Falcon* and *Society* invoices. The earlier date probably reflects a separate loading at a different stage of the season, with the *Nathaniel* departing on her homeward voyage well before the January 1679 sailings of the other three ships. The handover records the company's homeward voyage cycle, with ships typically loading in the dry season and sailing on the favourable winds. The June 1678 loading suggests that the *Nathaniel* was on an earlier section of the same overall supply scheme, perhaps as the first ship of the homeward fleet to leave the Coast. The signature of Matthias Gray, identified as the senior member of the Coast Council at the time of the *Nathaniel* invoice, indicated a change of personnel at the Coast station between June 1678 and January 1679. The handover records Streynsham Master as the senior officer at the Coast in the later invoices. The change from Gray to Master across the months of 1678 reflected the rotation of senior officers at the Coast station, with each having issued their own invoices during their period of authority. The arrangement showed the working continuity of the Coast operation across changes of personnel. The arrack supply to the *Nathaniel*, recorded as 1 butt of Bengal arrack at 118 rupees, matched the Coast Council's letter recording the two butts of arrack sent to St Helena. The handover records the Coast Council's reference to the *Nathaniel* and the *Society* as the two ships carrying the arrack. The *Nathaniel* invoice now confirms the practical implementation of the supply, with the butt loaded on the *Nathaniel* for the same purpose of serving the morale and combat readiness of the garrison. The 60 bags of rice on the *Nathaniel*, split between 30 bags of Bengal rice and 30 bags of Madras rice, gave the island a double supply on a single ship. The handover records the directed five tons of rice per ship, and the *Nathaniel*'s combined supply across two sources approximately doubled that quantity. The arrangement may have reflected the larger capacity of the *Nathaniel* compared with the other ships, with the additional space being used for an enhanced supply rather than left empty. The note that the rice and paddy were about 200 weight short of the invoice, mentioned in the receipt on the bill of lading, paralleled the similar note on the *Falcon* invoice of a 600 weight shortfall. The handover records the standing concern with proper accounting and documentary reconciliation. The repeated occurrence of shortfalls across the Coast cargoes suggested either a systematic discrepancy between the loading and unloading weighing systems, or a recurring pattern of losses in transit. The recording of the shortfalls in the receipts and the references to subsequent correspondence preserved the audit trail and allowed for any future investigation. The reference to a shortfall in the butt of arrack added a further dimension to the documentary record. The handover records the standing concern with proper measurement of liquids, and the shortfall in the arrack butt indicated either a partial loss in transit or a discrepancy between the loaded and delivered quantities. The arrangement of recording the discrepancy in the receipt followed the same pattern as the rice and paddy shortfalls, preserving the record of the practical limits of the supply chain. The accounting structure of the *Nathaniel* invoice followed the same pattern as the earlier Coast invoices, with separate entries for each commodity and conversion through the multi-tier currency system. The handover records the working complexity of the Coast accounting practice, and the *Nathaniel* invoice continued that practice with consistent application of the conversion factors. The total of 65 pagodas 31 [...] 5 [...] for the complete cargo represented a substantial value,

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			although less than the *Society*'s total of 75 pagodas 26 [...] 0 [...], reflecting the different mix of cargoes. Captain William Hannan commanded the *Nathaniel*. The handover does not record Hannan in the earlier entries, although the *Nathaniel* itself appears as the ship that had brought Edward Wynni from London via Surat to St Helena in 1676. Hannan therefore joined the group of named captains in the company's Indian Ocean trade as a new entry on the present voyage of the *Nathaniel*. The arrangement of multiple captains across the company's homeward fleet continued to expand as the supply chain matured. **Speculations** The double rice supply on the *Nathaniel*, with 30 bags each of Bengal and Madras rice, was probably driven by the larger capacity of the ship and the availability of both rice types at the time of loading. The handover records the company's standing practice of differentiated supply, and the inclusion of two rice varieties on a single ship gave the island a wider choice of grain on receipt. The arrangement may also have served as a comparison test, with the two varieties stored separately on the island and assessed for keeping quality and acceptance among the inhabitants. The earlier dating of the *Nathaniel* invoice at June 1678, against the January 1679 dates of the other three ships, may have reflected the *Nathaniel*'s earlier departure schedule or a separate loading event. The handover records the *Nathaniel* as the ship that had carried Edward Wynni from London to St Helena in 1676, and the present voyage represented a return to St Helena on the homeward route. The earlier loading date suggests that the *Nathaniel* may have made multiple voyages or operated on a different schedule from the other ships of the homeward fleet. The change in senior personnel at the Coast Council between Matthias Gray on the *Nathaniel* invoice and Streynsham Master on the later invoices indicated the working rotation of officers in the company's Indian operations. The handover records the standing pattern of company station administration, with senior officers serving terms of varying lengths. The change from Gray to Master across the months of 1678 fitted within the normal pattern of personnel rotation, with the Coast Council continuing its operations under the new senior officer without disruption to the supply mission to St Helena. The recurring shortfalls in the Coast shipments, with 600 weight on the *Falcon* and 200 weight on the *Nathaniel*, raised questions about the practical reliability of the Coast supply chain. The handover records the company's strict accounting controls and the standing concern with proper documentation. The repeated occurrence of shortfalls, recorded in the receipts but referred to subsequent correspondence for resolution, suggested that the Coast operation had not yet established a fully reliable measurement system. The arrangement maintained the documentary integrity through written acknowledgement of the discrepancies, while leaving the underlying causes for future investigation. The naming of the ship as the *Johanna* in the body of the invoice, while the margin and the actual cargo destination identify her as the *Nathaniel*, illustrated the working risk of clerical errors in seventeenth-century documents. The handover records the *Johanna* as the London-supplied ship on the February 1678 voyage to St Helena under Captain Hopefor Bendall, and the *Nathaniel* as a separate ship in the Indian Ocean trade. The confusion in the present invoice may have resulted from clerical error, with the clerk inadvertently writing the more familiar ship name when intending the actual ship. The Coast Council's notation by Hynmerss's signature would have validated the underlying transaction notwithstanding the textual confusion.

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			The pancharee seed paddy on the *Nathaniel*, recorded at 291 lb in 1 bag, matched the quantity on the *Society* and exceeded the 80 lb on the *Falcon*. The handover records the experimental cultivation programme directed in the Coast Council's letter. The variation in seed paddy quantities across the ships reflected the practical realities of seed availability, with the larger quantities on the *Nathaniel* and *Society* perhaps representing the bulk of the available pancharee seed for the year's experimental cultivation programme. The total value of the four Coast invoices, when combined, gave the company a substantial commitment of resources to the St Helena supply mission. The handover records the despatch's direction for annual rice and paddy shipments from the Coast, and the four ships of 1678 to 1679 collectively delivered the directed supply with additional cargoes of arrack and experimental seed paddy. The arrangement showed the practical implementation of the despatch's directions on a scale appropriate to the directed annual contribution, with each ship adding its share to the cumulative supply received at the island.
81	94	Our Governor & Council at St Helena London 8th November 1678 1 Our last unto you was Dated y[e] 19 of March 1677 Sent by the Iohannah, In which went Major John Blackmore, whom wee appoynted Govr of o[u]r Island in y[e] roome of Capt Gregory ffield and in that Letter sent You Direccons at large for y[e] Security & good Govrnm[en]t of that Place; & what else relates unto o[u]r man[a]gem[en]t of affayres there; unto which Wee expect a due & punctuall Compl[i]ance since which Wee have Recieved Yo[u]rs of the 6th of March 1677 by the Golden ffleece, & of y[e] 13th of May 1678 by y[e] George & Anne And take Notice, of the great want you were in of Provisions, which o[u]r demand & Supplyed you with, but doe much Wonder that in all this time the Inhabitants have not bin able to raise themselves a Sufficient Store of Provisions from thier Plantacons which doubtless might have bin raised had they employed themselves with Industry therein; Wee hope y[e] experience & Care of o[u]r present Governor will putt them for y[e] future upon a better way of husban-dry for the improveing of y[e] Grounds aloted to them, for they cannot reasonably expect to be alwaies Supplyed from o[u]r Shipping as hitherto, considering the Large Supplies that have bin lately sent you The Monyes you tooke up of Cap[t] Power, & his P[ur]sr Cap[t] North & Cap[t] Andrews by Bills of Exchange being - 140 5: 0 Wee have paid them, but doe require that for y[e] future you be very spareing [in] charging us with any money in that kinde but in cases of Extraordinary Exegency, and in no one yeare to exceed y[e] Sum of One hundred Pounds in the Whole. 3 What you wrote concerning John Saward the Hambourghs Wee found to bee true, for he came home on y[e] Golden ffleece & alledged that being overtaken in Drinck on board that Shipp when she left Iayle he was unwittingly brought from thence, Wee three- fore out of Compassion to him at a Stranger gave him sixe Pounds to carry him into his own Countrey, which is to bee Charged upon y[e] Cattle & Stock he left on his Plantation, & must bee made good to us thereout. 4 Wee haveing received a Letter from M[r] John Wynn our Chayplain desireing to come for England, Wee thinck fitt to grant his Desire, and you may order him a Passage upon the first of our Shipping that comes for Europe, and acquaint him that wee have paid M[r]s Harbyn for his use the Sum of Seventy five pounds You are allsoe to permitt Lieut Ionath Tyler Joseph Smith a Soldier & John Niles a Seaman to take their	By the company's despatch to the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated London, 8 November 1678. 1 The company's previous letter to the island had been dated 19 March 1678 and sent by the *Johanna*, on which Major John Blackmore had travelled to take up the governorship in place of Captain Gregory Field. That earlier letter had given full directions for the security and good government of the island and for the management of company affairs. The company expected punctual compliance with those directions. Since that letter, the company had received two letters from the Council. The first was dated 6 March 1678 and had come by the *Golden Fleece*, the second was dated 13 May 1678 and had come by the *George and Anne*. The company noted the great want of provisions reported in those letters, which the company had supplied on demand. The company nevertheless wondered that the inhabitants had not yet been able to raise enough provisions from their plantations to support themselves, since with proper industry they could have done so. The company hoped that the experience and care of Blackmore as Governor would now lead the inhabitants to better husbandry and to the improvement of the ground allotted to them. The inhabitants could not reasonably expect to be supplied indefinitely from company shipping, given the large supplies that had recently been sent. 2 The Council had drawn money on the company by bills of exchange from Captain Power, his purser, Captain North and Captain Andrews, totalling £140 5s 0d. The company had paid the bills but required strict restraint in future. No further bills of exchange were to be drawn except in cases of extraordinary necessity, and the total drawn in any one year was not to exceed £100 0s 0d. 3 The Council's report on John Saward the Hamburgher had proved true. Saward had returned to England on the *Golden Fleece*. He claimed that he had been drunk on board when the ship left her last port of call, and that he had been brought away unwittingly. Out of compassion for him as a foreigner, the company had given him £6 0s 0d to enable him to return to his own country. The sum was to be charged against the cattle and stock he had left on his plantation, and recovered out of those assets for the company. 4 Mr John Wynn, the company's chaplain on the island, had written to the company asking for leave to return to England. The company granted his request.

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		Passage for England these haveing been application made to us by their Relations on their behalfes. Wee **Margin Notes:** 1 Wee have rec[eive]d yo[u]r Letters and taken Notice of y[e] great want of provicion[s] you were in; 2 In case of Exigency [draw] not above £100 [...] [annum] 3 That you wrote concerning John [Sa]ward we found [to] be true 4 M[r] Wynn to have leave to returne for England [Li]eutent[an]t Tyler & Ioseph Smith a Sould[ier] & John Niles a Sea- man to have a Sea[t] to goe home	Wynn was to be given passage on the first company ship returning to Europe. He was also to be told that the company had paid £75 0s 0d to Mrs Harbyn for his use. The Council was also to permit Lieutenant Jonathan Tyler, Joseph Smith a soldier, and John Niles a seaman to take passage for England. Each of these returns was granted on the application of their relations to the company in London. **Interpretations** The despatch opens the company's correspondence cycle for the year ahead by anchoring the directions to the *Johanna* despatch of 19 March 1678. The handover records that the *Johanna* had carried the despatch of 20 February 1678, but the present letter refers to a despatch of 19 March 1678. The handover also records the *Johanna*'s invoice of 20 March 1678. The date of 19 March 1678 may refer to a final closing despatch or the dated signing of the package as a whole, with the 20 February letter forming the principal document and the 20 March invoice the accompanying schedule. The present despatch treats the *Johanna* package as a single unified communication and expects full compliance. The company's note on the great want of provisions, contrasted with the large supplies sent and the recurring complaint about the inhabitants' insufficient industry, continues a standing theme in the company's correspondence with the island. The handover records the escalating sanctions on the self-sufficiency policy, from encouragement in 1673 to the threat of deportation for declared idlers in 1676. The present despatch repeats the standing complaint but in a more measured form, with the company hoping that Blackmore's care will improve husbandry rather than threatening further sanctions. The change in tone may reflect the company's awareness that the change of Governor had only recently taken effect, and that the new administration needed time to take hold. The strict limit of £100 0s 0d per year on bills of exchange drawn on the company represents a significant tightening of the policy on remote financial transactions. The handover records the *Johanna* despatch's flat prohibition on drawing bills of exchange. The present despatch effectively relaxes that prohibition by permitting bills in cases of extraordinary necessity, while imposing a strict annual ceiling. The arrangement gave the Council a controlled emergency facility for unavoidable London expenditure, while preventing the kind of accumulation of debts that had given the company reason to complain about Captain Keynion's earlier bills of £10 1s 9d. The Saward affair illustrates the working interaction between the island administration and the London Court on matters of individual hardship. The handover records the family reunion policy and the granting of free passage as standing elements of the company's settlement strategy. The Saward case extends the pattern to a case of unintended departure, where a man brought away from the island without intention was given the means to return home. The recovery of the £6 0s 0d from the cattle and stock he had left on his plantation followed the standard accounting practice, with company expenditure on behalf of an individual recoverable from his assets on the island. The grant of leave to John Wynn as chaplain on his own application repeats the pattern recorded in the handover for Edward Wynni. The handover records Edward Wynni as the second Minister of St Helena, engaged in 1676 at £50 salary and £50 gratuity per annum. The reference to John Wynn as the chaplain in the present despatch probably indicates the same man, with the spelling variation falling within the normal range of seventeenth-century practice. The payment of £75 0s 0d to Mrs Harbyn for his use suggests that Wynn was supporting a dependant in London through

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			the company's London accounts, in the same pattern as Beale's arrangements with Ursula Williams and Robert Bell's wife. The further grants of leave to Lieutenant Jonathan Tyler, Joseph Smith and John Niles confirm the family and friends' influence on personnel decisions identified in the handover. The handover records the standing pattern by which applications by relations in London led to grants of leave for individuals on the island, citing Mrs Field, Lapineet and Graston, and Hull as earlier examples. The present grants extend the pattern to a lieutenant, a soldier and a seaman, showing the breadth of the practice across different ranks. The handover records Jonathan Tyler as one of the two lieutenants of the soldier companies and as a Council member appointed by the commission of 20 February 1678. His leave represents a significant change in the senior personnel on the island, since he had been a key element of the new establishment under Blackmore. The arrival of the Council's letters by the *Golden Fleece* and the *George and Anne* illustrates the multiple channels of correspondence between the island and London. The handover records the various ships involved in the island's communications, with the *Golden Fleece* identified as carrying the company's despatch to the island of 6 April 1677. The same ship has now returned to London with the Council's letter of 6 March 1678. The *George and Anne* appears as a new vessel in the documentary record, having brought the Council's letter of 13 May 1678. The arrangement showed the working pattern of multi-ship communication, with letters and supplies travelling in both directions on whichever ships were available. **Speculations** The decision to relax the prohibition on bills of exchange, while imposing a £100 0s 0d annual ceiling, was probably driven by practical experience with the strict prohibition. The handover records the *Johanna* despatch's flat prohibition, but the present despatch indicates that the Council had drawn £140 5s 0d in bills on multiple captains. The company had paid the bills despite the prohibition, perhaps recognising that the Council had drawn them in genuine necessity. The £100 0s 0d ceiling provided a working compromise, allowing the Council to handle unavoidable London expenditure while keeping the total controlled. The arrangement showed the company's pragmatic response to the limits of long-distance administrative control. The change in tone on the provisioning question, with disappointment expressed but no fresh sanctions imposed, was probably calibrated to allow Blackmore time to establish his authority. The handover records the soldier-to-planter conversion policy and the standing direction for the inhabitants to raise their own provisions. The new Governor had been on the island for only a few months by the time the despatch was drafted, and immediate fresh sanctions would have undermined his ability to manage the situation. By restating the policy in measured terms and expressing hope rather than threat, the company gave Blackmore a working position from which to drive the agricultural improvements the despatch directed. The Saward case raised a small but interesting question about the company's policy on involuntary departure from the island. The handover records the family reunion policy and the standard grants of leave for soldiers and seamen with relations in London. The Saward case represented an unusual variant, with a man brought away from the island against his will being given the means to return to his own country rather than to England. The recovery of the £6 0s 0d from his plantation assets ensured that the company bore no permanent cost, but the willingness to assist a foreigner in distress showed a degree of practical compassion in the company's administration.

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			The grant of leave to Lieutenant Tyler was particularly significant given his role on the island. The handover records Tyler as one of the two lieutenants of the soldier companies and as a Council member. His departure would have left a vacancy in both capacities. The company in London apparently considered the application by his relations sufficient to override the practical disruption of his loss. The arrangement may have reflected either a genuine personal need on his part, or a recognition that the family pressure in London was sufficient to make his retention impractical. Whatever the cause, the grant showed the working influence of family connections on personnel decisions even in cases where the practical loss to the administration was significant. The payment of £75 0s 0d to Mrs Harbyn for Wynn's use, made before any explicit request from Wynn for the payment, suggested an established arrangement between Wynn and Mrs Harbyn that the company was supporting through its London accounts. The handover records the pattern of remittance arrangements for company officers serving overseas, with payments to relatives or other recipients in London charged against the officer's accumulated wages. Wynn's arrangement fitted within that pattern, with Mrs Harbyn perhaps being a relation, a creditor, or a household member dependent on Wynn for support. The arrival of letters from the Council by both the *Golden Fleece* and the *George and Anne* across the first half of 1678 illustrated the steady flow of correspondence between the island and London. The handover records the established channels of communication and the various ships involved. The pattern of two separate letters from the Council within a few months of each other, the first by 6 March 1678 and the second by 13 May 1678, suggested either that the Council was sending regular letters at frequent intervals, or that two separate matters of importance had arisen requiring separate communications. The company's careful acknowledgement of both letters and identification of the carrying ships preserved the documentary chain of communication.
82	95	5 Wee are troubled to hear That there should bee so much Disorder amongst those in Council & others, but hope the same hath been by this time throughly examined, & things brought to a better regulation, of which Wee shall expect a P[ar]ticuler accomp[t]. 6 And consideeing how troublesome the times are like to bee, & not knowing how affaires may stand betwen y[e] Kings Ma[jes]ties & other European Nations before these come to hand Wee effectually recomend unto yo[u] Cap[t] the Necessary fortifyi[ng] of y[e] Island, & guarding all the Avenues by which any approach may bee made unto it; And keeping y[e] Inhabitants Sober And temperate, And in Case of the appearance of an Enemy, you doe Strictly prohibitt, the Makeing of any ffire on the Island by Day of Signal, for as Wee understand by the Hambourgher in the Surrender made thereof by the Deetch[?] The ffyres gave them great Advantage, as like- wise the Intemperancy of y[e] Inhabitants many of them being foun[d] dru[n]ck upon the Guards. And soe comitting you to the guidance & Protection of y[e] Almighty, We remaine Wee shall by y[e] first Opportunity take care to Supply you with another Chaplain in y[e] roome of M[r] Wynne, and hope till then he will continue with you, if it may stand with his conveniency. Your Loveing ffriends John Moore Nathaniell Herne Gov[ernor] John Letheullier	5 The company was troubled to hear of so much disorder among the Council members and other inhabitants. It hoped that by the time the despatch arrived the matter would have been examined and brought to better regulation. The company would expect a particular account of the affair. 6 The times being likely to prove troublesome, and the company not yet knowing how matters stood between the King's Majesty and other European nations by the time the despatch reached the island, the company strongly recommended to Blackmore the necessary fortifying of the island and the guarding of all avenues by which any approach might be made. The inhabitants were to be kept sober and temperate. In case of the appearance of an enemy, the making of any fire on the island by day as a signal was strictly forbidden. The company had learnt from the Hamburgher that during the Dutch surrender of the island the fires had given the Dutch a great advantage. The intemperance of the inhabitants had also worked against them, with many found drunk on guard duty. The company committed the Governor and Council to the guidance and protection of the Almighty. The company would by the first opportunity supply another chaplain in place of Mr Wynne. It hoped that Wynne would remain on the island until then, if this suited his convenience. The despatch was signed John Moore, Nathaniel Herne as Governor, John Letheullier, Charles Thorold, Thomas Tomson as Deputy, Edward Rudge, Daniel

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		Charles Thorold Tho[mas] Tomson Deputy Edward Rudge Daniell Sheldon John Bathurst Math[ew] Letten Tho[mas] Canham Christ Boone John Cleske John Paige Gemery Sambrooke Vera Copia concerdat cum Originali [per] Stephan Legge **Margin Notes:** 5 Wee are troubled there should be so much dis- order amongst these of Councell 6 Wee Effechually reco mend unto you the ffortifying of y[e] Island	Sheldon, John Bathurst, Matthew Letten, Thomas Canham, Christopher Boone, John Cleske, John Paige and Gemery Sambrooke. A true copy was certified by Stephen Legge. **Interpretations** The reference to disorder among Council members continued the theme already raised in the despatch of 20 February 1678. The handover records that the earlier despatch had directed Blackmore and the Council to settle internal disputes by examination and to administer justice on just complaint. The present despatch's measured response, expressing trouble and expecting a particular account rather than imposing immediate sanctions, fitted the pattern of the company allowing Blackmore time to bring order to the administration. The reference to others alongside the Council members suggested that the disputes had widened beyond the senior officers and now affected the wider inhabitant population. The defensive instructions reflected the company's awareness of an unsettled European political situation. The handover records the despatch of 20 February 1678 with its standing directions for keeping watch on foreign ships, restricting access ashore and maintaining sentries on the hills. The present despatch added a new and specific direction, the prohibition on daytime signal fires in case of enemy approach. The arrangement drew on the Hamburgher's account of the original Dutch capture of the island, by which fires had given the Dutch valuable intelligence about the location and disposition of the defenders. The lesson drawn from the Dutch capture identified two specific weaknesses that the company now wanted to address. The first was the use of signal fires that revealed defensive positions to an attacker. The second was the intemperance of the guards, with many soldiers reported drunk on duty during the original surrender. The handover records the standing requirement that soldiers be kept to constant watch and duty, and the present despatch reinforced that requirement by linking it directly to the practical lesson of the earlier failure. The arrangement made the maintenance of sobriety a matter of operational security rather than merely of moral discipline. The undertaking to supply another chaplain in Wynne's place continued the company's standing practice of maintaining a Minister on the island. The handover records the engagement of Swindle in 1673 and Wynni in 1676 as the two successive ministers. Wynne, identified in the earlier portion of the present despatch as the chaplain currently serving, was now to be replaced in due course. The request that he remain on the island until the replacement arrived, if convenient, reflected the practical difficulty of maintaining religious services on a remote island without a resident clergyman. The arrangement preserved the continuity of ministerial work across the change of personnel. The signatories of the despatch revealed the membership of the Court of Committees at the time of drafting. Nathaniel Herne was now Governor of the company, with Thomas Tomson as Deputy. The handover records Herne as Deputy in 1673 and Governor by December 1674, then as an ordinary court member by February 1678. The present despatch shows his return to the governorship by November 1678, illustrating the rotation pattern in the senior offices of the company. The handover records William Thompson as Governor in February 1678, and the change to Herne by November of the same year showed the relatively frequent rotation of the office. Several of the signatories appear in earlier handover entries, including John Moore, Edward Rudge, Daniel Sheldon, Thomas Canham, John Bathurst and John Paige. The presence of these continuing members

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			alongside Herne and Tomson preserved the institutional memory of the company's affairs across the rotation of the senior offices. The new names appearing on the present despatch, including Letheullier, Thorold, Letten, Cleske, Boone and Sambrooke, recorded additions to the Court of Committees membership. The handover records Charles Thorold as having signed the despatch of 18 December 1674, so his appearance here represents a continuing membership rather than a new one. The certification by Stephen Legge as a true copy confirmed his continuing role as the verifying clerk of the company's outgoing despatches. The handover records his verification of the founding despatches of 19 December 1673, the despatch of 18 December 1674, the despatch of 20 February 1678 and the closing note of the same date. His continued role across the years from 1673 to 1678 pointed to a stable clerical office at East India House. The Latin formula vera copia concordat cum originali, true copy agreeing with the original, gave the verification the formal weight of a notarial certification. The phrase the King's Majesty and other European nations was a reference to the diplomatic relations of England with the major European powers, particularly France and the Dutch Republic. The handover records the Treaty of Westminster of 19 February 1674 ending the Third Anglo-Dutch War, but the present despatch indicated that the political situation by late 1678 was again becoming unsettled. The reference to troublesome times suggested that the company in London was anticipating potential renewed conflict, with the Indian Ocean trade and the colonial outposts being natural targets for any enemy power. The combination of the defensive instructions with the disciplinary instructions, drawn together from the Hamburgher's account of the Dutch capture, illustrated the company's analytical approach to security. The handover records the recapture of the island by Munden's squadron in May 1673, after a brief period of Dutch occupation. The lessons of that earlier loss had now been captured in writing and incorporated into the standing instructions to the island administration. The arrangement made the historical experience of the island into a working operational guide for its future defence. **Speculations** The decision not to impose immediate fresh sanctions on the inhabitants for their continuing failure to raise sufficient provisions, despite the company's expressed disappointment, was probably driven by the same calculation that produced the measured response on the Council disorder. The handover records the standing direction for soldier-to-planter conversion and self-sufficiency in provisions, with sanctions escalating over time. The present despatch's restraint suggested that the company was giving Blackmore room to manage the situation through positive measures rather than penal ones, with the threat of future sanctions held in reserve. The reference to troublesome times and uncertain relations with European nations probably reflected concerns about French naval ambitions in the period following the Treaty of Nijmegen, which had ended the Franco-Dutch War in August 1678 but had left other tensions unresolved. The handover does not record specific intelligence about French intentions toward English colonial possessions, but the company in London would have been aware of the growing French naval capacity and the potential for friction. The cautious instructions to Blackmore reflected a precautionary approach to defensive readiness rather than a response to any specific threat. The detailed application of the Hamburgher's account to the present defensive arrangements showed

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			the company in London taking seriously the eyewitness testimony of those who had been on the island during earlier events. The handover records the loss of the *Surrat Merchant* and the *Humphry and Eliah* during the Dutch occupation, alongside the loss of anchors and cables that the company had later sought to recover. The continued use of the Hamburgher's testimony in the present despatch indicated that the company in London valued the practical lessons of the earlier failure and incorporated them into the standing security regime. The prohibition on daytime signal fires was a specific tactical measure designed to address a specific identified weakness. The handover records the general directions on watch and watchfulness, with sentries on the hills and restricted access for foreign ships. The new specific prohibition on signal fires by day represented a narrowing of the company's general security directions into a precise operational rule. The arrangement gave Blackmore a clear instruction that he could pass down to the sentries without ambiguity about its application. The departure of Wynne, alongside the earlier departures of Field, Tyler and others, marked a significant turnover in the senior personnel of the island within a short period. The handover records the careful arrangements for transitions in the senior offices, with Field's continued salary until embarkation and Blackmore's authority taking effect on the *Johanna*'s arrival. The cumulative effect of the departures was to leave Blackmore as the principal continuing officer of the new administration, supported only by Beale and the remaining Council members. The arrangement placed considerable weight on Blackmore's ability to maintain stability through a period of significant personnel change. The relatively modest sum of £140 5s 0d in bills of exchange that had prompted the company to impose a £100 0s 0d annual ceiling reflected the careful cost discipline the company applied to its remote operations. The handover records the standing concerns with financial controls and the long-distance accounting practice. The £140 5s 0d figure was a small fraction of the £2,809 16s 5d value of the *Johanna* cargo, but the company nevertheless responded with a specific written limit on future drawings. The arrangement showed that the company's financial controls operated at multiple scales, with both major shipments and minor remittances subject to documented constraints. The signing of the despatch by fourteen members of the Court of Committees, including the Governor and Deputy, represented a substantial gathering of senior company personnel. The handover records the typical pattern of company correspondence being signed by significant numbers of the Court members. The November 1678 despatch fitted within that pattern, with the broad membership confirming the collective authority of the Court for the directions given. The arrangement of fourteen signatories on a relatively brief despatch suggested either a particularly important meeting of the Court or a routine procedure of obtaining wide signature on all outgoing despatches to the colonies. The combination of defensive, disciplinary and personnel matters in a single despatch illustrated the integrated character of the company's administrative correspondence. The handover records the *Johanna* despatch's similarly integrated approach, dealing with religious observance, military command, stores, accounting, planter conditions and many other matters within a single document. The present shorter despatch continued the same pattern in a more focused form, addressing the specific matters that had arisen since the *Johanna* package and that required the company's attention before the next major communication.

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83	96	Worsp[full] &c. S[i]rs Wee wrot Yo[u] this Day twelvemonth by ye Hon[oura]ble Compa[ny]s Last Yeares Shipping Vizt the Sampson, President, & Vnicorne, and Sent yo[u] by thier Orders Vizt 601 m[au]nds Rice 180 m[au]nds Paddy 600 W[eigh]t of Soape 6 Carmenia Goates 1 Rice Mill 1 Wooden Morter & Pestle 2 ffanns for Dressing of Paddy w[hi]ch Wee should bee glad to understand safe arrived w[hen] th[a]t those Shipps had a Seasonable Departure from y[e] for England. It pleas[e]d God y[t] o[u]r this Yeares Shipps Vizt the Bengalla M[er]ch[an]t Anne & New London ariv[e]d Safe at Bombay y[e] 16 11 & 21 August last, by whom Wee Rec[eiv]d Orders from y[e] Hon[bl]e Company y[t] as at thier arrivall at S[t] Helena in thier Returne they should want their full Compl[e]m[en]t of Seamen wee should Supply y[m] from Yo[ur] Island y[t] if can, w[hi]ch if you may bee y[e] better Directed to doe according to their Agreement with y[e] Owners Wee doe here enclosed Send You not only y[e] Clauses of thier to us, but Likewise of y[e] Charter P[ar]ties to w[hi]ch Refers y[r] & y[t] Wee may testifye o[u]r readinesse to furnish y[m] again w[i]thst[?] may bee needfull from hence, Wee Send y[u] y[e] like quanty of Rice & Paddy by these Shipps as Wee did by y[e] last, as p[er] Invoices & bill of Ladeing, & if y[u] want any oth[er] Necessaries of ys place may afford y[u] Signifye but y[e] particul[ar]s to y[e] Hon[bl]e Comp[a]: & upon their Order to us they shall carefully bee Sent yo[u], Soe Wishing their Shipps a Seasonable passage to y[u] & Safe arrivall in England Wee Comitt y[u] to y[e] proteccion of God Almighty, & Remain in Some hast Yo[u]r affectonate ffriends. Tho: Rolt Casar Chamberlan George Bowcher. Swally Marine y[e] 21th Janu[ar]y 1679[/]80 [Letters Persy]	By the Surat Council to the Governor and Council of St Helena. The Surat Council had written to the Council a year earlier, sending despatches by the Honourable Company's previous year's shipping, the *Sampson*, the *President* and the *Unicorn*. By the orders of the Honourable Company, that earlier shipment had carried: 601 maunds of rice 180 maunds of paddy 600 weight of soap 6 Carmanian goats 1 rice mill 1 wooden mortar and pestle 2 fans for dressing paddy The Surat Council would be glad to learn that those goods had arrived safely, and that the ships had made a seasonable departure for England. The present year's shipping, the *Bengal Merchant*, the *Anne* and the *New London*, had reached Bombay safely on 16, 11 and 21 August respectively. The Honourable Company's orders had been received by these ships. The orders directed that if any of the homeward ships found themselves short of seamen on arrival at St Helena, the Council should supply the shortfall from the island where possible. The Surat Council enclosed both the relevant clauses of the orders to itself and the relevant clauses of the charter parties with the ships' owners, so that the Council might act in accordance with the agreed terms. To demonstrate readiness to supply further necessaries from Surat when needed, the Surat Council sent the same quantity of rice and paddy on these ships as on the previous year's shipping, as set out in the enclosed invoices and bills of lading. If the Council wanted any other necessaries that Surat could supply, the particulars were to be signified to the Honourable Company, and on the Honourable Company's order the goods would be carefully sent. The Surat Council wished the ships a seasonable passage to the island and a safe arrival in England, and committed the Council to the protection of Almighty God. The letter was signed in some haste by Thomas Rolt, Caesar Chamberlain and George Bowcher, at Swally Marine on 21 January 1680. [Letters Persy] **Interpretations** The Surat letter recapitulates the previous year's shipment as the baseline for the present year's supply. The handover records the Surat Council's letter of 30 January 1678, the original Surat consignment of two Carmanian goats by the *George* in January 1678, and the subsequent expansion to 12 goats by the *Sampson*, *President* and *Unicorn* in January 1679. The present letter clarifies the precise figures of the 1679 shipment, recording 6 Carmanian goats rather than the 12 noted in the earlier handover entry. The handover entry should now be read in the light of this more precise figure, with the 6 goats forming the documented annual delivery rather than the larger number originally inferred. The 601 maunds of rice and 180 maunds of paddy sent in the previous year provide a quantitative benchmark for the Indian Ocean supply chain to St Helena. The handover records the despatch's direction for annual rice and paddy shipments from Surat, the Coast and the Bay. The Surat contribution of these quantities, alongside the Coast contributions documented across the four ship invoices, made up the working scale of the Indian provisioning operation. The supply was to continue in 1680 at the same quantity, indicating that the company in London had set the annual allocation at this level for the foreseeable future. The new clause directing the supply of seamen from the island to homeward-bound ships represented a significant development in the company's use of St Helena. The handover records the standing pattern of the island as a refreshment and provisioning stop on the homeward voyage from India to England, with the Governor's table providing hospitality to visiting

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			commanders. The new direction extended the island's role to a working manpower reserve for the homeward fleet. Any ship arriving at St Helena short of crew could draw replacement seamen from the island's population, with the supply governed by the charter parties enclosed with the Surat letter. The enclosure of both the company's orders to Surat and the charter parties between the company and the ships' owners gave the Governor and Council the full documentary basis for the supply of seamen. The handover records the company's standing practice of providing the Governor and Council with the documentary basis for their decisions. The arrangement on seamen supply followed the same pattern, with the Council having both the orders directing the supply and the contractual terms governing the relationship with each ship's owner. The Council could therefore both verify that supply was due and determine the terms on which it would be provided. The three ships of the present year, the *Bengal Merchant*, the *Anne* and the *New London*, arrived at Bombay across August 1679, matching the standard pattern of the previous year's *Sampson*, *President* and *Unicorn*. The handover records the working cycle of the Indian Ocean shipping, with vessels reaching India in August and loading for the homeward voyage during the following winter. The three new ships fitted this pattern, with their loading at Surat in January 1680 for the homeward voyage by way of St Helena. The shipping cycle by 1679 to 1680 had become well established and predictable. The signatories of the present letter reduced from the four of the 30 January 1678 letter to three. Thomas Rolt continued as President. Caesar Chamberlain continued from the earlier letter. The third signatory is now George Bowcher rather than Charles James or John Child. The handover records Chamberlain and James from the 1678 letter, with James also signing the 1678 invoices. The change in the third signatory may reflect personnel rotation at the Surat Council, with Bowcher entering as a new senior member. The note of haste at the close of the letter suggested that the available members were those whose signatures had been obtained quickly before the ships sailed. The phrase that the Surat Council wrote in some haste indicated the practical pressures of ship loading and sailing schedules. The handover records the various time-sensitive arrangements in the company's correspondence, with despatches and invoices produced at the limit of the available time before sailing. The Surat Council's acknowledgement of haste illustrated the working conditions under which the eastern stations operated, with substantial documentation prepared against tight deadlines determined by the monsoons and trade winds. The reference to readiness to supply other necessaries from Surat, on the Honourable Company's order, preserved the proper chain of authority within the company's operations. The handover records the standing direction that the Indian stations act on orders from London rather than on direct requests from St Helena. The Surat Council's offer to supply further goods was therefore framed as conditional on the Honourable Company's order, with the Council on the island being directed to address its needs to London rather than directly to Surat. The arrangement preserved the centralised control of the company's supply chain while maintaining a working relationship between the stations. **Speculations** The new direction on supplying seamen to homeward-bound ships from St Helena addressed a practical problem of the company's long-distance shipping operations. The handover does not record specific earlier instances of crew shortages on

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			homeward voyages, but the high mortality of long sea voyages would have made such shortages a recurring issue. The arrangement to draw seamen from the island offered a working solution, with the soldier or planter population of the island providing a manpower reserve for the fleet. The arrangement may have been particularly useful for ships that had lost significant numbers of crew to sickness during the Indian Ocean section of their voyage. The direction to draw replacement seamen from the island raised practical questions about the demographic balance of the population. The handover records the soldier-to-planter conversion policy and the standing population of soldiers, planters, slaves, women and children. Any significant draw on this population for seamen on departing ships would reduce the working strength of the island. The provision that such supply should be governed by the charter parties suggested that the company in London had thought through the contractual implications without fully addressing the practical implications for the island's manpower. The precise figure of 6 Carmanian goats in the 1679 shipment, against the handover's record of 12, may have resulted from a different counting method or a difference between the invoiced and actual delivered numbers. The handover records the breakdown of 2 goats on the *Sampson*, 3 of unknown cost, and 14 on the *Unicorn*, totalling at least 19 animals. The present letter's figure of 6 may refer to a subset of those animals, perhaps the breeding stock specifically intended for retention on the island as opposed to animals carried for other purposes. The discrepancy illustrates the value of working through multiple documentary sources for accuracy. The reduction in Surat Council signatories from four to three may have reflected the rotation of personnel between the 1678 and 1680 letters. The handover records Thomas Rolt as President in both the 30 January 1678 letter and the present January 1680 letter, indicating his continuing tenure across the period. The departure of Charles James, John Child and John Petit, and the arrival of George Bowcher, suggested that several members of the Surat Council had served their terms and departed during the intervening two years. The arrangement showed the typical rotation pattern in the company's overseas service. The annotation Letters Persy at the close of the letter may refer to letters from Persia, perhaps relating to the Carmanian goat supply chain. The handover records the procurement of the original goats from Persia by way of Surat, and the continuing supply through the same route. Letters from Persia regarding the goat trade would have been a natural element of the Surat Council's documentary record. The annotation may be a clerical note indicating that further documentation on the Persian end of the trade was attached or referred to. The precise meaning cannot be confidently reconstructed from the present text alone. The continuation of the same rice and paddy quantities, 601 maunds of rice and 180 maunds of paddy, into the second year of the standing arrangement suggested that the company in London had established a fixed annual contribution from Surat. The handover records the Coast Council's separate contributions of five tons of rice and one ton of paddy per ship across four ships. The total Indian Ocean supply, when both Surat and Coast contributions were combined, gave the island a substantial and predictable annual flow of grain. The arrangement showed the maturation of the supply chain from the experimental shipments of 1678 to the standardised annual flows of 1679 and 1680. The Surat Council's offer to supply further necessaries from Surat, subject to the Honourable Company's order, reflected the practical recognition that

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			the island's needs might extend beyond the standard rice and paddy supply. The handover records the despatch of 30 January 1678 directing the supply of Carmanian goats and the technical guidance on their breeding. The Surat Council's willingness to extend its supply role indicated a recognition that the island might benefit from a wider range of Indian commodities, with soap, goats, processing equipment and other items joining the basic grain supply. The arrangement preserved the centralised control of the company while opening the possibility of further expansion of the Surat-to-St Helena supply chain.
84	97	Clauses of the Hon[oura]ble Comp[any]: Gen[er]all Letter to their Presidency of Surate Dated the 28: ffeb: & 17th March 167[9]/80 By y[e] Coppies of their Charter Parties yo[u] will find their is in a Clause of y[e] last folyo thereof y[t] in Case at the Shipps arrivall at S[t] Hellena their be want of y[e] full Comple[ment] of Seamen the Gov[er]n[or] of S[t] Hellena, is to make them a supply if he can, w[hi]ch are to be brought home, without Charge which you are by Letter to give advice to the Governours by each Shipps Clause of y[e] Charter Parties And it is further agreed y[t] if at y[e] arrivall of said shipp at S[t] Hellena their shall not be y[e] full Compl[e]m[en]t of Seamen on board y[e] said Shipps, as is herein before Expressed, that then the Gov[er]n[or] of S[t] Hellena, for y[e] said Company may put on board such Number of Seamen or other persons as shall Compleate the said Number to be brought for England, at y[e] Charge of y[e] Owners, and the Company not to pay for any Such persons Passage	Continuing from the Surat Council's letter, two enclosed extracts followed, the first from the Honourable Company's general letter to the Presidency of Surat and the second from the charter parties of the ships. Clauses of the Honourable Company's general letter to the Presidency of Surat, dated 28 February and 17 March 1680. The Charter Parties showed that a clause on the last folio provided that if any ship arrived at St Helena short of its full complement of seamen, the Governor of St Helena was to supply the shortfall from the island where possible. The replacement men were to be brought home to England without charge. The Surat Council was to give advice of this provision to the Governor by letter on each ship. Clause of the Charter Parties. It was further agreed that if at the arrival of the ship at St Helena there was not the full complement of seamen on board, as had been previously expressed in the charter party, the Governor of St Helena for the company might put on board such number of seamen or other persons as would complete the complement, to be brought for England at the charge of the owners. The company itself was not to pay for the passage of any such persons. **Interpretations** The two enclosed extracts set out the legal and contractual framework for the supply of seamen from the island to homeward-bound ships. The handover records the Surat Council's covering letter announcing the new arrangement, and the enclosed extracts now supplied the precise terms on which the supply was to operate. The arrangement gave the Governor and Council of St Helena the documentary basis for compliance with the company's order and protection against any later dispute over the terms of supply. The company's general letter to Surat, dated 28 February and 17 March 1680, established the standing instruction that the Surat Council pass the seamen supply arrangement to the Governor of St Helena. The handover records the chain of authority within the company, with London directing the Surat Council, and the Surat Council in turn corresponding with St Helena. The instruction to advise the Governor by letter on each ship made the seamen supply a continuing arrangement attached to every homeward sailing rather than a one-off direction. The charter party clause set the legal terms of the supply. The Governor at St Helena was given authority to put seamen or other persons on board the homeward ships to complete the complement specified in each charter party. The cost of the passage fell on the owners of the ship rather than on the company. The arrangement preserved the company's financial position by ensuring that the cost of the supply was borne by the parties contractually responsible for delivering the ship to England with a complete crew. The owners had agreed to deliver a manned ship under the charter party and bore the cost of any shortfall. The phrase or other persons in the charter party clause extended the supply beyond trained seamen to

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			include any persons who could be sent to bring the ship home. The handover records the standing pattern of soldier, planter and slave populations on the island. The wider phrasing allowed the Governor to draw from this broader population if trained seamen were not available, with the soldier, planter or even slave being pressed into service for the homeward voyage. The arrangement made the island a working manpower reserve for the homeward fleet in a broader sense than just nautical skill. The provision that the company itself was not to pay for the passage of any such persons placed the entire cost of the supply on the ship's owners. The handover records the company's standing concern with cost discipline in its operations. The arrangement showed how the company structured its commercial relationships with shipping owners to ensure that the burden of maintaining ship complements fell where it had been agreed to fall. A shipping owner who lost crew to sickness or desertion during the voyage bore the cost of replacing them, even when the replacement was supplied at a remote location like St Helena. The location of the seamen supply clause on the last folio of the charter party, as noted in the company's general letter to Surat, suggested that the clause had been added at a late stage in the drafting of the charter party. The handover records the standing pattern of company contractual practice. The placement of the clause at the end may have reflected its character as a recent innovation in the charter party form, with the body of the document setting out the standard contractual terms and the final folio carrying the specific addition for the St Helena route. The dual dating of the company's general letter, on 28 February and 17 March 1680, may have indicated that the letter was drafted across the two dates with additional matter added later, or that two separate letters were referred to together. The handover records the company's practice of cumulative correspondence with its overseas stations. The Surat Council had treated the two dates as a single document for the purpose of extracting the seamen supply clause, perhaps because the clause was the same in both letters. **Speculations** The introduction of the seamen supply clause in the charter parties for the 1680 homeward fleet was probably driven by accumulated experience of crew shortages in earlier homeward voyages. The handover does not record specific earlier instances of such shortages, but the high mortality of long voyages would have made them a recurring practical problem. The new clause translated the practical problem into a contractual obligation on shipping owners, with the Governor of St Helena given operational authority to supply replacement crew. The arrangement showed the company learning from operational experience and adjusting its contractual arrangements accordingly. The decision to place the cost on the owners rather than on the company reflected the company's calculation that the supply of crew was properly part of the owners' delivery obligation. The handover records the standing concern with cost discipline. A ship's owner who undertook to deliver a complete ship to England had contracted to provide a complete crew. If the crew failed during the voyage, the owner had failed to deliver what was contracted. By making the replacement cost a charge on the owner, the company enforced the original contractual allocation of risk and avoided absorbing the cost of crew losses that were not its own responsibility. The wider phrasing that allowed other persons to be sent in lieu of trained seamen raised practical questions about the suitability of the available manpower. The handover records the soldier, planter, slave and family populations of the island. A soldier or

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			planter sent home as a substitute for a lost seaman would not have the nautical skills required for working the ship, although he could perform basic deck and labour duties. The arrangement may have been designed to address situations where any able-bodied man was preferable to an undermanned ship, even if the substitute could not perform skilled work. The captain would have had to integrate such replacements into the working watch as best he could. The instruction that the Surat Council advise the Governor by letter on each ship suggested that the company in London anticipated the seamen supply clause becoming a routine element of every homeward voyage. The handover records the standing pattern of routine correspondence with each ship. The seamen supply notification fitted within this pattern, with each ship carrying its own letter to St Helena setting out the relevant provision. The arrangement gave the Governor a clear documentary basis for each supply event, with the specific letter for each ship providing the immediate operating authority. The arrangement to bring replacement men home to England without charge from the company's perspective may have prompted practical questions about how the company would account for those replacements. The handover records the careful accounting practice of the company. A planter who had taken up land under the company's standing grants, and who was then sent home to England on a homeward ship, would have his arrangements on the island to settle. The cattle and stock left behind, similar to the case of John Saward recorded in the despatch of 8 November 1678, would need to be accounted for. The arrangement on owners bearing the passage cost did not resolve the question of how the company would manage the resulting departures of established settlers. The provision suggested that the company in London had begun to see the island not only as a settlement and a refreshment stop but also as an integrated part of its broader shipping operations. The handover records the various functions of the island, including planter settlement, garrison maintenance, commodity production and victualling of ships. The seamen supply role added a further dimension, making the island a manpower reserve for the homeward fleet. The arrangement showed the increasing integration of St Helena into the company's wider Indian Ocean operations by 1680.
85	98	Invoice of 130 Baggs of Rice & Paddy Laden by y[e] [presi]d[en]t & Councell durate on board y[e] three [Iohnna] Shipps Vizt y[e] [...] Bengalla mercht. Anne [...] new London marcht. & Numbred as p[er] Marg[in] and goes Consigned unto y[e] Wor[ship]ll Gov[er]n[or] & Councell of St Hellena either for account of y[e] Hon[oura]ble English East India [...] Company y[e] p[ar]tieul[ar]s are as follow[s] [...] Rs FR R 20 Fine Rice 20 Baggs M[r] FR each q[t] 6 m[a]: w[ith] [...] [d]s 5: 20 & Endys 6 [cost] w[ith] all [...] Included Rups 21: 11 [p] Candy 1 26 6 6 P 90 Ordinary Rice 80 Baggs Mr R each q[t] [m]s 5 [...] [d]s 4 - 20 & Endys 21 cost w[ith] [...] R[...] & Included Rups 19: 17 [p] Candy 4 71 1 18 Baggs 90 Paddy 30 baggs, q[t] P each q[t] 6 m[s] is 180 m[s] 8 Cand[y] 25 [...] [...] at all [...] Included rups 13: 11 [p] Candy 1 19 27 Bengala mercht [Anne] new London 130	By the Surat invoice for 130 bags of rice and paddy, laden by the President and Council at Surat on the three ships *Bengal Merchant*, *Anne* and *New London*, numbered as in the margin, and consigned to the Governor and Council of St Helena for the account of the Honourable English East India Company. Fine rice 20 bags marked FR, each of 6 maunds, totalling 5 candies 20 maunds 6 [...] Cost with all charges included at 21 rupees 11 [...] per candy 126 rupees 6 [...] 6 [...] Ordinary rice 80 bags marked R, each of 5 [...] 4 maunds 20 [...] and 21 [...] Cost with all charges included at 19 rupees 17 [...] per candy 471 rupees 1 [...] 18 [...] Paddy 30 bags marked P, each of 6 maunds, totalling 180 maunds, 8 candies 25 [...] Cost with all charges included at 13 rupees 11 [...] per candy 119 rupees 27 [...] Total cargo 130 bags amounting to (which God preserve) 7 rupees 16 [...] 6 [...] 9 [...] Laden on the *Bengal Merchant* under Captain Edgar Chamberlain and commander John Godsbrough. Fine rice 20 bags marked FR Ordinary rice 15 bags marked R Paddy 11 bags marked P Subtotal 46 bags

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		Baggs amo[un]ts to (w[ith] god preserve) Rupees 7: 16 6 9 Laden on y[e] Bengala mercht Edgar Chamberlan Capt Jo: Godsbrough Comand 20 Baggs fine Rice M[r] FR 15 Baggs ordinary Rice M[r] R 11 [...] Paddy M[r] [...] 46 Baggs On y[e] Anne Capt Gods Comand 30 Baggs ordinary Rice M[r] R [18] [...] [Pad]dy [...] P 48 Baggs On y[e] New London Cap[t] Daniell Comand 35 Baggs ordinary Rice M[r] R 11 [...] Paddy M[r] P 46 Baggs Swalley Marine 26 Ian[uary] 167[7]/[8] Erra copia exait fr[o]m M[r] Walker	Laden on the *Anne* under commander Captain Godsbrough. Ordinary rice 30 bags marked R Paddy 18 bags marked P Subtotal 48 bags Laden on the *New London* under commander Captain Daniell. Ordinary rice 35 bags marked R Paddy 11 bags marked P Subtotal 46 bags Dated at Swally Marine on 26 January 1678. True copy taken from Mr Walker. **Interpretations** The invoice records the practical implementation of the Surat Council's contribution to the supply chain for the 1680 homeward voyage, as referred to in the Surat letter of 21 January 1680. The handover records the standing pattern of annual rice and paddy shipments from Surat to St Helena. The 130 bags across three ships represented the working consignment for the year, with the supply distributed across the three available vessels in line with the company's standing risk management practice. The dating of the invoice at 26 January 1678 conflicts with the related Surat letter of 21 January 1680. The discrepancy probably reflects either a clerical error in the original document or in the transcription. The internal references to the ships' arrival at Bombay in August 1679, and to the present supply being for the homeward voyage of 1680, are consistent with the January 1680 dating of the covering letter. The 26 January 1678 date should be read as 26 January 1680. The three ships, the *Bengal Merchant*, the *Anne* and the *New London*, match those named in the Surat letter of 21 January 1680. The invoice now supplies the captains under whom each ship was commanded. Captain Edgar Chamberlain and commander John Godsbrough on the *Bengal Merchant*, Captain Godsbrough on the *Anne*, and Captain Daniell on the *New London*. The shared name of Godsbrough on the *Bengal Merchant* and the *Anne* probably reflects either a clerical repetition or that Godsbrough served as commander on the *Anne* while remaining attached to the *Bengal Merchant*. The differentiation of the rice into fine and ordinary grades represented the same pattern as the *Falcon* invoice from the Coast Council, which had separated Bengal rice from Madras rice. The handover records the standing practice of stratified supply. The fine rice at 21 rupees 11 [...] per candy and the ordinary rice at 19 rupees 17 [...] per candy gave a clear price difference reflecting the quality difference. The arrangement gave the Governor and Council of St Helena a choice between two rice grades for different uses, with the fine rice perhaps reserved for the Governor's table and the ordinary rice for general distribution. The 20 bags of fine rice were all loaded on the *Bengal Merchant*, with no fine rice on the *Anne* or the *New London*. The arrangement concentrated the higher-value rice on one ship, perhaps reflecting the limits of fine rice availability at the time of loading. The handover records the standing concern with dispersed risk in the company's shipping, and the concentration of the fine rice on a single ship represented an exception to this practice, presumably justified by the practical constraints of supply. The distribution of the ordinary rice across the three ships, with 15 bags on the *Bengal Merchant*, 30 bags on the *Anne* and 35 bags on the *New London*, totalled 80 bags across the fleet. The 30 bags of paddy were spread similarly, with 11 bags on the *Bengal Merchant*, 18 bags on the *Anne* and 11 bags on the *New London*. The pattern showed the Surat Council distributing the bulk supply across the ships in a manner that gave each

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			vessel a working share while concentrating the higher-value fine rice on one ship. The total cargo value of 7 rupees 16 [...] 6 [...] 9 [...], as recorded at the foot of the schedule, was clearly a clerical error or transcription difficulty. The subtotal lines for fine rice (126 rupees), ordinary rice (471 rupees) and paddy (119 rupees) totalled some 716 rupees, far in excess of the 7 rupees figure recorded as the grand total. The probable correct total, given the visible component figures, would have been approximately 716 rupees, with the leading 7 representing the hundreds digit and the manuscript damage obscuring the intermediate figures. The phrase which God preserve, inserted within the total figure, was a standard mercantile pious wish for the safe arrival of the cargo. The handover records similar pious expressions in earlier Surat letters and invoices. The arrangement showed the working faith of the company's commercial culture, with religious phrases incorporated into routine business documents. The certification of the document as a true copy taken from Mr Walker placed the present invoice within a chain of transcription. Walker had probably been the original signatory or copyist of the working document at Surat, with the present text representing a copy made for the St Helena administration or for the company in London. The handover records the standing practice of producing multiple copies of working documents in the company's operations. **Speculations** The choice to concentrate the fine rice on the *Bengal Merchant* rather than spreading it across the three ships may have reflected practical considerations of loading order or storage at Swally Marine. The *Bengal Merchant* may have been loaded first or last, with the fine rice available for loading only on that occasion. Alternatively, the *Bengal Merchant* may have had storage conditions particularly suitable for preserving the higher-quality rice during the voyage. The arrangement showed the practical adaptation of the company's risk management principle to the specific loading conditions of each year's shipment. The relatively close numbers of bags across the three ships, 46 on the *Bengal Merchant*, 48 on the *Anne* and 46 on the *New London*, suggested a deliberate effort to balance the load across the available shipping. The handover records the working practice of the Surat Council in distributing cargoes. The near-equal distribution preserved the risk-spreading function while allowing for practical adjustments to fit the available cargo space on each ship. The total of 130 bags fell slightly short of the previous year's shipment of 100 bags of rice and 30 bags of paddy from the Surat Council letter of 30 January 1678. The earlier shipment had totalled 130 bags including the paddy. The present shipment totals 130 bags with a different composition: 100 bags of rice in two grades and 30 bags of paddy. The continuity of the total figure suggested that the company in London had set the annual Surat contribution at a fixed quantity, with the specific composition varying with availability. The captains named on the invoice, Chamberlain, Godsbrough and Daniell, joined the growing list of captains involved in the Indian Ocean supply chain to St Helena. The handover records the captains Chamlet, Slide, Bass, Stafford, Thompson, Hannan and Bendall from earlier voyages. The continual addition of new captains across the years showed the scale of the company's Indian Ocean operations, with multiple ships running the route each year under different commanders. The reference to Edgar Chamberlain on the *Bengal Merchant* may have been a relative or namesake of Caesar Chamberlain who was a member of the Surat Council, as recorded in the handover from the letter of

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			30 January 1678 and the present letter of 21 January 1680. The handover records Caesar Chamberlain as the Council member, while Edgar Chamberlain on the *Bengal Merchant* is now identified as a ship's captain. The shared surname may indicate a family connection between Council and shipping personnel within the company's operations. The clerical conflict in the dating of the invoice between 26 January 1678 and the surrounding documents of January 1680 illustrated the working challenges of long-distance documentary practice. The handover records the standing concern with proper documentation. A clerical error on a date could lead to substantial confusion if not detected, with documents from different years being confused for the same year's voyage. The arrangement of cross-references between letters and invoices, with both dated and identified by carrying ship, helped to detect and resolve such errors in practice. The probable correct total of approximately 716 rupees for the cargo represented a manageable annual expenditure for the Surat Council's contribution to the St Helena supply chain. The handover records the costs of earlier shipments at similar levels. The consistency of the cost across years showed that the company in London had established a working budget for the Indian Ocean supply chain to St Helena, with the Surat contribution falling within a predictable annual range.
86	99	St Hellena Rec[eive]d from aboard Bong[all] March 4 [...] 1680 To [y]e Gunn[r] Spunge staves - 6 Ramm[r]s & Spunge heads - 50 Trucks - 8 [...]: Quil[ls] - 2 Musq[uet] Rodds - 12 Hosp[ital] Use 2[lb] Twyne 2 Long handle[d] Shrub[?] 2 Elme boards each 15 foote 10 Dramm: Deales [...]y Stores Hamburgh Lines: 24 20[d] Nayles - 2200 Beefe Punch[e]ons 2 of each 160 q[t]s 320 From aboard ship Anne [...]y Stores [...] Bread 12 [...] foot 2 Boom[s] Spars[e]s 1 of 27 foote long 1 of 37 foote long 50 Nayles - 100 P 40 Nayles - 40 P 24 Nayles - 30 P 20 Nayles - 30 P D[itt]o to ye Gunn[r] 5 Trucks 2 Quire pap[er] From aboard ship London [...]y Stores 100: of 30: Nayles 200: of 40: Nayles 300: of 24: Nayles 3 puncheons of beefe To ye Gunn[r]: 6 Trucks d[itt]o: To ye Gunn[er] To Forst Use 12 Hamburgh lines to foote use	By the receipt of stores at St Helena from on board three ships, 4 March 1680. From on board the *Bengal Merchant* To the Gunner: Sponge staves 6 Rammers and sponge heads 50 Trucks 8 [...] quills 2 Musket rods 12 For hospital use: Twine 2 lb Long-handled [shrubs] 2 Elm boards 2 of 15 feet each Dram deals 10 For other stores: Hamburgh lines 24 20d nails 2,200 Beef puncheons 2, each of 160 [...] making 320 [...] From on board the ship *Anne* For stores: Bread 12 [...] foot Boom spars 1 of 27 feet long 1 of 37 feet long 50d nails 100 lb 40d nails 40 lb 24d nails 30 lb 20d nails 30 lb To the Gunner: Trucks 5 Paper 2 quires From on board the ship *London* For stores: 30d nails 100 40d nails 200 24d nails 300 Beef puncheons 3 To the Gunner: Trucks 6 For fort use: Hamburgh lines 12 **Interpretations** The receipt records the practical implementation of the supply directed in the Surat documents at the point of delivery on the island. The handover records the standing pattern of the Indian Ocean supply chain, with three named ships, the *Bengal Merchant*, the *Anne* and the *New London*, recorded in the Surat invoice of January

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			1680. The present receipt confirms the arrival of cargoes from each of these ships at St Helena, with the ship named here as the *London* probably referring to the *New London* of the Surat invoice. The handover records that the directions for seamen supply and other matters issued at Surat would be acted on by the Governor and Council on the island, and the receipt now shows the working delivery side of the arrangement. The breakdown by ship and by use illustrated the working accounting practice on the island. Each ship's cargo was unloaded separately, with the items allocated to specific uses within the island administration. The handover records the standing arrangement under which Beale as Husband and Storekeeper received goods on arrival and allocated them through the company's stores accounts. The present receipt represents the working entry into that system, with each item identified by both source ship and destination use on the island. The supply to the Gunner across all three ships gave him a substantial reserve of artillery equipment. The handover records the gunner's posting at the Watering Place and his responsibility for the great guns, with materials supplied through the *Johanna* cargo of March 1678. The present consignment supplied further sponge staves, rammers, sponge heads, trucks and musket rods, all essential equipment for working artillery. The continued supply of these consumable items across the months and years indicated the working maintenance requirements of the artillery establishment. The hospital use items, including twine, long-handled [shrubs], elm boards and dram deals, represented a particular allocation to medical and care facilities on the island. The handover records the medical establishment, including the surgery chest supplied on the *Johanna* and the engagement of a replacement surgeon for Moore. The supply of timber and twine for hospital use indicated that physical hospital facilities had been established on the island, with materials being provided for their maintenance and repair. The arrangement showed the working medical infrastructure on the island by 1680. The substantial supply of nails across the three ships continued the construction supply pattern established with the *Johanna* cargo. The handover records the large construction programme directed in the despatch of 20 February 1678, with substantial nail supplies in the *Johanna* invoice. The present receipt's continuation of nail supplies indicated that the construction programme remained active and required ongoing supply. The variety of nail sizes, from 20d through 24d, 30d, 40d and 50d, suggested ongoing work on both light and heavy construction, with the larger nails serving fort and platform work and the smaller serving lighter construction. The two boom spars on the *Anne*, of 27 and 37 feet in length, supplied substantial timbers for ship and rigging work. The handover records the standing concern with the seaworthiness of company shipping. The long spars probably served either as replacement spars for damaged rigging on visiting ships or as construction timbers for the island's own boats. The arrangement showed the working integration of the island into the wider shipping operations, with replacement timber maintained for use as needed. The supply of Hamburgh lines, 24 from the *Bengal Merchant* and 12 from the *London* for fort use, gave the island additional rope and cordage. Hamburgh lines were heavy cordage of the type produced in the German port. The handover does not record specific earlier Hamburgh line supplies, but the cordage would have served both shipping and fort purposes. The 12 lines specifically allocated to fort use suggested their

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			employment in moving guns, in flagstaff rigging or in other fort-related applications. The beef supply, 2 puncheons from the *Bengal Merchant* and 3 from the *London*, supplemented the very substantial beef shipment on the *Johanna* of March 1678. The handover records the 26 hogsheads of beef sent on the *Johanna*. The present additional supply of 5 puncheons indicated that the island's beef consumption had been significant, requiring continued resupply across multiple voyages. The arrangement showed the working consumption rate of preserved meat on the island. The supply to the Gunner of trucks (small wheels for gun carriages) across all three ships, totalling 19 trucks plus the unspecified items on the *London*, gave him a substantial reserve of replacement parts for gun carriages. The handover records the seven falcons supplied on the *Johanna*, alongside the great guns already on the island. The provision of trucks indicated ongoing maintenance work on gun carriages, with damaged or worn trucks being replaced as needed. The paper supply, 2 quires from the *Anne*, supplemented the writing materials supplied on the *Johanna*. The handover records the substantial paper and book supply on the *Johanna* cargo. The further supply of paper indicated the working consumption rate of writing materials on the island, with the documentary requirements of the administration continuing to require regular resupply. **Speculations** The detailed breakdown of supplies by destination on the island, with separate allocations to the Gunner, the hospital, fort use and general stores, illustrated the working administrative practice on the island by 1680. The handover records the standing direction in the despatch of 20 February 1678 for the dispersed magazine network and the careful allocation of stores. The receipt's structure showed how that direction operated in practice, with each item entering the island stores under a specific category for accounting purposes. The continued substantial supply of construction materials, particularly nails of various sizes, suggested that the major construction programme begun in 1678 remained active into 1680. The handover records the fortification works, the planter cottage building, the dispersed magazines and the storeroom fit-out as the main elements of the programme. The continued nail supply across multiple voyages indicated that these works had not been completed quickly but extended across several years of construction. The arrangement showed the long-term commitment of resources required for the development of the island. The presence of hospital supplies in the receipt represented a development from the earlier *Johanna* cargo, which had included a surgery chest and chemical preparations but no specifically identified hospital supplies. The handover records the medical establishment on the island. The development from supplies for a working surgery to supplies for a hospital may have reflected an expansion of the medical facilities, perhaps to deal with the higher demands of an increased population or the medical needs of seamen and others being transferred between the island and the ships. The supply of boom spars on the *Anne*, of substantial length, suggested either specific replacement needs for damaged rigging on a particular ship or the establishment of a working timber reserve on the island for shipping repairs. The handover records the seamen supply provisions in the charter parties, by which homeward-bound ships could draw replacement crew from the island. The supply of replacement spars and timber would have complemented the seamen supply arrangement, with the island providing both labour and

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			materials for ships needing repair during their stop at St Helena. The naming of the ship as the *London* rather than the *New London* probably represented a clerical abbreviation. The handover records the *New London* in the Surat invoice of January 1680, and the same ship appears in the present receipt as the *London*. The arrangement of ship names in seventeenth-century documents frequently varied between full and abbreviated forms, with the same ship being referred to differently in different documents. The variability in naming required careful cross-referencing between documents to identify the same ship across different appearances. The very heavy nail supply from the *London*, with 100 of 30d, 200 of 40d and 300 of 24d nails, gave the island a substantial reserve of medium and large nails. The handover records the standing nail supply on the *Johanna*. The continued substantial nail supplies indicated that the construction work on the island was generating significant ongoing nail consumption, perhaps reflecting both major new works and the routine repair of buildings already established. The arrangement showed the working scale of construction on the island by 1680. The trucks supplied across all three ships represented an ongoing maintenance commitment to the artillery establishment. The handover records the seven falcons supplied on the *Johanna*, alongside the existing great guns. The continued supply of trucks across multiple voyages suggested that gun carriage maintenance was a significant ongoing requirement, with the wooden trucks suffering wear and damage in regular use and requiring replacement. The arrangement showed the practical maintenance burden of maintaining a substantial artillery establishment on a remote island. The reference to fort use in the allocation of Hamburgh lines from the *London* indicated that specific items were being designated for particular installations on the island. The handover records the dispersed magazine network and the fort at the centre of the island. The allocation of supplies to fort use as a distinct category suggested that the fort was identified as a specific administrative unit within the island's stores accounting, with its own supply requirements tracked separately from the general stores.
87	100	Blank page	
88	101	Island of Hellena Goods & necessaries rec[eive]d out of y[e] Suzatt & ffleethe[?] for ye use of y[e] Hon[ora]ble Comp[any] of East India merc[hants] in London, April 26[?] Anno[g] 1680 Vizt Out of ye Bengalla Marchand Spungestaves - 6 Ram[m]r & Spunge heads - 50 Trucks of 16 Inches Diameter - 8 Axetrees - q[t] - 6 Fine Paper - q[t] - 12 Musquett Rodds - 12 Twine - q[t] 2 Hambourough Lynes - 24 Long handle[d] Shrubb[?] - 2 [Elme board] feet 32 Dram Deales - 10 twenty peny Naylo[r]s Read[i]s 22 Beefe Puncheons 2 [...] Iron bound 320 each of 160 [...] in both Out of ye Anne [Bread] of ye best sort [...] - 12 [...] of ye Best sort [...] - 5 Large Trucks for Gun[s] - 2 Paper [...] [yarn]th of 37 foot Long two boome Spares ond[itt]o 1000	By the receipt of goods at the Island of St Helena, received out of the Surat and Coast ships for the use of the Honourable Company of East India Merchants in London, on or about 26 April 1680. Note: This is clearly written as 1680 and so seems to be out of order, the next letter being clearly written as 1679. From the *Bengal Merchant*: Sponge staves 6 Rammers and sponge heads 50 Trucks of 16 inches diameter 8 Axletrees 6lso Fine paper 12 Musket rods 12 Twine 2 Hamburgh lines 24 Long-handled [shrubs] 2 Elm boards 32 feet Dram deals 10 20d ready nails 22 Beef puncheons 2, iron-bound, each of 160 [...], totalling 320 [...] From the *Anne*: Bread of the best sort 12 [...] of the best sort 5 Large trucks for guns 2

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		50 Nayles - 400 40 Nayles - 300 24 Ditto - 500 Out of ye new London [...] - 1000 30 Nayles - 500 40 Ditto - 300 24 Ditto - 4 Trucks of 11 Inches - 2 Trucks of 12 Inches - 12 [Hand] Lynes - 3 Punchions of Beefe -	Paper [...] yarn of 37 feet long, two boom spars 1,000 50d nails 400 40d nails 300 24d nails 500 From the *New London*: [...] 1,000 30d nails 500 40d nails 300 24d nails 4 Trucks of 11 inches 2 Trucks of 12 inches 12 Hand lines 3 Beef puncheons [...] **Interpretations** The present receipt records the formal entry of the goods at the island's stores accounts some weeks after the practical unloading recorded in the earlier receipt of 4 March 1680. The two documents together illustrate the working pattern of stores administration on the island. The handover records the standing requirement under the despatch of 20 February 1678 for goods to be received under Beale's care as Husband and Storekeeper, with proper entries in the book of accounts. The present receipt represents the formal book entry that followed the practical landing, with the gap of some weeks reflecting the time taken to weigh, count and check the goods before formal entry. The receipt phrase out of the Surat and Coast ships indicated the Indian origin of the cargoes. The handover records the Surat invoice of January 1680 covering the three ships, the *Bengal Merchant*, the *Anne* and the *New London*. The phrasing of the present receipt slightly varies the description, perhaps reflecting either a clerical paraphrasing or a wider reading of the supply chain to include both Surat and Coast origin goods on the same ships. The handover does record the supply from both Surat and the Coast to St Helena, and the present receipt may have been drawing on that wider supply origin. The specification of truck diameters in inches gave a precise record of the gun carriage parts received. Trucks of 16 inches from the *Bengal Merchant*, large trucks for guns from the *Anne*, and trucks of 11 inches and 12 inches from the *New London* together represented a variety of sizes suited to different gun carriages. The handover records the seven falcons on the *Johanna* and the existing great guns, with each gun requiring trucks of a size matched to its carriage. The supply of multiple sizes indicated the variety of gun calibres present on the island, with each requiring its own appropriate parts. The 6 axletrees from the *Bengal Merchant* supplied a major maintenance item for gun carriages. The axletree was the central beam of a gun carriage on which the wheels were mounted. A damaged or rotted axletree required complete replacement of this central component. The supply of 6 axletrees indicated either ongoing replacement needs across the artillery establishment or a buildup of reserves against future needs. The arrangement showed the working maintenance commitment of maintaining a substantial gun park on the island. The substantial nail supply continued the pattern recorded in the earlier receipt. The variation in nail size specifications between the two documents, with the present receipt giving 22 of 20d ready nails (apparently a smaller quantity than the earlier receipt's 2,200 of 20d nails), may have represented a separate item or a different reading of the same item. The handover records the careful nail supply on the *Johanna*, and the continued supply across multiple voyages reflected the ongoing construction work on the island. The supply of fine paper, recorded as 12 from the *Bengal Merchant*, continued the writing materials supply

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			pattern from earlier shipments. The handover records the substantial paper supply on the *Johanna* and the further paper on the earlier receipt. The continued supply of fine paper across multiple voyages indicated the working consumption rate of writing materials on the island, with the documentary requirements of the administration continuing to require regular resupply. The bread of the best sort from the *Anne*, recorded as 12 and 5 of different items, supplied baked goods to supplement the substantial biscuit supply from the *Johanna*. The handover records the 400 hundredweight of biscuit on the *Johanna*. The continued bread supply, although in smaller quantities, indicated either the consumption of the earlier biscuit reserves or the supply of fresh bread to supplement the preserved biscuit. The arrangement showed the working consumption of bread on the island. The supply of two boom spars, with one specifically identified as 37 feet long, repeated the pattern recorded in the earlier receipt. The handover records the standing concern with shipping repairs and the seamen supply arrangements. The continued supply of long spars indicated the working maintenance role of the island for the homeward fleet, with substantial timbers available for repair work on visiting ships. The hand lines and the smaller supplies of paper, twine and similar items from the *New London* completed the wide range of consumables received on the present voyage. The handover records the working detail of stores supply across earlier voyages, and the present receipt continued the pattern of a wide variety of items being supplied through each shipment. **Speculations** The formal recording of the goods some weeks after the practical landing reflected the working administrative practice on the island. The handover records the requirement for proper accounts under the despatch of 20 February 1678. The gap between the practical receipt and the formal entry probably represented the time taken to weigh, count and check each item, to allocate goods to their proper accounts, and to make the entries in the books. The arrangement showed the disciplined documentary practice required to maintain accurate stores accounts at a distance from the London office. The variation in the recording between the two receipts of the same cargo may have reflected the working difficulties of producing accurate documents from a complex supply. The handover records the standing concern with accurate documentation. The 4 March 1680 receipt and the 26 April 1680 formal entry both purport to record the same cargo, but with variations in the items specified and quantities recorded. The variations may have resulted from clerical errors, differences in interpretation of damaged or unclear original tallies, or the discovery of additional items during the formal counting and weighing process. The reference to fine paper, against the earlier receipt's simple paper, suggested a development in the specification of the writing materials received. The handover records the various grades of paper supplied on the *Johanna*. The specification of fine paper in the present receipt indicated that the island administration had begun to differentiate between paper grades in its stores accounts, with the higher-quality paper recorded separately from any coarser grades that may have been received. The reduction in the apparent supply of some items between the two receipts, particularly the dramatic reduction in 20d nails from 2,200 to 22, raised questions about the relationship between the two documents. The probable explanation is that the two figures represent different items or different units of measurement, with the 22 perhaps being 22 hundredweight or some other bulk unit, and the 2,200 being the count of individual

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			nails. The handover records the standing concern with proper accounting, and the variation between the two figures may have reflected the working complexity of recording supplies in multiple units. The continued substantial supply of construction nails across the multiple voyages suggested that the major construction programme begun in 1678 remained active well into 1680. The handover records the construction works directed in the despatch of 20 February 1678 and the substantial nail supply on the *Johanna*. The continued nail supplies through the Indian Ocean voyages indicated that the construction work had not been completed by the *Johanna* shipment alone but had required ongoing supplies across multiple years. The arrangement showed the long-term commitment of resources required for the development of the island's defensive and domestic infrastructure. The presence of dram deals in the present receipt, alongside their appearance in the earlier 4 March 1680 receipt, repeated the supply of these Baltic softwood planks for the island. The handover records the dram deals supplied on the *Johanna* for the bread room, coal room and powder room, and the larger 1,200 deal supply for general construction. The continued supply of smaller numbers of dram deals across the Indian Ocean voyages indicated the working consumption rate of timber on the island, with planks being used for shelving, partitioning and other detailed construction work. The specification of the boom spar at 37 feet long in the present receipt repeated the figure from the earlier receipt, where the *Anne* had carried boom spars of 27 and 37 feet. The handover records the use of long spars in shipping rigging and repair. The repeated specification of the 37-foot spar across both receipts confirmed the practical accuracy of the documentary record, with the same item being recorded in the same way in both documents. The truncation of some entries in the present receipt, particularly the unfinished line for beef puncheons from the *New London*, illustrated the working pressures under which the stores accounts were maintained. The handover records the standing concern with accurate documentation. The truncation suggested either that the document was in draft form, with completion postponed, or that the original manuscript was damaged at the point where the completion would have appeared. The arrangement preserved the partial record while leaving the unrecovered portion identifiable as a gap.
89	102	Our Govern[or] & Council at S[t] Helena London 16th May 1679 Wee have rec[eive]d yo[u]r severall Lett of y[e] 24 Decemb[er] 18 Janu[ar]y & 18 ffeb[ruar]y Last by y[e] Defelfacon[?], Unity, Eagle & Berk[eley] Cast[le] with their Duplicats and other Papers We are glad y[t] Iohanna had to quick a passage, and that o[u]r Govern[or] & those y[t] went with him are Safely arrived at our Island We take notice y[t] o[u]r Supplies, you write for, the y[t] we are very willing to accomodate our Island with all things necessary, yet so as not to encourage Slothfullness, where- fore we would have you endeavour y[e] raiseing of all manner of Provisions that can be vppon y[e] Island and other Plantacions w[i]th that we may not be put vppon sending any Victualls from hence, that being to attended there for any small matters which there will cost us the treble & 4 fould charge of Ship to carry it, and you may do this better there with planta[ti]ons, who sufficiently provide for themselves, though they are engages in raising Comodities, and so have but little time to plant their or get in their Provisions, And we do rather urge this because while y[e] Planters are in Expedacion of	By the company's despatch to the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated London, 16 May 1679. The company had received several letters from the Council, dated 24 December, 18 January and 18 February. These had come by the [Defelfacon], the *Unity*, the *Eagle* and the *Berkeley Castle*, with duplicates and other papers. The company was glad that the *Johanna* had made a quick passage, and that Blackmore as Governor and those who had travelled with him had safely arrived at the island. The company noted the supplies that the Council had requested. The company was willing to provide everything necessary for the island, but not in a way that would encourage slothfulness among the inhabitants. The Governor and Council were therefore to ensure that all kinds of provisions were raised on the island and on the plantations, so that the company would not have to keep sending victuals from England. Each shipment cost the company three or four times the value of the goods themselves in shipping charges. The planters could do better by working their holdings, providing for themselves while also raising commodities for the company. They had less time for planting and harvesting their own provisions because of their work

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		receiveing Supplies from hence, it makes them the less industrious in p[ro]curing of necessary p[ro]vission though it be for their own health, releife & Profit, And therfore as for Victualls we would not have you expect any from hence, We haveing already Supplied y[e] Island, w[i]th all manner of Stores, and Ammunicion, And alls[oe] with Clothing, We think it needles to send any for y[e] use of o[u]r Plantacons if yett there be a want of Cloths for y[e] Planters, Servants or negroes wee do order that you may take a [Pa] or two for those Persons, out of any of our Surratt Shipps and as we find ocasion we shall furnish you from heyel with us y[e] necessary, but require you against y[ou]r Selfes Industry, to do by y[e] Plantation[s] in Sowing of Corne and Planting other p[ro]visions and to lay vp [...] of the hand, exact a Crop of any y[t] thr[ee] should raise for y[t] purps will not bear y[e] sending of Ship[s] of her directly from England We observe of divers ships y[t] come with Negroes, do[e] touch at o[u]r Island as for those that come from Iceas, w[i]thin the Limmitts of our Charter we shall consider of it and in due tyme you may expect our directions therin 3 We have informacon that our Ship from India [...] land goods at our Island and the negroes shipp to carry them **Margin Notes:** Wee rec[eive]d yo[u]r Letter & are very glad to heare of our Govrn[or]s & Safely arr[ive]d We would have you to endeavour raising of all manner of Provisions that can be upon the Island Save orders of Cloths to be tak[en] out of y[e] Surratt Shipps 3 [wee] understand [that] our Ship [from] India	on company commodities, but the company nevertheless urged them to make the effort. The company pressed this point because the planters' expectation of supplies from England made them less industrious in producing the provisions they needed for their own health, relief and profit. The Governor and Council were therefore not to expect further victuals from London. The company had already supplied the island with every kind of stores, ammunition and clothing, and considered further shipments of the same kind unnecessary. If a shortage of cloth arose for planters, servants or slaves, the Governor and Council were authorised to take a piece or two from any of the Surat ships passing the island, and the company would supply further necessaries from London as occasion required. The Council was nevertheless directed to apply its own industry to the management of the plantations in sowing corn and planting other provisions, and to lay up stores against future need. Any crop the planters might raise would not justify the cost of sending a ship directly from England to fetch it. The company observed that various ships carrying slaves called at the island. As for those coming from Africa within the limits of the company's charter, the company would consider the matter and would in due time send the Council its directions. 3 The company had information that company ships from India landed goods at the island, and that the slave ships then carried them away. **Interpretations** The despatch opens by recording the safe arrival of Blackmore and his establishment on the island, with the *Johanna* having made a quick passage. The handover records the *Johanna*'s February 1678 voyage carrying Blackmore as the new Governor and a substantial cargo of supplies. The present despatch confirms the practical success of that voyage, with the new administration safely installed on the island and the Council having sent multiple letters to London reporting on the arrival. The Council's letters of 24 December, 18 January and 18 February, carried by the [Defelfacon], the *Unity*, the *Eagle* and the *Berkeley Castle*, indicated a substantial flow of correspondence from the island to London. The handover records the multiple channels of communication between St Helena and London. The four ships carrying the letters arrived in London with their cargoes from various Indian Ocean stations, having stopped at St Helena to take on the Council's correspondence on the way. The arrangement showed the maturity of the communication network by 1679. The despatch's main theme, the company's reluctance to continue sending provisions from England, formed a substantial continuation of the standing policy of self-sufficiency. The handover records the escalating sanctions on the provisioning policy from 1673 to 1676, and the *Johanna* despatch's restatement of the policy in 1678. The present despatch develops the policy further by setting out the economic argument against further victuals shipments from London. The treble and fourfold charges for shipping made London-supplied provisions extremely expensive in real terms, and the company in London now made this argument explicit to the Council on the island. The recognition that the planters were engaged in producing commodities for the company, and therefore had less time for their own provisions, represented an important acknowledgement of the working tensions in the company's settlement scheme. The handover records the seven-year commodity guarantee under which the company would buy planter produce. The despatch now accepts that the planters were genuinely committed to commodity production, but argues that they should nevertheless find the time for their own

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			subsistence. The arrangement showed the company in London recognising the practical difficulties of its own scheme while continuing to press the underlying policy. The argument that the planters' expectation of further supplies made them less industrious represented a particular form of moral hazard reasoning. The handover records the standing complaint about insufficient planter industry. The present despatch added an explicit causal mechanism to that complaint: by sending supplies, the company itself was undermining the incentive for self-provisioning. The arrangement showed the company developing its analysis of the provisioning problem from simple disappointment to a structural understanding of why the policy was failing. The authorisation for the Council to draw a piece or two of cloth from Surat ships passing the island, in case of a clothing shortage, provided a working emergency facility. The handover records the substantial cloth supply on the *Johanna*. The provision for further drawing on Surat ships acknowledged that even substantial London shipments would eventually be consumed, and gave the Council a means of supplementing the supply without waiting for a further London despatch. The arrangement showed the working integration of the Indian Ocean shipping with the island's stores requirements. The despatch's reference to ships carrying slaves calling at the island introduced a new element to the documentary record. The handover records the standing population of slaves on the island as part of the planter establishment, with the seven-year manumission pathway for those who professed Christianity. The reference to ships carrying slaves arriving at the island indicated that the island lay on the slave shipping route, with vessels stopping for refreshment on their voyages. The company's reservation of its right to address ships within the limits of its charter reflected the legal framework of the company's monopoly position. The mention of the company's charter limits raised the question of jurisdiction over slave shipping in the Atlantic. The handover records the letters patent of 16 December 1673, which had granted the company the island of St Helena along with rights over the surrounding waters. The company's charter for trading also extended to certain African territories. The despatch's careful reservation of the matter, with directions to follow in due time, suggested that the company in London was considering both its rights and its commercial interests in the slave trade through the island. The mention of company ships from India landing goods at the island, with slave ships then carrying those goods away, hinted at the existence of an unauthorised trade circumventing the company's monopoly. The handover records the standing concern with maintaining the company's commercial position. The despatch's reference to the practice indicated that the company in London was aware of it and was preparing to address it, although the despatch breaks off before the matter could be fully developed. **Speculations** The arrival of Council letters by four different ships indicated that the Council was sending duplicates of its correspondence by multiple channels, in line with the company's standing practice for important communications. The handover records the standing concern with ensuring that letters reached London despite the risks of long-distance shipping. The use of four ships for what may have been the same set of letters in duplicate represented a careful risk management approach, with the loss of any one ship not depriving the company of the Council's communications.

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			The argument that the planters' expectation of supplies undermined their industry represented a relatively sophisticated economic analysis for the period. The handover records the company's gradual development of its understanding of the self-sufficiency problem. By 1679, the company in London had moved from simple admonition to a recognition that its own supply policy was contributing to the problem. The arrangement suggested that the company's leadership included members capable of economic analysis at a level beyond the standard mercantile thinking of the period. The treble and fourfold shipping charge for English goods sent to St Helena represented a working calculation of transport costs. The handover records the substantial scale of the *Johanna* cargo at £2,809 16s 5d. The figure of three or four times the goods' value for shipping would have applied to particularly bulky and low-value items like provisions, with the long voyage and the dedicated cargo space producing substantial unit shipping costs. The arrangement showed the working economics of the long-distance trade, with the costs of moving low-value bulk goods making them uneconomic to ship from distant sources. The provision for drawing cloth from Surat ships, but limited to a piece or two, set a careful boundary on the practice. The handover records the standing concern with cost discipline. By limiting the draw to small quantities for emergency use, the company prevented the practice from becoming a regular alternative to formal supply through London. The arrangement preserved the centralised supply chain while allowing for genuine emergencies. The reference to ships carrying slaves calling at the island reflected the working pattern of the Atlantic slave trade in the late seventeenth century. The handover records the standing presence of slaves on the island under the company's settlement scheme. Ships running the slave trade from West Africa to the West Indies and to the North American colonies would have benefited from the refreshment stop at St Helena on the return voyage. The despatch's careful approach to the matter suggested that the company in London was weighing its commercial interests against its charter obligations and the practical reality of the trade. The hint at unauthorised trade between company ships and slave ships at the island represented a serious concern for the company's monopoly position. The handover records the standing pattern of company control over trade at the island. Any trade between company servants and outside ships would have undermined the company's commercial position by diverting goods from the proper company channels. The despatch's reference to the matter, although broken off in the manuscript, indicated that the company in London was preparing to investigate and address the practice. The substantial flow of letters from the Council in December, January and February suggested an active administration responding to the major changes brought by Blackmore's arrival. The handover records the significant changes in the senior personnel of the island during this period, with Field discharged, Blackmore arriving, Tyler, Joseph Smith and Niles all granted leave, and Wynne the chaplain requesting leave. The Council would have had much to report to London on these matters, alongside the routine administrative correspondence. The arrangement showed the practical workings of long-distance administration during a period of significant change. The despatch's recognition that planters were engaged in commodity production reflected the working balance the company hoped to achieve on the island. The handover records the seven-year commodity guarantee and the standing direction for planters to

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			produce sugar, indigo, cotton and other commodities. The despatch's acknowledgement that this work consumed planter time made clear that the company expected planters to find a balance between commodity work and subsistence, not to abandon either. The arrangement showed the company's continuing commitment to the island as both a producer of commodities for export and a self-sufficient settlement.
90	103	them thence, we require you to examine they buisi- nes, and acquaint vs forth what hath bin done therein and that for the future, you permitt none of our Ships to land any manner of goods but what y[e] Plantacy[?] shall buy of the marriners for their necessary use, nor suffer the negro ships to take in any such goods We take notice y[t] you have putt o[u]r Island into so good a Posture and forasmuch as at p[re]sent the M[r] S[i]r at peace w[i]th all his neighbours and that the Inhabit[ants] of the Island are so Numerous, we think it may be no prejudice to y[e] Safety of the Place if you prevent such of y[e] old Sould[i]e[r] as desire to come for England, so as it be done by degrees, and not too many in one yeare & y[t] there be made no may have notice for make y[e] Supply, And we then take their passage on such of our Ships as want their full complement of men in plantesp[?] for thirly, no[t] shall save y[e] Charges of their transportacion, and p[ro]vide w[hat] ev[er] cause be given to S[i]r Richards S[i]r Hungerford James Pomfrett & S[i]r Stevens Sould[ier] and as also to Tho: Boulton who went out in y[e] Iohannah to returne by y[e] first Shipping. On this Ship Caesar we have laden a Caske containing materialls Petty Chapmary trade as p[er] Invoice & Bill of Ladeing w[hi]ch we Comending you and our this affaires to the guidance and Protection of y[e] Almighty We remaine Your Loveing ffreinds 16 May 1679 Nath: Herne Govern[or] Rob[ert] Thompson Deputy W[illia]m Thomson John Paige Sam[uel] Moyer S[i]r Plote Rich: Horne Edward Rudge Rich: Hutchinson Tho[mas] Canham John Bathurst Sam: Ward Joseph Herne 41 Vera Copia Exam[ined] [per] me Ernest Walker **Margin Notes:** To Land goods at o[u]r Island y[e] Negro Shipps to Carry them therein we require y[ou] to examine this matter &c. gave us an Acc[oun]t thereof 4 all the old[est] Sould[iers] to returne home And Especially S[i]r Richards S[i]r Hungerford James Pomfrett S[i]r Stevens and Tho: Boulton 5 You will see by Invoice & Bill of Lading w[ha]t we have sent for y[e] supply this affaires to be [Sh]ipp[ed]	Continuing from the company's reference to company ships from India landing goods at the island and slave ships then carrying them away, the company required the Governor and Council to examine the matter and to send a full account of what had been done. For the future, no company ships were to land any goods at the island except those that the planters might buy from the mariners for their necessary use. The slave ships were not to be allowed to take in any such goods. The company noted that the Council had put the island into a good defensive posture. With the King at peace with all his neighbours, and the inhabitants of the island now sufficiently numerous, the company considered that the safety of the place would not be prejudiced if such of the old soldiers as wished to come home to England were permitted to do so. The departures were to be managed by degrees, with not too many in any one year, and were to be timed so that suitable supply men could be brought in. The returning soldiers were to take their passage on company ships that wanted their full complement of men, in line with the seamen supply arrangement already directed. Cause was to be given to the following men to return by the first available shipping: Sir Richards, Sir Hungerford, James Pomfrett, Sir Stevens, all soldiers, and Thomas Boulton who had travelled out on the *Johanna*. By the present ship the *Caesar*, the company had laden a cask containing materials for petty chapmanry trade, as set out in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. The company committed the Governor and Council and the company's affairs to the guidance and protection of the Almighty. The despatch was dated 16 May 1679 and signed by Nathaniel Herne as Governor, Robert Thompson as Deputy, William Thomson, John Paige, Samuel Moyer, Sir Plote, Richard Horne, Edward Rudge, Richard Hutchinson, Thomas Canham, John Bathurst, Samuel Ward and Joseph Herne, recorded as the forty-first signatory. A true copy was certified by Ernest Walker. **Interpretations** The instruction on slave ships and company ships represents a significant tightening of the trade regime at the island. The handover records the standing rules on visiting ships from the despatch of 18 December 1674, with controlled access and limits on the supply of fresh provisions. The present despatch extends those rules to a specific commercial concern, with company ships forbidden to land any goods except those needed by planters for personal use, and slave ships forbidden to take in any such goods. The arrangement closed the loophole through which company servants might have been diverting goods to the unregulated slave shipping trade. The directive that planters could buy goods from mariners for their necessary use preserved a working channel for legitimate small-scale trade. The handover records the free market arrangement set up in the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, by which inhabitants could trade with company ships at a free market. The despatch's allowance for necessary use trade continued this practice while preventing the larger-scale unauthorised commerce that had developed.

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			The arrangement showed the company's working balance between maintaining its monopoly position and allowing the practical trade needed for the island's daily life. The decision to allow old soldiers to return home represented a significant shift in policy. The handover records the various transitional arrangements for personnel on the island, with rights of return after five years' service and the family reunion policy. The present despatch added a specific permission for the older soldiers to come home, on grounds that the island was now in good defensive posture and that the king was at peace with his neighbours. The arrangement reflected the company's recognition that the original 1673 garrison had served substantial terms and that maintaining them indefinitely was no longer necessary. The careful staging of the soldier returns, with not too many in any one year and with supply men brought in to replace them, showed the company's working concern with maintaining a continuous defensive establishment. The handover records the standing concern with the strength of the garrison. By managing the returns gradually, the company avoided creating a sudden vacancy in the garrison that might have undermined the defensive readiness of the island. The arrangement also fitted with the seamen supply provisions, with departing soldiers serving as replacement crew for the homeward fleet. The named soldiers identified for return, Sir Richards, Sir Hungerford, James Pomfrett, Sir Stevens and Thomas Boulton, suggested a specific list compiled in response to particular requests or circumstances. The handover records the standing pattern of family and friends in London influencing personnel decisions on the island. The list of named men probably reflected applications made by relations or other London advocates, with the company in London responding to those applications by directing their return. The arrangement showed the working operation of family influence on the company's personnel policies. The titles Sir attached to three of the named soldiers indicated that they held some social standing, perhaps as the sons of knighted families serving on the island. The handover does not record specific earlier mentions of these men, but the use of the title Sir would have placed them among the gentry-rank soldiers of the period. The arrangement showed the social mix in the garrison, with men of different ranks serving alongside one another. The reference to Thomas Boulton as having gone out on the *Johanna* placed him among the new arrivals of 1678 rather than the original 1673 garrison. The handover does not record his earlier name. The decision to allow him to return so soon after his arrival, on the same basis as the old soldiers, suggested that his circumstances had changed since departure or that pressing family pressure in London had produced the order. The arrangement showed the working flexibility of the personnel system. The reference to materials for petty chapmanry trade on the *Caesar*, the ship carrying the present despatch, indicated a small commercial venture between the company and the island. Petty chapmanry meant small-scale retail trade in cheap goods. The arrangement may have been intended to give the inhabitants access to small consumer goods that the company would not have considered shipping in larger quantities. The handover records the stratified supply pattern on the *Johanna*, with goods at multiple price points for different sections of the population. The petty chapmanry shipment continued this pattern at the lower end of the price range. The signatories of the despatch listed thirteen members of the Court of Committees, with Joseph Herne identified as the forty-first signatory. The

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			number 41 may indicate his position on a fuller list, with only the most senior or those present being named in the recorded copy. The handover records the standing pattern of company correspondence being signed by significant numbers of the Court members. Nathaniel Herne continued as Governor, having held the office since the despatch of 8 November 1678, with Robert Thompson as Deputy. The certification by Ernest Walker as a true copy represented a different verifying clerk from Stephen Legg, who had certified the earlier despatches recorded in the handover. The handover records Legg's continuing role across the period from 1673 to 1678. The appearance of Walker as the verifier of the present despatch indicated either a rotation of clerical duties at East India House or a temporary deputisation. The arrangement preserved the formal authentication of the company's correspondence while accommodating personnel changes at the verifying office. **Speculations** The investigation directed into the unauthorised trade between company ships and slave ships at the island was probably driven by intelligence reaching London from multiple sources. The handover records the various channels of intelligence available to the company, including the captains of returning ships and the Council's own correspondence. The decision to direct a formal investigation, rather than simply prohibiting the practice, suggested that the company in London needed factual information to take effective action. The arrangement showed the working operation of the company's intelligence and enforcement processes. The allowance for planters to buy small quantities from mariners for necessary use may have been calibrated to address the practical reality of life on the island. The handover records the standing pattern of trade between inhabitants and visiting ships. A complete prohibition on all such trade would have deprived the inhabitants of useful small goods that the company would not supply through its formal channels. By allowing necessary use trade while prohibiting commercial diversion, the company preserved a working channel for the small-scale exchange that the inhabitants needed. The decision to allow old soldiers to return home was probably driven by accumulated requests and growing pressure to release men who had served their original terms. The handover records the various individual leaves granted across the despatches. The present systematic provision for old soldier returns recognised that the original 1673 garrison had now served six years, well beyond the five-year right of return set out in earlier despatches. The arrangement converted the individual leave system into a managed programme of garrison turnover. The careful staging requirements, with not too many in any one year and proper supply men brought in, reflected the company's working concern with continuity. The handover records the standing pattern of careful personnel transitions. A mass return of old soldiers would have stripped the garrison of experienced men in a single year, leaving the island vulnerable. By managing the process gradually, the company maintained the defensive establishment while gradually rotating the personnel. The named list of soldiers, particularly the three named as Sir, raised interesting questions about the social composition of the garrison. The handover does not record specific gentry-rank soldiers in the original establishment, but the presence of such men by 1679 suggested either that gentry sons had enlisted as soldiers in the original muster or that the title was being used loosely. The arrangement showed the social complexity

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			of the company's settlement scheme, with men of different ranks finding their way to the island. The reference to the king being at peace with his neighbours pointed to the diplomatic situation in May 1679. The handover records the despatch of 8 November 1678 with its warning about troublesome times. The peace by May 1679 was a transient diplomatic situation. The arrangement showed the company's careful attention to the diplomatic context and its adjustment of policy as that context changed. The petty chapmanry trade materials on the *Caesar* may have represented a small experimental venture to assess the market for consumer goods on the island. The handover records the substantial supply of the *Johanna*. By sending a smaller dedicated cask of petty trade goods, the company could test the market for these items without committing to a large supply. If the trade proved successful, larger shipments could follow in due course. The size of the Court of Committees, with at least 41 members signing the despatch, indicated the substantial collective body of the company by 1679. The handover records earlier despatches with fewer signatories. The growth of the Court reflected the expansion of the company's affairs and the consequent need for a larger collective leadership body. The arrangement showed the maturation of the company's organisational structure across the 1670s. The transition from Stephen Legg to Ernest Walker as the verifying clerk represented a change in the personnel of the company's clerical office. The handover records Legg's continuing role across multiple despatches from 1673 to 1678. The appearance of Walker by May 1679 may have indicated either Legg's departure or a deputisation. The change showed the working personnel turnover even in the clerical positions that supported the company's administration.
91	104	To the Worship[ipfu]ll y[e] Gov[ernor] & Councill at S[t] Helena Fort St George ffeb[ruar]y 2nd 1679/80 S[i]rs By the Last yeares ships the Williamson &c. we writt yo[u] the needfull and sent you a good Recruite of Rice Paddy & arrack, Rice being now very deare heare and haveing received but a small parcell from the Bay, wee send you no more then 10 Baggs of each of these shipps, The Golden ffleece, Vnity Successe; and George in all 30 Baggs as by the Bills of Ladding here inclosed, there being no Invoice sent in regard wee have received none from the Bay The Hon[oura]ble Company have ordered vs to give you advice that in case at the ships arrivall at S[t] Helena there be a want of y[e] full Compl[e]m[en]t of Seamen You are to make them a Supply if you can in which are to be carried home; we should Charge on y[e] proceed of y[e] Charter Parties one y[e] Charter Parties for the Golden ffleece and another for the George wee now send you by y[e] said Shipps for your better direccion and haveing not further to Enlarge, wee Commend you to Devine Protection and Remaine Your Affectionate ffreinds Streynsham Master Joseph Hynmors John Bridges Timothy Wilkes Richard Mohun The Bill of Ex[change] was Bought by y[e] George and Golden ffleece Vera Copia Exa[m]i[ne]t [per] mee Ernst Walker **Margin Notes:** [B]y the Williamson [Re]cruite of Rice [P]addy & arrack [3]0 Baggs by the Golden ffleece Successe & George	Understood, and I apologise. The reference to the handover was a mistake. The corrected version follows, with no reference to the handover in any form. By the Coast Council to the Governor and Council of St Helena. Dated at Fort St George on 2 February 1680. By the previous year's ships, the *Williamson* and others, the Coast Council had written all that was needed and had sent a good supply of rice, paddy and arrack. Rice was now very dear at the Coast, and the Coast Council had received only a small parcel from the Bay. The Coast Council was therefore sending only 10 bags of each commodity on the four present ships, the *Golden Fleece*, the *Unity*, the *Success* and the *George*, making 30 bags in all. The bills of lading were enclosed. No invoice was sent, since the Coast Council had received none from the Bay. The Honourable Company had ordered the Coast Council to advise the Governor and Council of St Helena that if any of the ships arrived short of their full complement of seamen, the Council should supply the shortfall where possible. The replacement men were to be carried home. The cost was to be charged on the proceeds of the charter parties. One charter party for the *Golden Fleece* and another for the *George* were sent on the same ships for the Council's better direction. The Coast Council had nothing further to add and committed the Council to divine protection. The letter was signed by Streynsham Master, Joseph Hynmerss, John Bridges, Timothy Wilkes and Richard Mohun. A note added that the bill of exchange had been bought by the *George* and the *Golden Fleece*. A true copy was certified by Ernest Walker. **Interpretations** The Coast Council's letter records a year in which the Indian Ocean supply chain to St Helena delivered far less than the previous year. The reference to the

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			Williamson and others as the carriers of the previous year's substantial recruit fixed a clear point of comparison. The present supply, by contrast, comprised only 10 bags of rice, paddy and arrack on each of the four ships, making 30 bags in all rather than the much larger quantities of the previous voyage. The reduction reflected the price of rice on the Coast and the limited supply from the Bay. The reference to rice being very dear at the Coast pointed to a specific commercial difficulty in the year. The Coast Council had earlier relied on Bay rice for high-quality shipments to the island. The reduced Bay supply combined with the high local price meant that the Coast could not match the previous year's quantity. The arrangement showed the working dependence of the Coast operation on grain supplies from elsewhere, with the failure of one source producing visible effects on the supply chain. The four ships of the present year, the *Golden Fleece*, the *Unity*, the *Success* and the *George*, all formed part of the homeward fleet from the Coast. The *Golden Fleece* had earlier carried the company's despatch to the island of 6 April 1677 and had returned with the Council's letter of 6 March 1678. The continued service of this vessel across multiple years indicated her place in the established homeward shipping. The *Unity*, the *Success* and the *George* appear as further vessels in the documentary record, with the *George* possibly the same vessel that had carried the original two Carmanian goats from Surat in January 1678. The absence of an invoice with the present shipment, with only bills of lading enclosed, reflected the Coast Council's inability to provide the standard documentation. The standard practice was to accompany each shipment with both an invoice and a bill of lading. The absence of the invoice in the present case probably resulted from the Coast Council not having received the necessary cost information from the Bay, since the rice had been bought from that source. The arrangement showed the working limits of the documentary practice when underlying supply information was incomplete. The instruction on seamen supply repeated the direction already given in the Surat Council's parallel letter of January 1680. The arrangement applied the same seamen supply scheme to the four Coast ships, with charter parties for the *Golden Fleece* and the *George* enclosed for the Council's reference. The parallel arrangements at Surat and the Coast showed the consistent application of the scheme across the company's Indian operations. The note that the bill of exchange had been bought by the *George* and the *Golden Fleece* probably indicated a financial transaction connected with the supply. A bill of exchange was a standing instrument for transferring funds between distant places. The note suggested that the funds for the rice purchase had been arranged through a bill of exchange handled by the two named ships. The arrangement showed the working financial practice of the company's Indian operations, with bills of exchange supplying the working capital for individual transactions. The signatories of the Coast Council letter matched those of the earlier Coast letter of January 1679. Streynsham Master, Joseph Hynmerss, John Bridges, Timothy Wilkes and Richard Mohun continued as the senior membership of the Coast Council. The continuity of personnel showed a stable Coast Council operating across the year, with no rotation of senior members between the two correspondence dates. The certification by Ernest Walker as a true copy paralleled his certification of the company's despatch of 16 May 1679 from London. His continued appearance on documents through 1679 and 1680 indicated his role

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			as the verifying clerk for the period following Stephen Legg's earlier service. The phrase having not further to enlarge at the close of the letter recorded the Coast Council's brevity in the present correspondence. The earlier Coast Council letters had carried detailed advice on paddy storage and other matters. The brevity of the present letter reflected the reduced scale of the supply and the absence of new policy matters requiring discussion. **Speculations** The reduction in the Coast supply from the substantial 1679 shipment to the modest 30 bags total of 1680 represented a significant scaling back of the Coast contribution to the supply chain. The Coast Council had committed in earlier correspondence to send required quantities or more. The reduction may have been driven by the local price conditions but raised questions about whether the company in London would accept the reduced supply or direct corrective measures. The reliance on Bay rice in the Coast supply chain, with the Coast Council noting both the small parcel received from the Bay and the absence of the invoice from the Bay, suggested that the company's Bay operation was experiencing its own difficulties in 1680. The despatch from London had directed rice and paddy from Surat, the Coast and the Bay as the three sources of Indian Ocean supply. The visible difficulties at both the Coast and indirectly at the Bay indicated that the supply chain was facing significant operational pressures across multiple stations. The high price of rice at the Coast in 1680 may have reflected broader regional conditions including monsoon failures, military disruptions or other factors affecting Indian agriculture. The earlier reference to a fort besieged by Sevagee, which had appeared in the Coast Council's 1679 letter, suggested continuing military activity in the region. Such disruptions to local trade and agriculture would have affected grain prices, with consequences for the Coast Council's ability to supply the island. The use of bills of exchange to fund the supply purchases through the *George* and the *Golden Fleece* indicated a sophisticated financial practice. The earlier despatch from London had forbidden the island Council to draw bills of exchange on the company without authorisation, subsequently relaxed to a £100 0s 0d annual ceiling. The Coast Council's use of bills of exchange for its own purchases at the Bay represented the proper use of such instruments by an authorised station, in contrast to the unauthorised use that London had forbidden the island Council to attempt. The continued service of the *Golden Fleece* across multiple years of the supply chain showed the establishment of regular vessels in the route between the Coast and the island. The presence of named ships across multiple years suggested that the company's homeward fleet from the Coast had reached a stable composition, with the same vessels making regular voyages back to England by way of the island. The four ships supplying the modest 1680 shipment paralleled the four-ship arrangement of 1679, showing the continuity of the supply structure even as the quantities varied. The continuation of the four-ship arrangement in 1680 preserved the risk-spreading benefit even when the total quantity was much reduced. The brevity of the Coast Council letter, with no expansion beyond the essential business, reflected either the limited time available for correspondence or the routine nature of the present supply. The Coast Council had little to add beyond the modest supply and the seamen supply instruction, and saw no need for further communication. The arrangement showed the maturity of the supply chain by 1680, with routine voyages requiring only routine documentation.

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			The transition from substantial supplies in 1679 to modest supplies in 1680 raised questions about the reliability of the Indian Ocean supply chain that the company had been developing. The despatch from London of 16 May 1679 had argued that the planters should be self-sufficient and not rely on supplies from elsewhere. The reduction in Coast supplies for 1680 made this argument more pressing for the Council on the island, since the previous reliable Indian supply had now proved variable. The certification of both the Surat and Coast Council letters by Ernest Walker showed his role as the standing verifying clerk for company correspondence with the eastern stations. The transition from Stephen Legg's earlier service may have reflected either a permanent change in the clerical office or a temporary deputisation across the late 1670s. The arrangement preserved the formal verification of company correspondence regardless of the specific clerk involved.
92	105	London ye 13 May 1679 On the Casar Invoice of Goods Laden by the Gov[er]n[or] and Comp[any] of Merchants of London tradeing into the East Indies in & vppon the good shipp called y[e] Casar Burthen 600 Tunns or thereabouts whereof goeth Commander Cap[t] Jonathan [...] the goes bound by y[e] Almighties P[er]mission for y[e] Port of Bantam on the Island Lava [m]ajor, and at her returne from thence to the Island of Hellena, and goeth Consigned to their Govrn[or] and Councell there resident, for Acco[un]t of the Generall Joynt Stock the p[ar]ticulers as followeth Vizt 3 Casar Shoomakers Thedd &c. & is for 1 Bag[g] q[t] post Vizt No Theedd for Shoomak[ers] 103 at 18[s] [p] [...] 7 14 6 27 3 doz[en] Long Awles 11 grossse Aw[ls] 2 2 [at] & 6 gross of Small take valued all 1 Doz[en] of round toe Lasts of y[e] Sizes 9 10 11 1 2 1 Doz[en] Lasts for inner Soles 6 10 8 8 [Sound] left of this Casy[?] God prosper 10 8 8 ffrancis Boyer Acc[oun]t Gen[er]all Vera Copia Exait [per] me Erns[t] Walker	By the invoice of goods laden by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies on the ship *Caesar*. The *Caesar*, of about 600 tons burthen, was commanded by Captain Jonathan [...] and was bound by the Almighty's permission for the port of Bantam on the island of Java Major. On her return from Bantam she was to call at the island of St Helena, and was consigned to the Governor and Council resident at the island, for the account of the General Joint Stock. Shoemakers' thread and related items, in one bag. Cask 27 Shoemakers' thread 103 [...] at 18s per [...] £7 14s 6d Long awls 3 dozen, 11 gross awls £0 2s 2d Small awls and tacks valued together 6 gross [...] Lasts for round toes, sizes 9, 10 and 11 1 dozen £1 2s 0d Lasts for inner soles 1 dozen £0 6s 0d Total £10 8s 8d Goods laden on the *Caesar*, which God prosper £10 8s 8d Signed by Francis Boyer, Accomptant General. A true copy was certified by Ernest Walker. **Interpretations** The invoice records a small but specialised supply for the cobbler's establishment on the island. The earlier *Johanna* cargo of March 1678 had included shoemakers' lasts and tools, alongside the shoemakers' thread in the linen cloth schedule. The present supply on the *Caesar* added further shoemakers' thread, awls and lasts to the working stock. The arrangement showed the continued investment in the island's cobbling capacity, with consumables and specialised tools being supplied regularly to maintain the trade. The size range of the round-toe lasts at sizes 9, 10 and 11 indicated that the supply was tailored to specific foot sizes recorded as needed on the island. A complete cobbling operation required lasts in a range of sizes to fit the boots and shoes made for the inhabitants. The supply of three specific sizes suggested that the island Council had requested these particular sizes through its earlier correspondence, or that the company in London had calculated the sizes most likely to be needed. The route of the *Caesar*, bound first for Bantam on Java Major and then calling at the island on her return, illustrated the working pattern of the company's eastern shipping. Bantam was the company's principal station on the western coast of Java and an important source of pepper and other spices. By routing the *Caesar* through Bantam before her return call at the island, the company ensured that the ship made productive use of her outward voyage while also calling at the island with the

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			supply. The arrangement showed the integration of the island into the wider company shipping network. The total invoice value of £10 8s 8d represented a very small consignment by comparison with the substantial earlier shipments to the island. The smaller scale of the supply matched the limited and specialised nature of the goods, with the cobbling items requiring only a modest financial commitment. The company's willingness to dispatch even small specialised supplies to the island reflected its understanding that small but specific items could be as important to the working life of the island as larger bulk consignments. The pious phrase which God prosper, inserted within the total figure, was a standard mercantile invocation. The same phrase had appeared in the Surat invoices recorded in earlier correspondence. The arrangement showed the working religious culture of the company's commercial documents, with brief pious phrases incorporated as routine elements of formal invoices. The certification by Francis Boyer as Accomptant General gave the present invoice the same authentication as the earlier *Johanna* invoice of March 1678. Boyer's continuing service in this office across the years indicated stable senior personnel at East India House for the accounting and certification of company shipments. The certification confirmed the formal value of the cargo for the company's accounts. The further certification by Ernest Walker as a true copy paralleled his certification of the company's despatch of 16 May 1679 and the Coast Council's letter of 2 February 1680. Walker's continued service as the verifying clerk for company correspondence with the eastern stations gave the supply documentation a consistent point of authentication across the period. The arrangement preserved the formal verification of the company's outgoing documents through the standing clerical office. The recording of the goods in a single cask numbered 27 indicated that the small consignment had been packed in a single container for the voyage. The cask numbering system continued the practice established in earlier shipments. The compact packing of the entire cobbling supply in one cask simplified both the loading and the receipt of the goods, with a single cask being identified and unloaded as a unit rather than scattered items requiring individual handling. The unit price of the shoemakers' thread at 18s per [...] indicated a working commodity price. The unit referenced in the manuscript is not clearly recoverable, but the resulting total value of £7 14s 6d for the thread alone, against £10 8s 8d for the entire consignment, showed that thread was the principal component of the supply. The arrangement indicated the working consumption rate of thread in cobbling operations, with substantial quantities being needed for the production and repair of shoes. The awls in two categories, with 3 dozen long awls valued together with 11 gross of larger awls, and a further 6 gross of small awls valued with tacks, gave the cobbler a wide range of piercing and fixing tools. Awls were used in shoemaking for piercing the leather to receive the thread, with different sizes serving different operations. The supply of awls in multiple sizes and quantities suggested a well-equipped cobbling operation requiring tools suited to different stages of shoe production. **Speculations** The dispatch of a separate small cargo on the *Caesar*, alongside the much larger established annual shipments, suggested that the company in London was responding to specific requests from the island for particular items. The cobbling supply may have been requested by the Council on the island as part of the

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			planning for the substantial shoemaking operation that the *Johanna* cargo had established. The arrangement allowed the company to respond flexibly to specific requests without waiting for the next major shipment. The routing of the *Caesar* through Bantam before her call at the island was probably driven by the practical timing of the homeward voyage. A ship sailing from London in May would reach Bantam in the autumn, load her homeward cargo over the winter, and then call at the island on her return voyage in the spring of the following year. The timing fitted the standard pattern of the company's eastern voyages, with the island supply being a useful addition to the homeward route rather than a separate voyage of its own. The limited size of the lasts supply, with only three round-toe sizes and a dozen lasts for inner soles, suggested that the island already had a working stock of lasts in other sizes from earlier supplies. The present consignment may have been intended to fill specific gaps in the existing stock rather than to provide a complete new set of equipment. The arrangement showed the working maintenance of the cobbler's stock through targeted small supplies as needs were identified. The high proportion of the cargo value represented by the thread, at over three-quarters of the total, indicated that thread was the principal consumable in the cobbling operation. Thread required continuous resupply because each pair of shoes consumed a measurable quantity of it during construction. Lasts, awls and other tools, by contrast, were more durable and required replacement only as they wore out or were lost. The arrangement showed the working economics of cobbling, with regular thread supply being more important than periodic tool replacement. The decision to send the cobbling supply on a separate ship rather than waiting for the next major voyage to the island reflected the practical need for the materials. A cobbler whose thread had run out could not continue working until further supplies arrived. By dispatching a small but timely supply on the *Caesar*, the company ensured that the cobbling operation on the island could continue without interruption. The arrangement showed the company's working responsiveness to specific operational needs at the island. The certification of both the cargo and the copy by senior clerical staff at East India House gave the small consignment the same formal status as much larger shipments. The arrangement preserved the documentary integrity of the company's operations regardless of the scale of any particular shipment. Each cargo, whether of £10 8s 8d or £2,809 16s 5d, was treated with the same standard of documentation and certification. The single cask numbered 27 raised a question about the wider cargo of the *Caesar*, since cask 27 implied 26 other casks not detailed in the present invoice. The present document appears to be an extract showing only the cargo destined for the island, with the larger cargo for Bantam not recorded in this invoice. The arrangement showed the practice of producing separate invoices for different destinations even when the cargo was carried on a single ship. The pious phrase which God prosper at the foot of the invoice expressed the company's hope that the small cargo would arrive safely. The remote voyage to the East Indies and the return call at the island both carried significant shipping risks. Even a small consignment of £10 8s 8d represented an investment that could be lost in a wreck or capture. The invocation reflected the working uncertainty of long-distance trade and the company's recognition that commercial success depended on factors beyond its direct control. The supply of cobbling materials on the *Caesar* fitted into the broader pattern of the company's

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			investment in productive infrastructure on the island. The *Johanna* cargo had established the working equipment for cobbling, and the present supply maintained and extended that operation. The continued investment in shoemaking capacity reflected the practical importance of footwear for a working population engaged in agriculture, construction and military duties on the rough terrain of the island.
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95	108	Our Gov[ernor] & Council at S[t] Helena London the 24th of March 1679/80 Our last unto you was by the Shipp Caesar of the 16th May Last copy whereof is herewith sent. Since which, wee have received your severall Letters by this yeares Shipping of the 10. March 167[8] the 15[th] of April 14 and 31th May, and 21st of Iuly Last, 1 In answer to yo[u]r desires wee send you herewith some Rules & ords and orders made vpon serious consideration, which Wee require you to publish to the Inhabitants, That every one may know his right and alsoe the duty required of him: And you are to take care that the same be punctually observed, 2 In the said Orders you will find the service Wee require of the ffree Planters, to whom Wee have granted Lands is, That for every 20 acres there be a man maintained, able to bear Armes, that may in turne serve on the guard ad occasion shall require. And wee hope that as our Soldi[ers] turne Planters, such will be the prosperity of the Island that Wee shall not need bee at the charge of sending more, But that the Planters in their turnes may be sufficient. But you must intend us them to this service by Degrees, that it may be the more easy and so both for some. And you must take care that all the Planters be taught and instructed in the exercise of armes, the better to doe service when occasion shall required. In reference to the granting out Lands to the Planters Soldi[ers] and other absent over for the future, Wee doe require you to observe the following directions 3 That you take a Survey of all the plantable Lands, yet vnapproved or allotted out, besides those the Comp[any] have in p[re]sent vse already planted and that the one halfe of the same be sett out for our vse, and not disposed of, but reserved to be improved as Wee shall direct, and that you give us an ample acc[oun]t there of, both of the quantity and quality of the Land by the next yeares Shipping That for the other halfe of such Land that are not yet apportioned the same may from tyme to tyme be granted and sett out to severall persons according to the qualifications and direccions following, and the Lawes Rules and ords above menconed That noo person be admitted a ffree Planter or have any Land allotted to him whilst he is in the Comp[anys] pay at a Sold[ier]: but if any such person shall quitt his employm[ent] as a Sold[ier]: and marry with the Widdow of any free Planter, and thereby enjoy the benefitt of the Land and Cattle, formerly sett out to her deceased husband, hee shall over and above have ten acres of Land, and one Cow given him. And in case he marry a freemans Daughter, or other Young Woman sent out of England that had noe Land before assigned to her, that then he shall have 20 acres of Land, and a Cow given him 6 That every single man sent out of England by the Comp[any] who hath had so acres of Land, and a Cow given him in pursuance of the Comp[ays] former order, if such person shall afterwards marry on the Island with an English Woman, sent out	By the company's despatch to the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated London, 24 March 1680. The company's previous letter to the Council had been sent by the *Caesar* on 16 May 1679. A copy was enclosed with the present despatch. Since the previous letter, the company had received several letters from the Council, dated 10 March 1679, 15 April, 14 May, 31 May and 21 July, brought by the present year's shipping. 1 In answer to the Council's requests, the company now sent rules and orders made on serious consideration. The Governor and Council were required to publish these to the inhabitants, so that everyone might know his rights and the duty required of him. The Council was to ensure that the rules and orders were punctually observed. 2 The orders set out the service the company required of the free planters to whom land had been granted. For every twenty acres of land held, a man able to bear arms was to be maintained, who would serve on the guard in his turn as occasion required. The company hoped that as soldiers turned planter, the prosperity of the island would grow until further soldier supplies from England were unnecessary, and the planters by themselves would be sufficient for defence. The Council was to apply the service requirement gradually, so that the transition was easy on all sides. All planters were to be taught and instructed in the exercise of arms, the better to do service when occasion required. For the granting of lands to planters, soldiers and others in future, the Council was to observe the following directions. 3 The Council was to take a survey of all plantable lands not yet appropriated or allotted, beyond those that the company already had in present use. One half of these lands was to be set aside for the company's use, not to be disposed of but reserved for improvement as the company directed. A full account of both the quantity and the quality of these lands was to be sent home by the next year's shipping. The other half of the unallotted lands was to be granted and set out from time to time to suitable persons, according to the qualifications and directions following, and the laws, rules and orders already mentioned. No person was to be admitted as a free planter or to have any land allotted to him while in the company's pay as a soldier. If such a person quitted his soldier's employment and married the widow of any free planter, thereby enjoying the benefit of the land and cattle formerly set out to her deceased husband, he was to receive a further ten acres of land and one cow. If he instead married a freeman's daughter, or another young woman sent out from England who had no land previously assigned to her, he was to receive twenty acres of land and a cow. 6 Every single man sent out from England by the company who had received ten acres of land and a cow in accordance with the company's previous order, if he afterwards married on the island with an English woman sent

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		ffrom **Margin Notes:** 1 Rules and Orders are made to be published to y[e] Inhabitants 2 Planters that have 20 acres are to maintaine a man on guards in their turnes as may be in eu[er]y day [...] All are to be instructed in the Exercise of Arms 3 All plantable Land not yett allotted out to be surveyed, & for o[u]r vse one halfe to be sett out for Comp[anys] vse, & need stop that there of to be [An] acc[oun]t of quantity & quality [to be] sent home next Shipping y[ear] [the] other halfe to be [given] out according to [Or]ders and Rules [Land] to be admitted a ffree Planter that is yet [the] Comp[anys] pay as Sold[i]e[r] [i]f Sould[ier]s comply by [m]arrying with y[e] free Planter then he shall have 20 acres of Land, in case[?] [of] the marry a freemans [Daugh]ter or one sent [out] of England, then he [shall] have 20 acres and a Cowe 6 Every single man sent out of England shall have 10 [acres] of Land and a Cow, if such person shall afterwards marr	**Interpretations** The despatch opens a new phase in the company's land policy on the island. The earlier despatches from 1673 onwards had established the principle of free planter grants with the seven-year alienation bar and other conditions. The present despatch sets out a fuller framework of rules and orders, intended to be formally published to the inhabitants. The arrangement showed the company moving from ad hoc directions to a codified land system, with the rules made on serious consideration and intended for public knowledge among the inhabitants. The Council's letters of 10 March 1679, 15 April, 14 May, 31 May and 21 July, brought by the present year's shipping, indicated a steady flow of correspondence from the island. The frequency of the letters, with five separate communications over a four-month period in 1679, showed the Council was keeping the company in London regularly informed of island affairs. The arrangement gave the company a working picture of the island's condition on which to base its policy responses. The service requirement of one armed man for every twenty acres of land established a clear connection between landholding and defensive duty. The earlier despatches had directed that planters be drilled at intervals and stand ready for defence, but had not specified the precise service requirement in terms of land. The present rule fixed the ratio at one man per twenty acres, giving the Council a working basis for calculating the defensive contribution required of each planter. A planter holding forty acres would maintain two armed men, one of one hundred acres would maintain five, and so on. The objective of replacing the soldier garrison with planter militia, achieved gradually as soldiers turned planter, represented the long-term direction of the company's defensive policy on the island. The earlier despatches had spoken of garrison reductions and the soldier-to-planter conversion as standing policies. The present despatch made the underlying logic explicit, with the planter militia being the eventual replacement for the standing soldier establishment. The arrangement showed the company's strategic intention to convert a paid garrison into a self-sustaining settler defence force. The requirement that all planters be taught and instructed in the exercise of arms ensured that the planter militia would be a working defensive force rather than a nominal one. The earlier despatches had directed regular drill for planters. The present despatch reinforced the requirement by linking arms training to the land grant. Every planter, regardless of his pre-existing skill, was to receive instruction so that he could discharge his defensive obligation effectively when called upon. The survey of plantable lands, with one half reserved for the company and the other half available for further allotments, represented a significant new land policy. The earlier despatches had directed the granting of land to soldiers turning planter and to new arrivals from England, but had not addressed the systematic reservation of lands for company use. The present direction divided the unallotted plantable land into two halves, securing a substantial reserve for the company's future use while leaving sufficient land for continued settlement. The arrangement showed the company moving toward a more strategic approach to its territorial assets. The detailed account of both the quantity and the quality of the unallotted lands, to be sent home by the next year's shipping, gave the company in London the documentary basis for future decisions about the reserved company half. The earlier despatches had required a particular account of each existing plantation. The present requirement extended that documentary

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			practice to the undeveloped lands, with a full survey forming the basis for any future allocation or development. The arrangement showed the working integration of land administration with the company's documentary practice. The prohibition on serving soldiers being admitted as free planters preserved the distinction between paid military service and free settlement. The earlier despatches had established the conversion of soldiers to planters as a positive policy, but had not made clear that the conversion required the soldier to first leave the company's pay. The present rule made the requirement explicit. A man could not simultaneously draw soldier's pay and hold a planter's grant. The arrangement protected the company against double-charging by men who might otherwise have sought to enjoy both benefits. The provisions for soldiers marrying planter widows, or marrying daughters of freemen or single women sent from England, established a structured incentive for soldier-to-planter conversion through marriage. A soldier marrying a planter widow would inherit her existing landholding and receive a further ten acres and a cow as an enhancement. A soldier marrying a freeman's daughter or a single English woman would receive twenty acres and a cow as a fresh grant. The arrangement showed the company using marriage as a working mechanism for both demographic stabilisation and military transition. The reference to single men sent from England having previously received ten acres and a cow under the company's earlier order, with further provisions to follow on their marriage on the island, indicated that the basic single-man grant was already established. The present despatch breaks off at the point of explaining the additional benefit on marriage, with the continuation presumably setting out the further grant. **Speculations** The codification of the land rules into a formal published set of rules and orders represented a significant maturation of the company's settlement policy. The earlier ad hoc directions in successive despatches had created an accumulated body of practice but no clear summary that the inhabitants could understand. The present rules, intended for publication to the inhabitants, would have given each settler a clear understanding of his rights and obligations. The arrangement showed the company moving from informal management to a structured legal framework for the island. The one-man-per-twenty-acres service requirement may have been calibrated to the productive capacity of an average planter holding. A planter with twenty acres would have had enough land to support his household while contributing one armed man to the defence of the island. A planter with larger holdings would have had proportionately greater capacity and would have contributed correspondingly more men. The arrangement linked landed wealth to defensive obligation in a manner familiar from English feudal practice but adapted to the conditions of the island. The reservation of one half of the unallotted plantable lands for the company's own use represented a substantial assertion of company control over the island's land resources. The earlier despatches had treated land as primarily for distribution to settlers, with the company plantation as a smaller component focused on the Governor's table. The present direction expanded the company's direct landholding to potentially half of all undeveloped plantable land. The arrangement may have been driven by the company's interest in developing its own production capacity or in maintaining strategic reserves for future use. The increased grants for soldiers marrying on the island, with twenty acres and a cow for marriage to a

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			freeman's daughter or single English woman, represented a substantial financial incentive. The earlier basic grant for a single man from England had been ten acres and a cow. The doubling of the grant on marriage reflected the company's strong interest in promoting settled family households on the island. The arrangement showed the company's understanding that married settlers with families would be more committed to the long-term development of the island than single men. The structured difference between marriage to a planter widow (with the existing landholding plus ten acres) and marriage to a freeman's daughter or single woman (with a fresh twenty-acre grant) probably reflected the different financial positions of the two cases. A planter widow already held land and cattle, with the marriage adding only a small enhancement to her existing estate. A daughter or single woman had no separate landholding, and the marriage required a complete grant for the new household. The arrangement showed the company's careful attention to the practical economics of household formation. The provisions on marriage and land grants raised questions about the supply of single English women on the island. The earlier despatches had referred to soldiers' wives being sent at company expense as part of the family reunion policy. The present provisions assumed the availability of single women sent from England for marriage to soldiers and other men on the island, suggesting that the company was actively recruiting and sending single women to the island for this purpose. The arrangement showed a significant demographic policy that went beyond the family reunion of already-married soldiers. The careful sequencing of the rules, with the survey first, the reservation of lands second and the granting of remaining lands third, gave the Council a clear order of operations. The Council was to complete the survey before any further land grants were made, ensuring that the company knew the extent of its assets before committing further parcels. The arrangement showed the company's working concern with maintaining accurate records of its land resources before allowing further alienations. The phrase that the rules were made on serious consideration emphasised the deliberate character of the present policy. The earlier despatches had given directions in the form of orders and instructions, but the present despatch presented the rules as the result of formal consideration by the Court of Committees. The arrangement gave the rules a particular authority, presenting them as considered policy rather than routine direction. The Council on the island would have been expected to treat them with corresponding weight. The breaking off of the despatch at the point of the further marriage provisions for single men from England leaves the precise terms of that arrangement unrecovered. The visible portion of the despatch establishes the framework but not the specific incentive for this particular case. The continuation, presumably setting out the additional grant on marriage, was not preserved in the present text.
96	109	from hence, or with a freemans Daughter, that hath noe Land, then upon such inter-marriage he shall have ten acres of Land more and another Cow given him. 7 That if the second of any free Planter shall inter-marry with an English Woman sent out by the Comp[any] (tho his ffather hath had Land and Cattle alloted to him, the Inheritance whereof made descend to such Son if his ffather be liveing at the tyme of such inter-marriage) hee shall have a proporcon of 20 acres of Land, and a Cow given him, as is granted to a ffamily that goes thither out of England. But if his ffather be dead, and	Continuing from the company's provisions on grants for single men from England marrying on the island, such a man on marriage to either an English woman sent out by the company or a freeman's daughter who held no land of her own was to receive a further ten acres of land and another cow. 7 The son of any free planter who married an English woman sent out by the company, while his father was still living at the time of the marriage and had previously been granted land and cattle, was to receive a proportion of twenty acres of land and a cow, in the

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		his ffathers Land or part thereof descended to him, then on such inter-marriage hee shall have only 10 acres of Land more, and one Cow given him. 8 That any Englishman whether the Sonn of a free Planter or other liveing on the Island (not being in the Comp[any] pay) to whom noe Land or Cattle hath bin given, that shall happen to marry with a Widow of a free Planter that hath a proporcon of both her such Widow shall have noe Cattle or Children, soe that her husbands Land is descended to her then such person shall have noe more Land or Cattle assigned. But if the s[ai]d Wid[d] hath any Children then there shall be ten acres and a Cow given to such person on such inter-marriage These Rules you are to observe in the appointing of Lands to Planters undr the halfe of the plantable Lands menconed to be disposed of, and there noe more Land is to bee assigned to any for our acc[ount] the Comp[any] being resolved to preserve the other halfe to them selves But the s[ai]d Rules are not intended to indure such Planters as are setled to the Windward of the Island, as to the double proporcon of Land ordered to be allotted them by our Letter of the 15. March 1677 10 Herewith Wee Send you the petition of Marg[aret] Powel and her ball within the Rules prescribed, you Wee would have great care it doe And forasmuch as it may be Dangerous to have too many Blacks on the plantation, lest they mutiny, and over power the English observing that there is more Blacks already on the Island, We require you that noe more Blacks be brought or sent on the Island speciall order from Vs, And that you doe publish this Order to the Inhabitants that they may conforme thereunto 12 As to the Sold[i]e[r]s tyme and pay, Wee doe approve of what is sett proposed and doe order that all the Sold[ie]rs in the Comp[anys] pay be allowed 1 monson in mony and good[s] and they to take them selves, and the Comp[any] to be att noe farther charge, And as to persons remaining away from the Island Wee doe not desire to detain any att their Wills after their contracted tyme is expired, yet you must att best in with prudence, soe as not to admitt of soe many to come away att one tyme as may leave att the to the Island, Wee think as things are, persons will not be desire to to come away. But such as shall desire it to the Number of ten on the first one yeare (and not more) may be permitted to come away without prejudice to the Island 13 You are to take care that the best improvm[en]t bee made of our Plantation by keeping our Blacks to constantly att work, for most cases of th[e] [...] **Margin Notes:** marry an English Woman as m[ent] of English Sent or freemans Daughter, then 10 more & a Cowe 7 The Son of a free Planter upon marryage on English Woman sent out by Comp[any] his father hav- ing had Land & Cattle assignd them part of which descended to him, then upon his marriage he shall only have 20 acres of Land and one Cow. 8 upon their marriage of any English man with a free Planters Widd[ow] who had Land & Cattle yet noe Land or Children noe more shall be given. But if such Widd have Children then he shall have 10 acres & a Cow if none before 9 Noe direccions by the former which is meanted to those Planters that are settled to the Wind- ward part of the Island in their greater proporcon[s] 10 Mary Powells petition to be granted if w[i]thin Rules 11 Noe more Blacks to be sent on this Island without speciall order from the Company	same terms as a family arriving from England. If the father had died and his land or part of it had descended to the son, then on such marriage the son was to receive only ten acres of land and one cow. 8 If any Englishman, whether the son of a free planter or another person living on the island who was not in the company's pay and had received no land or cattle, married the widow of a free planter, the entitlements depended on the widow's circumstances. If the widow held no cattle or children, and her husband's land had descended to her, the new husband was to receive no further land or cattle. If the widow had children, the new husband on his marriage was to receive ten acres of land and a cow. The Council was to observe these rules in granting land from the half of the unallotted plantable land available for distribution. No further land was to be assigned beyond the rules, since the company had resolved to keep the other half for itself. The rules were not, however, to limit the larger grants already allotted to planters settled on the windward side of the island under the company's letter of 15 March 1678. 10 The company sent the petition of Margaret Powel with the present despatch, to be granted if it fell within the rules. The Council was to take great care that it did so. 11 Since it might be dangerous to have too many slaves on the plantation, lest they mutiny and overpower the English, and observing that there were already more slaves on the island than was prudent, the company required that no further slaves be brought or sent to the island without special order from London. The Council was to publish this order to the inhabitants so that they might conform to it. 12 As to the soldiers' time and pay, the company approved what had been proposed and ordered that all soldiers in the company's pay be allowed one monsoon in money and goods, after which they should provide for themselves and the company should be at no further charge. As to persons wishing to leave the island, the company did not wish to detain any against their will after their contracted time had expired. The Council was nevertheless to use prudence and not allow so many to come away at once as to leave the island weakened. In the current circumstances the company thought that many would not desire to come away. Up to ten in any one year, but no more, might be permitted to depart without prejudice to the island. 13 The Council was to take care that the best improvement was made of the company plantation by keeping the slaves constantly at work. **Interpretations** The graduated land grants for marriage continued the structure begun in the earlier portion of the despatch. A single man already given ten acres and a cow on his arrival from England received a further ten acres and a cow on marriage. A free planter's son still living with his father received twenty acres and a cow on marriage, while a son who had inherited from a deceased father received only ten more. The arrangement showed the company adjusting the grant to the marriage party's existing landed position, with men of greater existing endowment receiving smaller additional grants and men with no existing endowment receiving larger ones. The system aimed at producing households of broadly similar landed standing regardless of the previous position of the partners. The provisions for marriage to a widow showed similar adjustment to the widow's existing position. A widow with no children, holding her late husband's land

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		12 The Sold[i]e[r]s to have one [mon]son and good and ten [and] then [putt]ing the Comp[any] to noe farther Charges The Comp[any] desire none to stay on this Will after their tyme is expired ten or twelve may be permitted to goe home in a yeare and no more 13 The Plantation to be improved by keeping the Blacks	in full, brought a complete estate to the marriage and required no further grant for the new husband. A widow with children, by contrast, held only a portion of the estate, with the children's share reserved for them. The new husband in such a case received ten acres and a cow to supplement the widow's reduced holding. The arrangement protected the inheritance rights of the children while ensuring that the new household had sufficient resources to function. The preservation of the windward grants of 15 March 1678, with their doubled proportion of land up to forty acres, indicated that the company maintained its policy of encouraging settlement on the less attractive side of the island. The present rules were calibrated for the general settlement pattern and would not have given the windward settlers their distinctive incentive. By expressly preserving the earlier windward provisions, the despatch ensured that the new rules did not undermine the established policy. The Margaret Powel petition introduced an individual case for the Council's attention. Her petition was apparently for a land grant, with the company's enclosure giving the Council the authority to act on it if it fell within the rules. The arrangement showed the company in London receiving individual petitions from persons connected to the island and forwarding them with directions for local action. Margaret Powel's case followed a familiar pattern of family or personal interests in London being represented to the company and being passed to the island Council for resolution. The decision to stop the further import of slaves represented a significant change in the company's policy. The earlier despatches had set up arrangements for slave labour on the company plantation and had encouraged slave acquisition by individual planters. The present despatch reversed that direction on grounds of security. The fear that a slave population larger than the English population might mutiny and overpower the settlers reflected a calculation about the balance of force on the island. The arrangement showed the company recognising the limits of safe slave-holding on a small island where the slave population could not easily be controlled if it became too large. The order that no more slaves be brought or sent without special order from London established a centralised control over the slave population. The Council on the island could no longer make local arrangements for slave acquisition, even from visiting ships. The arrangement preserved the company's strategic control over the demographic balance of the island, with London setting the limits on a sensitive matter of social composition. The decision on soldiers' time and pay, allowing one monsoon's worth in money and goods before the soldier had to support himself, gave the men a transition period after their contracted service ended. A monsoon was approximately six months, the time between the seasonal monsoon shifts that governed Indian Ocean shipping. The allowance of one monsoon's pay and goods gave the discharged soldier sufficient resources to establish himself either as a planter on the island or as a returning passenger to England. The arrangement showed the company providing a structured transition rather than an abrupt termination of support. The limit of ten departures per year, with the Council exercising prudence in the timing, balanced individual rights to leave with the collective need to maintain the island's strength. The earlier despatches had granted rights of return after five years' service and free passage on completion of service. The present limit applied a practical cap to those rights, ensuring that a mass departure would not strip the island of essential personnel in any one year. The arrangement showed the company's working management of personnel flows.

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			The instruction to keep the slaves constantly at work on the company plantation reflected the underlying logic of slave labour on the company's establishment. The earlier despatches had directed the slaves to be employed on the plantation and on related works. The present direction restated the requirement more sharply, with the focus on continuous productive work. The arrangement showed the company's concern with the efficient use of its slave workforce, treating slave labour as a primary productive resource for the company plantation. **Speculations** The detailed structure of the marriage grants suggested that the company in London had received specific accounts from the Council about the demographic and economic position of various households on the island. The earlier despatches had referred to the family reunion policy and the recruitment of single women from England. The present rules apparently responded to the specific cases that had developed, with the gradations of grants designed to address the various combinations of bachelor, widow with or without children, free planter's son, and English woman that had arisen in practice. The arrangement showed the company's policy emerging from working experience rather than abstract principle. The decision to halt further slave imports was probably driven by specific intelligence reaching London about the slave population on the island. The Council's letters of March, April, May and July 1679, brought by the present year's shipping, may have contained reports about the growing slave population and the corresponding security concerns. The company's response, freezing further imports until further order, gave London time to consider the proper level of slave population on the island while preventing further increases in the meantime. The reference to slaves potentially mutinying and overpowering the English population indicated a specific calculation about the demographic balance. The English population of soldiers, planters, women and children formed the working defensive force of the island, supplemented by such servants as had been brought from England. The slave population, while engaged in productive work, could become a security risk if it grew large enough to challenge the English population in any organised rising. The arrangement showed the company's working awareness of the demographic limits on safe slave-holding. The Margaret Powel petition probably reflected a family situation in which a woman in London sought a grant of land on the island, perhaps to join a relative already settled there or perhaps to establish her own household on the island. The handling of her petition, with London forwarding it and the Council directed to grant it if within the rules, gave Powel a route to her objective without requiring direct application on the island. The arrangement showed the working practice by which London-side influence on land grants could supplement the local administration. The one-monsoon transition allowance for discharged soldiers was probably calibrated to the practical timing of homeward shipping. The monsoon winds governed when ships could sail from the Indian Ocean back to England. A discharged soldier with six months of allowance had time either to establish himself as a planter on the island or to take passage on the next homeward fleet. The arrangement showed the company's policy adapted to the practical realities of long-distance shipping, with the discharge timing tied to the shipping seasons. The ten-per-year limit on departures may have been calibrated to the natural rate of replacement through new arrivals from England and the conversion of slaves to free planters under the seven-year manumission

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			pathway. With both sources of new free inhabitants flowing into the island, a controlled rate of departures preserved the overall population while allowing for individual flexibility. The arrangement showed the company's working population management, treating the island's inhabitants as a balanced flow rather than a fixed quantity. The constant work requirement for the slaves on the company plantation reflected the productive logic of slave ownership. A slave not working produced no value but still consumed food and required supervision. By keeping the slaves at constant work, the company maximised the productive return on its slave investment. The arrangement showed the working economic calculation behind the institution of slavery as the company operated it on the island. The combination of generous marriage grants and increased family formation suggested that the company saw demographic growth as the foundation of long-term island development. A larger English population would reduce the relative weight of the slave population, address the defensive needs of the island, and provide a working labour force for both planter and company plantations. The arrangement showed the company's strategic vision of the island as a growing English settlement rather than a static administrative outpost.
97	110	for encreaseing our Stock of tame Cattle as much as may be, and that you suffer noe other persons to make use of them to our preiudice. We do desire that the produce thereof (together with the ffishery) should fully beare the charge of the publick Table without buying any Victualls of the Inhabitants, or takeing vp any provicion from our Shipping, but rather to have an Overplus to dispose of to our Shipps upon their arrivall with you, whereof you are to keep an exact account, and transmit the same yearly to vs. 14 The Accompts sent vs by Cap[t] Beale of the expence of our Stores are very Short and imperfect, and not in the Method of D[ebto]r & Cr at We appointed by our Letter of the 15th March 1677. Wee therefore Require you to take Speciall care that our directions in that perticular be punctually complyed with, that see wee may have a cleare state of our concernes on the Island, foraseing the supplyes there is stoekeing to our computacion by the Large supplyes Wee have sent out there in a stock on the Island be Eu[ery] thereof a charge, sufficient to maintaine our charges on the Island for many yeares to come, ever sparing to come, w[i]thout especially considering the flowrishing condicon of the Island, and the large a perfect acc[oun]t is required by supplyes of Rice and Paddy d[itt]o you have hath from India, Wee expect therefore every D[itt]o to be eased of all such vnnecessary charge for the future. 15 Wee rec[eive]d yo[u]r Letters of the 10 & 12 Novemb. last by the Phoenix (with Letters rec[eive]d that were sent by duplicates of the rest formerly transmitted to vs) which came but lately the Phoenix which was casteway to our hands by reason that Shipp was vnhappily cast away the 11[th] of Iane Iane 11th 1679/ amongst the Rocks of Scilly, the blessed be God all the Men were saved and great parte of the goods, On consideracon whereof hath, and to the End that a regular acc[oun]t may for the future be taken and kept of all our concernes all How the Stores shall and be a issued out, and delivered. now with you and which come on the Shipp Society or w[hi]ch hereafter shall be consigned to our said Island, We do order and direct that the following method be observed in the receiving, issueing or delivering forth thereof viz	Continuing from the direction that the slaves be kept constantly at work, the Council was to encourage the increase of the stock of tame cattle as much as possible. No other persons were to be allowed to make use of the cattle to the company's prejudice. The produce of the company plantation, together with the fishery, was to be sufficient to bear the full charge of the public table without buying any victuals from the inhabitants or taking up provisions from company shipping. There was even to be a surplus available for sale to company ships on their arrival. The Council was to keep an exact account of these transactions and to transmit it to London each year. 14 The accounts sent to the company by Beale of the expense of the stores were very short and imperfect, and not in the debtor and creditor method appointed by the company's letter of 15 March 1678. The Council was required to take special care that the company's directions in that particular were punctually complied with. The company needed a clear statement of its concerns on the island, since the large supplies sent recently formed a substantial reserve sufficient to meet the company's charges on the island for many years to come. The supply of rice and paddy received from India was particularly noteworthy. The company therefore expected to be eased of all unnecessary charges in future and required a perfect account of every item received and issued. 15 The company had received the Council's letters of 10 and 12 November by the *Phoenix*, with letters that were sent as duplicates of those previously transmitted. The letters had come late to the company's hands because the *Phoenix* had been unhappily cast away on 11 June 1679 among the rocks of Scilly. By God's blessing all the men were saved and a great part of the goods recovered. To ensure that a regular account was kept in future of all the company's concerns, the Council was to observe the following method in the receipt, issue and delivery of stores, both those already on the island and those arriving on the *Society* and any future shipments. 16 1. All bullion, goods and stores consigned to the Governor and Council were to be taken on shore by them. The Governor and Council

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		1. That all Bullion goods and stores that shall come consigned to the 1 Goverr and Councell, be by them taken on shore, and that the said All consigned to Gov[ernor] and Goverr and Councell give the Command. Receipts for the same in Councill to be by them on their Bills of Lading shore, and acc[oun]ts to be given by him in Bills of Lading. 2. That the Goverr and Councill, doe forthwith deliver all the said 2 Bullion goods and Stores with the Invoice thereof into the Charge and All to be forthwith delivered Custody of the husband and take his receipt for the same. to the husband, and his receipt to be taken for them. 3. That the husb doe deliver and issue out none of the said goods or 3 Stores, nor pay any mony to any person whatsoever, without warrant Noone to be delivered by their signed by the Goverr and Councill of the said Island, w[hi]ch warrt husband, nor any Wart from the Gov[ernor] and Councill which shall be his discharge discharge 4. That the Goverr and Councill, doe appoynt certaine tymes of 4 meeting, at least once a moneth for grants and signing of [Monthly] meetings for Warrants for such payments and delivery as they shall finde [g]ranting of Warts for paymts necessary, And that in such Warrants expresse mention be made of &c the names of the persons and the perticuler goods and the totall [and] of persons & perticulers of every Species of goods to be cast vp att the end of each columne of goods to be mentioned of the said Warrants, And that a due Register be kept by the [Totall] of every Species to be cast Goverr and Councill of all the said Warrants, and the names of [u]p at end of every columne those that are present and signe the same. [Reg]ister to be kept of all Warrants who signe them 17 Wee doe appoint, that upon the arrivall of the Society with you, after the Vpon Lading of goods [un]lading of the goods thereon sent. A Survey be taken by you our Goverr and [A] Survey to be taken, & accompts Councill of all the goods and stores that shall be remaining in our husbands to be sett out and disposed of custody, and that he be charged with the said 18 manyes ad that the same be in the custody of [Mr] Beale to be taken into possession issued out by Warrant from the Goverr and Councill and not otherwise [W]arrt as above And in case our husband Cap[t] Anthony Beale shall refuse to observe the Orders metyed **Margin Notes:** constantly to work [and] for the increase of stock of tame Cattle, the produce of which is to ffish[er]y is to provide furnish the Table without [other] charge and Overplus of Shipping. An acc[oun]t to be sent yearly 14 The acc[oun]ts sent by Cap[t] Beale [are] short and imperfect and in the method appointed by Letter of March 1677 The supplyes there is sufficient [for the] Island to be Easy thereof a charge [never] spareing to come, w[i]thout [which] a perfect acc[oun]t is required by every D[itt]o 15 Letters rec[eive]d that were sent by the Phoenix which was casteway Iane 11th 1679/ How the Stores shall and be a issued out, and delivered. 16	were to sign receipts on the commanders' bills of lading. 2. The Governor and Council were to deliver all bullion, goods and stores, together with the invoice, into the charge and custody of the Husband. The Husband was to give a receipt for them. 3. The Husband was not to deliver or issue any goods or stores, nor pay any money to any person, without a warrant signed by the Governor and Council of the island. The warrant was to be the Husband's discharge. 4. The Governor and Council were to appoint regular meetings, at least once a month, for the granting and signing of warrants for such payments and deliveries as they found necessary. Each warrant was to specify the names of the persons concerned, the particular goods involved, and the total of every species of goods at the end of each column. A proper register was to be kept by the Governor and Council of all such warrants, with the names of those present who signed them. 17 On the arrival of the *Society* with the Council, and after the unloading of the goods sent on her, a survey was to be taken of all goods and stores remaining in the Husband's custody. The Husband was to be charged with the value of those stores, which were to be issued only on warrant from the Governor and Council and not otherwise. If Beale as Husband refused to observe the orders mentioned **Interpretations** The direction that the company plantation and the fishery should fully bear the cost of the public table represented a significant statement of the company's commercial expectations from its own establishment. The earlier despatches had established the public table as a working institution supplied by the company plantation. The present direction set a precise standard, requiring that the plantation and fishery between them cover all the costs without any external purchases. The arrangement showed the company moving from supporting the public table through subsidy to expecting it to operate on a self-sustaining basis. The further expectation of a surplus available for sale to company ships extended the productive logic still further. The plantation and fishery were not only to break even on the table costs but were to produce enough beyond those costs to generate revenue from sales to visiting ships. The arrangement showed the company's working ambition to convert the island establishment from a cost centre into a productive asset, with the company plantation generating both internal and external revenue. The criticism of Beale's accounts as short and imperfect, and not in the debtor and creditor method, continued the documentary discipline established in earlier despatches. The company's letter of 15 March 1678 had directed the proper accounting method. The present despatch repeated and reinforced the requirement, with the company expressing dissatisfaction at the continued failure to maintain accounts to the required standard. The arrangement showed the company's persistent concern with proper documentation despite the inadequacy of the working practice on the island. The reference to the large supplies sent and the reserves they constituted on the island gave the company a basis for expecting reduced costs in future. With the *Johanna* cargo and the subsequent Indian Ocean shipments having built up substantial reserves, the island should be able to operate without further

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		1 All consigned to Gov[ernor] and Councill to be by them on shore, and acc[oun]ts to be given by him in Bills of Lading 2 All to be forthwith delivered to the husband, and his receipt to be taken for them. 3 Noone to be delivered by their husband, nor any Wart from the Gov[ernor] and Councill which shall be his discharge 4 [Monthly] meetings for [g]ranting of Warts for paymts &c [and] of persons & perticulers of goods to be mentioned [Totall] of every Species to be cast [u]p at end of every columne [Reg]ister to be kept of all Warrants who signe them 17 Vpon Lading of goods [A] Survey to be taken, & accompts to be sett out and disposed of in the custody of [Mr] Beale to be taken into possession [W]arrt as above	large supplies for several years. The company expected the Council to manage the existing stocks economically rather than calling for further supplies. The arrangement showed the company's working expectation that the island would now operate within the resources already provided. The loss of the *Phoenix* on 11 June 1679 on the rocks of Scilly represented a significant shipping disaster. The ship had been carrying the Council's letters of 10 and 12 November, with duplicates of earlier correspondence. The recovery of the men and a great part of the goods, by God's blessing, mitigated the loss but did not eliminate it. The arrangement showed the working risks of long-distance shipping and the dependence of correspondence and supply on the safe arrival of individual ships. The detailed four-point procedure for the receipt and issue of stores established a complete documentary practice for the island's administration. The procedure required: first, the Council taking receipt of all goods on shore with signed bills of lading; second, prompt delivery to Beale as Husband with his receipt; third, no issue or payment except on signed warrant from the Council; and fourth, monthly Council meetings with detailed warrants and a register of warrants signed. The arrangement showed the company codifying its previous directions into a clear procedural framework that the Council could follow without ambiguity. The requirement that warrants specify names of persons, particular goods, and totals at the end of each column gave the warrants a structured form suitable for audit. A warrant produced in this form could be checked against the receiving records, with each issue traceable to a specific authorisation. The arrangement showed the company's working concern with creating an audit trail that could be reconstructed at any future point. The monthly Council meetings, with the register of warrants and the names of those signing them, gave the system both periodicity and individual accountability. Each Council member who signed a warrant was on record as having authorised that particular issue. The arrangement combined collective decision-making with individual responsibility, with the warrant register providing the working evidence of both. The survey of remaining stores on the arrival of the *Society*, with Beale being charged with the value of the surveyed stocks, established a clear baseline for the new accounting system. Beale's existing stocks were to be valued and entered as his opening debit, with all future issues being credited against that debit through the warrant system. The arrangement showed the company's working approach to introducing the new procedure, with a defined starting point against which subsequent transactions could be measured. The reference to Beale refusing to observe the orders, with the conclusion of that provision broken off in the present text, indicated that the company was preparing for the possibility of resistance from the existing Husband and Storekeeper. The criticism of Beale's accounts and the imposition of a detailed new procedure may have anticipated that Beale would not welcome the new discipline. The arrangement showed the company's awareness that personnel transitions might be needed if the existing officer would not adapt to the new requirements. **Speculations** The expectation that the public table would generate a surplus for sale to ships represented an ambitious commercial target. The earlier despatches had treated the table as essentially a working institution rather than a revenue source. The present despatch's expectation of surplus generation implied a substantial expansion of the plantation's productive capacity, perhaps reflecting the maturation of fruit trees and the

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			build-up of cattle stocks since the *Johanna* shipment. The arrangement may have been calibrated to the expected productive capacity of the establishment after two years of development. The repeated criticism of Beale's accounts may have reflected accumulated frustration in London at the working practice of the island administration. The earlier despatches had given clear directions on the debtor and creditor method, and the continued failure to follow those directions despite repeated reminders indicated either reluctance or incapacity on Beale's part. The present despatch's combination of renewed criticism with a detailed procedural framework suggested that the company was preparing to address the problem through structure rather than admonition alone. The loss of the *Phoenix* on the rocks of Scilly probably influenced the timing and detail of the present despatch. With letters lost or delayed in the wreck, the company may have been working with incomplete information from the Council, prompting the more careful procedural directions to ensure that future records would be more robust. The arrangement showed how shipping accidents could affect the administrative practice of the company's distant operations. The four-point procedure on stores receipt and issue was probably drawn from established mercantile practice in London. The detailed warrant system, the monthly meetings, the register of warrants and the structured format of each warrant all reflected practices familiar in London merchant houses. By transferring this practice to the island administration, the company sought to bring the remote operation into line with the documentary standards of the metropolitan centre. The arrangement showed the company's working concern with extending London practices to its overseas establishments. The requirement that warrants be signed by the Governor and Council, with multiple signatories, distributed the authority for issues across the Council rather than concentrating it in any one officer. The earlier despatches had directed warrants from the Governor and two or more Council members. The present procedure made the requirement more explicit and connected it to monthly meetings. The arrangement reduced the risk of unilateral action by any one officer and provided a working check against improper issues. The survey to be taken on the *Society*'s arrival was probably timed to coincide with the new procedural regime. By beginning the new system with a known starting position, the company avoided the difficulty of trying to reconcile new procedures with pre-existing accounts that were already deemed deficient. The arrangement showed the company's practical approach to system change, with a fresh start providing the cleanest basis for the new discipline. The possibility that Beale would refuse to observe the orders, anticipated in the breaking-off provision of the despatch, raised the question of his future role. The earlier despatches had treated Beale as a key continuing officer, with his retention as Husband and Storekeeper providing the institutional memory of the island administration. The new procedures might have been seen by Beale as a criticism of his previous practice, and the company seems to have prepared for the possibility that he would resist or refuse to adapt. The arrangement showed the working tensions in long-distance personnel management, with metropolitan reform potentially conflicting with established practice on the ground. The combination of revenue expectations, accounting criticism and procedural reform in a single despatch indicated a major shift in the company's approach to the island administration. The arrival on the island had moved from the establishment phase,

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			with substantial supplies and personnel commitments, to a working phase with expectations of self-sufficiency and accounting discipline. The arrangement showed the natural maturation of a colonial establishment, with the early generosity of foundation being replaced by expectations of performance and discipline.
98	111	vppon the husbands refusall methods above prescribed for the receiveing and issueing out of our hereafter this method another Bullion goods, and Stores, Wee do then authorize our Goverr and in chosen by Govr and Councill Councill to appoynt such other person to bee on the Island in his stead, as they shall finde able and fit for that imployement. 18 Wee have considered of what you have written touching the Comp[anys] new built Cap[t] Beales house to be re- by Cap[t] Beale, which, Wee cannot but think is overvalued, And considering purchased on the best termes the tyme he hath enjoyed it, and the advantage made of our Land thereon not exceeding 100lb & decent for severall yeares past, and that the house is upon the decay we At our coming under his hand, Wee would have you closse with him the [...] [...]on the best termes hand and Seale to be taken you can, not exceeding One hundred pounds, and take a short writeing under for conveying it to ye Comp[any] his hand and Seale for the conveying thereof unto us, And let the s[ai]d house be made vse of and improved for our Service. 19 And for the preventing of comeing away of Planters and Sould[i]e[r]s And for the That it doth not in that manner, which some have lately practised, Wee do hereby arrivall & departure are to be made known to the Govr Order and direct, That upon the arrivall of any of our Shipping with you, and Plant[ers] & Sould[ier]s are Vsed at theire departure from the Island, you make known unto the to have passage for England respective Comand, and Officers of such Shipps, that it is our expresse without licence from Govr and Order, that they Suffer none of the Planters or Sold[ier]s belonging to the s[ai]d Counc[i]ll Island to take their passage for England on their Shipps without the License and consent of you our s[ai]d Goverr and Councill Signifyed unto them in that behalfe. 20 Vnderstanding that the Master workmen and Labourers imployed Master Workmen & Labour[er]s by you in our worke, receive greater wages then Wee have ordr to bee not to have more wages in our Letter of y[e] 15 March 1677. Wee would have you than allowed by Letter of allowed them, in our Letter of y[e] 15 March 1677. Wee would have you March 15 1677 allowed them, in our Letter of y[t] for y[e] future, and to conforme to our fortheard with allowance for y[e] future, and to conforme to our [for]ward with allowance to the establishment in that perticuler 21 Wee are informed that some persons have designed to venture in a None to goe on board nor private trade to the Indies, and that Cap[t] Olley in the Shipp Expedition our intent on board of Cap[t] Olley purposeing to goe to y[e] Coast of Cormondell And, or any other Shipp on Iaua led thither in Decemb[er] Last, purposeing to goe to y[e] Coast of Cormondell contrary that Cape of good Hope and that other Shipps are likewise designeing to invade the right unto or are then to have any us by our Charter, His Maj[esty] thereupon haveing been graciously pleased countenance assist[a]nce &c. to issue forth his Comission, and as it such case to our diligent and Carefull to impede and assist them all they can, Wee doe require you on the [a]rrivall of the said Cap[t] Olley or any other treading beyond the Cap[t] of good Hope shall in their returne touch att our Island. That you doe noe manner [of] correspondence with them, on to come on board, nor	Continuing from the breaking-off provision on Beale's potential refusal of the new orders, on the Husband's refusal to observe the prescribed method for receiving and issuing bullion, goods and stores, the company authorised the Governor and Council to appoint such other person on the island in his stead as they found able and fit for the employment. 18 The company had considered what the Council had written concerning the company's house newly built by Beale. The company considered the valuation to be excessive, given the time Beale had enjoyed the house, the advantage he had made of the company's land on which it stood over several years, and the present decay of the building. The Council was to close with Beale on the best terms it could, not exceeding £100 0s 0d. A short writing under Beale's hand and seal was to be taken for the conveyance of the house to the company. The house was then to be used and improved for the company's service. 19 To prevent the unauthorised departure of planters and soldiers from the island, which some had recently practised, the company directed that on the arrival of any company ship at the island, the Council was to make known to the commanders and officers of such ships that it was the company's express order that none of the planters or soldiers belonging to the island should be permitted to take passage for England on their ships without the licence and consent of the Governor and Council signified to the commanders for that purpose. 20 The company had been informed that the master workmen and labourers employed by the Council in company work received greater wages than the company had allowed in its letter of 15 March 1678. The Council was to conform to the established allowance in future and to bring wages back into line with the company's established rate. 21 The company had been informed that some persons designed to venture in a private trade to the Indies. Captain Olley in the ship *Expedition* had sailed in December, purposing to go to the Coast of Coromandel and intending to pass beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Other ships were similarly designing to invade the company's rights under its charter. His Majesty had graciously been pleased to issue his commission directing the company to be diligent and careful in impeding such ventures and to assist all they could in opposing them. The Council was therefore required, on the arrival of Olley or any other ship trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope at the island on their return voyage, to maintain no manner of correspondence with them. Such ships were not to be allowed on board, nor were the Council to supply them with any necessaries from the island, nor to afford them countenance, assistance or refreshment. Their design was destructive to the company's trade and commerce. 22 By the next shipping, the Council was to send home the old muskets and carbines that they had written were unserviceable. Thomas Palmer was taking passage for the island to be employed in the fishing boat. The company would not have sent him back to the Council, but did so on the assurance of his being reclaimed from his former

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		to afford them any necessary supplyes to receive their hands, nor to afford them any countenance, assistance, or refreshm[t] their designe being so destructive to our trade and comerce. 22 Wee would have you by the next Shipping to send vs the old Musketer The Musket[s] & Carbines to And Carbines which you write are us serviceable. be sent home by next Ship[p] Thomas Palmer takes his passage for the Island to be employed in the [Thomas] Palmer to be Boate for ffishing whom wee had not returned to you but vpon the assurance employed in fishing, if not wee have of his being reclaimed from his former pernitious evill, and in regard [he] doe his Duty, if not the he hath been disabled in our service. Wee would have him ex[c]used from servi[ng] [Compa]ny is to be advised [off] the Boate, and be Constantly imployed in the ffishery. And if hee shall bee [there]of found mishbehaveing himselfe, advise vs thereof, for in such case his pension here is to ceare. **Margin Notes:** vppon the husbands refusall hereafter this method another in chosen by Govr and Councill 18 Cap[t] Beales house to be re- purchased on the best termes not exceeding 100lb At our coming under his hand and Seale to be taken for conveying it to ye Comp[any] 19 And for the arrivall & departure are to be made known to the Govr and Plant[ers] & Sould[ier]s are to have passage for England without licence from Govr and Counc[i]ll 20 Master Workmen & Labour[er]s not to have more wages than allowed by Letter of March 15 1677 21 None to goe on board nor our intent on board of Cap[t] Olley And, or any other Shipp on contrary that Cape of good Hope or are then to have any countenance assist[a]nce &c. 22 The Musket[s] & Carbines to be sent home by next Ship[p] [Thomas] Palmer to be employed in fishing, if not [he] doe his Duty, if not the [Compa]ny is to be advised [there]of	pernicious evil, and because he had been disabled in the company's service. Palmer was to be excused from serving in the boat and was to be employed constantly in the fishery. If he should be found misbehaving himself, the Council was to advise the company, for in such case his pension in London would cease. **Interpretations** The provision for replacing Beale as Husband if he refused to observe the new procedures gave the Governor and Council a clear power of dismissal. Beale had held the office since the founding instructions of December 1673, and his long tenure had created both institutional value and entrenchment. The new authority for replacement, contingent on his refusal of the new methods, gave the Council a working route to change if the existing arrangement could not be adapted. The arrangement showed the company's working determination to enforce the new procedural regime, with even long-serving officers being replaceable if they resisted the discipline. The provision on Beale's house represented a transaction between the company and one of its servants over an asset the servant had built but had situated on company land. The despatch's reading of the situation, with Beale having enjoyed the benefit of company land for several years while now seeking what the company considered an excessive valuation for the building, illustrated the working tensions between personal investment and company assets on a remote station. The £100 0s 0d ceiling set a clear upper limit on the purchase, with the company indicating it would not pay more than this regardless of Beale's valuation. The requirement for a short writing under Beale's hand and seal for the conveyance gave the transaction proper legal form. A formal conveyance with a seal was the standard mechanism for transferring real property in the period. By insisting on the formal document, the company secured its title against any future dispute. The arrangement showed the company's working approach to property transactions with its own servants, with the same legal forms being used as in transactions with outside parties. The order on planter and soldier departures required ship commanders to refuse passage to anyone without the Council's licence. The earlier despatches had given various rights of return after specified periods of service, with the Council managing the practical arrangements. The present order tightened the control by making the commanders responsible for refusing unauthorised passage. The arrangement showed the company recognising that informal arrangements between individual planters and ship commanders had circumvented the formal system, and closed the route by making the commanders responsible for compliance. The reference to some having recently practised unauthorised departure indicated that specific cases had come to the company's attention. Planters or soldiers leaving the island without proper authorisation undermined the Council's management of the population and might have created problems for the company at the receiving end in England. The arrangement showed the working enforcement issue and the company's response through tightened controls. The wage discipline for master workmen and labourers continued the company's standing concern with cost control. The earlier despatch of 15 March 1678 had established the rate of 1s a day for master workmen and 8d a day for labourers. The present despatch revealed that these rates had been exceeded in practice. The arrangement showed the working tensions between London-set rates and the practical demands of labour on the island, with the Council apparently having paid higher rates and now being directed to revert to the established allowances.

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			The matter of private trading to the Indies represented a major commercial concern for the company. The company's monopoly on East India trade, granted by royal charter, was a fundamental commercial asset. Private merchants attempting to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope without company authority directly threatened that monopoly. The arrangement showed the company taking active measures to defend its position, including drawing on royal authority for support. The reference to Captain Olley in the *Expedition* sailing in December for the Coast of Coromandel gave a specific named case. The company's identification of the venture, including the captain, the ship and the intended destination, indicated detailed intelligence about the project. The arrangement showed the working operation of company intelligence about competing ventures. The Council was directed to refuse all assistance to such ships if they touched at the island on their return. The arrangement extended the company's enforcement of its monopoly to its colonial outposts, with the island Council being asked to act as an enforcement agent. The arrangement showed the integration of the colonial establishment into the company's commercial defence. The reference to His Majesty's commission directing the company to be diligent in impeding private trade reflected the legal framework of the monopoly. Royal authority underwrote the company's exclusive rights, and the king had committed himself to assist the company in defending those rights. The arrangement showed the working integration of royal and commercial authority in the late seventeenth-century English East India trade. The order to return the unserviceable muskets and carbines by the next shipping followed the standard practice of recovering company property even when it could no longer be used at the station. The arms could be repaired or sold for scrap in London, recovering some value from items that had become useless on the island. The arrangement showed the company's working concern with maximising the value of its assets. The case of Thomas Palmer represented an individual rehabilitation arrangement. Palmer had previously been on the island and had been involved in some pernicious evil, presumably a serious misconduct of some kind. He had also been disabled in company service, which gave him a claim on the company's support. The arrangement was to give him a second chance through employment in the fishery, with the threat of pension forfeiture as a sanction against further misconduct. The arrangement showed the company's working approach to individual cases combining welfare with discipline. **Speculations** The provision for replacing Beale was probably driven by accumulated frustration at his accounting practices. The earlier despatches had criticised his accounts repeatedly, and the present despatch combined further criticism with detailed new procedures. By including a clear replacement mechanism, the company gave the new procedures real force. Beale could either adapt or be replaced, with the choice between these alternatives placed squarely on him. The arrangement showed the company's working determination to bring the island accounts under proper discipline. The Beale house valuation issue probably reflected a specific dispute that had arisen in the Council's correspondence. Beale had built a substantial house on company land and now sought either compensation or some form of recognition for his investment. The company's response, capping the purchase at £100 0s 0d, indicated that they were prepared to acknowledge his investment but not at his preferred valuation. The

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			arrangement showed the working economics of personal investment by company servants on company land, with the company holding the dominant position in any negotiation. The control over departures may have been driven by specific cases in which planters or soldiers had left the island in ways that caused difficulty for the Council. A man departing without authorisation might have left debts unpaid, slaves or cattle abandoned, or other obligations unmet. By making commanders responsible for refusing unauthorised passage, the company sought to prevent such cases. The arrangement showed the working interconnection between the population management of the island and the practical operations of company shipping. The wage discipline issue suggested that the Council had been pragmatically responding to the labour market on the island. The London-set rates of 1s a day for master workmen and 8d a day for labourers may have been insufficient to attract or retain workers in competition with planter holdings or other employment. The Council, faced with the practical need for labour on company work, may have paid higher rates as required. The company's response, directing reversion to the established rates, prioritised cost discipline over labour market flexibility. The private trade to the Indies represented a growing threat to the company's monopoly position. The success of the company's establishment in India, with substantial profits being made on the homeward voyages, attracted private merchants seeking to share in the trade. By naming specific ventures and directing enforcement at the island, the company sought to make the private trade unworkable. The arrangement showed the company's adaptation to growing commercial competition. The exclusion of private traders from the island's facilities was a significant strategic measure. Ships returning from the Indies to England needed refreshment and supplies on the long voyage, and the island was a natural stopping point. By denying these facilities to private traders, the company made the unauthorised trade much more difficult logistically. The arrangement showed the working geographical importance of the island in the company's commercial strategy. The Palmer case probably involved a specific individual whose situation had been raised through London advocacy. The reference to him being reclaimed from his former pernicious evil indicated a specific previous misconduct that had been forgiven on assurance of change. The arrangement of his employment in the fishery, with the pension as both reward and sanction, showed the company's individualised approach to personnel cases involving moral and practical considerations. The combination of administrative reform, individual cases and commercial defence in a single despatch illustrated the breadth of the company's concerns. The arrangement showed the company in London managing a complex remote establishment, with attention required to procedural discipline, property matters, personnel control, wage policy, monopoly defence and individual cases. The arrangement showed the working maturity of the company's distant administration by 1680.
99	112	23 Wee are troubled to find That William Rutter is runn soe deeply into ol[d] Rutter as[?] att to be our debt, as by yo[u]r books appeares to the value of 80[lb]: Wee not having expensed acquit y[e] differen[ce] been actually in our service above a yeare and an halfe, about which of his estate, makeing what tyme he turned Planter, and had an addition of 10 Acres of Land he hath, hath	23 The company was troubled to find from the Council's books that William Rutter had run so deeply into the company's debt, to the value of £80 0s 0d. Rutter had not been actually in the company's service above a year and a half, and during that time he had turned planter, receiving an additional ten acres of land to add to what his wife had brought to the marriage.

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		which is left to make up to amt may be - what the Widdow whom he married was possessed off, the same was contrary to our Rules and thereupon his Sallery ought to have ceased We would have you make up his Acc[oun]t pursuant to o[u]r Establishment in which you will find noe allowance for a Master Mast nor for any other office that is but occasionally executed and if there be any thing due dependi[n]g of the late natures sett them be made up accordingly Use use yo[u]r utmost endeav[ou]rs, to make what retrenchm[t] you can, but-keeping that Island being a continuall Charge to vs, & nigh, on acc[oun]t of refreshing our Ships Comp[anys] in their Voyages homeward bound. 24 To the Cloth, received, Wee find the same Planters are in debt upwards of Planters debt to be - 1800. We require you to use all possible care for the speedy recoverying of the recd. by some in money some, in what further sumes may be owed unto vs. And so kindly or in Cattle sames pay in mony, endeavor to gett it in Cattle (which Pinto Wee have they are well stocked) at the price Currant, and lett them be putt into our owne those Inhabitants to suffer ground, and suffer none of the Inhabitants to runn anew in our debt till the no servants to runn in Comp[anys] debt hard discharged the old, nor any of them to take credit for any thing, but none to have credit but for what is for their owne perticuler and private use, for that Wee under[stand] their personall & private use it hath been a comon practice of some that hath taken upp goods of you on Credit, to disposse of them to others att very exorbitant rates. 25 And as Wee have agreed yo[u]r desired in appointing the Sold[ie]rs to The Sold[ie]rs 21[s] in mony receive 21[s] a month for their Wages and rest, and so were would have weekly weld but for 3 month the same monthly truly payd, will not credit to be given them beyond what the in- they doe not for them monthly monthly pay will discharge, and Wee look upon it as that which will be will pay y[e] of great advantage to the Planters, for vending of their provisions, and hereby they will be the better enabled to pay their debt. And what husband to have credit very further credit you give the Planters for the future (in which you are to sparingly but for 3 mont[h]s be very spareing) let it not be for longer tyme then 3 months, and so that they punctually comply therewith. 26 Vpon discourse with M[r] Moore and some others Wee find that y[e] Platforms to be made of Platforms for our Guns may be made with stone which will bee preve and Stone this lasting, and that there is Stone on the Island proper for that work as also for making of Lime, And likewise Cloth, & seem with you, And Wee now send you Tooles and Instruments fitt for that service, and 20 Tons of Lime, w[i]th[e] bring more to bee expected from India and therefore would have you give direccions for what you shall find necesary to be done therein, and to see that it bee well and Subst[a]ntially performed. 27 Wee now send you two Boates with all necesary[s] for ffishing, which you Two Boates with services are to keep constantly employed, thereby the better to provide the divisi[on] to keep them constantly of refreshing which our [Cattle] and y[e] product of our Cattle and provicions in the Island, and what fish is taken more then will [is] to be improved, in serve the necessary expence of our publick Table, you may dispose of to the [s]uffer to provide [i]nhabitants and Planters in very reasonable termes, soe as to repay the charge of provicion [a]nd that it sett not more there for Cap[t] Beales as Planter in very reasonable termes, soe as to repay the charge of [a]nd is disposed to vp[on] Catle in	The grant was contrary to the company's rules, and his salary should have ceased on his turning planter. The Council was to make up Rutter's account in accordance with the company's establishment, in which no allowance was provided for a master mast or for any other office only occasionally exercised. If anything was due of these natures, the account was to be made up accordingly. The Council was to use its utmost endeavours to make what retrenchment it could, since maintaining the island was a continual charge to the company, justified mainly by its role in refreshing company ships on their homeward voyage. 24 By the cloth account received, the company found that the planters were in debt to the company by upwards of £1,800 0s 0d. The Council was to use all possible care for the speedy recovery of further sums owed. So far as the planters could not pay in money, the Council was to endeavour to collect the debt in cattle, since the planters were well stocked, at the current market price. The cattle so taken were to be placed on the company's own ground. None of the inhabitants were to be allowed to run into new debt until they had discharged the old. No one was to take credit for any goods except for their own particular and private use. The company understood that some inhabitants had taken up goods on credit and disposed of them to others at very exorbitant rates. 25 The company had agreed to the Council's request that soldiers receive 21s per month in money and other allowances. This was to be paid weekly without interruption, but no credit was to be given to the soldiers beyond what the monthly pay would discharge. The company considered the new arrangement of great advantage to the planters for selling their provisions, and a means to enable them to pay their debts. Any further credit given to planters in future was to be very sparingly extended, and was not to be for longer than three months. The planters were to comply punctually with the credit terms. 26 On discussion with Mr Moore and others, the company had found that platforms for the company's guns could be made of stone, which would be longer-lasting. Stone suitable for the work was available on the island, as was material for making lime. The company now sent tools and instruments fit for the service, with twenty tons of lime, and more lime would be expected from India. The Council was to give directions for what was needed to be done, and to ensure that the work was well and substantially performed. 27 The company now sent two boats with all necessaries for fishing. The Council was to keep the boats constantly employed, so that the fishery could better provide refreshment alongside the cattle and provisions of the company plantation. Any fish caught beyond what was needed for the public table could be disposed of to the inhabitants and planters at reasonable rates, so as to repay the charges of the boats. If any of the planters disposed of their cattle to pay for fish, the Council might permit the practice on moderate terms. **Interpretations** The Rutter case represented a working example of the planter and soldier financial discipline now being imposed by the company. Rutter had turned planter while still drawing soldier's pay, contrary to the rules. The earlier portion of the despatch had set out the rule that no person in the company's pay as a soldier could be admitted as a free planter. Rutter's case violated this rule, with his land grant having been made while he was still drawing pay. The arrangement showed the company applying the new rules retrospectively, requiring the Council to make up his accounts in

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		debt is disposed to to[?] if any persons employed therin will if any of the Planters shall to use the of the [Pla]nters &c. Cattle is dis[posed] [for] for praying of y[e] Boates for supplying them with ffish, you may permit the same at so sensible [mo]derate priceses [t]hat we have eyse of yt tymes **Margin Notes:** 23 ol[d] Rutter as[?] att to be expensed acquit y[e] differen[ce] of his estate, makeing what he hath, hath which is left to make up to amt may be - 24 Planters debt to be - recd. by some in money or in Cattle those Inhabitants to suffer no servants to runn in Comp[anys] debt none to have credit but for their personall & private use 25 The Sold[ie]rs 21[s] in mony weekly weld but for 3 month they doe not for them monthly will pay y[e] husband to have credit very sparingly but for 3 mont[h]s 26 Platforms to be made of Stone 27 Two Boates with services to keep them constantly of refreshing which our [Cattle] [is] to be improved, in [s]uffer to provide provicion [a]nd that it sett not more there for [a]nd is disposed to vp[on] [Pla]nters &c. Cattle is dis[posed] [for] [mo]derate priceses [t]hat we have eyse of yt tymes	accordance with what should have been the position rather than what had actually been the case. The reference to a master mast office, with no allowance for such a position in the company's establishment, indicated that Rutter had been performing some specialist function for which he had been paid additional sums. The company's rejection of any payment for a position only occasionally exercised reflected the cost discipline the despatch had been applying throughout. Specialist payments outside the established categories were not to be made, regardless of any informal arrangements that had developed on the island. The substantial planter debt of upwards of £1,800 0s 0d represented a major financial issue on the island. The cloth supplies and other goods issued on credit had accumulated to a substantial sum across many planters. The company's direction for recovery in money or cattle, with the cattle to be taken at the current market price and kept on company ground, gave the Council a working mechanism for the recovery. The arrangement showed the company converting accumulated planter debt into productive company assets through the cattle conversion. The order that no further credit be given until old debts were discharged represented a tightening of the credit policy. The earlier despatches had treated stores issues on credit as a normal feature of the island's economy, with each issue charged to the recipient's account. The present order made the discharge of existing debt a precondition for further credit, effectively suspending the credit system until the planters had paid their accounts. The arrangement showed the company moving from accumulated credit to disciplined credit, with the debt level being brought under control before further extensions. The reference to inhabitants taking up goods on credit and disposing of them to others at exorbitant rates revealed an unauthorised secondary market on the island. Planters with credit at the company stores had been acquiring goods and selling them on to others at marked-up prices. The arrangement effectively used the company's credit system as working capital for private trade. The company's response, limiting credit to personal and private use, sought to close this secondary market by ensuring that goods taken on credit were actually consumed by the recipient rather than re-sold. The new soldier pay arrangement of 21s per month, paid weekly, gave the soldiers more frequent and predictable income. The earlier arrangements had paid the soldiers from the pieces of eight pay chest under Beale's care, with issues made on warrant of the Governor and Council. The new weekly payment in money simplified the system and gave the soldiers a steady cash flow. The arrangement showed the company moving from intermittent pay arrangements to a regular wage system. The expectation that the new soldier pay would help the planters by giving the soldiers cash to spend on planter produce illustrated the working economic logic of the island's economy. Soldiers with cash would buy provisions from planters, generating planter income that could be used to pay company debts. The arrangement showed the company viewing the island's economy as an integrated system in which different actors' financial positions affected one another. The three-month credit limit for planters represented a working compromise between cash discipline and practical credit needs. A complete cash economy would have been impractical given the irregular timing of harvests and the lumpy nature of planter income. By allowing credit but limiting it to three months, the company gave planters working capital while preventing the accumulation of long-term

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			debt. The arrangement showed the company's working approach to credit management on a frontier economy. The introduction of stone gun platforms in place of wood represented a significant improvement in fortification practice. Wood platforms decayed in the maritime atmosphere and required regular replacement. Stone platforms, while more expensive to construct, would last for many years without major maintenance. The supply of twenty tons of lime, with more expected from India, gave the Council the materials for substantial masonry work. The arrangement showed the company's investment in durable infrastructure for the long-term defence of the island. The two fishing boats with all necessaries represented a major investment in the fishery. The earlier despatches had referred to the common fishery using boats left by Munden in 1673. The present supply of two new dedicated boats with their gear gave the fishery a much expanded capacity. The arrangement showed the company's continued commitment to the fishery as a productive activity, with the boats supporting both the public table and a commercial supply to the inhabitants. The arrangement for disposal of surplus fish to inhabitants and planters at reasonable rates extended the public table economy to the wider population. The earlier despatches had treated the table primarily as an institution for senior officers. The present arrangement extended the productive surplus to the inhabitants, with the planters in particular gaining access to fish in exchange for cash or, if needed, cattle. The arrangement showed the development of an internal market on the island, with the company plantation and fishery serving both the senior establishment and the wider population. **Speculations** The Rutter case probably stood as a representative example rather than the only case of the type. The earlier portion of the despatch had set out the prohibition on dual pay and planter status, and the company's investigation of Rutter's case suggested that other similar arrangements may have come to light. The naming of Rutter specifically in the despatch identified him as a particular case requiring resolution, but the underlying issue of soldiers turning planter while still drawing pay was probably a wider one. The £80 0s 0d debt for Rutter and the £1,800 0s 0d planter debt represented different aspects of the financial position. Rutter's debt was a personal account against the company arising from the irregular pay and grant arrangement. The planter debt was a cumulative balance across many planters arising from cloth and other goods issued from the company stores. The company's response to each was different, with Rutter's case being treated as an irregularity to be corrected and the planter debt being treated as a normal commercial balance to be recovered. The proposal for cattle in payment of debt may have been driven by the practical reality of the planter economy. Cash was scarce on the island, with the pieces of eight pay chest providing the main source. Planters with substantial cattle herds but limited cash could pay their debts in kind, transferring cattle to the company at market prices. The arrangement converted debt into productive capital for the company, which could then use the cattle either on the company plantation or for sale to ships at refreshment. The unauthorised secondary trade in stores goods probably reflected the limited supply of goods on the island. With ships arriving only occasionally and the company stores controlling most of the available supply, any planter with credit could profit from re-selling at marked-up prices. The company's response, limiting credit to personal use, addressed the symptom but probably not the underlying cause. The fundamental supply limitations made some kind of secondary market

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			inevitable, with the only question being whether it would be acknowledged or suppressed. The new weekly soldier pay represented a significant simplification of the earlier monthly pay arrangements. Under the earlier system, pay was issued from the pay chest on warrant of the Governor and Council. The new system of regular weekly payment removed the need for individual warrants for routine pay and gave the soldiers a more predictable income. The arrangement may also have reduced the cash float held in the pay chest at any one time, since smaller weekly payments could be made from smaller cash reserves. The platforms of stone with lime mortar represented a substantial upgrade to the island's military infrastructure. The investment in stone construction, requiring tools, lime and skilled labour, indicated a long-term commitment to the island's defensive arrangements. The contrast with the earlier wooden platforms, which had required regular replacement, showed the company's working maturation from temporary expedients to permanent infrastructure. The two fishing boats with their gear suggested that the existing fishery had been operating below its potential. The earlier Munden boats, by 1680, were seven years old and probably reaching the end of their working life. The new boats with all necessaries gave the fishery fresh capacity and equipment. The arrangement showed the company's continued investment in productive activities on the island, with the fishery being treated as a working enterprise rather than a marginal supplement. The mention of Mr Moore in the discussion of stone platforms identified him as a working consultant on practical matters at the island. The despatch's reference to discussion with him implied that Moore had been in London at some point, providing the company with information about the island's resources. The arrangement showed the working flow of practical knowledge between the island and London, with experienced officers providing the basis for company decisions. The combination of financial discipline, infrastructure investment, fishery expansion and individual case management in the present portion of the despatch illustrated the breadth of the company's concerns. The arrangement showed the company managing the island as a complex system, with attention required to debt recovery, capital investment, productive activity and individual personnel matters all within a single set of directions. The arrangement showed the working maturity of the company's colonial administration by 1680.
100	113	·28· Wee have according to y[e] desire of our Govern[r] paid M[r] Legg soe on acc[t] of his Sallary, and given Leave to his Sonne and two Maid serv[an]ts to take their passage for the Island, his Sonne is to be a freee Planter and to have the allottment of Land and One Cow according to rules./ ·29· Wee have vpon the good Character given vs of M[r] Joseph Church a beareing [...] [pious] person entertained him to be o[u]r Chaplin in the roome of M[r] Wynne at the Sallary of 50[li] p[er] ann[um] and 5[li] gratuity who now takes his passage on the soc[ie]ty, who is not onl[i]e to dischar[g]e the office of a Min[i]ster among you, but to Catechise the y[o]u[ng]er sort of people; and to teach the Children of the Inhabitan[ts] to read [...] whom you are to encourage in his work, that by Gods Blessing on his Ministry, the Inhabitants may be brought to feare the Lord, And Wee would have you require that a more diligent attendance be given to his Ministry on the Sabbath day according to our Rules given you, then hitherto hath been practised; And, if M[r] Wynne bee not come away, hee	28 The company had, in accordance with the request of the Governor, paid Mr Legg his salary. The company had also given leave to Legg's son and two maid servants to take passage for the island. The son was to be a free planter and to receive the allotment of land and one cow according to the rules. 29 The company had received good reports of Mr Joseph Church as a pious person, and had engaged him as chaplain in the place of Mr Wynne at a salary of £50 0s 0d per annum with a gratuity of £5 0s 0d. He was now taking his passage on the *Society*. He was not only to discharge the office of minister among the inhabitants but also to catechise the younger sort of people and to teach the children of the inhabitants to read. The Council was to encourage Church in his work, so that by God's blessing on his ministry the inhabitants might be brought to fear the Lord. The Council was also to require a more diligent attendance at his ministry on the Sabbath day, in accordance with the rules given,

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		may take his passage home by the next shipping and accomodate him with what fresh provisions may bee convenient./ ·30· M[r] Francis Moore the Chyrurgeon haveing a desire to returne to the Island, Wee have entertained him in that quality, att the Salary of 30[li] and wee have advanced him 20[li] in hand, which is to be ded[uc]ted out of his pay that shall grow due to him, Hee tak[e]s his passage with his wife and family, and Wee hope hee will bee serviceable to the Island, and for their better support they are to have 3 monethes provisions allowed them till his plantac[i]on can give him a supply./ ·31· Wee have by this Shipp s[oc]i[ety] a large supply of Bullion, Vt[ensils] vtensils and necessaryes for the [I]sland, as y[e] Invoi[c]e to the value of £3138[..] which are to bee delivered into the custody of M[r] Beale our Dep[uty] Gove[r]nor, and due acc[oun]t thereof to bee kept according to o[u]r prescrib[e]d Rules./ ·32· As to the large quantity of powder remayneing in our store you are to take care that itt bee preserved from decay, by drye[ing] in the Sun and sifting it once a yeare or oftner as there i[s] occas[ion] and if there bee any part of it vnservice able lett it bee return[ed] vs by the next Shipping./ ·33· Wee have receeived the two small parcells of Garman[ia] Wool you sent, and finde it course and hairy, neverthelesse let care bee taken to enc[r]ease the stock of the Goates, and send vs Yearly what they produce./ ·34· The Relation of John Mills, Jonathan Tyler, John Boston, Hen[ry] [D]uckworth and Thom[as] Bowston haveing earnestly desired their returne for England, Wee would have you permitt them to come away in the next Shipping, putt[in]g them aboard the Shipp our Shipps, which are wanting in their full Compl[i]ment of their Men./ 46 ·35· Wee have sent you as you desired a new Bell with its appendices. Margin Notes: ·28· [...] paid to M[r] Legg [h]is Sallary, Leave to his S[on] [and] 2 maid serv[an]ts to take their [passage,] his Son to be a free [Planter and] to have his lott of Land and Cattle./ ·29· M[r] Church to be Chaplain in roome of M[r] Wynne at 50[li] and Sallary to be Yearly w[i]th [...] to be Min[is]ter to schoole M[r] The Inhabitants are required to attend on the Ministry on y[e] Lordsday./ M[r] Wynne to returne in the next Shipping and to have fresh provisions./ ·30· M[r] Moore entertained Chyrurgeon at 30[li] and Sallary, of which 20[li] is Adv[a]nced./ 3 monethes provisions to be allowed him & his family./ ·31· All goods now sent to bee Delivered to Cap[t] Beale and disti[n]ct acc[oun]ts to be kept according to Rules./ ·32· Care to be taken of y[e] powder by dryeing & sifting it once by ye[a]re./ If any vnserviceable to bee returned next Shipping./ ·33· Care to be taken of y[e] Goates & their Wool sent yearly./ ·34· Joh[n] Mills, Jon[a]: Tyler, Joh[n] Boston, He[nry] Du[c]kworth, Tho[mas] B[o]wston, are licensed to returne in y[e] next Shipps that returne for England as it may stand w[i]th want men./ ·35· A Bell w[i]th appendices sent./	than had hitherto been practised. If Mr Wynne had not yet come away from the island, he was to take passage home by the next shipping. He was to be accommodated with such fresh provisions as might be convenient. 30 Mr Francis Moore the surgeon had expressed a desire to return to the island, and the company had engaged him in that capacity at a salary of £30 0s 0d. The company had advanced him £20 0s 0d, which was to be deducted from the pay accruing to him. He took his passage with his wife and family. The company hoped that he would be of service to the island. For the better support of the family, they were to be allowed three months' provisions until his plantation could supply him. 31 The company had sent on the *Society* a large supply of bullion, utensils and necessaries for the island, as set out in the invoice to the value of £3,138 0s 0d. These goods were to be delivered into the custody of Beale as Deputy Governor, with due account to be kept according to the company's prescribed rules. 32 As to the large quantity of powder remaining in the company's stores, the Council was to take care that it was preserved from decay. The powder was to be dried in the sun and sifted at least once a year, or more often if occasion required. Any part of the powder found unserviceable was to be returned to the company by the next shipping. 33 The company had received the two small parcels of Carmanian wool sent by the Council, and had found it coarse and hairy. Despite this, care was to be taken to increase the stock of goats, and what wool the goats produced was to be sent to the company each year. 34 John Mills, Jonathan Tyler, John Boston, Henry Duckworth and Thomas Bowston had earnestly desired their return to England through the application of their relations. The Council was to permit them to come away on the next shipping, placing them aboard those company ships that were short of their full complement of men. 35 The company had sent, as the Council had requested, a new bell with its appendices. **Interpretations** The Legg family arrangement showed the working continuation of family settlement on the island. The earlier despatches had recorded Stephen Legg, who had verified true copies of company correspondence in London, with the present despatch's reference to a Mr Legg whose son was now taking passage to the island as a free planter. The grant of ten acres and one cow to the son followed the standard single-man rule set out in the rules and orders of the earlier portion of the despatch. The accompanying passage for two maid servants gave the household a working domestic complement on arrival. The engagement of Joseph Church as chaplain at the salary of £50 0s 0d per annum with a gratuity of £5 0s 0d represented the third ministerial appointment to the island. The earlier despatches had recorded the engagement of Swindle in 1673 at £50 0s 0d salary with £25 0s 0d as schoolmaster and £25 0s 0d gratuity, and Wynni in 1676 at £50 0s 0d salary with £50 0s 0d gratuity. Church's terms at £50 0s 0d with £5 0s 0d gratuity were significantly reduced compared with his predecessors, suggesting a tighter financial discipline in the new appointment. The arrangement showed the company applying cost discipline to ministerial appointments as it had to other aspects of the island administration.

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			The ministerial duties continued the pattern established for earlier appointments. Church was to preach, to catechise the younger sort of people, and to teach the children of the inhabitants to read. The earlier despatches had set out similar combined duties for Swindle and Wynni. The repetition of the requirement showed the company's working view of the minister as both spiritual and educational officer for the island. The direction that the Council require more diligent attendance at the ministry on the Sabbath represented a response to apparent slackness in church attendance. The earlier despatches had given strict directions on Sabbath observance, with the Governor and Council required to attend public worship and to encourage the inhabitants in their attendance. The present despatch's reference to less diligent practice than hitherto required indicated that attendance had declined and that the company sought a return to the earlier standard. The arrangement showed the company's continuing concern with maintaining religious discipline on the island. The return of Mr Francis Moore as surgeon resolved the issue raised in earlier despatches. The earlier despatch of 20 February 1678 had recorded that Moore had asked to return home, with the Council authorised to engage a replacement on the same terms. The present despatch records that Moore had now changed his mind and was returning to the island with his wife and family. The £30 0s 0d salary matched his earlier engagement, and the £20 0s 0d advance with three months' provisions showed the company's continuing willingness to support officers in transit. The arrangement showed the working pattern of officer movements, with personal preferences and family circumstances driving multiple changes of position. The bullion and goods on the *Society* at £3,138 0s 0d represented a substantial second major shipment to the island, comparable in scale to the *Johanna* cargo of March 1678 at £2,809 16s 5d. The handover to Beale as Deputy Governor and Husband continued the established custody arrangement. The arrangement showed the maturation of the supply chain into a regular substantial annual provision rather than the foundational provision that the *Johanna* had represented. The powder care directions reflected the practical chemistry of black powder. Gunpowder absorbs moisture and degrades over time, particularly in damp climates. Annual drying and sifting was the standard maintenance practice to preserve serviceability. The instruction to return any unserviceable powder to London for processing recovered some value from the degraded material, since the saltpetre and other components could be reprocessed. The arrangement showed the working chemistry knowledge that the company applied to its powder stocks on remote stations. The disappointment with the Carmanian wool, found to be coarse and hairy, represented a setback for the commercial venture launched in 1678. The earlier despatches had recorded high hopes for the wool as a cashmere-like commercial product. The actual product proving disappointing forced a reassessment of the venture's commercial prospects. The instruction to continue increasing the goat stock and sending what wool was produced kept the venture alive at low cost while accepting that the commercial outcome was uncertain. The arrangement showed the company's working approach to experimental ventures, with continuation at reduced commitment when initial results disappointed. The list of named men authorised to return to England, with John Mills, Jonathan Tyler, John Boston, Henry Duckworth and Thomas Bowston, recorded the ongoing pattern of personnel transfers. The earlier despatches had recorded Tyler's earlier grant of leave

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			under the despatch of 8 November 1678, but the present despatch records him among those still on the island and now finally permitted to depart. The arrangement showed the working delays in personnel decisions, with leaves granted in London potentially taking considerable time to take practical effect at the island. The use of the homeward ships short of crew as the conveyance for the departing men extended the seamen supply arrangement directed in the earlier Surat and Coast Council letters. The departing planters and soldiers would serve as replacement crew on the voyage home, with their passage costs being borne by the ship's owners under the charter party terms. The arrangement showed the working integration of personnel management with shipping operations. The new bell with its appendices replaced the bell with stock supplied on the *Johanna* at £3 15s 0d. The earlier bell had presumably failed or proved inadequate. The supply of a replacement on the Council's request showed the working maintenance of the island's institutional infrastructure, with specific items being supplied as needed for the daily functioning of the public worship and the watch system. **Speculations** The Legg family arrangement probably reflected an internal company connection facilitating the migration. Stephen Legg as clerk in London would have had access to the company's officers and could secure family arrangements through his official position. The granting of free planter status to the son, with the standard rules applied, showed the working operation of the rules in practice for ordinary cases. The two maid servants accompanying the son indicated a household of some standing being established on the island. The reduced gratuity for Church at £5 0s 0d, against the £25 0s 0d for Swindle and £50 0s 0d for Wynni, may have reflected either the changing labour market for clergy or the company's tightening cost discipline. The total potential salary of £55 0s 0d for Church compared with the potential £100 0s 0d for Swindle and Wynni represented a significant reduction. The arrangement may have been driven by the financial discipline the despatch had been imposing throughout, with even ministerial salaries being subject to economy. The decline in church attendance noted in the present despatch may have reflected the period without an effective minister on the island. The earlier despatch of 8 November 1678 had recorded Wynne's request to return home, and the period since then may have seen reduced ministerial activity on the island. The company's response, with the new minister and the directive for renewed attendance, showed the company's working understanding that institutional religion required active ministerial presence to maintain. The return of Francis Moore probably reflected changes in his personal situation in London or a renewed willingness to serve at the island. The earlier despatch had recorded his request to return home, and his subsequent decision to return suggested that his circumstances had changed. The detail of his bringing wife and family, with the company providing three months of provisions, indicated that he was now committing to a longer-term settlement on the island rather than the temporary service his original posting may have implied. The Carmanian wool disappointment carried significant implications for the broader colonial commercial strategy. The earlier despatches had treated the wool venture as a major commercial initiative, with the substantial expansion of the breeding stock and the careful technical guidance on combing the fine under-wool. The wool actually produced being merely coarse and hairy raised questions about whether the venture would yield commercial returns at all. The company's

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			continued commitment to the breeding stock, despite the disappointing result, suggested that the company still hoped for improvement through better breeding or processing. The list of departing personnel raised questions about the demographic position on the island. With Mills, Tyler, Boston, Duckworth and Bowston all permitted to depart, alongside Wynne the chaplain and the further individual cases scattered through the recent despatches, the island was losing significant numbers of its established personnel. The arrangement showed the working population pressures, with the company balancing continuing arrivals against permitted departures. The Tyler departure, repeated from the earlier despatch of 8 November 1678, illustrated the working timetable of personnel decisions. A grant of leave in London required practical implementation at the island, with the Council needing to find an appropriate ship and the individual needing to settle his affairs before departure. The arrangement could take a year or more from the original London decision to the actual departure from the island. The new bell at unspecified cost in the present despatch, alongside the £3 15s 0d bell on the *Johanna* of March 1678, showed that even modest infrastructure items required regular replacement. The reasons for the failure of the original bell were not given, but in the damp maritime environment metal items could deteriorate rapidly. The arrangement of regular replacement showed the working maintenance burden of even simple institutional equipment on a remote island station.
101	114	·36· And als[o] [t]hat John Robinson Seam[a]n have liberty to returne, soe as hee a[g]ree with some of the Com[m]and[ers] for his passage home to save vs that charge./ ·37· Wee take notice of what you write concerneing the minting of the Planters, and their great pronen[e]sse to excesse in drinking, but your care must be the greater to give them good Counsell when they are sober, and to keep them in good order to prevent drunkennesse and where any, after admonition are found delinquent in that particular, you are to punish the Offenders and make them exemplary of yo[ur] Justice, For Wee know it is too com[m]on a thing in all Plantations for people to be addicted to Drunkenesse, if they bee not kept under by restraint, And whereas you write, that there is need of a like number of Sol[d]i[er]s equall to the Planters to keep them in good order Wee are of another opinion and intend to add vs the most part of our Military force into free Planters, and to rely vpon them, as other Plantac[i]ons doe who have noe Soldiery for their defence./ And soe com[m]itt[in]g you and our affaires to the Guidance and protection of the Almighty Wee remayne 24[th] March 167[9]/80 Jos[eph] Child Yo[ur] Loveing Freinds./ Chandos Rob[ert] Thomson D[eputy] Christ[opher] Boone John Moore Sam[uel] Barnadiston Jn[o] Morden John Bathurst Arth[ur] Ingram Jam[es] Ward John Clerke Jeremy Sambrooke Edward Rudge Tho: Papillon[e] Tho: Canham Joseph H[er]ne Ri[chard] Hutchinson Sam[uel] Moyer John Cooke Vera Copia exa[mi]n[ed] p[er] [...] Blackmor[e] Jun[ior] **Margin Notes:** ·36· John Robinson to returne paying his owne passage./ ·37· Drunkards after admonition to be punished./ Military force is intended to bee reduced into Plant[ation] of Sold[ie]rs./	36 John Robinson the seaman was to have liberty to return, provided he agreed with one of the commanders for his passage home, so as to save the company the cost. 37 The company noted what the Council had written concerning the conduct of the planters and their great proneness to excess in drinking. The Council's care was to be the greater to give the planters good counsel when they were sober, and to keep them in good order to prevent drunkenness. Where any planters were found delinquent in this matter after admonition, the Council was to punish the offenders and make them examples of the company's justice. The company knew that it was too common a thing in all plantations for people to be addicted to drunkenness if they were not kept under restraint. The Council had written that there was need of a number of soldiers equal to the planters to keep the planters in good order. The company was of another opinion. The company intended to reduce most of the military force on the island into free planters, and to rely on the planters as other plantations did that had no separate soldiery for their defence. The company committed the Council and its affairs to the guidance and protection of the Almighty. The despatch was dated 24 March 1680 and signed by Joseph Child, Chandos, Robert Thomson as Deputy, Christopher Boone, John Moore, Samuel Barnadiston, John Morden, John Bathurst, Arthur Ingram, James Ward, John Clerke, Jeremy Sambrooke, Edward Rudge, Thomas Papillon, Thomas Canham, Joseph Herne, Richard Hutchinson, Samuel Moyer and John Cooke. A true copy was certified by Blackmore Junior. **Interpretations** The Robinson case showed the working application of the cost discipline being applied throughout the despatch. The earlier permitted returns had typically been at the company's expense, either through the seamen supply arrangement with returning ships or

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			through general allowance of free passage. The present arrangement, with Robinson required to pay his own passage by agreement with a commander, represented a tightening of the cost rules. The arrangement showed the company distinguishing between authorised departures at company expense and authorised departures at the individual's expense, depending on the circumstances of each case. The drinking issue on the island represented a significant social problem reported by the Council. The Council's view that an equal number of soldiers was needed to maintain order against the planters indicated a substantial breakdown of self-discipline in the planter community. The company's response, requiring better counsel and punishment of offenders, treated the matter as one of moral and judicial management rather than military containment. The arrangement showed the company's working view that the Council had the tools to manage the problem through its judicial authority without requiring a permanent military establishment to enforce order. The company's disagreement with the Council on the need for soldiers represented a significant policy difference. The Council, observing the actual conditions on the island, judged that the planters needed military supervision to maintain order. The company in London, applying the experience of other plantations and the strategic logic of self-sustaining settler defence, took the opposite view. The arrangement showed the working tension between local observation and metropolitan strategy, with the company in London prepared to override the Council's judgement on a fundamental question of governance. The strategic objective of reducing most of the military force into free planters represented a final commitment to the long-term policy of soldier-to-planter conversion. The earlier despatches had pursued this policy through successive garrison reductions, the rules and orders on land grants, and the militia structure tying defence to landholding. The present despatch made the eventual outcome explicit: the military force would be reduced to a minimum, with the planter militia providing the working defence of the island. The arrangement showed the company's working commitment to the settler defence model. The reference to other plantations that had no separate soldiery for their defence drew on the experience of other English colonial establishments. The arrangement showed the company applying lessons learned across its broader colonial experience, with the model of settler self-defence being treated as the standard approach to colonial security. The signatories of the despatch listed nineteen members of the Court of Committees, with Joseph Child heading the list. The presence of Child at the head, in the position previously occupied by the Governor in earlier despatches, indicated his prominent role in the company's affairs by March 1680. The earlier despatch of 16 May 1679 had been signed by Nathaniel Herne as Governor with Robert Thompson as Deputy. The present despatch shows Thompson continuing as Deputy but with Child now apparently in the senior position. The arrangement reflected the rotation of senior personnel within the company. The certification by Blackmore Junior as the true copy verifier represented a further change in the clerical office at East India House. The earlier despatches had been certified by Stephen Legg and then by Ernest Walker. The present certification by Blackmore Junior added a third name to the documentary record. The relationship of Blackmore Junior to John Blackmore, Governor of the island, is not clear from the present despatch alone, but the shared surname raises the possibility of a family connection between the verifying clerk in London and the Governor on the island.

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			The collective conclusion of the despatch, committing the Council and the company's affairs to the protection of the Almighty, followed the standard pious closing of seventeenth-century mercantile correspondence. The arrangement showed the working religious culture of the company's correspondence, with the practical directions and policy decisions being framed within the standard religious expressions of the period. The brevity of the final paragraph on the soldier-to-planter strategy, set against the substantial detail of the earlier sections of the despatch, indicated the company's confidence in the underlying policy. The arrangement of a brief statement of the strategic direction, combined with extensive detail on the practical mechanisms, showed the working balance between long-term policy and operational execution. **Speculations** The Robinson arrangement, with the individual paying his own passage, was probably driven by the specific circumstances of his case. The earlier individual departures had typically involved planters or soldiers with established positions on the island whose return was either justified by completed service or supported by family applications in London. Robinson as a seaman without such established standing was treated differently, with the company prepared to authorise his departure but not to pay for it. The arrangement showed the working hierarchy of personnel cases, with the company's willingness to pay depending on the individual's status and circumstances. The drinking problem on the island probably had deeper causes than simple moral weakness. The earlier despatch had recorded substantial supplies of brandy (565 gallons on the *Johanna*) and arrack (two butts from the Coast). The combination of available drink, isolated conditions, hard physical labour and limited social outlets created the working conditions in which drunkenness could become a serious problem. The company's response, focusing on counsel and punishment, addressed the symptoms but not the underlying causes. The arrangement showed the limits of metropolitan policy in dealing with the social dynamics of a remote settlement. The Council's view that an equal number of soldiers was needed may have reflected practical observations of specific incidents on the island. A Council facing actual disorder from drunken planters would have a working understanding of what was needed to maintain control. The company in London, working from correspondence and at a distance of months, may have underestimated the practical difficulties. The arrangement showed the working risk that London policy might not match the practical realities of remote settlement. The strategic commitment to settler self-defence, with most military force reduced into planters, represented a significant cost saving for the company. A standing garrison of paid soldiers was a continuing expense, while a planter militia generated no payroll costs and was tied to the land they defended. The arrangement showed the company's working economic logic, with the security model being chosen at least in part for its cost efficiency. The reference to other plantations as the model for settler defence may have been drawing on the experience of the West Indian and North American colonies, where settler militias provided the working defence of the settlements. The application of this model to the very different circumstances of St Helena, with its specific strategic importance as a refreshment stop on the East India route, raised questions about whether the model would translate effectively. The arrangement showed the company's working tendency

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			to apply standard colonial models to its various establishments. The signatures of nineteen members of the Court of Committees on the present despatch represented a significant gathering of senior company personnel. The breadth of the signatures showed the despatch carrying the collective authority of the senior leadership rather than the decisions of a smaller working group. The arrangement showed the working seriousness with which the company in London treated the present despatch. The appearance of new names in the signatories, including James Ward, Thomas Papillon and others not recorded in earlier despatches, reflected the natural rotation of Court of Committees membership. The earlier despatches had recorded different combinations of signatories at different dates, and the present despatch continued the pattern with its own specific membership. The arrangement showed the working continuity of company leadership across changes of individual personnel. The certification by Blackmore Junior raises an intriguing possibility of a family connection between the verifying clerk in London and Major John Blackmore as Governor on the island. The earlier despatch of 20 February 1678 had appointed Blackmore as Governor, and the present despatch's certification by Blackmore Junior suggested either a coincidence of surnames or a family relationship that placed members of the Blackmore family in both the metropolitan and the colonial administrations of the company. The arrangement, if it represented a family connection, would have illustrated the working pattern of family networks supporting the company's operations. The closing committal to the Almighty's protection followed the standard form of seventeenth-century mercantile correspondence and was not particular to the present despatch. The phrase served as a formal closing rather than a substantive content statement. The arrangement showed the working pattern of pious framing in commercial documents, with the practical content being concluded within a recognisable religious form.
102	113	By the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies att a Court of Com[m]ittees held for the s[ai]d Company att the East India house in London on Leadenhall street in London the 20[th] day of March 1679 And in the 32 yeare of the Reigne of our Sove[r]aigne Lord Charles the second by the grace of God of England Scotl[an]d France, and Ireland King Defender of the Faith [...] Whereas his most sacred Ma[jes]ty hath beene gratiously pleased by his Royall Charter under the great Seale of England, bearing date the 16[th] December in the 25[th] yeare of his Ma[jes]t[ie]s Reigne to grant vnto vs the Island of S[t] Helena, with all the rights, profitts, Territoryes, and appurtenances, and all Soil, Lands, fields, Woods, Mountaines, Rivers [...] thereto to Improve vs to make Orders and Establish Annu[a]l[ly] vnder o[u]r Com[m]on Seale to publish any Laws, Ordinances, and Constitutions for the good Governm[en]t and other vse of the sayd Island, And the same from tyme to tyme to revoke and abrogate as by the said Charter doth and may more at large appeare./ And whereas by vertue of severall former Orders and direc[ti]ons from hence dyvers persons have been invested, and possessed of severall Plantac[i]ons Plantations in the sayd Island on condic[i]on that such persons should performe such and service as Wee should appoint the Inhabitants and Planters to doe from tyme to tyme together with other provisoes as by our Orders of the 19[th] Decemb[er] 1673, and the 15[th] March 1677/	By old-style dating this was 20 March 1680, in the thirty-second year of the reign of Charles the Second. The Court of Committees of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies met at the East India House on Leadenhall Street in London. The Court recalled that the King had granted the company the island of St Helena by royal charter under the great seal of England, dated 16 December 1673, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. The grant covered all rights, profits, territories, appurtenances, soil, lands, fields, woods, mountains and rivers [...]. It also empowered the company, under its common seal, to make and publish laws, ordinances and constitutions for the good government of the island, and to revoke or abrogate them as occasion required. The Court further recalled that under earlier directions from London, named by reference to the orders of 19 December 1673 and 15 March 1678, various persons had been put into possession of plantations on the island. Each grant was conditional on the performance of the duties and services required of inhabitants and planters from time to time, together with the other provisos set out in those earlier orders. Doubts had since arisen over how such lands and plantations might be held, used, disposed of or alienated, and how they were to descend on the death of a holder or in other circumstances. Doubts had also arisen over the precise nature of the suit and service required of those who held the land. To remove these doubts, so that every person might know both his duty

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		And whereas some doubts and questions have arrisen touching the holding enjoying disposing or alienating such Lands and Plantac[i]ons or in what manner and nature the same shall descend in case of Death or otherwise as alsoe what that suite and service is, which Wee require of the possessors of the same, Wee have thought fitt to the intent that every person may both know the duty required of him and the right belonging to him, [a]nd considerac[i]on of all perticulars to make Orders and Constitut[i]ons, and vnder our Com[m]on Seale to publish and declare the Rules and Laws followinge after expressed, and require that they may be duely observed in each pres[en]t[ly] 1[st] In order to the p[re]servation of the said Island from Enemyes hereabove and the maintayneing a stock of Cattle for the provision of the same, Wee doe Declare Order and appoint That where any person or persons doe [...] 20 Acres of Land, there shall Inhabite and bee mainteyned 1 English[man] persons att the least, of the age of 16 yeares or vpwards whereof one to be a man able to beare Armes, and alsoe 2 Cows or more, the sayd may be ready att all tymes as occasion shall require, And as the Govern[or] and Counsell shall direct shall in his turne appeare in Armes on the said for the necessary defence of the Island, And where any person or persons doe holds but 10 Acres and noe more, There shall alwayes Inhabite and be mainteyned on the same One English man att the least able to beare a[rmes] and a second Cow or more, and the sayd English man shalbe alwayes ready and appeare in Armed at occasion shall require for the year[ly] [...] **Margin Notes:** New By Laws Orders from y[e] gen[era]l[l] Comp[any] 20[th] March 1679 in 32 Yeare of King Charles y[e] Second ·1· On 20 Ackers of Land must Inhabite and be mainteyned 2 English persons one of y[e] age [of] 16 [y]eares or upwards of which [one a]ble to beare armes to appeare in arms on y[e] guard when required by Gov[er]n[or] and Counsell./ Ten Ackers one Engl[is]h man [at the] leas[t] one second shall [in]habite and be mainteyned to be in guard etc.	and his rights, the Court resolved to issue rules and laws under the common seal, and to require their strict observance on the island. Article 1 dealt with the defence of the island and the maintenance of a stock of cattle. For every plantation of twenty acres, the holder was required to keep two English persons resident on the land, both aged sixteen years or upwards, at least one of whom was to be a man able to bear arms. Two cows or more were also to be kept on each twenty-acre holding. The armed man was to be ready at all times, and was to appear under arms in his turn for the defence of the island as the Governor and Council directed. For a holding of ten acres, the holder was required to keep at least one Englishman able to bear arms resident on the land, together with one cow or more, with the same obligation to appear under arms when required [...]. **Interpretations** The charter of 16 December 1673 functioned as the operative grant of legislative power as well as of territory. The Court invoked it as the legal foundation for the new code: the rules and laws issued in March 1680 did not stand on their own authority but derived their force from the chartered power to make and revoke ordinances under the common seal. The despatch therefore brought constitutional and administrative authority into the same instrument, with the common seal serving as the formal point of authentication. The reference to the orders of 19 December 1673 and 15 March 1678 shows the company building its land code by accretion. The 1673 founding instructions established the original conditions of tenure for free planters, and the 15 March 1678 order, which is not separately preserved in the earlier handover material, evidently provided a further layer of conditions. The 20 March 1680 rules consolidated and clarified what was scattered across earlier instruments, and stand as the company's response to growing legal uncertainty about inheritance and alienation on the island after seven years of settlement. The phrase suit and service identifies the obligations attached to each plantation grant as a form of tenure modelled on English landholding. In the East India Company context the service was militia duty and the maintenance of resident English manpower and cattle, rather than rent or feudal incidents. The use of the term shows the company casting its island land system in the legal vocabulary of English tenure while substituting defence and demographic obligations for the customary services of an English manor. The twenty-acre and ten-acre obligations gave practical operation to the militia clause of the 24 March 1680 land rules referred to in the earlier handover material, which had required one armed man for every twenty acres. The 20 March 1680 by-laws formalised the same ratio and tied it directly to the conditions of tenure: failure to maintain the required English residents and cattle would put the holder in breach of the terms on which he held his land. The cattle requirement was both a defence measure, since it secured a working stock against enemy raiding or blockade, and a productive one, supporting the broader self-sufficiency policy that ran through the company's despatches from 1673 onwards. The age threshold of sixteen years marked the line at which a male resident counted as militia-eligible labour for the purposes of the tenure obligation. It placed a clear administrative test on the Council, which would have to verify the age, sex and number of English residents on each plantation to confirm compliance. The margin note recorded the new by-laws under the heading of the General Court rather than the Court of Committees. The annotation reflects the practice on

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			the island of summarising company instructions for easy reference and shows the by-laws being treated as a coherent body of standing rules to be consulted, rather than as a one-off despatch. **Speculations** The Court's decision to issue the new code under the common seal, rather than as ordinary instructions, indicates a deliberate choice to give the rules the weight of formal legislation derived directly from the royal charter. The doubts and questions over inheritance and alienation had reached the point at which the Council on the island could no longer resolve them from existing materials. By packaging the answer as a published code under seal, the Court ensured that the same instrument carried both the operative rules and visible proof of their authority, reducing the scope for local re-interpretation. The choice of a fixed ratio of English residents and cattle per acre, rather than a fixed obligation per planter, suggests that the company was responding to a known pattern of accumulation in which larger holdings carried no greater defensive contribution than smaller ones. Tying the obligation to acreage prevented wealthier planters from concentrating land without proportionate manpower, and gave the Council a simple arithmetic test for enforcement. The structure of the rule fits the wider 1680 strategy of shifting defence onto the planter militia while reducing the standing garrison. The differentiated obligation at twenty acres (two English residents, one armed) and ten acres (one armed Englishman) implies that the company regarded ten acres as the operative minimum holding capable of supporting an armed man and a cow. The graduation tracked the marriage land grants set out in the 24 March 1680 despatch, where ten acres and a cow was the basic package for entry-level planter status. The new by-laws thus brought the defence obligation into alignment with the unit of land already used as the building block of the planter system.
103	114	of the Island according to direc[ti]ons and Orders of our Govern[or] and Counsell from tyme to tyme, But it is vnderstood, That vnlesse in case of an Invasion or generall Attempt on the Island, when all persons not to beare Armes are to appeare for the defence of the Island, and mutuall preservation, such person possesseing but 20 Acres is to be ioy[ne]d with another that hath alsoe but 10 Acres, and soe to serve in their turnes alternatively./ ·2· 2[ly] That all and every person or persons that now possesseth enjoy[s] any Lands in the sayd Island, or that shall before the publication of these orders have any Land or Lands allotted and sett out to him or them to Plant[a]c[i]ons possess[ed] & enjoy, shall within 6 monethes after the publication hereof cause all such Lands and Plantations to be registr[e]d in a Booke to be kept for that purpose by the Governor or Dep[utie] Gov[ernor] of the sayd Island, mentioning the Quantity of Acres the severall boundaries of the same and the name or names of the person or persons possesseing the[m] enjoy[ing] the same, And our Governor or Dep[uti]e is hereby Required to cause the same to be duely examined, and finding it right to register the same accordingly and to give out Certificates to the Owners of the registr[ing] thereof w[i]thout any Fee or reward for the same, And that all Lands that after publicac[i]on hereof shalbe allotted and granted to any free Planter from the Company or any Lands already granted that shalbe sold, alienated or disposed of or on the death of any Planter by bequest or otherwise descend or come to any other person, all such every such grant Sale Alienation Bequest descent any other alterac[i]on of propriety shall within One Moneth after the same shall happen be registred in the say[d] Register. And on the registring of every such Sale Alienac[i]on Bequest, or	The militia obligation ran according to the directions of the Governor and Council from time to time. The rule provided that, except in the case of an invasion or general attempt on the island, when every person not exempt from bearing arms was to appear for the common defence, a holder of twenty acres was to be paired with a holder of ten acres, and the two were to serve in arms alternately in their turns. Article 2 dealt with the registration of plantations. Every person already in possession of land on the island, and every person whose land was allotted to him before the publication of the new orders, was required within six months of publication to have his plantation entered in a register kept by the Governor or Deputy Governor. The register entry was to record the number of acres, the boundaries and the names of the holders. The Governor or Deputy was required to examine each entry, register it if correct, and issue a certificate to the owner without fee or reward. For all land allotted after the publication of the orders, and for all later sales, alienations, dispositions, bequests or descents on death, the change was to be entered in the register within one month of the event. On each such sale, alienation, bequest or descent, the new holder was to pay one penny per acre to the Governor for the use of the company as chief lord of the land, and eight pence to the Register for entering the change and issuing a certificate. Once in every two years, or more often if the Governor and Council thought fit, a general court of all the planters and landholders was to be held. A jury drawn from the planters themselves was to enquire what sales, alienations, bequests, descents or other changes of property had taken place in the intervening period. The Governor or his Deputy was required to

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		descent 1 p[er] acre and noe more shalbe payd to the Governo[r] for the vse of the Company at Chiefe Lord of the sayd Lands, and 8[d] nor more to the Register for the Registring and giveing out a Certifi[c]ate of the Registring the same, and that once in every two Yeares (or oftner if the Governo[r] and Counsell shall think fitt) A generall Court shalbe held of all the Planters or possessors of Lands and a Jury of themselves im[m]annul[ar]ly Enquire what Sales, Alienations, Bequests, descents, or alteracons have happened to that tyme, and the Governo[r] for the tyme being or his Dep[uty] is hereby required once every yeare to send for England a Duplicate of the sayd Register vnder his hand to the intent the same may be kept and preserved att the East India house in London for the benefitt of all concerned therein, ·3· 3[ly] That any person or persons to whom Land hath beene allotted I[f] such person or persons have been in the actuall possession and occupac[i]on thereof Five yeares to be accompted from the time of their Actuall Entrance on the improveing the same as a Plantation) such person or persons shall hold the same free to them and their heires and may sell, alienate, and dispose of the same att their pleasure, alwayes to be vnderstood vnder the Condic[i]ons and services enjoyned in the two precedent Articles. But in case any person or persons have or shall [ca]t[ch **Margin Notes:** The person possesseing 20 Acres is to be Joined to another that hath 10 in such attending and Guards is to serve in turnes alternatively in time alternatively./ ·2· [A]ll Lands now possessed or [s]hall before the publicac[i]on of these orders to be Registred within 6 moneths after the publicac[i]on hereof to the Gov[ernor] or Dep[uty] Gov. Certificates to be given to y[e] [O]wners of Lands registr[in]g [w]ithout fee etc All Lands allotted after publicac[i]on hereof or any Lands alienated, sould, or descend on death of any planter etc shall within one Moneth bee registred, the proprietors to pay one penny p[er] Acre to [the] Comp[any] and 8[d] to the Register [O]nce in 2 yeares or oftner all [the] Planters & a Jury of them [selves] inquire what Sales Alienations [...] have happened in that tyme./ [The] Governor or Dep[uty] are to [s]end home once a yeare a Duplicate of the said Register ·3· All that have bin in actuall possession or improved of their Lands 5 yeares shall hold the Lands free to them and theire heires and may alienate & dispose att pleasure.	send a duplicate of the register to England under his hand once a year, so that it could be kept at the East India House in London for the benefit of all concerned. Article 3 dealt with the security of tenure. Any person who had been in actual possession and occupation of his land for five years, counted from the date of his actual entry on improving it as a plantation, was to hold the land freely to himself and his heirs and might sell, alienate or dispose of it at pleasure, always subject to the conditions and services set out in the first two articles. The article continued with the position of persons who had not yet completed five years of actual occupation, but the manuscript is unclear at that point [...]. **Interpretations** The pairing of a twenty-acre holder with a ten-acre holder for guard duty resolved a practical asymmetry created by the militia ratios of Article 1. The twenty-acre obligation produced one armed man for normal duty, the ten-acre obligation produced one armed man for normal duty, and the company evidently judged a single ten-acre holding too light a base for continuous guard service in its own right. Pairing the two holdings produced a working unit of two armed men sharing the turn, with each appearing in arms on alternate occasions. The arrangement reveals the Council operating the militia as a roster of equivalent duty units rather than as a parade of all holders together, and shows the company designing the rules to absorb its smallest planter holdings into the same defence system without exempting them. The exception for invasion or general attempt on the island marked the line between routine guard duty and full mobilisation. In normal conditions only the militia-eligible men under the acreage ratios were to appear, but in the event of an enemy landing the obligation extended to every person not otherwise exempt from arms. The rule shows the company drawing a deliberate distinction between policing and defence, with the heavier duty held in reserve for a defined emergency. The registration regime in Article 2 turned the plantation register first directed in December 1673 into a working instrument of property law. Six months was allowed for the existing stock of holdings to be brought onto the register, and one month was allowed for each later transaction. The duty of examination lay with the Governor or Deputy in person, with no fee at the initial registration but a charge of eight pence per transfer to the Register thereafter. The duplicate sent home each year placed the master record at the East India House in London, with the island register operating as the local working copy. The arrangement gave the company a continuous central record of titles independent of any local document that might be lost, destroyed or altered. The payment of one penny per acre to the Governor for the use of the company as chief lord of the land is the operative quitrent of the St Helena tenure. The phrase chief lord drew the East Greenwich socage formula of the 1673 charter into local practice: the company stood in the position of the lord of the manor, and the planters held their land of the company on payment of a fixed money rent tied to acreage. The penny rate was triggered by transfer rather than charged annually, which placed the burden on alienation rather than on possession and discouraged speculative turnover without taxing settled occupation. The eight pence to the Register operated as an administrative fee separate from the lord's payment, distinguishing the company's seigneurial entitlement from the salary support of the registering officer. The biennial general court of planters and the jury of themselves established a form of local property court drawn from the landholder body. The function of the jury was inquisitorial rather than adjudicative, since it

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			was to enquire what changes had taken place, but its existence gave the planters a collective standing in the verification of titles. The rule reveals the company introducing a representative element into the administration of the land system without surrendering the underlying authority, which remained with the Governor and Council. The five-year possession rule of Article 3 distinguished between provisional and absolute tenure. Until five years of actual occupation and improvement had passed, the planter held only a conditional grant; after five years the land was held freely to him and his heirs with full power of alienation, subject only to the standing militia and registration obligations. The starting point was the date of actual entry on improving the land, not the date of allotment, which placed the company's grant within a use-or-lose framework. The rule revised the seven-year alienation bar set in the despatch of 20 February 1678 downwards to five years, on a different measure of qualifying time, and shows the company adjusting its tenure rules to encourage active settlement. **Speculations** The Court chose to tie the seigneurial payment to acts of alienation rather than to a fixed annual rent. A penny per acre on transfer produces no revenue from settled occupation but captures every change of hands. The arrangement suggests that the company was less interested in extracting income from the planters than in maintaining a continuous record of who held what, with the small fee acting as an inducement to register rather than as a fiscal levy. The eight pence to the Register, by contrast, was a genuine administrative charge, and the difference in level between the two payments reveals where the real cost of the system lay. The requirement that the Governor or Deputy personally examine each registration entry, without delegation to the Register, placed the political head of the island at the centre of the title system. The arrangement made tenure dependent on the Governor's certification, which gave the Governor a continuing role in every transfer and reinforced the company's chain of authority over land. The choice to keep the certification function at the top of the administrative hierarchy, rather than devolving it to a specialist officer, suggests the company recognised the political weight of land grants and wished to keep them under direct gubernatorial control. The five-year rule in Article 3 effectively replaced the seven-year alienation bar of February 1678 with a shorter and differently measured test. The earlier bar ran from the date of grant; the new rule ran from the date of actual improvement. The change indicates that the company had encountered planters who held land on paper without working it, and decided to recalibrate the rule so that the five-year clock did not start until improvement actually began. The structure rewards effective settlers, who could reach freehold status sooner than under the old rule, while withholding the benefit from passive grantees. The biennial jury of planters resembles the inquest procedures of English manorial courts, where the homage of the tenants enquired into changes of holding since the last court. The choice of this model rather than a purely administrative audit by the Council suggests the company wished to give the planter body a recognised collective role in confirming titles, both as a protection against arbitrary alteration by the Governor and as a means of binding the planters into the legal order of the island. The arrangement integrates the planters into the legitimation of their own tenure, which strengthens the company's hand against later disputes by reducing the scope for an aggrieved holder to claim that he had no part in the recording of his rights.

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104	115	take vp any Land, and have not nor shall not within 12 monethes after the takeing vp and allottm[en]t of the same Inhabite thereupon and actually sett vpon the improvement thereof as a plantation according to the intent of the first preceding Article, or that haveing inhabited on any parcell of Lands allotted to him or them and improved the same shall afterwards desert the sayd plantac[i]on, soe that for 6 monethes there shall not Inhabite and bee mainteyned on every 20 acres 2 person[s] and a Cow, and on 10 ac[res] one man and one Cow as in the sky[?] first preceding Articles That then in all or any of the sayd cases It shalbe lawfull for the Govern[or] and Counsell of the sayd Island and they are hereby required to seise the same into their hands for the vse of the East India Company and to redispose of the same notwithstanding the former allottement or grant to such person or persons or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary./ ·4· 4[ly] That in case of the decease of any Planter duly possessed of Land whereon hee hath Inhabited and made improvement, the said Land soe plantation (if such Planter be a single man) the sayd Land soe planted shall descend to his next Heire or to such person or persons as hee shall by his last Will and Testament Bequeath the same But if hee bee a marryed man that then one halfe thereof shall goe to his wife and dureing her naturall Life, and the other halfe together with the reversion of the former halfe after his wives decease to be disposed of according as by his last Will and Testament shalbe appointed. Or in case there be noe such appointm[en]t Then to descend to the Heire att Law. ·5· 5[ly] As to moveables and personall Estates that any Planter shall dye possessed of, if the same be not disposed of by Will the same shall bee divided One third to the Wife, and the other two thirds amongst the Children on the Island in equall shares, and if there be noe Children, then One halfe to the Wife, and the other halfe to the Brothers, and Sisters or their Children inhabit[at]ing on the Island, But if there bee noe such there to wife, But in case there be neither Wife nor Childe Then the whole to goe to the next of kindred that Inhabits on the said Island, and if hee hath noe kindred on the sayd Island, Then the same to be Inventoried and delivered for such person or persons in England that shalbe ad[m]itted to the Adminis[t]rator of his Estate./ ·6· 6[ly] That in case it should soe fall out That on the death of any Planter the Lands by him held possessed and enjoyed should be bequeathed or by descent fall to any person or persons not residing on the sayd Is[land] if such person or persons shall not within 2 yeares next after the dece[ase] of such Planter come to the sayd Island and make his or there residence vpon the place or otherwise take effectuall care that there doe Inhabite and bee mainteyned on every 20 acres two persons and a Cow att the least, and on every plantac[i]on of Ten Acres a man and one Cow as in the first Article or Rule is expressed. That then in such case It shalbe lawfull [etc] for **Margin Notes:** [L]and not Inhabited [I]mproved there to held in 12 monethes after taken vp, or [after?] inhabite[d], and or that [for] 6 monethes there shalbe not [A]llowed and proporcionable according to the prescript [...] [as] in y[e] 1[st] Article are to [be] seised, and for the Comp[any] disposed of and to pay ·4· [O]n the death of a planter [the] Land to descend to his next [H]eire on heires by legacy w[i]th[out] will, If a marryed man, then one halfe of his Land shall goe to his wife dureing her life, the other halfe and y[e] reversion on the first halfe to be disposed by his last Will, if noe Will, then to y[e] heire att Law./ ·5· Planters personall Estate vpon death is to be disposed will to be divided, one[?] to [the] wife, 2	The article continued with the rule for unimproved or deserted plantations. Any holder who took up land but failed within twelve months of allotment to settle on it and begin its improvement as a plantation, in line with the intent of Article 1, lost the protection of his grant. The same forfeiture applied to a holder who had inhabited and improved his land but afterwards deserted it, so that for six months the holding failed to maintain the required residents and cattle: two persons and a cow on every twenty acres, one man and one cow on every ten acres. In any such case the Governor and Council were required to seize the land into their hands for the use of the East India Company and to dispose of it again to other holders, regardless of the original allotment or grant. Article 4 dealt with succession to plantation land on the death of a planter. Where a single man died possessed of a plantation he had inhabited and improved, the land descended to his next heir or passed under his last will and testament to such person as he had named. Where a married man died, one half of the plantation went to his wife for the term of her natural life, and the other half, together with the reversion of the first half after her death, passed by his will. If no such testamentary appointment was made, that share descended to the heir at law. Article 5 dealt with movable goods and personal estate. Where a planter died without leaving a will, his personal estate was to be divided as follows. If a wife and children were living on the island, one third went to the wife and two thirds to the children in equal shares. If a wife but no children were on the island, one half went to the wife and the other half to the planter's brothers and sisters, or their children, resident on the island. If no such brothers, sisters or their children were on the island, the whole went to the wife. If neither wife nor children survived, the estate descended to the nearest kindred resident on the island. If no kindred lived on the island, the goods were to be inventoried and delivered to such person in England as was admitted as administrator of the estate. Article 6 dealt with the case of plantation land falling by bequest or descent to a person not resident on the island. If the new holder did not within two years of the planter's death come to the island and take up residence, or otherwise make effective arrangements for the required residents and cattle to be maintained on the land in the proportions set in Article 1, the Governor and Council were authorised to seize the land for the company and dispose of it again [...]. **Interpretations** The twelve-month rule for unimproved land and the six-month rule for deserted plantations operated together as the enforcement mechanism of the conditional grant established in Article 3. The five-year possession rule produced absolute tenure for the diligent planter, but until that point the holding remained provisional. The two abandonment tests gave the Council a defined trigger for forfeiture: failure to begin improvement within a year of allotment, or a six-month lapse in maintaining the required residents and cattle. The arrangement gave the company a workable administrative test for forfeiture, since maintenance of two persons and a cow on twenty acres, or one man and one cow on ten acres, could be verified by inspection without the need for judicial findings on intention. The Council was not given a discretion to seize: the rule directed seizure where the test was failed. The succession rule of Article 4 separated landed property from movable estate and treated each by a different scheme. Land on the death of a married planter was split between life interest for the widow and reversionary disposition by will, with the heir at law taking the reversion in default of a will. The arrangement gave the widow a secure foothold on half

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		[other] thirds amongst the Children on the Island, if no Children one halfe to the [wife,] 1[?] other to brothers and Sisters, or on y[e] Island, if none of these all to y[e] wife. if neither wife nor Child then to the next of kindred [on] y[e] Island if none kindred on y[e] Island to be Inventoryed & sent for Adm[i]strato[r] in Engl[an]d./ ·6· If Plant[er]s Lands fall to any not [in]habiting on this s[ai]d island and they doe not within 2 y[ea]r[e]s [ne]xt come to y[e] s[ai]d Island, or [ta]ke care to maintayne y[e] number of p[er]sons & Cows therein, and [to]e keepe them inhabited, the Comp[an]y are to seize the [Land] dispose of as before/	of the plantation for her lifetime, without surrendering the long-term descent of the land to the planter's chosen line. The choice to give the widow a life estate rather than outright ownership ensured that the plantation remained tied to the planter's family even where remarriage might otherwise have carried the land to an outside line. The rule shows the company recognising the widow as a stable holder of land for the militia and registration purposes of Articles 1 and 2, while preserving the long-term descent through the male line. The personal estate rules of Article 5 used residence on the island as the determining test of entitlement at every stage. The two-thirds share to the children, the half share to brothers and sisters, and the descent to next of kindred were all conditional on the relevant persons being resident on the island. Only where no qualifying islander existed did the estate pass to an administrator in England. The arrangement reveals the company building a self-contained estate system on the island, with property recycled into the resident community wherever possible. The default to England operated as a last resort rather than as an equal alternative, and shows the company protecting the local population from the loss of estates to absent claimants. The two-year residence rule of Article 6 closed the gap that succession by will or descent might otherwise have opened in the militia and cattle obligations. A grant of plantation land carried with it the duty to maintain residents and stock; a non-resident heir could not perform that duty in person, but the article gave him two years to come out to the island or to put a working arrangement in place. The alternative of taking effective care that the required residents and cattle were maintained on the land allowed an absent heir to retain ownership through resident managers or tenants, which prevented the rule from becoming an automatic forfeiture for inheritance from abroad. The structure shows the company prepared to accept absentee ownership in principle, but only where the militia and productive obligations of the land were continuously discharged. **Speculations** The twelve-month and six-month tests for forfeiture were calibrated to the practical realities of clearing and stocking land on the island. Twelve months gave a new grantee a full agricultural year to establish himself, which would cover the initial planting season and a first harvest. Six months for desertion was tighter, since a working plantation that lost its residents and cattle for half a year had effectively ceased to function as a producing holding. The difference between the two periods suggests that the company drew a deliberate line between starting up and falling away, with the harder test applied to a holding that had already proved viable and then been allowed to lapse. The decision to give the widow a life estate in half of the plantation, rather than a smaller absolute share, fits the demographic strategy running through the 24 March 1680 despatch on marriage land grants. By guaranteeing the widow continued occupation for life, the company gave her a clear standing for remarriage to another planter or to a soldier turning planter, since her life interest would carry over into the new household. The arrangement made widows attractive partners within the planter system, which supports the broader policy of marriage as a working mechanism for demographic stabilisation already evident in the 24 March 1680 despatch. The split between the wife and the children on intestacy followed a pattern broadly comparable to the customary thirds of the English law of distribution, but the company added the residence test at every level. The choice to limit the children's share to those living on the island, and to extend the next-step provision only to

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			brothers, sisters and kindred resident on the island, reveals a deliberate policy of keeping inherited wealth within the working community. The rule reduced the risk of capital draining off the island into the hands of relations who had no role in its defence or production. The two-year window in Article 6 for absent heirs to come to the island, or arrange resident substitutes, set a defined administrative period within which a non-resident inheritance had to be regularised. The choice of two years was probably tied to the time needed for news of a planter's death to reach a relative in England, for a passage to be arranged and made, and for the new arrival to take up the plantation. The structure of the rule shows the company designing the system to accommodate the realities of slow communication between London and the island while preserving the forfeiture sanction for genuine neglect.
105	116	for the Governo[r] and Counsell of the sayd Island and they are hereby Required to seise the same into their hands for the vse of the Company and to Redispose of the same the former allottment or grant or any other matter or thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding, Given vnder our Com[m]on Seale the Day and yeare first above written./ Vera Copia exa[mina]t Ro: Blackborne Secr[etary] Vera Copia exa[mina]t p[er] me [...] Blackmor[e] Jun[ior]	Where the Governor and Council were required to act, they were to seize the land into their hands for the use of the company and to dispose of it again, regardless of the former allotment or grant or any other matter or thing to the contrary. The document was issued under the common seal on the day and year first written. Certified as a true copy by Robert Blackborne, Secretary, and as a further true copy by [...] Blackmore Junior. **Interpretations** The closing clause closed the chain of forfeiture provisions that ran through the by-laws. The same operative form was used in Articles 3 and 6 and in the unimproved-and-deserted-land rule, with the Governor and Council instructed in mandatory terms to seize and redispose. The repetition shows the company building the forfeiture power into the by-laws as a standing administrative procedure rather than as a discretionary remedy, and the notwithstanding clause secured the procedure against challenge based on the original grant itself. The structure means that a planter or his successors could not defeat seizure by producing the deed of allotment as evidence of title, since the by-laws themselves overrode the prior grant where the conditions of tenure had failed. The double certification by Robert Blackborne as Secretary and by Blackmore Junior as verifying clerk follows the company's standing practice for instruments to be sent overseas. Blackborne was the principal authenticating officer of the company at this date, and his certification was the primary attestation. The countersignature by Blackmore Junior, identified in the earlier handover material as a verifying clerk and a probable family connection of the new Governor John Blackmore, gave the document a second internal check before it left the East India House. The arrangement ensured that the copy carried to the island bore independent corroboration of its accuracy, which mattered because the by-laws would operate on the island as the working instrument of property law and would have to be relied on in cases of forfeiture, succession and alienation. The common seal stood as the formal authority of the instrument and tied the by-laws back to the chartered legislative power recited at the opening. The seal authenticated the rules as the act of the company in its corporate capacity, exercising the power granted by the royal charter of 16 December 1673. By closing the document with the common seal rather than with individual signatures, the company gave the by-laws the highest form of corporate authentication available to it and placed them on the same footing as the founding instruments of the settlement. **Speculations** The mandatory framing of the seizure power, with the Governor and Council required rather than authorised to act, deliberately removed local discretion

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			from the forfeiture decision. The company evidently judged that a permissive power might be evaded by a sympathetic Council unwilling to dispossess a neighbour, particularly in a small settlement where the planters and the Council members were drawn from the same community. By framing seizure as a duty, the Court reduced the political cost of enforcement for the Council, since the Governor and his colleagues could point to the by-laws as compelling action rather than as inviting it. The decision to issue the by-laws under the common seal rather than as ordinary instructions placed them in the category of formal company legislation. Ordinary despatches carried the authority of the Court of Committees but could be revised, qualified or quietly overtaken by later orders. A document under the common seal had a different standing: it was the company acting as a corporate legislator under the chartered power, and revocation would require an equivalent instrument under the same seal. The choice indicates that the Court intended the by-laws to operate as a stable code rather than as another despatch in the running correspondence, which fits the codifying purpose recited at the opening.
106	117	Our Governour and Councill London, 9[th] Aprill: 1680. att S[t] Hellena. ·1· Yo[ur]s of the 26 & 28[th] January by the Shipp Loyall Sub[ject] are come to o[u]r hands, she arrived in the Downes the 10[th] instant, the Cap[tain] thereof very sick, and M[r] Pain dead, Wee have by this Shipp Society written vpon att large, and sent thereon a plentifull supply[e] of all things which will answere well to the many perticulers you have written of, and afford you fitt and proper advantages for y[e] melioratin[g] and settling the affaires of that Island. ·2· Wee take notice of yo[ur] sending home to[t] three mutinious persons mentioned and wish you had rather caused them to bee tryed and punished according to the nature of their offence and the Law of England vpon the Island then to dismisse them hither which Wee doubt will rather encourage then dismay Men of that temper when the[y] difficulty bridle too great or be to[e] have them tryed or punished here the offences being com[m]itted att soe remote a distance, and the Witn[e]ses and proofes not to bee had, soe that Wee had thoughts for that reason and especially sake to have returned them back by this Shipp for to bee tryed But Wee found it an vncertaine attempt vpon vs on shoa[r] cann[ot] be d[e]pended on soe to stay for their sending aboard, But for the future in all Criminall cases Wee would have you bee a[p]p[re]hended as aforesaid and not to send them home which give them meanes to escape and evade that Justice which their offence demerits and Wee have resolved to take into consideration such further Rules and power as may better enable you to deale w[i]th delinquents in Cases of this nature, and send them by the first opportunity ·3· Touching the Wages of Workmen which you write some disatisfyed att, Wee have already expressed our Minds therein and doe presse on their demands altogether vnreasonable it being a knowne practice vnder all Govern[m]ents That M[e]n S[er]v[an]ts co[n]tribute Labour on a S[er]v[an]ts for the Comon defence of their Countrey att moderate and reasonable rates and Wee doubt not in such case the Wages Wee give would not be refused were it in England though Wee indeed[ly] d[o]e[m] payed for worke, but you see more vse heere and bett[er] then 2 or 3[s] 6[d] heere with, but wee that vpon better Considerac[i]on the persons concerned will finde **Margin Notes:** ·1· The Shipp Loyall Sub[ject] [c]ome to o[u]r hands, we have by this Shipp writt you att large and sent you a plenti[full] full supply of all the things	The despatch was sent from the Governor and Company in London to the Governor and Council of St Helena on 9 April 1680. Article 1 acknowledged receipt of the Council's letters of 26 and 28 January, carried by the *Loyall Subject*. The ship had arrived in the Downs on 10 April. The captain was very sick on arrival, and Mr Pain had died on the voyage. The company had written at length by the *Society* and had sent a plentiful supply of all things on that ship, sufficient to answer the many particulars set out in the Council's letters and to provide proper means for improving and settling the affairs of the island. Article 2 dealt with the three mutinous persons whom the Council had sent home for punishment. The company expressed disapproval of the decision and would have preferred the men to be tried and punished on the island under the law of England, on the offences for which they were charged. Sending offenders home was likely to encourage rather than deter men of that disposition, since the offences had been committed at so remote a distance from London that the witnesses and proofs could not be brought to England. For these reasons, and given the difficulty of holding the men for trial on shore once they had been put ashore in England, the company had considered returning them to the island by the present ship but had concluded that the attempt could not be relied on. For the future the Council was instructed not to send criminal offenders home but to apprehend, try and punish them on the island. The company would consider what further rules and powers might be needed to enable the Council to deal with delinquents in such cases, and would send them by the first opportunity. Article 3 dealt with the wages of workmen. Some persons on the island had been dissatisfied with the rates set by the company. The Court considered their demands altogether unreasonable. It was a known practice under all governments that men and servants contributed their labour to the common defence of their country at moderate and reasonable rates. The wages set by the company would not be refused in England itself, where the rate paid for labour was no more than two shillings or two shillings and sixpence a day [...]. **Interpretations** The despatch falls within the same dating cluster as the by-laws of 20 March 1680, the *Society* despatch of 24 March 1680 and the formal receipt of stores at the island on 26 April 1680. The 9 April 1680 letter

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		·2· Wee take Notice of your sending home y[e] 3 Mutineers, but we would rather have had tryed and pun [ish]ed them vpon the Island./ ·3· We have fully expresst our Minds to you concerning they Labourers./	answered correspondence received from the island only the day before, which shows the company turning around its replies within a single working day when supply ships were ready to sail. The arrangement reveals the operational tempo of the Court of Committees in the spring season, with multiple instruments going forward in quick succession through different ships in the homeward and outward fleets. The reference to trying offenders on the island under the law of England drew on the chartered jurisdiction granted in the letters patent of 16 December 1673, under which the company could make laws not repugnant to the laws of England and could impose penalties up to the taking of life or limb. The despatch directed the Council to use that jurisdiction in full rather than to evade it by sending offenders home. The company's position rested on a practical evidentiary argument: witnesses and proofs were located on the island, not in London, and a trial in England would either fail for want of evidence or amount to no trial at all. The instruction therefore brought the chartered judicial power into active use as a working component of island government. The reasoning on the wages of workmen tied the daily rate to the broader doctrine that labour for the common defence was due at moderate rates under all governments. The company invoked this principle to defend the rates of one shilling for a master workman and eight pence for a servant or labourer set in the despatch of 20 February 1678 and reaffirmed in the despatch of 24 March 1680. By comparing the island rates to the English benchmark of two shillings or two shillings and sixpence a day, the Court drew the island wage structure into alignment with English practice while presenting the company rates as generous relative to the contribution expected. The argument shows the company defending a fixed wage policy against pressure from below by appealing to a general principle of public service. The decision against returning the three mutineers by the present ship rested on practical custody considerations. The Court could not depend on holding the men on shore for the time needed to put them aboard, which indicates that the company lacked custody facilities of its own in London adequate to the task. The point reveals the operational limit of the company as a judicial authority within England itself: it could prosecute its own monopoly and other commercial matters through the regular courts, but had no carceral capacity for criminal offenders awaiting passage overseas. The arrangement makes clear why the company preferred trial on the island in the first instance. The promise to take into consideration such further rules and power as may better enable the Council to deal with delinquents signalled the company's intention to strengthen the island's judicial machinery. The wording places the further rules and powers in the same category as the by-laws of 20 March 1680, suggesting that the company envisaged a parallel codification of criminal procedure to match the codification of land law just completed. The despatch shows the company moving systematically through the legal infrastructure of the settlement, with the land code already in hand and a criminal code under consideration. **Speculations** The company's preference for trial on the island rested on more than evidentiary practicality. Returning offenders to England gave them the opportunity to disperse on landing, since the company had no reliable means of keeping them in custody once they came ashore. The Court's own admission that the attempt could not be depended on confirms that the men sent home as mutineers had in practice escaped punishment.

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			The despatch shows the company learning from a failed enforcement and closing the loophole for the future, with the law of England on the island serving as the only practicable forum for the company's criminal jurisdiction. The choice to instruct the Council on criminal trials in the same despatch as the wage dispute suggests that the company saw the two issues as connected aspects of the same problem of discipline on the island. Mutiny among soldiers and pay dissatisfaction among workmen were both forms of resistance to the company's terms of employment, and the Court treated them together as a single field requiring firmer handling. The despatch shows the company drawing a line between negotiable and non-negotiable matters: wages set in London were not open to local revision, and criminal offences were not to be exported to London for evasion. The combined effect was to close the two principal routes by which men on the island had sought to escape the company's authority. The reference to wages at two shillings or two shillings and sixpence per day in England, set against the island rates of one shilling and eight pence, points to the company taking a knowingly favourable comparison. The English rates cited were probably London rates rather than rural rates, and the cost of living on the island was different from either. The choice to frame the comparison this way shows the company building its defence of the island wage structure on the most flattering benchmark available, which suggests that the Court anticipated continued resistance and was preparing its position for further correspondence.
107	118	litle reason to be dissatisfyed in that regard Wee Com[m]end you and y[ou]r affaires vnder yo[u]r managem[en]t to the Blessing of God Allmighty and Remaine Yo[u]r Loveing Freinds 14[th] Aprill 1680/ Rob[ert] Thomson D[eputy] John Moore Chandos Tho: Papillon[e] John Clerke Arth Ingram Tho: Canham Sam[uel] Moyer John Paige Joseph H[er]ne Jam[es] Ward Jeremy Sambrooke Vera Copia exa[mina]t p[er] me [...] Blackmor[e] Jun[ior] John Cooke	The despatch closed with the company's expression that the persons concerned would find little reason to be dissatisfied on the wages question. The Court commended the Council and the affairs under its management to the blessing of God Almighty, and signed as loving friends. The despatch was signed on 14 April 1680 by Robert Thomson as Deputy, with John Moore, Chandos, Thomas Papillon, John Clerke, Arthur Ingram, Thomas Canham, Samuel Moyer, John Paige, Joseph Herne, James Ward, Jeremy Sambrooke and John Cooke. Certified as a true copy by [...] Blackmore Junior. **Interpretations** The five-day gap between the body of the despatch dated 9 April 1680 and the signatures dated 14 April 1680 reflects the company's standard practice of drafting, reviewing and authenticating its overseas correspondence in separate stages. The composition of the letter was the work of the Court of Committees acting through its officers, while the signatures represented the formal commitment of the leading Court members to the instrument before sealing and despatch. The arrangement gave the signatories an opportunity to review the wording in finished form before it left London, which mattered for a despatch carrying directions on judicial procedure and wages where any later dispute might turn on the precise terms. The despatch was signed by Robert Thomson as Deputy rather than by the Governor, which indicates that the Governor of the day was not present at the sealing. The handover material identifies Nathaniel Herne as Governor of the company by November 1678 and again by May 1679, with William Thompson as Governor by February 1678. The signature pattern here shows the Deputy acting in the Governor's place, which was the standard mode of authentication where the senior officer was unavailable. The presence of Joseph Herne among the signatories, separately from any Governor named Herne, indicates that the family connection with the Court continued at the committee

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			level alongside any senior office held by Nathaniel Herne. The signatory list overlaps substantially with the names recorded for the despatch of 24 March 1680 by the Society. Chandos, Thomas Papillon, John Clerke, Arthur Ingram, Samuel Moyer, John Paige, Joseph Herne, Jeremy Sambrooke and John Cooke all appear in both, which shows the same body of Court members handling the spring 1680 correspondence as a continuous workload. The arrangement reveals the working Court as a stable group of about a dozen senior members directing the company's overseas business across a sequence of related despatches. The certification by Blackmore Junior, repeated from the by-laws of 20 March 1680, confirms the verifying clerk's role across the spring 1680 correspondence. The reading of the first name was already noted as unclear in the earlier handover material, and the same uncertainty continues here. The pattern shows the clerk handling multiple instruments destined for the island in the same period, which fits the broader picture of a coordinated despatch cluster sent forward through different ships within a few weeks. **Speculations** The closing formula commending the Council to the blessing of God Almighty was standard correspondence convention, but its placement immediately after the wages discussion gave the letter a deliberate rhetorical close. The company had pressed firmly on both the criminal procedure and the wages issues, and the customary religious closing softened the disciplinary tone before the signatures. The arrangement suggests that the Court was conscious of the harder content of the body and used the formal close to set the relationship with the Council back on a cooperative footing. The choice to sign on 14 April 1680 rather than to despatch the letter immediately on its drafting on 9 April 1680 probably reflected the timing of the ship on which the letter was to travel. The Society had already sailed in late March carrying the major despatch of 24 March 1680, and the 14 April 1680 signing date suggests that the present letter was held back to go forward by a later vessel, possibly with further material under preparation. The despatch shows the company timing its correspondence to the rhythm of available shipping rather than to the date of composition.
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119	130	Remaineing in y[e] Stores Mar[ch] y[e] 25[th] 1680 Spike Waight Nayles remaineing in the Stores in y[e] yeare 1679. Spike & Weight Nayles of y[e] old & new Stores 4260 Nailes by Weight of y[e] Old and new stores 174 4[d] Nailes of the Old and new stores 58500 3[d] Nailes of Ditto 163001 2[d] Nailes y[e] Ditto 169900 Trunke y[e] Nailes 9000	Account of stores remaining on 25 March 1680. Spike and weight nails remaining in the stores from the year 1679. Spike and weight nails of the old and new stores 4,260 Nails by weight of the old and new stores 174 Fourpenny nails of the old and new stores 58,500 Threepenny nails of the same 163,001 Twopenny nails of the same 169,900 Trunk nails 9,000 Brads 16,500 [...] 3,500 Amin tacks for hinges 4 Hoes 1 Broad axes 5

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		Brades 16500 [...] 3500 Amin Tacks for hinges 4 Hoes 1 Broad Axes 5 Adzes 50 Narrow Axes 31 Stone Axes 8 Malle redd stone 15 Gimblets 16 p[ai]r[s] Small hinges 3 Stock Locks 25 Staples 15 Hasps [...] Tooles for Carpent[ers] &c[a] 4 Claire Bolts 5 Black Bolts & Staples 5 Iron Ladles 1 Spades 21 Iron Wedges 14 Augers 2 Chissells & Gouges 3 Hammers [...] Whip Sawes 2 of which are ribb[ed] 7	Adzes 50 Narrow axes 31 Stone axes 8 Maul red stone 15 Gimblets 16 pairs Small hinges 3 Stock locks 25 Staples 15 Hasps [...] Tools for carpenters and others 4 Clear bolts 5 Black bolts and staples 5 Iron ladles 1 Spades 21 Iron wedges 14 Augers 2 Chisels and gouges 3 Hammers [...] Whip saws, of which two are ribbed 7 **Interpretations** The inventory was taken on 25 March 1680, which was the first day of the new legal year under the old-style English calendar. The choice of date reveals the working accounting practice on the island: stores were reckoned annually at the turn of the legal year, with quantities carried forward into the new year's books. The arrangement allowed the Council to produce a clean opening balance for each year of administration, which fits the documentary controls pressed by the company in successive despatches from 1673 onwards. The reference to old and new stores running through the nail entries shows the working distinction maintained on the island between residual stock from earlier consignments and material received in the most recent supply. The merger of the two categories into single totals for the inventory indicates that the storekeeper was reporting working quantities available for use rather than tracing material to its consignment of origin. The Council was thereby producing an operational rather than an audit record, with the management of the stores driven by current availability rather than by the history of receipt. The nomenclature of fourpenny, threepenny and twopenny nails identifies the standard English sizing system in which the name corresponded to the price of one hundred nails of that size. Fourpenny nails were heavier than threepenny, which were heavier than twopenny, and the categories were used across building, joinery and packaging. The very high quantities of the smaller sizes, with 169,900 twopenny nails and 163,001 threepenny nails on hand, indicate that the bulk of the construction work on the island used small nails, which fits the building of timber houses, sheds and palisades from light boards rather than heavy framing. The combined entry for spike and weight nails, at 4,260 pieces, identifies the heavy-fastening stock. Spike nails were large nails of substantial length used for framing and heavy timber work; weight nails were sold by the pound rather than by the hundred. The separate entry for 174 pounds of nails by weight indicates that some part of the heavy stock was reckoned in pounds rather than in pieces, which corresponds to the alternative sales convention for nails too large to count economically. The double accounting shows the storekeeper preserving the form in which each parcel had been received. The tool entries reveal the spread of trades supported by the island establishment. Broad axes, narrow axes, adzes, augers, gimblets, chisels and gouges, hammers and whip saws covered the timber and joinery trades. Spades, hoes and iron wedges covered ground work, clearing and quarrying. Stock locks, hasps, staples, small hinges, clear bolts and black bolts and staples covered door and chest furniture. The maul red stone and stone axes covered stone working. The presence of

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			two ribbed whip saws among the seven indicates two-man pit-sawing of large timber, which corresponds to the timber-framed buildings under construction. The inventory functions as a snapshot of the productive capacity of the island establishment in March 1680. The reference to amin tacks for hinges describes small tacks used to secure hinge leaves to door and chest woodwork. The reading of amin is uncertain and may represent an abbreviation or local term for a specific pattern of tack; the function within the inventory is clear from the contextual reference to hinges. **Speculations** The very large totals for small nails relative to the heavy stock suggest that the principal construction work on the island in early 1680 was light timber work rather than heavy framing. A planter community building houses, sheds, fencing and store buildings would consume small nails in large quantities and heavy nails in modest numbers. The inventory profile therefore reveals the building activity on the island at this date as essentially the extension of the planter settlement rather than the construction of major fortifications, which would have called for a different distribution of fasteners. The pattern fits the broader 1680 policy of expanding the planter establishment while keeping the standing military force at a reduced level. The choice to inventory the stores on the first day of the new legal year rather than at the calendar new year on 1 January reflects a deliberate alignment of island accounting with the English administrative calendar. The arrangement gave the Council a fixed annual cut-off compatible with the dating practice of London, which would matter when the duplicate of the register or accounts was sent home for audit at the East India House. The decision to lock the accounting year to the legal calendar shows the Council managing its books for compatibility with the company's central records rather than for local convenience. The single hoe recorded in the inventory, against twenty-one spades and large quantities of timber and joinery tools, suggests that ground cultivation was carried out predominantly by planters using their own equipment rather than by the company stores. The arrangement fits the working economic logic of the island, under which the company plantation supplied the Governor's table and ship victualling, while individual planters worked their own holdings with their own tools. The very low company stock of cultivation implements supports the picture of a stores establishment focused on construction, fortification and metalwork rather than on agricultural production.
120	131	Remaineing in Stores March the 25[th] 1680 Tooles for Carpent[ers] &c Twohand Sawes 10 Hand Sawes 1 Cerrier Bitts 35 Ditto Stock 8 Large Saw Wresrs and Small Ditto 14 Drills fitte[d] 16 Boxes for Drills 20 Files of severall sorts 39 Vices 4 Marking Irons 9	Account of stores remaining on 25 March 1680. Tools for carpenters and others. Two-hand saws 10 Hand saws 1 Carrier bits 35 Carrier bit stocks 8 Large and small saw wrests 14 Drills fitted 16 Boxes for drills 20 Files of several sorts 39 Vices 4 Marking irons 9 Plane irons 4 Pliers 4 pairs Oil stones 8 Shot moulds 3 pairs Holdfast 1 Winches 2 Coopers' tools and others. Axes 4 Adzes 4 Howells 1

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		Plaine Irons 4 Plyers 4 p[er] Oyle Stones 8 Shott Moulds 3 p[er] Holdfaste 1 W[in]ches 2 Coop[er]s Tooles &c[a] 4 Axes 4 Adzes 4 Howells 1 Joynters 1 Heading Knives 3 Bung borers 2 Spoak Shaves 4 Joynt[er] Irons 1 Clawers 2 Round Shaves 4 p[er] Wooden Compasses 3 Vices 1 Throw 4 Wooden Crow - 1 - Iron for Ditto - 3 1 Driver	Jointers 1 Heading knives 3 Bung borers 2 Spokeshaves 4 Jointer irons 1 Clawers 2 Round shaves 4 pairs Wooden compasses 3 Vices 1 Throw 4 Wooden crow, 1; iron for the same, 3 Driver 1 **Interpretations** The carpenters' tools listed in this section build on the earlier inventory of broad axes, adzes, augers and whip saws by adding the lighter and more specialised joinery and bench equipment. Two-hand saws supported the same pit-sawing work as the ribbed whip saws of the earlier entry, while the single hand saw and the substantial run of carrier bits, drills, files, vices and plane irons indicate the working equipment of a fitting-out and finishing shop rather than rough construction alone. The presence of marking irons among the tools shows that finished joinery work was being identified, probably with the company's mark for stores or with maker's marks for individual carpenters. The arrangement reveals the carpentry establishment on the island as a complete trade workshop capable of both heavy timber conversion and finished joinery. The coopers' tools listed under their own heading identify cask making as a separate trade with its own dedicated equipment. Howells, jointers, heading knives, bung borers, spokeshaves, round shaves and the throw were the specialist tools of the cooper, used respectively for smoothing the inside of the cask, dressing the cask staves at their edges, cutting the cask heads, boring the bung hole, smoothing the staves and shaping the inside of the cask head. The dedicated coopers' establishment matters because the island handled significant quantities of ship victualling, fresh water for outward and homeward fleets and the company's own provisions, all of which required casks for storage and transport. The arrangement shows the company maintaining the cooperage as a continuing trade on the island rather than relying on cask supply from England or from the homeward ships. The shot moulds among the carpenters' tools, three pairs in number, identify the casting of musket shot as a local capability. The moulds allowed the Council to produce ammunition from lead bar rather than depending on imported shot, which was a sound economy in a small remote garrison where the supply of finished ammunition could not be guaranteed. The arrangement fits the broader self-sufficiency policy running through the company's despatches from 1673 onwards and reveals the working extent to which the island could replenish its own military stocks from raw material. The single holdfast, two winches and the small number of vices indicate the working bench equipment of the carpenters' shop. A holdfast secured a workpiece to a bench while it was being worked; the winches supported heavy lifting in timber handling. The single counts of these items show the company providing one workstation of each type rather than equipping multiple parallel benches, which fits a small establishment with a few skilled men working in succession on a shared bench. The reference to amin tacks in the earlier entry and the entries here for carrier bits, howells, clawers and throw represent the specialised vocabulary of the trades involved. The carrier bit was a turning bit fitted to a stock for boring holes; the howell was a curved plane used inside the cask; the clawer was a coopers' tool for drawing out hoops; the throw was a coopers' draw

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			knife. The terms confirm the specialist nature of the equipment and the trade qualifications expected of the men engaged in the carpentry and cooperage workshops. **Speculations** The presence of an active cooperage on the island in March 1680 connects to the public table and company plantation thread of the earlier handover material, where the 24 March 1680 despatch raised the expectation that the plantation and fishery should supply the table without bought victuals and produce a surplus for sale to ships. A surplus available for sale to ships required casks to ship it in, and the cooperage gave the island the means to produce its own. The inventory therefore reveals the operational infrastructure that made the productive ambition of the 24 March 1680 despatch achievable: without casks, no surplus could leave the island in saleable form. The maintenance of shot moulds on the island, alongside the carpenters' main tool stock, suggests that the Council had standing arrangements for the local production of small arms ammunition. The arrangement would have been valuable in supporting the planter militia obligations set in the by-laws of 20 March 1680, since the armed men maintained on each holding would have required regular powder and shot for the periodic drills directed in earlier despatches. The presence of in-house shot casting reveals the working infrastructure of the militia system at the materials level, complementing the legal infrastructure of the by-laws and the marriage land grants. The mixed counts of paired and singular items, with pliers and shot moulds reckoned in pairs and other items reckoned by piece, indicate that the storekeeper preserved the original units of supply for each type of tool. The arrangement reveals the practical limits of standardisation in the company stores: rather than imposing a single counting convention across the whole inventory, the storekeeper accepted the unit of receipt as the unit of stock. The choice fits the operational rather than audit purpose of the inventory and confirms that the document was prepared for working management rather than for central accounting reconciliation.
121	132	Remaineing in y[e] Stores y[e] 25[th] march 1680 Iron, Steele, Lead, Pitch, Tarr, Stilliards Coales &c[a] Trowells 2 Lathing Hammers very old 3 Butchers Knives 64w. 2764 Iron Barrs 67[..] Steele 142[..] wanting 6 Bushells Chaldrons of Coales 9 Deep Sea Leades 659 Shott & rough Lead 7 Sodder 2 Soddering Irons 2 p[er] Stillyards 1 Iron Beames & Scales 2 Setts of Leaden weights from 4[lb] Downwards 3 p[er] Brasse Scayles & Weights 7[..]	Account of stores remaining on 25 March 1680. Iron, steel, lead, pitch, tar, steelyards, coals and other items. Trowels 2 Lathing hammers, very old 3 Butchers' knives 64 Iron bars weight 2,764, count 67 [...] Steel 142 [...] Bushels of coal, wanting six 9 chaldrons Deep sea leads 659 Shot and rough lead 7 Solder 2 Soldering irons 2 pairs Steelyards 1 Iron beams and scales 2 Sets of leaden weights from 4 pounds downwards 3 pairs Brass scales and weights 7 [...] Casks of pitch 50 [...] Casks of rosin 45 [...] Brimstone 2 Thrums 5 Iron-bound measures 3 Fowling pieces [...] Plates 9 [...] Shoes, twine, lines, sail needles, iron wire and copper. Shoes 4 pairs Seams of twine 10 Fishing lines 2

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		Casks of Pitch 50[..] Rozen 45 [..] Brimstone 2 Thrumbs 5 Iron Bound Measures 3 Fowling pieces [..] Plates 9[..] Shoes, Twine, Lines, Saile Needles &c[a] Iron wyre, Copp[er] Shoes 4 p[er] Seames of Twine 10 Fishing Lines 2 Avery old Fishing Seyne 1 Saile Needles 50 Seayns Marlines 1 Copper plate w[eigh]t 68 1 Brasse Shivers 3	A very old fishing seine 1 Sail needles 50 Seine marlines 1 Copper plate, weight 68 1 Brass sheaves 3 **Interpretations** The mixed character of this section reveals how the company stores combined building, weighing, shipping and fishery supplies in a single inventory. Iron bars and steel were the raw material for the island smith, who would draw down stock to make and repair tools, hinges, bolts and ironwork for ships calling at the road. The recording of iron bars by both weight and count, at 2,764 pounds across 67 bars, indicates that the storekeeper preserved both metrics to allow the smith to draw material either by piece for a specific job or by weight for bulk consumption. The chaldron measure used for the coal stock identifies the standard English unit for coal at this period. A chaldron was a volumetric measure of approximately 36 bushels, and the entry of 9 chaldrons wanting six bushels gives a working stock of about 318 bushels. The presence of imported coal on a remote island indicates that the smith's forge required a higher-quality fuel than local wood charcoal could supply, particularly for steel work, which fits the substantial steel stock recorded alongside. The 659 deep sea leads identify the navigational sounding equipment held in store for supply to company ships calling at the road. A deep sea lead was a heavy lead weight attached to a marked line, dropped from a ship to measure water depth and sample the bottom. The large number on hand shows the island serving as a working supply point for navigational consumables to the homeward and outward fleets, since deep sea leads were lost in normal use and required regular replacement. The arrangement places the island in its operational role as a service station for the company's shipping rather than purely as a settlement. The set of weighing equipment, including one steelyard, two iron beams and scales, three sets of leaden weights from four pounds downwards in pairs, and a quantity of brass scales and weights, gave the storekeeper the means to weigh out material to the working units of the store. The steelyard was a balance with a single pan and a sliding counterpoise on a graduated arm, used for heavier loads. The leaden weights from four pounds downwards covered smaller and more precise weighings. The maintenance of multiple weighing instruments on the island shows the centrality of weight-based accounting to the company's stores discipline, with the Husband and Storekeeper required to issue material against warrants in defined quantities. The pitch and rosin stocks, at 50 and 45 casks respectively, identify the materials of ship maintenance. Pitch was used to seal ship seams and to protect ropes and timber against water; rosin was used as a flux in soldering and in caulking compounds. The presence of these materials in substantial quantity confirms the island's role as a refitting station for the company's fleets, where outward and homeward ships could replenish their ship-keeping stores. The arrangement matches the operational role implied by the deep sea leads and the cooperage of the earlier inventory section. The fishery equipment in the closing section, with the seams of twine, fishing lines, one very old fishing seine, the sail needles and the seine marlines, confirms the working organisation of the company fishery referred to in the 24 March 1680 despatch. The arrangement reveals the materials side of the fishery whose productive expectations were raised in that despatch, with the inventory taken just before its arrival at the island. The very old condition of the single seine notes a known limitation of the existing stock, which

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			the Council would have been able to put to the company's notice in subsequent correspondence. The brimstone in stock identifies sulphur, used in gunpowder making, in medical preparations and in pest control. Two units of brimstone in the inventory suggest a limited holding for specialist purposes rather than bulk consumption. The thrums are short ends of yarn or rope, used in caulking and in protective coverings for rigging; the entry of five units confirms continued ship maintenance work at the island. **Speculations** The 659 deep sea leads in stock suggest that the Council had been receiving leads from inbound ships and accumulating them faster than they could be issued. A deep sea lead was a single-use consumable in the sense that it might be lost in a sounding, and the company's outward ships would have arrived with their own complement of leads. The accumulation on the island indicates that calls at the road were less demanding of replacement leads than the supply lines had assumed, which suggests that the island's stock of navigational consumables had developed a quiet surplus relative to working demand. The pattern hints at the difficulty of calibrating supply quantities to actual island consumption from London. The decision to maintain substantial pitch and rosin stocks on the island in 50 and 45 casks indicates that the company was preparing for major ship maintenance work at the road rather than relying on consumption only by passing ships. The quantities are sufficient for the careening or significant overhaul of a vessel rather than for incidental top-up supply, which suggests that the Council was equipped to provide refitting services to ships in need of more than routine attention. The arrangement reveals an operational capability that extended beyond simple resupply, with the island serving as a working point of repair as well as of provisioning. The recording of butcher's knives at 64 indicates a working slaughtering establishment supporting the public table and the supply of fresh meat to ships. The number is larger than would be needed for a single butcher's working stock and suggests that the company held a reserve sufficient to equip a full slaughter line or to replenish lost or damaged knives over an extended period. The presence of this dedicated stock fits the working maturity of the island's meat supply system, in which company cattle were converted into provisions for the table and for sale to ships under controlled conditions. The mixed entries of paired and singular items in this section, with shoes and soldering irons reckoned in pairs and the leaden weights reckoned in pairs of sets, continue the pattern of the earlier inventory section. The arrangement preserves the original unit of supply throughout the inventory and confirms that the storekeeper was working to a unit-of-receipt convention rather than imposing a uniform counting basis across the entire stock. The choice fits the working purpose of the document and indicates the limits of administrative standardisation within the island stores.
122	133	Remaineing in y[e] Stores 25 March 1680 Iron Wyre &c[a] Brasse Wyre 8 1/2 Chirurgions Ch[ests] empty 2 Sett Capatrall [...] 1 Bottles of Chimicall p[re]paracons att 20 each 4 Printed Books Qu[il]ls Ink &c[a] Turnery & Lattin Ware &c[a] 3	Account of stores remaining on 25 March 1680. Iron wire and other items. Brass wire 8½ Surgeons' chests, empty 2 Set of [...] 1 Bottles of chemical preparations at 20 each 4 Printed books, quills, ink, and turnery and latten ware. [...] 3 Psalters 16 Testaments 1½ Reams of paper 9 Reams of cartouche paper 3

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Psalters 16 Testaments 1 1/2 Reames of Paper 9 Reames of Cartouch ditto 3 Bookes Journ[a]l & Ledger &c[a] 2 1/2 Pen Knives 8 Cake Ink 1 Sealoing Wax 50 Pencills 12 Inke glasses 1 Ruler 1000 Quills 363 Lattin Plates 3 Sconces 1 Grater 4 Oyle pots 1 Dark Lanthorne 16 Tinder boxes 14 Flat & Sticking Candlesticks 7 Damaged Straw hatts [...]	Journal and ledger books 2½ Penknives 8 Cake ink 1 Sealing wax 50 Pencils 12 Ink glasses 1 Ruler 1 Quills 1,000 Latten plates 363 Sconces 3 Grater 1 Oil pots 4 Dark lantern 1 Tinder boxes 16 Flat and sticking candlesticks 14 Damaged straw hats 7 [...] **Interpretations** The two empty surgeons' chests identify the working medical infrastructure of the island. A surgeons' chest was a fitted box of compartments holding the standard range of medical instruments and preparations supplied to ships and stations. The presence of two empty chests indicates that their contents had been drawn down by consumption, while the chests themselves remained ready for refilling from later supply. The bottles of chemical preparations at twenty each, recorded as four, identify a separate parcel of pharmaceutical material distinct from the chest contents. The arrangement shows the company maintaining medical supply both in the standard chest format and in bulk pharmaceutical stock, with the working condition of the chests preserved as institutional containers even when emptied. The printed books listed in the inventory include sixteen psalters and a fractional entry recorded as one and a half testaments. The psalters were the metrical psalm books used in public and household worship, and the testaments were copies of the New Testament. The presence of these books in the stores rather than in private hands shows the company supplying religious texts as an issue item to the island, in support of the ministerial duties pressed in successive despatches and reaffirmed in the engagement of Joseph Church under the despatch of 24 March 1680. The half count of testaments suggests a damaged or partial volume held with the working stock. The stationery items together formed the working office supply of the Council. Reams of paper at nine and reams of cartouche paper at three covered the regular and the heavier writing paper, with cartouche paper being a thicker grade suitable for outer wrappings, drafts and account work. The two and a half journal and ledger books, eight penknives, one cake of ink, fifty sticks of sealing wax, twelve pencils, one ink glass, one ruler and one thousand quills together gave the Council a substantial reserve of office consumables. The figure of one thousand quills was particularly significant because each quill had a short working life and required constant replacement during sustained writing. The arrangement reveals the documentary controls pressed by the company across the despatches as a working reality supported by a deep stock of writing materials. The 363 latten plates identify a substantial parcel of thin tinned iron sheet, used in light metalwork, candlesticks, lanterns and small wares. Latten was a sheet metal that took solder readily and could be worked cold into formed pieces. The presence of so large a stock confirms the island as a centre of light metalworking, which fits the cooperage and ironwork establishment shown in the earlier inventory sections. The associated sconces, grater, oil pots, dark lantern, tinder boxes and candlesticks were finished latten ware, supporting the working domestic and military requirements for light and heat on the island. The dark lantern, a lantern with a hinged shutter that could be

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			closed to hide the flame, would have served sentry and night-patrol work. The damaged straw hats at the close of the section record a stock of partly spoiled clothing supply, retained in the inventory rather than written off. The arrangement shows the storekeeper preserving even compromised stock in the books, with the damage noted, until the Council determined its disposition. **Speculations** The presence of an oversized stock of writing materials relative to the small island administration suggests that the company supplied the office consumables generously to ensure that the documentary controls could not break down for want of paper, ink or quills. The very heavy quill count of one thousand units far exceeded any plausible short-term need for a Council of a few members, and indicates that the company treated office supply as a strategic investment in the documentary discipline of the establishment. The arrangement reveals the practical logic behind the company's documentary regime: the regime could only be maintained if the materials of writing were always available, and supply at scale removed any local excuse for falling away from the standard. The retention of two empty surgeons' chests in the inventory, rather than their disposal or repacking with available bulk supplies, suggests that the Council preserved the standard chest format for future replenishment from London. The chests would have been refilled by the next supply ship carrying the full medical parcel, and the maintenance of the empty chests in stock prevented the loss of the standard issue format. The arrangement fits the broader picture of the island stores as a continuing administrative establishment, in which institutional containers and forms were preserved across cycles of consumption and supply. The decision to issue psalters and testaments through the stores rather than to leave their supply to the Minister and the chaplain personally indicates that the company treated religious books as a strategic supply item. Provision of religious texts to the planter community and to the slaves under the manumission pathway required a continuing book supply, and the inventory shows the company maintaining that supply through the central stores rather than through ministerial channels. The arrangement reveals the religious establishment as integrated into the company's logistics rather than operating as a separate ecclesiastical economy.
123	134	Case Knives Kettles Fry pans Cotton Yarne Deales Lime Coyles of Rope & Pinnace &c[a] Remaineing in y[e] Stores 25[th] March 1680 Case Knives 2 Iron Kettles 7 Fry pans 8 Cotton Yarne 18 Deales 59 Casks Lime 4 Fishe[s] cutt in two 1 Wheel barrows 10 [280 lb] of 5 inch Hawser - 280 [lb] 1 Coyle of Rope of 7 inches w[eight] - 50 1 Ditto of 4 inches w[eight] - 380 1 Ditto of 4 ditto w[eight] - 459 2933 1 of 4 ditto w[eight] - 360 1 Ditto of 4 1/2 inches w[eight] - 604 2833	Account of stores remaining on 25 March 1680. Case knives, kettles, frying pans, cotton yarn, deals, lime, coils of rope, pinnace and other items. Case knives 2 Iron kettles 7 Frying pans 8 Cotton yarn 18 Deals 59 Casks of lime 4 Fish cut in two 1 Wheelbarrows 10 Coils of rope: five-inch hawser, weight 280 pounds seven-inch rope, weight 50 pounds four-inch rope, weight 380 pounds four-inch rope, weight 459 pounds four-inch rope, weight 360 pounds four-and-a-half-inch rope, weight 604 pounds total weight 2,833 pounds [note: the manuscript also gives a figure of 2,933 against the individual lines] Anchors 2 Grapnel 1 Oars 21 Longboat 1 Pinnace bought of Captain Stanard, with two sails 1 Canvas cut out for a longboat sail 32 yards [...]

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Anchors 2 Grapnall 1 Oares 21 Long boat 1 Pinnace bought of Cap[tain] Stanard with 2 Sayles 1 Canvas cutt out for a Long boat Saile 32 y[ar]ds 7[..] Compasses with brasse bowes 2 Sets of Surveying Instrum[en]ts 2 Two pole Chaine 1 Foure pole Ditto 2 Bushells of Salt 10 [lb] Rice 25937 Paddy 14124	Compasses with brass bows 2 Sets of surveying instruments 2 Two-pole chain 1 Four-pole chains 2 Bushels of salt 10 Rice, in pounds 25,937 Paddy, in pounds 14,124 **Interpretations** The rope stock listed by coil reveals the working cordage establishment of the island as a service point for company shipping. The five-inch hawser at 280 pounds was a heavy mooring rope of substantial diameter, suitable for securing a vessel in the road. The smaller coils of four-inch and four-and-a-half-inch rope formed the working stock for rigging, lifting and general ship work, and the seven-inch rope at 50 pounds suggests a remnant of a larger cable. The total weight of cordage on hand, at 2,833 pounds, represents a serious stock of working rope available for issue to ships or for use in the island establishment. The discrepancy in the manuscript between the running total of 2,933 and the actual sum of 2,833 reflects a copying or addition error in the original; the corrected total is given here from the individual entries. The anchors at two, the grapnel and the longboat and pinnace together identify the island's working boat establishment. The pinnace bought of Captain Stanard, equipped with two sails, was a small sailing vessel used for transport between ships in the road and the shore, and for short coastal work around the island. The acquisition of the pinnace from a passing captain reveals the company purchasing operational equipment from visiting vessels rather than depending solely on supply from London, which fits the working flexibility of island procurement. The 32 yards of canvas cut out for a longboat sail indicates that the existing longboat sail was either being repaired or replaced. The surveying equipment, with two compasses with brass bows, two sets of surveying instruments, a two-pole chain and two four-pole chains, identifies the working tools for laying out plantations and measuring boundaries. The pole was a length of sixteen and a half feet, so a four-pole chain measured 66 feet and a two-pole chain measured 33 feet. The maintenance of three surveying chains on the island confirms that boundary measurement was an active and continuing function of the Council, which fits the registration regime of the by-laws of 20 March 1680. The arrangement reveals the practical infrastructure behind the land code: the by-laws required boundaries to be recorded in the register, and the chains and instruments gave the Council the means to lay out and verify them. The rice and paddy stocks, at 25,937 pounds of rice and 14,124 pounds of paddy, represent the working reserves of Indian Ocean grain provision held on the island at the start of the new accounting year. The substantial quantities show the working maturity of the Indian Ocean supply chain pressed by the despatches of 1678 and 1679 and traced in the earlier handover material. The rice was hulled and ready for consumption, while the paddy retained its husk and required milling at the equipment supplied through earlier consignments. The arrangement reveals the practical realisation on the island of the annual provisioning policy directed across multiple Surat and Coast despatches. The 32 yards of canvas, the 18 units of cotton yarn, the case knives, kettles and frying pans together identify the working kitchen and ship-keeping consumables held in the stores. The deals at 59 pieces and the four casks of lime supported continuing building work, with the lime presumably used for mortar and rendering in stone and brick construction. The single fish cut in two refers to a working halved fish kept in the store, probably as a working ration or sample.

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			The wheelbarrows at ten units indicate the working transport equipment for moving material around the construction sites, the company plantation and the stores yard. The number is substantial for a small island establishment and suggests continuing earthworks, building activity and stores movement during this period. **Speculations** The decision to record the substantial rice and paddy stocks alongside the building, fishery and cordage equipment in a single inventory shows the company stores functioning as a unified working establishment rather than as separate provision and equipment departments. The arrangement gave the storekeeper a complete view of all material held against company account, but it also exposed the rice and paddy reserves to a single point of risk in the event of fire, vermin or other loss. The mixed character of the stores reveals the working scale of the island establishment at this date: large enough to require central inventory across all categories, but not yet large enough to support separate stores for provisions and equipment. The presence of two complete sets of surveying instruments and three chains, with the two-pole chain available for fine work and the two four-pole chains for measuring out the larger plantation boundaries, suggests that the Council was preparing for active survey work in support of the registration regime of the by-laws of 20 March 1680. The instruments were already on hand before the by-laws arrived by the Society in March 1680, which indicates that the company had supplied the equipment in earlier consignments in anticipation of the codified system. The arrangement reveals planning at the London end across multiple supply cycles, with the equipment positioned ahead of the legal framework that would put it to systematic use. The acquisition of the pinnace from Captain Stanard shows the Council exercising local purchasing discretion outside the standing supply channels from London. The arrangement reveals the working autonomy of the island administration in operational procurement matters, where opportunities arose to acquire equipment from passing vessels at prices probably below the cost of an equivalent supply from England plus shipping. The choice fits the broader pattern of cost-conscious management pressed by the despatches and shows the Council using the company's wider trading network as it presented itself rather than relying solely on the planned supply lines. The mathematical discrepancy in the rope total between 2,833 pounds from the individual entries and the 2,933 figure carried alongside indicates a working error in the manuscript that the storekeeper or copying clerk did not catch. The presence of such an error in a formal inventory submitted to the Council suggests that the documentary controls pressed by the company across successive despatches still had some way to go before the working accounts on the island matched the standard expected at the East India House. The arrangement shows the practical limit of paper-based administration in a small establishment, where even careful inventory work could produce internal inconsistencies that would survive into the final document.
124	135	Blank page	
125	136	Blank page	
126	137	Blank page	
127	138	Blank page	
128	139	London the 26[th] March 1680 Invoice of Bullion, Stores & Provisions Laden by [the] Gov[er]no[r] and Comp[any] of M[er]ch[an]ts [...] in [the] s[ai]d [Shipp] m[er] [...] of god [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] or [whea]t and [...] [which] Containe [...] Robert Thomson bound by [...] [...] kingdom for S[t] Hand	The London invoice of 26 March 1680 recorded bullion, stores and provisions laden by the Governor and Company of Merchants for shipment to St Helena. The manuscript at the head of the document is significantly damaged, and only fragments of the introductory clauses are recoverable. What can be read

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Hellena and by Consigned to [...] [...] [...] acc[t] of Wh[eat] and Stock [...] th[e] coste [...] are as [...] In Bookes Carkes 27 lb v[i]z[t] Roughs 16 Compleat fines [...] [Roughs] [...] [d nailes?] [...] [Houghs] [...] Ditto broad [Carpenter Cleavers] 25 Broad Howes [Zewers] 8 Broad Carpenters Axes 4 lb [...] 1-10 [Iron Maundes] 0 Iron Maundes weight 700 [...] 7-00 [Stocklocks] 6 Stock Locks 1 [...] 7- 7 Ditto 1 8 [...] 10 7 Ditto 1 [...] 14 [Tron Irons] 7 Irons from 8 12 feet 8 [...] 1-1 [Iron strop fors] [d nailes] 9 D[itt]o 8 12 feet 1 [...] 1-4 130 Squares Whip Bitts 1 2 [...] 7-5 35 Pad Hooks [Tinklers] 4 Doz[en] Pickaxes 2 [...] [Pickaxes Hookes] [Steel Smiling] 4 Doz[en] Spikes & in[..] Hooks 4 0 [...] [8 Locks] 24 Strong Mortice Guns Spike [...] [Padlocks] 17 [Pad]locks 0 3 [...] 7 [d nailes] 17 Iron Spikes 1 2 [...] 11 3-4 [Hookes & Hinges] 24 Strong Iron Locks & Hinges 1 0 [...] 7 [d nailes] 8 Ditto Hinges [Ditto] 29 Iron Vices 1 [...] 15-6 [..] Cookery Iron Workes drawn over 94-17-10	identifies the consignment as being carried on a ship under Robert Thomson, bound for St Helena, with goods sent on the company's account [...]. The body of the invoice opens with an entry for bound books at 27 pounds, comprising 16 rough volumes and a quantity of complete fines, with further detail unreadable [...]. The remaining entries are recoverable only in part. The legible items include broad hoes, broad carpenters' axes weighing four pounds at one pound ten shillings, iron mauls of various weights, stock locks at several different prices (one parcel of 6 at one [...] seven shillings; one parcel of 7 at one [...] eight shillings and tenpence; one parcel of 7 at one [...] fourteen shillings), iron items of 8 to 12 feet at one pound one shilling, further iron items of 8 to 12 feet at one pound four shillings, 130 square whip bits at one [...] seven shillings and fivepence, 35 pad hooks, four dozen pickaxes at two [...], four dozen spikes and hooks at four [...], 24 strong mortice guns and spikes [...], 17 padlocks at threepence each, 17 iron spikes at one [...] three pounds four shillings and elevenpence, 24 strong iron locks and hinges at one pound seven shillings, eight further hinges, 29 iron vices at one pound fifteen shillings and sixpence, and cookery ironworks carried forward. The subtotal carried forward for ironworks was £94 17s 10d. **Interpretations** The London invoice of 26 March 1680 falls within the cluster of spring 1680 instruments that included the by-laws of 20 March 1680, the despatch of 24 March 1680 by the Society and the despatch of 9 and 14 April 1680. The invoice of 26 March 1680 was prepared two days after the major Society despatch and probably accompanied a further ship in the same supply cluster, or formed part of the documentation for the Society consignment itself. The arrangement reveals the working sequence at the East India House: the Court of Committees issued the operational despatch, the related legal instrument under the common seal and the detailed invoice of cargo within a few days of each other, with each document supporting the others. The damaged opening of the invoice removes the certainty of which ship carried the cargo. The legible reference to Robert Thomson is consistent with the signature on the despatch of 14 April 1680, where Thomson signed as Deputy of the company. The invoice was probably authenticated by Thomson in his Deputy capacity rather than carrying him as the master of the ship, but the damaged state of the manuscript prevents a confident reading. The substantial parcel of ironwork in this section of the invoice reveals the working priorities of the consignment. Stock locks, padlocks, mortice locks, hinges, vices, pickaxes, spikes, mauls and broad axes together represent a major supply of building hardware and tools. The arrangement complements the inventory of stores remaining on 25 March 1680, which had recorded substantial quantities of nails but limited stocks of finished hardware such as locks, hasps and hinges. The Society consignment was therefore designed to address the specific shortfalls evident in the island's existing stores. The mention of 24 strong mortice guns and spikes within the ironwork section identifies a parcel of heavy security equipment, with mortice locks of the heavier strong pattern intended for doors requiring secure fastening, probably for the magazine, the storehouse and the principal company buildings. The arrangement reveals the company supplying upgraded security hardware in line with the broader effort to tighten documentary and physical controls on the stores pressed in successive despatches. The 130 square whip bits represent a substantial parcel of drilling equipment for use with the carpenters'

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			bit stocks recorded in the earlier inventory. The bit stock and bit pattern allowed a craftsman to fit different cutting heads to a single boring tool, and the supply of 130 bits in one consignment indicates that the company was equipping the island to a working standard for prolonged construction activity. The arrangement matches the broader pattern of the spring 1680 cluster, in which the legal infrastructure of the by-laws and the physical infrastructure of the stores were both being developed in parallel. The reference to cookery ironworks at the foot of the section identifies a separate parcel of kitchen ironmongery, probably comprising pots, hooks, trivets and similar equipment for the public table and for the supply of cooking equipment to planters. The subtotal of £94 17s 10d for the ironwork brought forward gives a working figure for the iron section of the invoice, against which the remaining sections of the cargo would be added to reach the full consignment value. **Speculations** The decision to send a substantial parcel of finished hardware in the spring 1680 consignment, rather than raw iron and steel for local working, indicates that the company judged the island's smithing capacity insufficient for the volume of hardware required by the expanding planter establishment. The earlier inventory had recorded 2,764 pounds of iron bars and a substantial steel stock, but the limited tools and small forge of a single smith could not produce the volume of locks, hinges and pickaxes demanded by an active building programme. The arrangement reveals the company supplementing local production with finished imports where the scale of demand exceeded the working capacity of the island establishment. The presence of substantial security hardware in the consignment, with strong mortice locks, padlocks, iron locks and hinges, suggests that the company was equipping the island to a higher standard of physical security than had previously been maintained. The arrangement fits the broader administrative tightening pressed in the despatches of February 1678 and March 1680, where documentary controls, warrant procedures and accounting discipline were progressively strengthened. The matching physical infrastructure of locks and secure fastenings indicates that the company saw documentary controls as inseparable from physical control of the stores themselves. The combination of building hardware, tools and security equipment in the ironworks subtotal of £94 17s 10d represents a working investment in the operational infrastructure of the island. Set against the Society cargo value of £3,138 0s 0d recorded in the earlier handover material, the ironwork section accounts for about three per cent of the total cargo value. The proportion suggests that the consignment was diversified across many categories of supply, with ironworks forming one component among many, which fits the working pattern of the company's mature supply chain to the island at this date.
129	140	4 Cattle of Iron Workes brought over 94 - 17 - 10 5 Nailes - 2 - 2 - 11 Caw[t] 11 [1/2] 6 2 - 19 - [..] 11 [1/2] 7 2 - [18]4 - 12 8 2 - 13 - 12 [1/2] 8 2 - 7 - 12 [1/2] 8 1 - 3 - 18 - 11 [1/2] 10 2 - 1 - 20 - 11 [1/2] 11 8 2 - 2 - [..] - 11 [1/2] [..] 2 - [..]15 - 12 13 10 2 - [..]3 - 11 [1/2] 14 10 2 - 2 - 12 15 10 2 - 2 - 11 [1/2]	The invoice continued with the nail consignment and other tools. The ironwork brought forward from the earlier section £94 17s 10d The nail entries followed, with each parcel recorded by cask number, gross weight in hundredweight, quarter and pounds, and the rate per hundredweight. The cask numbers ran from 4 to 38, with weights in the range of about two hundredweight per cask and rates of eleven shillings and a halfpenny or twelve shillings per hundredweight. The weights of the individual casks of nails were: Cask 5: 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 11 pounds at 11s ½d per hundredweight Cask 6: 2 hundredweight 19 [...] at 11s ½d

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		16 10 2 - 12 - 11 [1/2] 17 18 20 2 - 16 - 12 [1/2] 19 20 2 - 00 - 11 [1/2] 19 20 2 - 09 - 12 [1/2] 20 1 - 3 - 21 - 11 [1/2] 21 20 2 - 2 - 11 [1/2] 22 20 2 - 24 - 11 [1/2] 23 20 1 - 3 - 20 - 11 [1/2] 24 20 1 - 3 - 22 - 12 25 20 1 - 3 - 15 - 12 [1/2] 26 24 1 - 3 - 19 - 12 27 24 1 - 3 - 23 - 12 [1/2] 28 24 1 - 3 - 24 - 11 29 30 1 - 3 - 21 - 12 30 30 [..] - [..] - 11 [1/2] 31 30 2 - 20 - 11 [1/2] 32 30 2 - 09 - 11 [1/2] 33 40 2 - 10 - 11 [1/2] 34 40 2 - 2 - 12 [35] 40 [N]ai[le]s - 3 - 17 - 11 [1/2] [36] Ditto - [...] - 3 - 24 - 11 [1/2] [37] Ditto - 2 - 3 - 2 - [1/2] [38] Ditto - 2 - 2 - 24 - 11 [1/2] grosse - 74 - 3 - 13 3 - 2 - 18 [1/2] Cards - 3 - 2 - 18 [1/2] Nett 71 - [...] - 22 [1/2] at 4 0 0 [...] 142 - 08 - [..] 1 - 17 - 6 40 - 25 Tredd Shovels - att 9 - 6 [...] 2 - 14 41 - 1 Doz[en] Steel Spades - att 4 - 6 [...] 2 - 14 42 - 1 Doz[en] Ditto - att 4 - 6 [...] 2 - 14 43 - 1 Doz[en] Ditto - 4 - 6 [...] 2 - 14 44 - 1 Doz[en] Ditto - 4 - 6 [...] 2 - 14 45 - 1 Ditto Doz[en] - 4 - 6 [...] 2 - 14 46 - 1 [...] Spades - 4 - 6 [...] ditto 3 - 07 - 6 256 - 08 - 10 Bourne over 256 - 04 - 10 **Margin Notes:** Nailes [...] [Tred Shovells] [Tooles of Spades]	Cask 7: 2 hundredweight 18[...] at 12s Cask 8: 2 hundredweight 13 at 12s ½d Cask 8: 2 hundredweight 7 at 12s ½d Cask 8: 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 18 at 11s ½d Cask 10: 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 20 at 11s ½d Cask 11: 2 hundredweight 2 [...] at 11s ½d Cask [...]: 2 [...] 15 at 12s Cask 13: 2 [...] 3 at 11s ½d Cask 14: 2 hundredweight 2 at 12s Cask 15: 2 hundredweight 2 at 11s ½d Cask 16: 2 hundredweight 12 at 11s ½d Cask 17: 2 hundredweight 16 at 12s ½d Cask 19: 2 hundredweight at 11s ½d Cask 19: 2 hundredweight 9 at 12s ½d Cask 20: 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 21 at 11s ½d Cask 21: 2 hundredweight 2 at 11s ½d Cask 22: 2 hundredweight 24 at 11s ½d Cask 23: 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 20 at 11s ½d Cask 24: 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 22 at 12s Cask 25: 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 15 at 12s ½d Cask 26: 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 19 at 12s Cask 27: 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 23 at 12s ½d Cask 28: 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 24 at 11s Cask 29: 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 21 at 12s Cask 30: [...] at 11s ½d Cask 31: 2 hundredweight 20 at 11s ½d Cask 32: 2 hundredweight 9 at 11s ½d Cask 33: 2 hundredweight 10 at 11s ½d Cask 34: 2 hundredweight 2 at 12s Cask 35: 3 hundredweight 17 at 11s ½d Cask 36: [...] 3 hundredweight 24 at 11s ½d Cask 37: 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 2 at [...]½d Cask 38: 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 24 at 11s ½d Gross weight 74 hundredweight 3 quarters 13 pounds Tare for casks 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 18½ pounds Net weight 71 hundredweight [...] 22½ pounds at the rates given £142 8s [...] Carriage or further charge £1 17s 6d Twenty-five tread shovels at 9s 6d each £2 14s One dozen steel spades at 4s 6d each £2 14s One dozen steel spades at 4s 6d each £2 14s One dozen steel spades at 4s 6d each £2 14s One dozen steel spades at 4s 6d each £2 14s One dozen steel spades at 4s 6d each £2 14s One [...] spades at 4s 6d each £3 7s 6d Subtotal carried forward £256 8s 10d [the manuscript also gives a figure of £256 4s 10d] **Interpretations** The detailed cask-by-cask recording of the nail consignment reveals the working format of the company's stores accounting. Each cask was numbered, weighed gross, allowed a tare for the cask itself, and then valued at the rate per hundredweight applicable to the nails it contained. The arrangement gave the storekeeper at the receiving end a complete schedule of each parcel, which could be checked against the cask itself on landing. The system shows the documentary controls pressed by the company on the island operating on the London side as well, with the invoice format designed to support reconciliation at the point of receipt. The recurrent rates of eleven shillings and a halfpenny or twelve shillings per hundredweight identify the working market rates for nails by weight in London at this date. The small variations between casks probably reflect different sizes or qualities of nail within the consignment, with the higher rate of twelve shillings or twelve shillings and a halfpenny applied to the finer or more carefully made parcels. The arrangement reveals the company drawing nails from multiple suppliers or production runs and recording the price differentials in the invoice, rather than averaging across the consignment.

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			The total net weight of 71 hundredweight after tare, valued at the running rates, gave a nail subtotal of about £142 8s. Set against the existing stock of 169,900 twopenny nails and 163,001 threepenny nails recorded in the inventory of 25 March 1680, the new consignment by weight rather than by count suggests that this parcel was of heavier nails. The arrangement shows the company supplying complementary stock to that already on hand, with light counted nails received in earlier shipments and heavier nails received by weight in the spring 1680 consignment. The tread shovels, at twenty-five units priced at nine shillings and sixpence each, identify a specialist tool with a stepped or strengthened tread on the top of the blade. The tread reinforced the position where the labourer placed his foot to drive the shovel into the ground, which made the tool suitable for heavy digging in stony or compacted soil. The price of nine shillings and sixpence per shovel was substantially higher than the four shillings and sixpence rate for the steel spades, and reflects the additional construction of the tread shovel. The arrangement reveals the company supplying graded ground-working tools matched to the conditions of the island. The steel spades, supplied at five dozen and one further parcel at the same rate of four shillings and sixpence each, gave the island a substantial new stock of ground-working tools. The earlier inventory had recorded 21 spades on hand, against only a single hoe, which had indicated a stores establishment focused on construction rather than cultivation. The arrival of upwards of sixty steel spades in the new consignment significantly expanded the cultivation tool stock, which fits the broader 1680 policy of pressing the planters to greater self-sufficiency and the company plantation to a productive footing capable of supplying the public table without bought provisions. The carriage or further charge of £1 17s 6d added to the nail consignment after the rate-based subtotal probably represents the cost of bringing the casks to the shipping point, or a packing or handling charge applied to the parcel. The recording of the charge as a separate line shows the working transparency of the company's procurement accounting, with the underlying material cost and the ancillary handling cost kept distinct. **Speculations** The discrepancy in the manuscript between the £256 8s 10d subtotal at the foot of the section and the £256 4s 10d figure carried alongside indicates a working arithmetical error in the invoice. The pattern fits the earlier discrepancy in the rope total in the inventory of 25 March 1680, where the running total had differed from the sum of the individual entries. The recurrence of such errors across two separate documents in the same March 1680 stores cycle suggests that the working accounting on both the London and the island sides relied on hand arithmetic without independent verification, with errors persisting into the final document. The arrangement reveals the practical limits of paper-based supply chain administration in the company's working operations. The supply of upwards of sixty steel spades in the new consignment, against the 21 spades and one hoe in the existing stock, suggests that the company had identified ground cultivation as a working priority for the spring 1680 supply. The targeted expansion of cultivation tools fits the 24 March 1680 directive raising the expectation of the company plantation to a level at which it should bear the cost of the public table without bought victuals, with a surplus available for sale to ships. The supply infrastructure was therefore arriving at the same time as the productive expectation, which shows coordinated planning between the policy and the materials at the London end.

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			The decision to send tread shovels at substantially higher cost than ordinary spades indicates that the company expected the island to require heavy ground-working tools for specific tasks such as breaking new ground, working stony soil or excavating for fortifications. The choice to supply twenty-five units of the more expensive specialist tool reveals a deliberate investment in capability beyond the basic spade complement, which fits a working programme of land clearance and improvement matched to the new by-laws on plantation establishment. The arrangement shows the company supporting the legal framework of the by-laws with the physical means to make it operative on the ground.
130	141	Brought over 256 - 04 - 10 Tinn Ware Shoomak[er]s Tooles Ru[..] Sugar &c[a] and recd. [...] as follow[s] [...] Stew Pans 12 Large Stew Panns at 3[s] each 1 - 16 - 00 12 Ditto next size at 2[s] 1 - 10 - 00 12 Ditto m[..] [s]ize - 2 1 - 4 12 Ditto Long [...] - 1 - 6 [...] Pudding Pans 12 Round Pudding Pannet 12 12 Large Ditto Squarest - 3 15 12 Double Ditto - 1 12 12 Ditto Tinnett - 7 7 Lamps 12 Large Lamps for spouts 2 1 - 4 12 Ditto [...] for spouts - 1 - 3 15 12 [s]inople Lampes - 10 10 Sauce Pans 12 Mou[ld] Sauce Panes - 12 12 12 [...]3 Pinte Ditto - 0 - 10 10 12 Quart Ditto - 7 7 12 Pinte Ditto - 4 4 12 Ti[n]der Pudding Panns - 6 6 [Tinn[ed] padding pa[nn]s] 24 Large Candlesticks - 0 - 7 12 [Candlesticks] 24 Ditto Midder 8 24 Ditto Small 4 7 Roast Bottlers 12 Quart Bottles - 0 - 7 7 Dittos 12 Petto Pottes 7 Quart Tunnells 12 Quart Funnels - 0 - 7 7 12 Smaller Ditto 4 12 Funnellnet Pe[..] 5 - 0 - 14 [...] Bread Graters 12 Large Bread graters - 0 - 0 - 2 [1/2] 2 - 6 12 Ditto Midder [..] Spice Graters 12 Small Spice graters - 0 - 1 15 Pasty Pans 6 Double Pasty Panns - 2 - 6	The invoice continued with tin ware, shoemakers' tools, sugar and other items. The subtotal brought forward £256 4s 10d Stew pans: Twelve large stew pans at three shillings each £1 16s 0d Twelve stew pans of the next size at two shillings each £1 10s 0d Twelve stew pans of middle size at two shillings each £1 4s Twelve long stew pans at one shilling and sixpence each [...] Pudding pans: Twelve round pudding pans at one shilling each 12s Twelve large square pudding pans at three [...] 15s Twelve double pudding pans at one [...] 12s Twelve tinned pudding pans at seven [...] 7s Lamps: Twelve large lamps with spouts at two shillings each £1 4s Twelve smaller lamps with spouts at one shilling and threepence each 15s Twelve simple lamps at tenpence each 10s Sauce pans: Twelve mould sauce pans at one shilling each 12s Twelve three-pint sauce pans at tenpence each 10s Twelve quart sauce pans at sevenpence each 7s Twelve pint sauce pans at fourpence each 4s Twelve tin pudding pans at sixpence each 6s Candlesticks: Twenty-four large candlesticks at sevenpence each 14s Twenty-four middle candlesticks at fourpence each 8s Twenty-four small candlesticks at twopence each 4s Roast bottles and other vessels: Twelve quart bottles at sevenpence each 7s Twelve pottle pots [...] 7s Twelve quart funnels at sevenpence each 7s Twelve smaller funnels at fourpence each 4s Twelve further funnels at [...] [...] Bread and spice graters: Twelve large bread graters at two-pence-halfpenny each 2s 6d Twelve middle bread graters [...] Twelve small spice graters at one shilling and threepence each 15s Pasty pans: Six double pasty pans at two shillings and sixpence each 15s Twelve further pasty pans at one shilling and threepence each 15s Total of the tinware section £17 5s Shoemakers' tools in the same ship, item number 47: Ten hammers at one shilling and threepence each 12s 6d Ten pairs of pincers at sevenpence the pair 5s 10d Ten nippers at sevenpence each 5s 10d

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		[..] - 6 12 Ditto Ditto - 1 - 3 17 - 5 Shoomak[er]s Tooles Shoomak[er]s Tooles in D[itt]o Sh[i]p[p] N[o] 47 as follo[ws] (viz) [..] 12 Hammers 10 Hamm[e]rs 13 Pincers 10 [pa]ire Pincers 7 Nippers 10 Nippers 7 Dressers 10 Dressers [...] Hollowing Sticks 10 Hollowing Sticks [..] Measures 10 Measurers [..] Shoul[der] Sticks 10 Should[er] Sticks 2 - 6 Aw[le]s 10 [A]wles 4 Punches 10 Punches [..] Cuttin[g] Knives 10 Cutting Knives [..] Awle Hafts 10 [...]er hafts [..] [A]w[le]bla[d]es 10 Doz[en] Awle blades 4 - 3 - 6 Shoomak[er]s Tooles bourn ov[er] amo[un]t to [..] Bourn over [..]7-	Ten dressers [...] [...] Ten hollowing sticks [...] [...] Ten measures [...] [...] Ten shoulder sticks at threepence each 2s 6d Ten awls at fourpence each 3s 4d Ten punches [...] [...] Ten cutting knives [...] [...] Ten awl hafts [...] [...] Ten dozen awl blades at sixpence the dozen 5s Total of shoemakers' tools carried forward £4 3s 6d Subtotal carried forward [...] **Interpretations** The tinware section reveals the working scale of the company's domestic supply to the island. Stew pans, pudding pans, sauce pans, lamps, candlesticks, bottles, funnels and graters all appear in standard parcels of twelve, with candlesticks in parcels of twenty-four. The repetition of the dozen as the unit of supply identifies the standard trade quantity for tinware at this period, and confirms the company drawing its supplies from the regular London tinsmiths and ironmongers on commercial terms. The graduated sizing within each tinware category, with large, middle and small pans or candlesticks supplied at descending prices, gave the Council a working range of utensils for different uses and for issue at different ranks. The arrangement fits the stratified retail through the company stores recorded in the earlier handover material, where differentiated pricing allowed the Council to issue goods appropriate to the social rank of each recipient through a single supply chain. The tinware consignment of spring 1680 extends that pattern from the Johanna invoice of March 1678 onwards. The dedicated supply of shoemakers' tools, with hammers, pincers, nippers, dressers, hollowing sticks, measures, shoulder sticks, awls, punches, cutting knives, awl hafts and ten dozen awl blades, identifies the company's investment in a shoemaking trade on the island. The complete tool set of about ten of each principal item suggests the equipping of a working shoemaker rather than a personal kit, with the awl blades supplied at scale as the principal consumable. The arrangement reveals the company adding to the trade base of the island, where the cooperage and carpentry establishment already identified in the inventory of 25 March 1680 are now joined by a planned shoemaking trade. The supply of lamps in three categories, with large spouted, smaller spouted and simple patterns, indicates that the company was equipping the island for substantial nightwork. The lamp count of thirty-six units at this consignment, against the small lighting stock recorded in the earlier inventory, suggests a significant expansion of indoor and yard lighting. The arrangement complements the dark lantern recorded in the inventory, which had served sentry and patrol purposes, by adding to the working lighting available for the storehouse, the public table and the carpenters' and coopers' shops. The candlesticks at twenty-four large, twenty-four middle and twenty-four small units identify a substantial parcel of finished latten or tinned holders, supplied in graded sizes for different positions and ranks. The earlier inventory had recorded only fourteen flat and sticking candlesticks on hand, so the new consignment of seventy-two units multiplied the stock by more than five. The arrangement reveals the company supplying a working domestic infrastructure to the planters and the company establishment together, with candleholders held in sufficient quantity to be issued as needed. The bread graters at three sizes and the small spice graters identify the working kitchen equipment of the public table and of the planter households. The pasty

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
			pans in double and standard sizes supported pie-making at scale, which probably reflects the working catering for the public table and for ship provisioning. The arrangement reveals the kitchen of the island establishment as a planned operation supplied with appropriate equipment, rather than as an ad hoc gathering of items. **Speculations** The decision to supply a complete set of shoemakers' tools, with about ten of each principal item and ten dozen awl blades as consumables, indicates that the company was either bringing out a shoemaker from England or expecting to train one from the existing population. The supply of tools without the matching engagement of a tradesman would have been wasteful, which suggests that arrangements had been made for someone to work them. The consignment may have been intended for an existing soldier or planter with shoemaking experience, or for a tradesman travelling on the same ship. The arrangement reveals continuing trade-building on the island, with footwear supply added to the existing carpentry, cooperage and ironwork capacity. The substantial expansion of lighting equipment in the spring 1680 consignment, with thirty-six lamps and seventy-two candlesticks added to the small existing stock, suggests that the company was responding to a specific request from the Council or to its own assessment of the lighting needs of a working establishment. The earlier inventory had identified only fourteen candlesticks and a single dark lantern, which was inadequate for an establishment with a public table, a storehouse, multiple workshops and a sentry system. The arrangement shows the company recognising the basic infrastructure needs of the island and supplying them at scale. The standard packaging of tinware in dozens, with multiple sizes within each category, indicates that the company purchased these supplies from established London tinsmiths who organised their production on standard trade lines. The choice to take the standard packaged quantities rather than to specify custom assortments shows the company working with rather than against the production conventions of the supplier trade, which probably gave the company access to better prices and quicker supply than custom orders would have allowed. The arrangement reveals the practical economy of routine procurement, where adaptation to supplier conventions reduced cost and delay. The recurrence of unreadable totals at the foot of the section continues the pattern of manuscript damage in this part of the invoice. The arrangement makes the precise totalling of the tinware and shoemakers' tools sections uncertain, but the working subtotals of £17 5s for tinware and £4 3s 6d for shoemakers' tools give a partial reconstruction of the consignment value at this stage. The figures are modest against the running total of the invoice, which indicates that the tinware and shoemakers' tools were ancillary rather than central elements of the consignment, supplementing the heavier ironwork and tool sections that had carried the bulk of the cost in the earlier part of the document.
131	142	Shoomak[er]s Tooles Brought over amo[unt] to 273 - 6 - 10 9 - 3 - 6 Tacks 50 penny Tacks 5 40 [...] Tacks 2 - 0 40 Ditto 1 - 3 10 Doz[en] small Tacks 1 - 3	The invoice continued with shoemakers' tools concluded, tacks, knives, cloth, further tinware and other items. The shoemakers' tools subtotal brought forward £9 3s 6d The running subtotal carried forward £273 6s 10d Tacks: Fifty penny tacks 5d Forty tacks [...] 2s 0d Forty further tacks 1s 3d Ten dozen small tacks 1s 3d

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Long Knives 20 Long Knives 3 - 4 20 Crooked Knives 5 Knives Sissors &c[a] in[a] Ditto Sh[i]p[p] N[o] 44 as follow[s] (viz) 5 - 5 - 10 Case Knives 6 Cases of Ivory each 6 Knives att 6[d] 3 - 4 Knives 12 Doz[en] mens Horne hafts [...]8 [...] Doz[en] Oxford Knives 14 3 Doz[en] Womens Knives [...]4 3 Doz[en] mens Ivory hafts [...]17 1 Doz[en] Large Chentish Knives 4 [...] Doz[en] turned Ivory 15 [...] Doz[en] box hafts 8 [...] Doz[en] Horne hafts 8 Pen Knives 6 Doz[en] Penknives 6 Razors [...] Doz[en] Razors 9 Sissors 8 Doz[en] Large ordinary Sissors - 2 6 [...] 7 - 6 3 Doz[en] Ditto Small - 5 - 0 [..] [...] 7 - 6 Naperts Sheares [...] Naperts Shears [...] Tayl[ers] Shears 6 Tay[lers] Shears 12 7 - 19 - Cloth Lattle One Piece Mens Cloth in D[itt]o Sh[i]p[p] N[o] 27 27 [...] att 50 2 - 10 Tinn Wares &c[a] Tinn Wares Hare Cutters Tooles, Maracles & Shoo markers Lasts in one Sh[i]p[p] N[o] 48 as follow[s] (viz) Lamps 12 Large Lamps att 2 - 6 [..] 15 12 Small Ditto with spouts - att 1 - 3 [..] 15 12 Small Ditto with[out] spout - 1 12 Pudding Pans 12 Square Large Pudding Panns - 1 - 3 [..] 12 12 Midde sized Pudding Panns 12 12 Small Pudding Panns - 0 - 8 8 6 Large round Pudding Panns - 1 - 6 [..] 9 6 Mid[d]ling Ditto - 1 - 2 [..] [...] 12 Small Ditto 10 Pasty Pans 6 Large Pasty Panns - 2 - 6 [..] 15 6 [Mi]ddling Ditto 12 6 Small Ditto - 3 [..] 7 - 6 Candlesticks 12 Large [...] both Candlesticks 14 [...] Candlesticks [...] [...] Doz[en] Large or[..] 8 [...] Doz[en] [...]	Long knives: Twenty long knives 3s 4d Twenty crooked knives 5s Total of this group £5 5s 10d Knives, scissors and other items in the same ship, item number 44: Six cases of ivory case knives, each containing six knives at sixpence each 3s 4d Twelve dozen men's horn-hafted knives [...] 8s [...] dozen Oxford knives 14s Three dozen women's knives [...] 4s Three dozen men's ivory-hafted knives [...] 17s One dozen large Kentish knives 4s [...] dozen turned ivory-hafted knives 15s [...] dozen box-hafted knives 8s [...] dozen horn-hafted knives 8s Six dozen penknives 6s [...] dozen razors 9s Eight dozen large ordinary scissors at 2s 6d the dozen [...] 7s 6d Three dozen small scissors at 5s the dozen [...] 7s 6d [...] napiers' shears [...] Six tailors' shears 12s Total of the knives and scissors section £7 19s Cloth: One piece of men's cloth in the same ship, item number 27, of 27 [yards] at 50 [shillings per yard] £2 10s Tinware, hair cutters' tools, manacles and shoemakers' lasts in one shipment, item number 48: Lamps: Twelve large lamps at 2s 6d each 15s Twelve small spouted lamps at 1s 3d each 15s Twelve small lamps without spouts at one shilling each 12s Pudding pans: Twelve square large pudding pans at 1s 3d each 12s Twelve middle-sized pudding pans 12s Twelve small pudding pans at 8d each 8s Six large round pudding pans at 1s 6d each 9s Six middling round pudding pans at 1s 2d each [...] Twelve small round pudding pans 10s Pasty pans: Six large pasty pans at 2s 6d each 15s Six middling pasty pans 12s Six small pasty pans at threepence each 7s 6d Candlesticks: Twelve large candlesticks 14s [...] candlesticks [...] [...] dozen large candlesticks 8s [...] dozen candlesticks [...] Sauce pans: Six [...] sauce pans at 2s [...] [...] Six other sauce pans at tenpence each 5s Total of this tinware section carried forward £8 19s 0d Running subtotal carried forward [...] **Interpretations** The tacks supplied in five graded parcels reveal the fine differentiation of fastenings provided in the consignment. Penny tacks were small tacks priced at one penny per hundred or per parcel, and the descending scale of larger and smaller tacks shows the company supplying a complete working range of small fastenings for the carpenters, coopers and shoemakers. The arrangement matches the wider pattern of the consignment, in which standard trade categories were supplied across multiple sizes to give the Council a working range of stock for issue against different jobs. The substantial knives consignment in item number 44 reveals the stratified retail through the company stores in operation at the level of personal goods. The supply included case knives with ivory mounts in cased sets of six, men's knives with horn, ivory and turned

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		[...] Sauce Pans 6 [...] Sauce Panns - 2 [...] [...] 6 [O]ints[?] D[itt]o - 10 5 Tinn Wares &c[a] Bourn over 8 - 19 - 0 bourn ov[er] 0 - 06 - 17	ivory hafts, women's knives, Oxford and Kentish patterns, penknives and razors. The graded prices, from sixpence per knife for the cased ivory sets to lower rates for the working horn-hafted patterns, allowed the Council to issue or sell knives appropriate to each customer's rank and means. The arrangement extends the stratified retail pattern recorded in the earlier handover material from the Johanna invoice of March 1678 into the spring 1680 supply, and confirms the working maturity of the differentiated supply chain. The scissors and shears section reveals the working supply for both household and trade use. Eight dozen large ordinary scissors at two shillings and sixpence the dozen, three dozen small scissors at five shillings the dozen, napiers' shears for table linen work, and six tailors' shears for clothing production, together represent a complete supply of cutting equipment across domestic and trade requirements. The presence of dedicated tailors' shears in the consignment indicates that tailoring was anticipated as a trade activity on the island, complementing the shoemaking establishment supported by the tools in item 47. The arrangement reveals the company building out the clothing trades alongside the shoemaking trade. The single piece of men's cloth at 27 yards priced at 50 shillings per yard, with a total of £2 10s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic would produce £67 10s for 27 yards at 50 shillings, indicating either an unreadable yardage or rate], identifies a parcel of fabric supplied for working clothing on the island. The cloth was carried in item number 27, separately from the knives and the tinware, which reflects the working dispersal of the consignment across multiple ship's items rather than a single unified cargo. The arrangement shows the supply chain dispatching the consignment in conveniently packed lots rather than in subject-grouped consolidations. The further tinware in item number 48 repeats the categories of the earlier tinware section in item number 27, with lamps, pudding pans, pasty pans, candlesticks and sauce pans supplied again in graded sizes. The presence of two separate tinware parcels in different ship's items indicates that the supply was being repeated rather than consolidated, which suggests that the company was either supplementing an inadequate first parcel or distributing the tinware across multiple receiving points on the island. The arrangement shows the working scale of the domestic supply, with the kitchen and lighting equipment maintained at a level capable of equipping the public table, the planter households and the slave quarters together. The reference to hair cutters' tools, manacles and shoemakers' lasts in the heading of item number 48 indicates additional categories of equipment held in the same shipment but not yet itemised in the recovered section of the manuscript. The manacles identify a parcel of restraint equipment, presumably for use in the company's judicial and disciplinary capacity on the island. The presence of manacles in the spring 1680 supply matches the company's instruction in the despatch of 9 April 1680 that future criminal cases were to be tried and punished on the island rather than referred to England. The arrangement reveals the physical infrastructure of insular criminal justice being supplied at the same time as the policy was being formulated. **Speculations** The simultaneous supply of manacles and the contemporaneous instruction that criminal cases were to be tried on the island indicates that the company was coordinating its policy and supply decisions at the London end. The despatch of 9 April 1680 promised further rules and powers to enable the Council to deal with delinquents on the island, and the supply of manacles in the same shipment provided the physical

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			means to hold offenders in custody pending trial. The arrangement reveals the integration of legal policy with physical infrastructure in the spring 1680 cluster, where the by-laws, the despatch and the supply consignment together formed a coordinated administrative package. The supply of dedicated tailors' shears, alongside the cloth piece of 27 yards and the shoemakers' tools of the earlier section, suggests that the company was equipping a clothing manufacture establishment on the island. The combination of fabric, cutting equipment and shoemaking infrastructure points to a planned local capacity for producing clothing and footwear rather than continued dependence on imported finished goods. The arrangement would have made the island less vulnerable to interruptions in the supply line from England, and fits the broader self-sufficiency policy pressed across successive despatches. The duplication of the tinware supply across two separate ship's items, with lamps, pudding pans, candlesticks and other domestic equipment supplied twice in the same consignment, suggests that the company was either responding to a larger demand than a single parcel could meet, or splitting the consignment across two parcels for risk management or for separate delivery destinations. The earlier handover material recorded the distribution of cargo across two ships in December 1673 as risk management, and the spring 1680 split within a single ship may reflect the same logic applied at the parcel level. The arrangement reveals continuing attention to consignment safety in the company's working procurement. The discrepancy between the running subtotal of £273 6s 10d at the head of the section and the further subtotals throughout, with the final entry showing £0 6s 17d which is not a possible sterling value, indicates continuing manuscript damage and probable copying errors. The pattern fits the earlier discrepancies in the rope total of the inventory and the £256 8s 10d versus £256 4s 10d carry-forward in the earlier invoice section. The recurrence of such errors across multiple documents confirms the practical limits of paper-based supply chain administration in the company's spring 1680 operations.
132	143	Brought over 288 - 17 - Tinn Ware &c[a] Tinne Ware & Stone Cutters Tooles &c[a] B[ourn] over 8 - 19 - Sauce Panns 12 Large quart Sauce Panns att - 8 [..] 8 12 [...] quart ditto [...] 2 doz[en] [...] Ditto [...] - 10 Quart Pottes 2 Doz[en] quart [...] - 11 1 - 3 [..] - 1 - 10 2 doz[en] pints D[itt]o 5 - 1 - 10 Stew Panns 6 Large Stew Pant 2 - 1 - 12 6 [Mi]dd ler Ditto 1 - 6 - 9 6 Small Ditto 1 - 3 - 7 - 6 Custard Panns 6 Custard Panns 1 - 2 - 7 12 Small Ditto 14 - 14 Stone Cutters Tooles N[o] 18 Stone Cutters Tooles &c[a] in [Sh]ip[p] N[o] 48 (viz) 15 Sto[ne] hew[in]g Tooles points & Chissells - 4 - 6 [..] 2 - 2 2 axes [...] 1 [..] - 14 Axes 14 Beckmetts	The invoice continued with further tinware, stone cutters' tools, more shoemakers' tools, cheese cloth, hats and felts, a bell, brass hinges, masons' sharpening stones and sail cloth. The running subtotal brought forward £288 17s The tinware subtotal brought forward £8 19s Sauce pans: Twelve large quart sauce pans at eightpence each 8s Twelve smaller quart sauce pans [...] Two dozen sauce pans [...] [...]10s Quart pots: Two dozen quart pots at elevenpence each £1 3s [...] Two dozen pint pots 5s [...] Stew pans: Six large stew pans £2 [...] Six middling stew pans £1 6s 9d Six small stew pans £1 3s 7s 6d Custard pans: Six custard pans £1 2s 7d Twelve small custard pans 14s 14d Stone cutters' tools in ship's item number 48: Fifteen stone-hewing tools, points and chisels at 4s 6d each £2 2s Two axes [...] 14s Fourteen beck-mets [pointed hammers for dressing stone] £1 3s 17s 6d Total of this stone cutters' section £3 13s 6d Shoemakers' tools and lasts in the same ship, item number 48:

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		1 - 3 - 17 - 6 Backmotts [..] 3 - 13 - 6 Shoomak[er]s Tooles, Lasts Shoomak[er]s Tooles & in Ditto Sh[i]p[p] N[o] 48 (viz) 12 Doz[en] Mens Squarey to[..] Lasts att 9 [..] 9 12 [doz[en] [w]oo[d]m[en] Ditto 10 12 doz[en] mens round Ditto 7 12 doz[en] Woomen ditto 1 - 7 12 doz[en] Boyes Ditto 5 12 doz[en] Girles ditto 3 - 5 - 0 Cheese Cloth Cheese Cloth in Ditto Sh[i]p[p] N[o] 48 - 1[..] 600 [...] at 50[..] yard 2 - 10 - Hatts N[o] 49 Hatts & Felts in one Drum[...] Caske N[o] 49 as foll[ows] [...] 5 doz[en] [B]oyes Felts [...] Lined & Band 2-10 [..] 8 - 10 5 doz[en] Ment dittos d[oz]en Lined & Bands - 4-6 [...] 16 - 4 5 doz[en] mens fel[t] dittos - 5 [...] 5 - back 18 5 doz[en] ditto - 5 [..] each 4 - 9 66 - 17 - Cutters and Felts N[o] Ditto Felts in one Drum [...] N[o] 50 viz[t] 5 [doz[en] Lasts Lined & Band - att 10 [..] 5 doz[en] ditto - 11 - 13 - 4 5 doz[en] ditto - 12 - 0 - 15 5 doz[en] feels - 5 - 9 - 0 - 9 37 - 13 - Bell and Brookes 51 One Bell and Bell wheele [..] 16[..] [...] paires of Brass Hyggons in 2 cases N[o] 51 & 53 sett[le]d [...] Rubing Stone Masons tools 52 4 rubing Stone to sharpen Masons tooles at 6 [..] 1 - 4 21 - 4 - 0 [Sail] [Sail Cloth] 52 [..] Saile Cloth to make Knapsacks in one Chest N[o] 52 [...] 323 y[ar]d[s] at 3 - 6 [..] 24 - 4 - 5 - 62 Bourn over So[ll] 462 - 19	Twelve dozen men's square-toed lasts at ninepence each 9s Twelve dozen women's lasts at tenpence each 10s Twelve dozen men's round lasts at sevenpence each 7s Twelve dozen women's round lasts £1 7s Twelve dozen boys' lasts at fivepence each 5s Twelve dozen girls' lasts 3s 5d Cheese cloth in the same ship, item number 48: 600 [yards] at 50 [pence] the yard £2 10s Hats and felts in one drum or cask, item number 49: Five dozen boys' felts, lined and banded, at 2s 10d each £8 10s Five dozen men's felts, lined and banded, at 4s 6d each £16 4s Five dozen men's felts at 5s each [...] Five dozen further felts at 5s [...] each 4s 9d Subtotal at this point £66 17s Hats and felts in one drum, item number 50: Five dozen lined and banded felts at 10s each [...] Five dozen further felts at 11s each £13 4s Five dozen further felts at 12s each 15s Five dozen felts at 5s each 9s Subtotal at this point £37 13s Bell, brass hinges and rubbing stones, items number 51, 52 and 53: Item 51: one bell with bell wheel at sixteen [...] [...] Several pairs of brass hinges in two cases, items 51 and 53 [...] Item 52: four rubbing stones to sharpen masons' tools at six [...] each £1 4s Subtotal £21 4s 0d Sail cloth in chest item number 52: 323 yards of sailcloth to make knapsacks at 3s 6d the yard £24 4s 5d Running subtotal carried forward £462 19s **Interpretations** The stone cutters' tools at item 48, with fifteen stone-hewing tools, points and chisels at four shillings and sixpence each, fourteen beckmets and two axes, identify the working stone-working trade being supplied to the island. Beckmets were pointed hammers used for dressing stone surfaces, and the combined set of points, chisels, axes and beckmets gave the island a complete working kit for cutting and finishing building stone. The four rubbing stones supplied separately under item 52 to sharpen the masons' tools confirm the operation as a working trade rather than a casual capability. The arrangement reveals the company building out the masonry trades alongside the carpentry, cooperage, shoemaking and tailoring already identified in the consignment. The shoemakers' lasts at item 48 identify the matching trade equipment to the shoemakers' tools in the earlier section. Lasts were the wooden foot-shaped forms over which shoes were built, and the supply of twelve dozen of each principal size (men's square-toed, men's round-toed, women's, boys', girls') gave the shoemaker a complete range of patterns for the working population of the island. The arrangement reveals the company supplying not just the tools but the consumable formers of the trade, and confirms the establishment of a full shoemaking operation rather than a repair facility. The hats and felts at items 49 and 50, supplied in two separate drums or casks at a substantial scale of about thirty dozen units between them, identify the working headwear supply for the island population. The graded prices, with boys' felts at two shillings and tenpence, men's felts at four shillings and sixpence rising through five, ten, eleven and twelve shillings each, allowed for differentiated supply by age and rank. The arrangement extends the stratified retail pattern across yet another category of consumer goods, with hats issued at prices ranging from the working felts for

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			general issue to the dressed felts of higher quality for officers and senior planters. The 323 yards of sail cloth supplied for making knapsacks at three shillings and sixpence the yard identifies a deliberate provision of military equipment fabric. Knapsacks were the soldiers' personal carrying packs, and the supply of fabric for their manufacture on the island rather than the supply of finished knapsacks indicates that tailoring of military equipment was to be carried out locally. The arrangement reveals the working integration of the cloth and tailoring trades into the military supply system, and matches the supply of tailors' shears recorded in the earlier section of the invoice. The 600 yards of cheese cloth at item 48 identifies the working dairy supply for the island. Cheese cloth was used to strain curds in the production of cheese, and the substantial quantity suggests either large-scale cheese production by the company plantation or the supply of the fabric to planters for their own dairying. The arrangement fits the broader productive ambition of the 24 March 1680 despatch, which directed the plantation to bear the cost of the public table without bought victuals, since cheese production from the cattle stock would have been a working component of plantation provisioning. The bell with bell wheel at item 51 identifies the supply of a substantial signal bell, with a wheel mechanism to give the bellringer leverage for striking. The bell was probably intended for fixed installation at a defined position on the island, with the bell wheel allowing it to be rung consistently for time keeping, alarm, public assembly or religious purposes. The arrangement reveals the supply of public infrastructure for the orderly running of the settlement, complementing the individual equipment supplied for the trades and households. **Speculations** The supply of stone-working tools, masonry sharpening stones and the matching beckmets indicates that the company was planning serious masonry work on the island in 1680. Earlier construction had relied largely on timber framing, as evidenced by the carpentry tools and the deals supplied in earlier consignments. The introduction of a full stone-working kit, with sharpening capability and edge tools at scale, suggests a deliberate shift towards stone construction for at least some buildings, probably fortifications, the magazine or the principal company structures. The arrangement reveals a change in the building strategy on the island, with stone replacing or supplementing timber as the principal construction material for important works. The supply of 323 yards of sail cloth specifically designated for knapsacks suggests that the company was equipping the planter militia with personal carrying capacity for active service. Knapsacks would have allowed armed men to carry rations, powder, shot and personal items during the periodic drills and any deployment on alarm. The arrangement matches the planter militia obligation set in the by-laws of 20 March 1680, where the armed men maintained on each holding had to be ready to appear at assigned rendezvous on alarm. The supply of the means to carry rations and equipment supports the operational viability of the militia system that the by-laws had codified. The supply of approximately 60 dozen felts and hats in a single consignment, against an island population of probably no more than a few hundred persons, indicates that the company was supplying headwear at a level sufficient for several years of consumption or for partial onward sale to ships. The arrangement could reflect economy of scale in purchasing, with the company buying large quantities at favourable prices and accepting that the supply would be drawn down over multiple years. Alternatively, the

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			consignment may have been intended for distribution to ships' crews calling at the road as well as to the island population, with the company stores serving as a regional supply point for textile goods. Either reading reveals the working scale of the company's stratified retail operation. The bell with bell wheel as a separately itemised purchase indicates that the company was investing in a permanent installation for time keeping or alarm purposes. The choice of a wheel-mounted bell suggests intended fixing at a specific location, probably the fort or the principal company building, where it would serve as the working time signal for the establishment. The arrangement complements the documentary controls pressed in successive despatches, which had required monthly Council meetings, regular stores audits and structured work patterns. A reliable bell would have given the Council the means to enforce the time discipline implicit in those controls. The discrepancy in the running subtotals at the head of the section, with £288 17s carried forward but inconsistent with the subtotals reached in the previous section, continues the pattern of arithmetical error in the manuscript. The subtotal of £462 19s carried forward at the foot of this section gives the running total to that point, although the precise reconciliation of all intervening entries cannot be confidently made from the recoverable text. The pattern reveals the persistent limitations of hand arithmetic in long invoices of this kind.
133	144	Brought ov[er] 462 - 19 - Turn Ware Turn Ware [...] [...] N[o] 54 & 55 and Chest N[o] 56 [...] together in [...] perticulars as foll[ows] viz[t] Cheese Tubbs 3 Cheese Tubbs - 6 each 2 - 12 - 6 Pailes [...]od Pailes 1 - 7 - 6 Cheese fatts 4 [...] fatts and Casts - 1 - 6 [..] 6 Sieves 6 Ditto fitted - 1 - 6 [..] 10 20 Sieves 10 Rim[m]ells [...] Rim[m]elles - 3 - 6 [..] 12 Pillows [...] Pillows - 3 - 2 [..] 12 - 8 Pellows 6 Pellows 12 [...] [...] [..] [...] - 16 Churnes [...] Ditto 3 - 6 [..] [...] 14 - Trayles [...] Trayes - 5 - 6 [..] 1 - 10 Pudding Dishes 20 Rinning Dishes - 2 [..] 10 - 5 Pottage Dishes 24 Pottage Dishes Large - 2 4 24 Ditto Smaller - 1 [..] 3 Bowles 20 Bowles - 6 [..] 10 Cheese Tubbs 14 Cheese Tubbs - 7 - 0 [..] 4 - 18 Churnes 14 Churnes - 7 4 - 18 Bowles 40 Large Bowles - 1 - 3 [..] 2 - 10 Cheese Mops 20 Cheese Mops 2 - 10 Wooden Pailes 10 Wooden Pailes - 3 - 0 [..]	The invoice continued with turnery wares, dairy equipment, dishes, bodices and drum heads. The running subtotal brought forward £462 19s Turnery ware in items number 54 and 55 and chest number 56: Cheese tubs: Three cheese tubs at six [shillings] each £2 12s 6d Pails: Wooden pails £1 7s 6d Cheese vats: Four cheese vats and casks at 1s 6d each 6s Sieves: Six sieves fitted at 1s 6d each 10s Twenty sieves 10s Rimmels: Rimmels at 3s 6d each 12s Pillows or wooden bowls: Pillows at 3s 2d each 12s 8d Six pillows 12s Further items 16s Churns: Churns at 3s 6d each £3 14s Trays: Trays at 5s 6d each £1 10s Pudding dishes: Twenty running dishes at 2d each 10s 5d [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 20 at 2d would produce 3s 4d] Pottage dishes: Twenty-four large pottage dishes at 2d each 4s Twenty-four smaller pottage dishes at 1d each 3s Bowls: Twenty bowls at 6d each 10s Cheese tubs: Fourteen cheese tubs at 7s each £4 18s Churns: Fourteen churns at 7s each £4 18s Bowls: Forty large bowls at 1s 3d each £2 10s Cheese mops: Twenty cheese mops £2 10s Wooden pails: Ten wooden pails at 3s each £3 Trays:

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		3 Trayes 40 Trayes - 2 - 4 [..] 4 - 13 - 4 [Tinning] Dishes 100 [T]inning Dishes - 3 [..] 1 - 1 Large Dishes 100 Large Dishes - 9 [..] 1 - 10 Milke Tubbs 4 Milke Tubbs - 6 [..] 4 - 0 - 8 Sieves 100 Sieves Wooden Dishes 100 Wooden Dishes great & small - 3 [..] 1 - 5 Boddies Boddies & in one Box N[o] 56 as follow[s] Diz[t] [...] fine Paragon Boddies in [...] Stomak[ers] [...] Lined w[i]th Alche [...] att 10 - p[er] p[ai]r 3 - 6 Ditto Large Sticked w[i]th Tatte - 8 - 2 2 - 8 [N[o]] 6 [La]rge Ditto - 7 - 6 2 6 Ditto - 7 - 2 2 - 9 [N[o] 56] 6 Ditto - 7 - 2 2 6 Ditto - 6 - 3 - 8 17 - 6 6 Ditto fine Sticking - 5 - 2 1 - 11 6 Ditto - 5 - 2 1 - 10 6 Ditto - 4 - 8 1 - 10 6 Ditto - 5 - 4 1 - 6 6 Ditto - 6 - 9 1 - 2 6 Ditto - 6 - 6 1 6 Ditto - 5 - 4 1 6 Ditto - 5 - 2 19 6 Ditto - 6 - 9 [6] - [6] 25 - 13 - Drum heads 14 paire Drum Heads in Ditto Box N[o] 56 at 6 [..] p[er] paire [...] Bourn over [5]34 - 11 - 9	Forty trays at 2s 4d each £4 13s 4d Tinning dishes: One hundred tinning dishes at 3d each £1 1s Large dishes: One hundred large dishes at ninepence each £1 10s Milk tubs: Four milk tubs at 6s each £4 0s 8d Sieves: One hundred sieves [...] Wooden dishes: One hundred wooden dishes, great and small, at threepence each £1 5s Bodices, in one box number 56: Fine paragon bodices with stomachers, lined with alch[...] at 10 [shillings] per pair £3 Six large bodices stitched with tat[...] at 8s 2d each £2 8s Six further large bodices at 7s 6d each £2 Six further bodices at 7s 2d each £2 9s Six further bodices at 7s 2d each £2 Six bodices at 6s 3d each 17s 6d Six fine stitched bodices at 5s 2d each £1 11s Six further bodices at 5s 2d each £1 10s Six further bodices at 4s 8d each £1 10s Six further bodices at 5s 4d each £1 6s Six further bodices at 6s 9d each £1 2s Six further bodices at 6s 6d each £1 Six further bodices at 5s 4d each £1 Six further bodices at 5s 2d each 19s Six further bodices at 6s 9d each 6s 6d Subtotal for the bodices £25 13s Drum heads in the same box number 56: fourteen pairs of drum heads at 6 [shillings] the pair [...] Running subtotal carried forward £534 11s 9d **Interpretations** The turnery wares form a substantial dairy production package supplied to the island. Cheese tubs at multiple sizes, cheese vats, churns, milk tubs, cheese mops, pails, sieves and rimmels together represent the complete working equipment of a dairying establishment. The supply of three cheese tubs at six shillings each, fourteen further cheese tubs at seven shillings each, fourteen churns at seven shillings each and four milk tubs at six shillings each gave the island a working dairy with capacity for production at scale rather than for household use only. The arrangement reveals the practical infrastructure behind the productive expectations of the 24 March 1680 despatch, with the means to convert the cattle stock into preserved dairy goods supplied alongside the cattle policy. The rimmels supplied in the turnery section identify the wooden hoops or rims used in cheese making, into which the curds were pressed before maturation. The combination of cheese vats, rimmels and cheese mops gave the dairying operation the equipment for both fresh and pressed cheese production, with the cheese mops used to clean and dress the cheese surfaces during maturation. The arrangement reveals a sophisticated dairy operation rather than a simple churning capability, with finished cheese as the working output rather than fresh milk or butter alone. The 600 yards of cheese cloth supplied in the earlier section now finds its operational context. The cheese cloth would have served the cheese-making process directly, with the turnery wares providing the structural equipment and the cloth providing the working straining and pressing fabric. The integration of these supplies across different items of the consignment reveals the company sending a complete dairying package, distributed across multiple ship's items for packing convenience but designed to function as a unified system on the island.

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			The bodices in box 56, supplied in graded qualities from fine paragon bodices with stomachers at ten shillings per pair down to plainer patterns at four shillings and eightpence, identify the working supply of women's structural undergarments to the island. The paragon was a ribbed worsted cloth used for the highest-quality bodices, and the stitching patterns differentiated the working bodices from the dressed examples. The supply extends the stratified retail pattern into women's clothing, with bodices available at multiple price points for the differentiated social ranks of women on the island. The arrangement reveals the working domestic supply for the female population in the context of the marriage and demographic policies pressed in the despatches. The fourteen pairs of drum heads in box 56 identify a working military supply for the planter militia or the soldiers' companies. Drum heads were the calfskin or sheepskin tensioned membranes of military drums, which wore out with use and required regular replacement. The supply of fourteen pairs in a single consignment suggests that the island maintained multiple drums in working condition for signalling, parade and ceremonial purposes, with the drum heads supplied as the principal consumable. The arrangement complements the bell with bell wheel of the earlier section as part of the audible signalling infrastructure of the establishment. The very large quantities of wooden dishes, plates, bowls and pottage dishes, with one hundred wooden dishes, one hundred tinning dishes, one hundred large dishes, forty trays and substantial numbers of pottage dishes and bowls, indicate the working tableware supply for the island. The scale matches a public table for the senior officers, separate dining provision for the soldiers, the planters and the slave population, and a working supply for issue to ships calling at the road. The arrangement reveals the company maintaining the basic eating equipment of the establishment at a level sufficient for breakage, loss and population growth across an extended supply cycle. **Speculations** The supply of dairying equipment at the scale evident in this consignment indicates that the company was planning a substantial expansion of cheese and butter production on the island. The earlier inventory of stores on 25 March 1680 had not recorded any significant dairying equipment, and the spring 1680 consignment therefore represents the establishment of dairying as a working trade rather than the replenishment of an existing operation. The arrangement fits the broader policy of pressing the company plantation to a productive footing, with preserved dairy goods as one component of the surplus available for sale to ships or for victualling the public table without bought provisions. The detailed pricing of the bodices across at least fourteen separate quality grades, with prices ranging from ten shillings down to four shillings and eightpence per pair, suggests a deliberate calibration of the supply to the marriage and demographic strategy pressed in the despatch of 24 March 1680. The supply of bodices in graded qualities would have allowed the Council to provide appropriate undergarments to women arriving as planters' wives, soldiers' wives or English women sent out, with the quality matched to the social position of the recipient. The arrangement reveals the working integration of personal supply with the marriage land grant scheme, with material support for the demographic policy supplied alongside the legal framework. The supply of fourteen pairs of drum heads in a single consignment, against an establishment with at most a few drums in active use, indicates that the company was supplying drum heads at a level sufficient

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			for multiple years of replacement. The choice to send the consumable rather than additional finished drums suggests that the existing drum bodies on the island remained serviceable and that only the membranes required regular replenishment. The arrangement reveals a working knowledge at the London end of the maintenance cycle of military equipment on the island, with consumables supplied to match the working life of the fixed components. The very large turnery and tableware consignment, with hundreds of wooden dishes, dozens of dairy vessels, and dozens of bodices, indicates that the spring 1680 supply was intended to equip the island for a substantial period of operation rather than to address immediate shortages alone. The arrangement reflects the working logic of the supply chain, in which the long voyage from England and the irregular shipping made small frequent consignments impractical. The company therefore consolidated supplies into large infrequent shipments, accepting the storage burden on the island in exchange for the reduced administrative and shipping overhead. The arrangement reveals the operational economics of remote supply that shaped the entire consignment. The discrepancy between the recorded subtotal of 10s 5d for twenty running dishes at twopence each, against the arithmetical expectation of 3s 4d, continues the pattern of manuscript errors evident throughout the invoice. The discrepancy may reflect a different unit of supply or pricing than that recoverable from the damaged text, or it may simply continue the pattern of arithmetical inconsistency that has run through the consignment accounting. The recurrent appearance of such inconsistencies indicates the practical limits of working stores administration in the seventeenth century, where careful itemisation coexisted with imprecise arithmetic in the same document.
134	145	Brought over [5]34 - 11 - 9 Nailes Locks &c Nailes Locks & other p[er] cuells in one Chest N[o] 57 [...] 20 [...] of 6000 weight [...] 20 Ditto 7000 - 1 - 2 20 Ditto 8500 - 1 - 3 - 13 20 Ditto 8500 20 - 14000 4 - 3 - 22 at no [..] foll[ows] 9 - 17 - 10 Nailes 4 24020000 att - 2 - p[er] m[ille] 2 - [..] 3 [Ditto] 20000 1 - p[er] m[ille] 1 - 13 - 4 12 Ditto[..]oooo 1 - 4 - p[er] m[ille] 1 - 0 - 8 Stocklocks 12 Stock Locks 3 - 6 each - 5 - 4 12 Ditto 2 - 8 - 4 - 4 12 Ditto 2 - 2 - 6 - 4 12 Ditto 2 [..]4 - 4 - 6 - 8 12 Ditto 1 - 5 - 4 - 8 12 Ditto 1 - 5 - 5 - 8 12 Ditto 1 - 0 - 4 12 Ditto 7 - 1 - 9 Steel Spades 75 [...] 12 - 3 - 8 [...]7 25 Steel Spades - 3 - 8	The invoice continued with nails, locks, spades, shovels, padlocks, tanners' tools, ramming sticks for muskets, soldiers' coats and beer. The running subtotal brought forward £534 11s 9d Nails, locks and other items in chest number 57: Twenty [casks?] at 6,000 weight [...] Twenty further casks of 7,000 weight £1 2s Twenty further casks of 8,500 weight £1 3s 13d Twenty further casks of 8,500 weight [...] Twenty further casks of 14,000 weight [...] The total of this group, gross 4 [hundredweight] 3 [quarters] 22 [pounds] £9 17s 10d Nails: Four parcels of 240,000 [unit unclear] at 2[s] per thousand £2 [...] Three parcels of 20,000 at 1[s] per thousand £1 13s 4d Twelve parcels of [...] at 1s 4d per thousand £1 0s 8d Stock locks: Twelve stock locks at 3s 6d each £2 5s 4d Twelve further stock locks at 2s 8d each £1 12s 4d Twelve further stock locks at 2s 2d each £1 6s 4d Twelve further stock locks at 2s 4d each [...] £1 6s 8d Twelve further stock locks at 1s 5d each 17s 4d Twelve further stock locks at 1s 5d each 17s 4d Twelve further stock locks at 1s 0d each 12s Twelve further stock locks at 7d each 7s Steel spades: Twenty-five steel spades at 3s 8d each £4 10s 8d Twenty-five further steel spades at one [shilling] [...] £1 5s Twenty-five further steel spades [...] £1 7s Total of this spades group £15 4s Shod shovels: Twelve shod shovels at 1s 8d each 17s 4d

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		4 - 10 - 8 25 Ditto - 1 - 0 5 25 Ditto 1 - 7 15 - 4 Shod Shovells 12 Shod Shovells 1 - 8 - 17 - 4 13 Ditto 2 - 8 - 5 - 4 Padlocks 6 x 2 Padlocks 2 - 2 - 4 - 4 6 x 7 Ditto 1 - 2 - 4 - 8 6 x 4 x 9 Ditto 1 - 0 - 9 6 x 4 Ditto 9 - 4 - 6 6 x 6 Ditto 9 6 x 7 - 6 Ditto 5 6 x 6 - 6 Ditto [...] Tann[ers] Tooles & Bow Knives &c Tanners Tooles in Ditto Chest N[o] 57 as foll[ows] (viz) 3 Bow Knives 4 - 6 12 [d]itto Ditto 9 - 6 17 Curriers Shaves 2 Large Curriers Shaves 10 Flesh ho[oks] 2 Flesh for a Tann[er] 6 [B]earn Knives 2 Beam Knives 4 - 6 Bark Shaves 2 Barke Shaves [...] Stocks 2 Steels 1 - 4 Ramming Sticks for Musketts 200 Ram[m]ing Sticks for Musquetts note: y[e] depth & Lattes express in y[e] Surrugery [...] [Red Cottons] [..] Bales for Sould[iers] in 1 Chest fo: 58 viz[t] 58 D[oz] [...] Coyls Lyned in Greene att - 14 - 4 [..] coate [...] - 5 - 4 [..] Ditto for very 22 [..] 6 - 2 6 - 12 [B]eare Beare in Hh[d]s N[o] 79 [..] all att - 2 - 1 - 10 - Bourn over 634 - 9 - 5	Thirteen further shod shovels at 2s 8d each £1 5s 4d Padlocks: Six padlocks of one pattern at 2s 2d each 12s 4d Six padlocks of a second pattern at 1s 2d each 8s 4d Six padlocks of a third pattern at 1s 0d each 6s Six padlocks of a fourth pattern at 9d each 4s 6d Six padlocks of a fifth pattern at 9d each [...] Six padlocks of a sixth pattern [...] 5s Six padlocks of a seventh pattern [...] [...] Tanners' tools, bow knives and other items in chest number 57: Three bow knives at 4s 6d each 13s 6d Twelve further bow knives at 9s 6d each [...] Two large curriers' shaves at 5s each 10s Two flesh hooks for a tanner at 3s each 6s Two beam knives at 2s 3d each 4s 6d Two bark shaves [...] Two steels at 8d each 1s 4d Ramming sticks for muskets: Two hundred ramming sticks for muskets, with depth and lengths set out in the surgery [...] [...] Red coats for soldiers in chest number 58: Fifty-eight dozen coats lined in green at 14s 4d the coat [...] Further coats at 6s 2d each [...] A further parcel £6 12s Beer in hogsheads number 79: in all at 2 [...] £1 10s Running subtotal carried forward £634 9s 5d **Interpretations** The tanners' tools listed in chest number 57 identify a complete supply of leather-working equipment to the island. Bow knives, curriers' shaves, flesh hooks, beam knives, bark shaves and steels together represent the working tool set of both the tanner, who converted raw hides into leather, and the currier, who finished the leather for use. The arrangement reveals the company supplying the leather trade alongside the shoemaking trade equipped in earlier sections of the invoice, with raw hides from the island cattle stock to be converted into leather and then into shoes, harness, military equipment and other finished goods. The integration of the tanning and shoemaking trades shows a working manufacturing chain rather than separate specialist activities. The graduated supply of stock locks, in eight separate parcels at prices ranging from three shillings and sixpence each down to sevenpence each, reveals the company supplying locks across the full range of qualities required by the establishment. The most expensive locks were probably intended for the magazine, the storehouse and the principal company buildings, while the cheaper locks would have served lesser doors, chests and storage boxes. The arrangement matches the broader pattern of stratified supply across the consignment, with quality calibrated to the importance of the position to which the item would be applied. The 200 ramming sticks for muskets identify a supply of the wooden rods used to drive ball and wadding down the barrel of a musket. The ramming stick was a working consumable of musketry, since the rods broke or wore out in regular use, and the supply of 200 indicates that the company was equipping the island for sustained musketry activity over multiple years. The arrangement complements the shot moulds recorded in the inventory of stores on 25 March 1680, with the consumables of musket use supplied alongside the means of producing the ammunition itself. The fifty-eight dozen coats lined in green for soldiers in chest number 58, at fourteen shillings and fourpence each, represent a substantial supply of military uniform to the island. The coats were the standard red coats of the soldiers, with green linings

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			indicating the regimental distinction or the company's chosen colour for its establishment. The supply of 696 coats far exceeded the establishment of a single garrison, which suggests that the consignment included a multi-year supply for replacement and for issue to incoming recruits. The arrangement reveals the working uniform policy of the company, with the soldiers' coats supplied at scale to support a permanent military presence on the island. The hogsheads of beer at item 79 identify the supply of working drink for the consumption of the establishment. Beer was the standard daily drink of seventeenth-century English populations, including in colonial settlements, and the supply by hogshead allowed for storage and gradual issue from the company stores. The arrangement reveals the practical reality of daily supply to the island, with bulk beverages supplied to support the basic dietary needs of the population alongside the more durable goods of the consignment. The bow knives and the curriers' shaves identify the specialist edge tools of the leather trades. Bow knives had curved blades fitted into a frame, used for the bulk dressing of hides; curriers' shaves were two-handed blades for finishing leather to even thickness. The complete tool set indicates that the company was establishing a working tannery and currier's shop rather than supplying tools for repair work alone. The arrangement reveals the deliberate development of leather manufacture as a continuing trade on the island. **Speculations** The supply of a complete tannery alongside the shoemaking equipment of the earlier section suggests that the company was establishing a vertically integrated leather manufacture on the island. Raw hides from the company cattle and from the planters' cattle would have been converted into leather by the tanner, finished by the currier, and then worked into shoes by the shoemaker. The arrangement would have made the island self-sufficient in footwear and other leather goods, freeing the supply line from continued imports of these items. The choice to send the complete trade infrastructure in a single consignment indicates that the company had identified leather supply as a continuing burden on the supply chain and decided to localise the manufacture entirely. The supply of 696 soldiers' coats in a single consignment represents a major investment in the military supply of the island. At a garrison strength reduced to about 50 in earlier despatches, the coat supply would last well over ten years before replacement was required, even allowing for normal wear and loss. The choice to send so large a stock suggests either a planned expansion of the garrison, contrary to the strategic reduction policy of earlier years, or a deliberate provision of multi-year stock to free future shipping from coat supply altogether. The latter reading fits the consolidation strategy evident across the consignment, where large infrequent shipments replaced small frequent ones. The supply of beer in hogsheads, in a consignment otherwise dominated by durable trade goods and equipment, indicates that the company maintained at least some beverage supply from London despite the broader self-sufficiency policy. Local brewing on the island would have required hops and barley not native to the island, and the continued importation of beer suggests that the company accepted this category of supply as one that could not be efficiently localised. The arrangement reveals the practical limits of the self-sufficiency policy, with some items remaining on the supply line where local production was not feasible. The marginal note that the depth and lengths of the ramming sticks are set out in the surgery suggests that detailed specifications of the military equipment were maintained in a separate document, perhaps a register of

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			military stores kept by the surgeon or in a designated room described as the surgery. The arrangement reveals the documentary infrastructure of the military supply, with technical specifications kept separately from the consignment accounts so that ramming sticks supplied at different times could be matched to the muskets in service. The pattern fits the broader documentary discipline pressed in the despatches and shows the company keeping specialised records to support its working operations. The discrepancy in the recorded prices for stock locks, where two consecutive parcels of twelve are both priced at one shilling and fivepence each but produce identical subtotals of seventeen shillings and fourpence, may reflect either a copying error in the manuscript or the working consequence of recording two separately purchased parcels of the same goods at the same price. The arrangement could also reflect supply from two different makers producing locks at the same trade price, with the company recording each parcel separately for accounting purposes even where the unit price coincided. The recurrent appearance of such ambiguities continues to reveal the working limits of the documentary system in the company's spring 1680 procurement.
135	146	Brought over 834 - 4 - 10 Paper N[o] 60 60 Cartridge Paper 10 Reames in one Chest N[o] 60 att 10[..] [..] Surgery Book 91 Byrlirry one Chest N[o] [..] amo[un]t to 25 Shoes Shoes in 4 CAshe N[o] 1 2 3 4 N[o] 1 102 W[o]mens Plaine Showes att 2 [..] p[er] p[ai]r 13 - 12 - 102 Ditto French faces - 3 - 2 16 [..] 50 Ditto Pyles - 2 - 2 5 102 W[o]mens Plaine Shoes - 2 - 8 13 - 12 100 Ditto French faces - 3 - 2 15 - 16 - 8 N[o] 2 66 [..] Woomens - 2 - 8 8 - 10 [..] Girles - 2 - 0 12 N[o] 3 110 W[o]mens Plaine - 2 - 8 16 [..] 54 Ditto Boomens - 2 - 3 7 - 4 50 Ditto Boyes - 1 - 8 5 - 12 - 6 100 paire Ditto Children - 1 - 8 5 - 10 N[o] 4 54 paire mens Plaine Showes - 2 8 - 8 100 paire French faces - 3 - 4 16 [..] 40 Ditto Woomens 8 [Skid] 52 paire Children Showes - 10 3 142 - 12 - 10 Stockings of severall Sorts in one Caske N[o] [..] as foll[ows] Stockings 100 paire Stockings - att - 2 - 8 p[er] pair 13 - 6 - 8 60 Ditto - 2 - 6 10 60 Ditto - 2 - 4 7 24 paire flame D[itt]o - 2 - 0	The invoice continued with paper, the surgery book, shoes, stockings, strong beer and mumm. The running subtotal brought forward £834 4s 10d Cartridge paper in chest number 60: ten reams at 10 [shillings] the ream [...] Surgery book in one chest, item number [...] £25 Shoes in four casks, numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4: Cask number 1: One hundred and two pairs of women's plain shoes at 2s 8d the pair £13 12s One hundred and two pairs of women's shoes with French faces at 3s 2d the pair £16 [...] Fifty pairs of women's piled shoes at 2s 2d the pair £5 One hundred and two pairs of women's plain shoes at 2s 8d the pair £13 12s One hundred pairs of women's shoes with French faces at 3s 2d the pair £15 16s 8d Cask number 2: Sixty-six pairs of women's shoes at 2s 8d the pair £8 10s [...] pairs of girls' shoes at 2s 0d the pair 12s Cask number 3: One hundred and ten pairs of women's plain shoes at 2s 8d the pair £16 [...] Fifty-four pairs of women's shoes at 2s 3d the pair £7 4s Fifty pairs of boys' shoes at 1s 8d the pair £5 12s 6d One hundred pairs of children's shoes at 1s 8d the pair £5 10s Cask number 4: Fifty-four pairs of men's plain shoes at 2s the pair £8 8s One hundred pairs of men's shoes with French faces at 3s 4d the pair £16 [...] Forty pairs of women's shoes £8 Fifty-two pairs of children's shoes at 10d the pair £3 Total of the shoes section £142 12s 10d Stockings of several sorts in one cask: One hundred pairs of stockings at 2s 8d the pair £13 6s 8d Sixty pairs of stockings at 2s 6d the pair £10 Sixty pairs of stockings at 2s 4d the pair £7 Twenty-four pairs of flame-coloured stockings at 2s 0d the pair £3 12s Twenty-four pairs of stockings at 3s 8d the pair £3 14s

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		3 - 12 24 paire Ditto - 3 - 8 3 - 14 72 Ditto white - 2 - 10 10 - 4 24 Ditto gray - 1 - 8 2 24 Ditto - 1 - 7 1 - 18 12 Ditto - 1 - 5 17 12 Ditto white - 1 - 5 17 36 Ditto - 1 - 4 2 - 16 12 Ditto - 1 - 4 14 12 Ditto - 1 - 8 [..] - 1 12 Ditto - 1 - 5 17 12 Ditto - 1 - 4 16 12 Ditto - 1 - 1 13 12 P[..]eter Lov[e] dyed - 1 - 8 1 12 Ditto - 1 - 6 18 12 Ditto - 1 - 5 17 12 Ditto - 1 - 4 16 12 Ditto - 1 - 5 13 12 Ditto - 1 - 2 14 66 - 8 - 2 Strong Beere Strong Beere of Tonnes in 9 Puncheons each French[..] N[o] 6 Iron hoofs[?]: 6 - 10 [..] tonn 21 - Mumm Mumm 4 Barrells each w[i]th 6 Iron hoo[ps] 12 33 at 3 [..]4 Bar[rels] [..] Bourn over 977 - 18 - 1	Seventy-two pairs of white stockings at 2s 10d the pair £10 4s Twenty-four pairs of grey stockings at 1s 8d the pair £2 Twenty-four further stockings at 1s 7d the pair £1 18s Twelve pairs of stockings at 1s 5d the pair 17s Twelve pairs of white stockings at 1s 5d the pair 17s Thirty-six pairs of stockings at 1s 4d the pair £2 16s Twelve pairs of stockings at 1s 4d the pair 14s Twelve pairs of stockings at 1s 8d the pair £1 [...] Twelve pairs of stockings at 1s 5d the pair 17s Twelve pairs of stockings at 1s 4d the pair 16s Twelve pairs of stockings at 1s 1d the pair 13s Twelve pairs of pewter-love-dyed stockings at 1s 8d the pair £1 Twelve further stockings at 1s 6d the pair 18s Twelve further stockings at 1s 5d the pair 17s Twelve further stockings at 1s 4d the pair 16s Twelve further stockings at 1s 5d the pair 13s Twelve further stockings at 1s 2d the pair 14s Total of the stockings section £66 8s 2d Strong beer in nine puncheons under French [...] number 6, with iron hoops, at £6 10s the tun £21 Mumm in four barrels, each with six iron hoops, at 12 [shillings the barrel ?] [...] Subtotal for the beer and mumm section £33 Running subtotal carried forward £977 18s 1d **Interpretations** The shoes section in four casks identifies the working footwear supply to the island, distributed across categories of recipient and quality grade. Women's shoes form the largest category, with multiple parcels of plain shoes at two shillings and eightpence the pair and shoes with French faces at three shillings and twopence the pair. French-faced shoes had decorative facings on the toe area in the French style and represented a finer quality than the plain shoes. The supply of women's footwear at this scale, alongside the women's bodices of the earlier section, confirms the working demographic strategy of the island with substantial female supply being maintained. The graduated shoe supply across men, women, boys, girls and children identifies the working population structure that the company supplied. The presence of children's shoes at tenpence the pair and at one shilling and eightpence the pair in separate parcels reveals an established population of children on the island, born to the planter families or brought out as part of the demographic policy. The arrangement matches the natural-born status of children born on the island declared in the original letters patent of 16 December 1673, with the working supply chain providing for their material needs. The stockings supply across more than twenty different price grades, from one shilling and one penny the pair up to three shillings and eightpence the pair, with separate parcels of white, grey, flame-coloured and pewter-love-dyed stockings, represents the most finely differentiated category in the consignment. The pewter-love-dyed stockings, dyed to a colour resembling pewter or possibly a love-knot pattern, identify a fashion-grade product alongside the working white and grey stockings of standard issue. The arrangement reveals the working maturity of the stratified retail system, with stockings supplied across the full range from common service wear to genteel dress for senior officers and their families. The strong beer in nine puncheons at six pounds ten shillings the tun, with iron hoops, identifies the supply of stronger beverages alongside the ordinary beer of the earlier section. A puncheon was a cask of approximately 84 gallons, intermediate between a

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			hogshead and a tun. The strong beer would have served the public table of the senior officers and the better planters, with the ordinary beer serving the soldiers and labourers. The arrangement reveals the working differentiation of the company's drink supply by quality grade alongside the differentiation of clothing and footwear. The mumm in four barrels identifies a specialist German wheat beer brewed with herbs, originally from Brunswick but by the late seventeenth century widely produced in England. Mumm was a stronger and more flavoured beer than ordinary brews and would have served the public table on particular occasions. The supply of four barrels at twelve shillings each suggests a modest quantity for special use rather than for general consumption. The arrangement reveals the company's attention to the working hospitality of the island establishment, with provision for occasional finer drink alongside the bulk supply of ordinary beer. The cartridge paper at item 60, with ten reams in a single chest at ten shillings the ream, identifies the supply of heavy paper for the manufacture of musket cartridges. Cartridge paper was used to wrap the powder and ball of a musket charge into a single unit for rapid loading. The supply of ten reams represents a substantial stock of the consumable material for cartridge making, which fits the working musketry requirements of the garrison and the planter militia. The arrangement complements the ramming sticks and shot moulds of the earlier sections as part of the integrated supply for the island's small arms operations. The surgery book in a separate chest at twenty-five pounds value identifies a significant medical reference work supplied to the island. The valuation at twenty-five pounds is exceptional for a single book and suggests either a substantial bound volume of considerable production cost, or a working reference work of unusual importance to the medical practice of the island. The arrangement complements the empty surgeons' chests recorded in the inventory of stores on 25 March 1680, with the supply now bringing both the working medical reference and presumably the replenished medical equipment to the island. **Speculations** The supply of women's and children's shoes at substantial scale, alongside women's bodices in the earlier section, indicates that the company was supplying the working domestic infrastructure for a settled family population on the island. The supply pattern matches the marriage land grant scheme of the despatch of 24 March 1680, which incentivised the establishment of family households among soldiers, planters and incoming English women. The arrival of women's and children's clothing and footwear at this scale would have supported the working household economy that the marriage scheme was designed to establish. The arrangement reveals the supply chain matching the demographic policy with material support. The very fine differentiation of stockings across more than twenty price grades suggests that the company was responding to specific demand patterns from the island, with the Council probably having requested particular qualities and quantities in earlier correspondence. The arrangement could not have been achieved by general procurement alone and points to a deliberate matching of supply to known demand. The pattern reveals the working evolution of the supply chain from bulk provision to differentiated retail, with the company stores functioning increasingly as a graded shop rather than as a simple issue point. The supply of mumm alongside strong beer and ordinary beer identifies a three-tier drink supply system for the public table of the island establishment. The three categories of drink would have allowed differentiated service at the public table according to the

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			rank of those present and the formality of the occasion. The arrangement reveals the working social hierarchy of the establishment expressed through the supply of beverages, with the working drink of the soldiers at the base of the hierarchy and the special drinks of officers and visiting dignitaries at the top. The cost of the surgery book at twenty-five pounds suggests that the company was supplying a substantial medical reference work, possibly the herbal of John Gerard, the surgical works of Richard Wiseman, or a multi-volume medical compendium. The investment in a working medical library on the island, alongside the replenishment of the surgeons' chests and the engagement of Francis Moore as surgeon under the despatch of 24 March 1680, indicates that the company was building the medical capacity of the island as a working component of its establishment rather than as a supplementary service. The arrangement reveals the integration of medical infrastructure with the broader administrative consolidation evident across the spring 1680 cluster. The supply of cartridge paper at ten reams in a single consignment, against an existing nail and powder establishment, indicates that the company was supplying the working consumables for sustained musketry training and readiness. The combination of cartridge paper, ramming sticks, shot moulds and the powder supplies recorded in earlier documents gave the island the complete material infrastructure for sustained military activity. The arrangement reveals the practical seriousness of the planter militia obligation set in the by-laws of 20 March 1680, with the material means for the militia's working operation supplied at scale.
136	147	Brought ov[er] 907 - 18 - 4 Haberd[asher] Ware Haberdasher Ware in 2 Trunks N[o] HH as ffollow[s] viz[t] Thridds 5 doz[en] Blew & Browne Thread att 26 [..]doz - 6 - 10 7 Doz[en] Coloured Ditto - 28 [..] 1 - 8 [..] Doz[en] Ditto - 32 [..] 1 - 12 12 [...] Browne Ditto - 3 - 4 [..] 1 12 Ditto - 4 - 8 [..] 2 - 16 12 Ditto - 7 [..] 3 - 12 6 [..] Ditto - 7 [..] 2 - 2 6 [..] Ditto - 8 [..] 2 - 2 24 [..] Ditto white - 10 [..] 1 - 0 24 Ditto - 13 [..] 1 - 6 12 [..] Ditto - 16 [..] 1 - 0 [..] Ditto Ditto - 1 - 9 [..] 6 - 8 [..] doz[en] Pyns - 10 [..] 1 - 10 Pins 2 doz[en] Ditto 9 1 - 10 [..] Doz[en] Ditto - 8 3 - 4 [..] Packett of 4 & 5 in [..] grosse 1 - 6 3 - 4 [..] Ditto Large redd Pinns 3 - 4 3 - 4	The invoice continued with haberdashery wares. The running subtotal brought forward £907 18s 4d Haberdashery wares in two trunks, item number HH: Threads: Five dozen blue and brown thread at 26d the dozen 6s 10d Seven dozen coloured thread at 28d the dozen £1 8s [...] dozen coloured thread at 32d the dozen £1 12s Twelve [parcels?] of brown thread at 3s 4d each £1 Twelve further parcels of brown thread at 4s 8d each £2 16s Twelve further parcels of brown thread at 7s each £3 12s Six further parcels of brown thread at 7s each £2 2s Six further parcels of brown thread at 8s each £2 2s Twenty-four parcels of white thread at 10d each £1 Twenty-four further parcels at 13d each £1 6s Twelve further parcels at 16d each £1 Further parcels at 1s 9d each 6s 8d Pins: [...] dozen pins at 10d the dozen £1 10s Two dozen pins 9s Further pins £1 10s [...] dozen pins at 8d the dozen 3s 4d [...] packet of 4 and 5 in [...] gross £1 6s A subtotal in this section 3s 4d Further large red pins 3s 4d A subtotal in this section 3s 4d Filleting and binding: Twelve [parcels?] of coloured ribbons and fibre filleting at 30d the gross £3 Six papers of white filleting at 4s 1d each £1 6s Eight further papers at 3s 4d each £1 6s 8d Six papers of binding at 2s 4d each 14s Four further parcels of binding at 4s each 16s Tape: Two dozen Mann tape at 12d the dozen £1 4s Two dozen Holland tape at 13d the dozen £1 2s Two dozen rich tape at 11d the dozen £1 2s

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		Filletting redd & whi[te] 12 [...] coloured Ribb[on] dies fibre filletting 30 [..] gross 3 6 Paper of white Filletting - 4 - 1 [..] 1 - 6 8 Ditto - 3 - 4 [..] 1 - 6 - 8 Binding 6 Ditto Binding - 2 - 4 [..] 14 4 Cap[..] Ditto - 4 [..] 16 Tape 2 doz[en] Mann Tape - 12 doz[en] 1 - 4 2 doz[en] Holland Tape - 13 [doz] 1 - 2 2 doz[en] Rich Tape - 11 [doz] 1 - 2 1 doz[en] Coloured Tape - 10 [doz] 10 1 doz[en] Ditto - 7 [doz] 7 Ivory Combs HH 4 doz[en] Ivory Combs - 9 [doz] 1 - 16 4 doz[en] Ditto - 6 [doz] 1 - 12 Box 4 doz[en] Box Combs - 2 [doz] 8 4 [doz] Ditto - 1 - 8 [doz] 6 - 8 Horne 6 doz[en] Horne Combs - 4 - 8 [doz] 1 - 4 6 doz[en] Ditto - 3 - 6 [doz] 1 - 1 6 doz[en] Ditto - 2 [doz] 12 Leather Laces and Points Thread 8 grosse Leather Laces and Points - 4 - 6 [..] g[ross] 1 - 16 4 grosse Thread Laces - 4 - 6 [..] g[ross] 18 4 grosse Thread Points - 1 - 3 [..] g[ross] 5 4 grosse Flat Thread Laces - 12 [..] g[ross] 1 - 4 Coat Thread 4 grosse Coate Thread - 10 [..] g[ross] 12 24 grosse Brest Ditto - 7 [..] g[ross] 7 24 grosse Brest Ditto - 1 - 8 [..] g[ross] 12 Coat gimp Buttons 24 grosse Coat gimp Buttons - 1 - 3 [..] g[ross] 15 12 grosse Brest Ditto - 2 [..] g[ross] 2 - 8 Silke buttons 24 grosse Silk Wastecoates - 10 [..] g[ross] 2 - 1 4 Baggs Silke Buttons - 7 2 - 2 6 Ditto Silk gimp 64 83 - 8 - Haberdasiers Ware borne over Amounts to Burne over 907 - 18 - 4	One dozen coloured tape at 10d the dozen 10s One dozen further coloured tape at 7d the dozen 7s Combs: Four dozen ivory combs at 9s the dozen £1 16s Four dozen further ivory combs at 6s the dozen [the manuscript shows £1 12s, which would price the dozen at 8s] £1 12s Four dozen box combs at 2s the dozen 8s Four dozen further box combs at 1s 8d the dozen 6s 8d Six dozen horn combs at 4s 8d the dozen £1 4s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 6 dozen at 4s 8d would produce £1 8s] Six dozen further horn combs at 3s 6d the dozen £1 1s Six dozen further horn combs at 2s the dozen 12s Laces, points and thread: Eight gross of leather laces and points at 4s 6d the gross £1 16s Four gross of thread laces at 4s 6d the gross 18s Four gross of thread points at 1s 3d the gross 5s Four gross of flat thread laces at 12d the gross £1 4s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 4 gross at 12d would produce 4s] Coat thread and buttons: Four gross of coat thread at 10d the gross 12s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 4 gross at 10d would produce 3s 4d] Twenty-four gross of breast thread at 7d the gross 7s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 24 gross at 7d would produce 14s] Twenty-four gross of further breast thread at 1s 8d the gross 12s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 24 gross at 1s 8d would produce £2] Twenty-four gross of coat gimp buttons at 1s 3d the gross 15s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic would produce £1 10s] Twelve gross of breast gimp buttons at 2s the gross £2 8s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic would produce £1 4s] Silk buttons: Twenty-four gross of silk waistcoat buttons at 10d the gross £2 1s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic would produce £1] Four bags of silk buttons at 7 [shillings each] £2 2s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 4 bags at 7s would produce £1 8s] Six bags of silk gimp 64s Total of the haberdashery section £83 8s **Interpretations** The haberdashery wares in two trunks identify a major textile-trade consignment supplied to the island, supporting both household production and the working operations of the tailoring and shoemaking trades equipped in earlier sections of the invoice. Threads in blue, brown, white and coloured varieties at multiple price points formed the foundation of the supply, with the quantities sufficient for sustained sewing work on the cloth, the soldiers' coats and the women's bodices supplied elsewhere in the consignment. The arrangement reveals the working integration of the supply chain, with the consumables of the textile trades supplied alongside the finished goods and the tools that would work them. The pins in multiple parcels, including large red pins in a separate entry, identify the working sewing supply distributed across qualities and uses. Pins at this period were hand-made consumables of significant value, and the supply in quantities measured by dozens and grosses indicates that the company was equipping the island for sustained needlework. The large red pins probably served the heavier work of upholstery, leather pinning or dressmaking on heavy fabrics, while the smaller pins served general sewing. The arrangement

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			reveals the graduated supply across pin sizes matching the differentiated needlework activities expected on the island. The combs in ivory, box and horn identify the personal grooming supply distributed across quality grades. Ivory combs at six and nine shillings the dozen represented the highest quality for the senior officers and their families; box combs at one shilling and eightpence to two shillings the dozen formed the middle range; horn combs at two shillings to four shillings and eightpence the dozen served the working population. The arrangement extends the stratified retail pattern into personal grooming goods, with combs supplied at four to five different price points to allow appropriate issue to recipients across the social hierarchy of the island. The tapes in Mann, Holland, rich and coloured varieties identify a substantial supply of narrow textile bands used in finishing clothing. Mann tape was a common woven tape; Holland tape was made from a fine linen weave; rich tape probably refers to a higher-quality decorative variety; coloured tapes served decorative and identifying purposes. The supply of tape across qualities and at significant quantities indicates active tailoring and clothing finishing work on the island, with tape used to bind seams, edge fabrics and finish openings on coats, bodices and other garments. The arrangement reveals the working scale of clothing manufacture supported by the consignment. The leather laces, points, thread laces, thread points, flat thread laces, coat thread and breast thread together identify the working fastenings and seams supply of the clothing trades. Laces and points were short pieces of leather or thread with metal tags at the end, used to fasten openings on coats, breeches and bodices before the widespread use of buttons. The continued supply of laces and points alongside the various button types indicates that both fastening systems were in use on the island, with traditional lacing and contemporary buttons serving different garments. The arrangement reveals the working clothing technology in mixed use rather than transitioning between styles. The buttons in coat gimp, breast gimp, silk waistcoat and silk gimp varieties identify the principal decorative and functional fastenings supplied in the consignment. Gimp was a covered or twisted material used as a decorative finish on buttons, with coat gimp buttons being larger for outer garments and breast gimp buttons smaller for closer-fitting items. Silk buttons in bags identify the highest-quality fastenings, suitable for waistcoats and dressed garments worn by the senior establishment. The arrangement reveals the supply of fastenings across functional and decorative grades, supporting both working clothing and dressed wear. **Speculations** The substantial supply of sewing consumables, with threads, pins, tapes, buttons, laces and points across many grades and quantities, indicates that the company was supporting active clothing production on the island rather than supplying finished garments alone. The supply of cloth, tailors' shears and these haberdashery materials together gave the island the means to produce clothing locally, which fits the broader self-sufficiency policy pressed across the despatches. The arrangement reveals the company developing the textile manufacture as a working trade alongside the cooperage, carpentry, shoemaking, tannery and masonry trades equipped in earlier sections of the consignment. The graduated supply of combs from ivory to horn matches the broader stratified retail pattern across the consignment, but the inclusion of ivory combs in particular indicates that the company expected demand for the finest grooming goods on the island. The presence of women's clothing, ivory-handled knives and

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			ivory combs together points to an established gentility on the island, where the senior officers and their families maintained the material habits of English domestic life rather than living to a purely military standard. The arrangement reveals the social character of the establishment as a settled community with refined as well as working consumption. The presence of fillets and bindings alongside the broader textile supply indicates that the company expected ornamental as well as functional clothing production on the island. Fillets were narrow bands worn around the head or used as decorative borders on garments; bindings finished the edges of fabrics. The supply of these decorative materials alongside the basic sewing consumables suggests that the company was supplying for dressed clothing as well as for working garments, which fits the social differentiation evident across the consignment. The arrangement reveals the working scope of the textile manufacture as extending from basic to dressed clothing. The pattern of arithmetical discrepancies in the haberdashery section, with multiple entries where the recorded subtotal does not match the apparent arithmetic of the unit price and quantity, continues the broader pattern of manuscript error in the consignment. The recurrence of such discrepancies across all sections of the invoice suggests that the underlying figures may follow conventions of pricing that are not fully recoverable from the damaged text, with possible factors including different unit definitions across categories, packing and handling allowances built into the recorded prices, or transcription errors persisting through multiple copies of the document. The arrangement reveals the practical limits of the working stores accounting in conditions of partial documentary recovery. The discrepancy between the £83 8s subtotal recorded at the foot of the haberdashery section and the running subtotal carried forward at the head of £907 18s 4d, which is the same figure recorded as carried over both at the start and at the foot of this section, indicates that this section of the manuscript has not progressed the running total. The arrangement suggests that the haberdashery subtotal was to be added to the running figure in a subsequent calculation that is either missing from the recoverable text or has been omitted in the working copy. The pattern reveals the working limits of the document as recovered.
137	148	Br[ought] over 907 - 18 - 4 Haberd[ashers] Ware Haberdashers Ware Br[ough]t over 83 - 8 - Wastcoate Buttons Doz[en] best whi[te] Wastcoate Buttons att - 1 - 8 [..] g[ross] 1 - [..] Ditto 11 Silk 5 [..] of Cutt Sh[..] Silk - 18 [..] 4 - 10 3 [..] of light Cut Silk - 25 [..] [..] 3 - 15 [..] Ditto 25 2 - 10 Silk Galoone 2 grosse Silk Galoone 10 - [..] 3 - Ribbons 10 p[ai]r Ribbons 9 - [..] 4 - 14 6 p[ai]r Ditto 8 - [..] 2 - 8	The invoice continued with further haberdashery wares, musket and drop shot, brandy, sail needles and grindstones. The running subtotal brought forward £907 18s 4d The haberdashery wares subtotal brought forward £83 8s Waistcoat buttons: [...] dozen best white waistcoat buttons at 1s 8d the gross £1 Further waistcoat buttons 11s Silk: Five [parcels?] of cut sash silk at 18 [shillings each] £4 10s Three parcels of light cut silk at 25 [shillings each] £3 15s Further cut silk at 25 [shillings each] £2 10s Silk galloon: Two gross of silk galloon at 10s each £3 Ribbons: Ten pairs of ribbons at 9s each £4 14s Six pairs of ribbons at 8s each £2 8s Florett ribbons: Twelve pairs of florett ribbons at 12s each £2 8s Cotton: Four gross and a half of cotton at 8s 6d the gross £1 14s

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		D[itt]o Florett 12 p[ai]r D[itt]o 12 - [..] 2 - 8 Cotton 4 grosse 6 Cotton 8 - 6 [..] 1 - 14 4 grosse Ditto 8 - 6 [..] 2 - 8 Red Caddis 4 grosse 4 and 8 Scarlett Caddis [..] 16 Thimbles &c 3 grosse Mens and Womens Thimbles - 8 [..] 1 - 10 Needles 2000 [..] Needles 10 - [..] M 6 2000 of [..] Needles [..] Copper Boxes Tinn 8 doz[en] Copper Boxes att 8 - 6 [..] doz 3 - 8 8 doz[en] Tinn Ditto 2 - [..] 16 Pack thred 60 [..] fine Packthred 1 - [..] 6 Saile Needles 50 Saile Needles 6 - 6 [..] [..] 3 - 5 Lute string hoods 10 large Lute string hoods 8 - 6 [..] [..] 2 - 8 8 Ditto 5 - 6 [..] 2 - 15 10 Ditto 5 - [..] [..] Allamode Hoods 6 large Allamode hoods 4 - 8 [..] 1 - 17 - 4 8 Ditto 4 - 4 [..] 1 - 14 - 8 130 - 16 - 8 Haberd[ashers] Ware 2 Trunks Haberdashers Ware am[oun]t to [..] Musket and Drop Shott in 20 small Caske as followeth viz[t] Musket & Drop Shott 10 Barrolls Drop Shott from 2 to 10 [..]18 [..] p[..] C 9 - 10 Ditto Musket Shott M from 11 to 20 18 [..] [..] 9 18 - Brandy Strasburg Brandy 20 Caske from N[o] 61 to 80 inclus[ive] C[on]t[ainin]g 597 gal[lons] att 5 [..] gall[on] 149 - 5 - Saile Needles Saile Needles and Palmes in a small Box super[?]ed Saile Needles viz[t] 10 doz[en] Searning Needles att 1 - 3 [..] doz 12 - 6 10 doz[en] Ditto double 1 - 3 [..] doz 12 - 6 5 doz[en] Bodevay Needles 1 - 3 [..] doz 6 - 3 5 doz[en] Palmes	Four gross of further cotton at 8s 6d the gross £2 8s Red caddis: Four gross and a half of scarlet caddis at [...] 16s Thimbles: Three gross of men's and women's thimbles at 8s each £1 10s Needles: Two thousand needles at 10s the thousand 6s Two thousand further needles [...] Copper and tin boxes: Eight dozen copper boxes at 8s 6d the dozen £3 8s Eight dozen tin boxes at 2s the dozen 16s Pack thread: Sixty pounds of fine pack thread at 1s the pound £3 Sail needles: Fifty sail needles at 6s 6d each £3 5s Lute-string hoods: Ten large lute-string hoods at 8s 6d each £2 8s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 10 at 8s 6d would produce £4 5s] Eight further hoods at 5s 6d each £2 15s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic would produce £2 4s] Ten further hoods at 5s each [...] Allamode hoods: Six large allamode hoods at 4s 8d each £1 17s 4d [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic would produce £1 8s] Eight further hoods at 4s 4d each £1 14s 8d Total of the haberdashery section £130 16s 8d Musket and drop shot in twenty small casks: Ten barrels of drop shot of sizes from 2 to 10, weight from 11 to [...] hundredweight, at 18s the hundredweight £9 Ten barrels of musket shot of sizes from 11 to 20, at 18s the hundredweight £9 Subtotal of the shot £18 Brandy: Twenty casks of Strasburg brandy, numbered 61 to 80 inclusive, containing 597 gallons at 5s the gallon £149 5s Sail needles and palms in a small box: Ten dozen sailing needles at 1s 3d the dozen 12s 6d Ten dozen double sailing needles at 1s 3d the dozen 12s 6d Five dozen bodevay needles at 1s 3d the dozen 6s 3d Five dozen palms at 2s 4d the dozen 12s Subtotal of this section £2 3s 3d Grindstones loose in the ship: Ten grindstones at 4s each £2 Three further grindstones at 6s each 18s Two further grindstones at 6s 6d each 13s Subtotal of the grindstones £3 11s Running subtotal carried forward £1,214 14s 3d **Interpretations** The lute-string and allamode hoods identify the supply of women's high-quality headwear to the island. Lute-string was a glossy silk fabric of fine weave; allamode was a light glossy silk used for trimmings and small accessories in the fashionable mode. The supply of hoods in these materials, at prices ranging from four shillings and fourpence to eight shillings and sixpence each, represents the working dressed wear for women on the island. The arrangement complements the women's bodices, shoes and stockings supplied in earlier sections and confirms the established gentility of the female establishment, with material support extending from working wear to fashionable dressed wear. The Strasburg brandy at 597 gallons in twenty casks identifies a major spirits consignment to the island. Strasburg brandy was a high-quality French brandy named for its trade route through the city of Strasburg,

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		2 - 4 [..] doz 12 2 - 3 - 3 Grindstones Grindstones Loose in the Shipps as follow[s] viz[t] 10 Grindstones att 4 - [..] each 2 - 3 Ditto 6 18 2 Ditto 6 - 6 13 3 - 11 Borne over 1214 - 14 - 3	and the supply at five shillings the gallon represents a significant value within the consignment at £149 5s, exceeding the combined value of many other sections. The arrangement reveals the brandy as a substantial component of the consignment, supplied at the same time as the strong beer, ordinary beer and mumm to give the island a full range of alcoholic beverages across the working and ceremonial occasions of the establishment. The musket and drop shot in twenty barrels identifies the working ammunition supply to the island. The graduated sizing from 2 to 20 covered both small drop shot for fowling and larger sizes appropriate for musket use, allowing the island to draw the appropriate ammunition from a graded stock. The supply at eighteen shillings the hundredweight gave a working cost benchmark for the shot, and the total of £18 represents a modest absolute value but a significant operational supply, since each barrel would have contained substantial quantities of shot. The arrangement complements the shot moulds, cartridge paper, ramming sticks and other military consumables of earlier sections as part of the integrated musketry supply. The sail needles, both as fifty units in one parcel at six shillings and sixpence each, and as ten dozen sailing needles, ten dozen double sailing needles and five dozen bodevay needles in a separate box, identify a substantial supply of the working tools for canvas and sailcloth work. Sailing needles were the basic implements for stitching sails; double sailing needles had heavier or doubled shafts for harder work; bodevay needles probably refers to a specialist pattern for particular sail work. The five dozen palms identify the leather palms used to push needles through heavy canvas. The supply complements the sail cloth for knapsacks recorded in the earlier section, and reveals the working sail and canvas equipment of the island operating across both military and maritime contexts. The grindstones supplied loose in the ship, at three different sizes priced from four shillings to six shillings and sixpence each, identify the working sharpening equipment for the trades on the island. Grindstones were essential to the carpentry, cooperage, masonry, tannery and other edge-tool trades, since the working life of every blade depended on regular resharpening. The supply of fifteen grindstones in a single consignment represents a substantial investment in the sharpening infrastructure, sufficient to support the various trade workshops with dedicated equipment. The arrangement reveals the practical support for the working trades evident across the consignment. The thimbles in men's and women's varieties, supplied at three gross at eight shillings each, identify the working sewing consumables for the gender-differentiated needlework activity on the island. The supply of separately gendered thimbles indicates that the company expected both men and women to engage in sewing work, with the men's thimbles probably serving the tailoring trade and the soldiers' care for their own clothing, and the women's thimbles serving household and clothing production work. The arrangement reveals the working organisation of needlework as a gendered but shared activity on the island. **Speculations** The supply of 597 gallons of Strasburg brandy at a total cost of £149 5s, more than ten per cent of the recoverable invoice value, indicates that the company was making a substantial investment in spirits supply for the island. The quantity far exceeds any reasonable consumption by the senior establishment alone, which suggests that the brandy was intended either for issue to soldiers and labourers as part of their working ration, or for trade with ships calling at the road, or for medical

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			purposes. The Council's ability to dispose of brandy at the road in exchange for other goods or for cash would have given the island a working trading currency beyond the company's monetary payments to soldiers. The supply of women's hoods in lute-string and allamode silks, alongside the substantial supply of women's working and dressed clothing in earlier sections, indicates that the spring 1680 consignment was deliberately oriented towards the female establishment of the island. The supply pattern matches the demographic policy pressed in the despatch of 24 March 1680, which incentivised marriage and the establishment of family households on the island. The arrival of substantial women's clothing and accessories at the same time as the legal framework for marriage land grants suggests that the company was coordinating material supply with demographic policy at the London end. The grindstones supplied loose in the ship rather than packed in casks indicates that the company accepted these heavy stones as deck cargo or fixed in the ship's bottom, where they would have served as ballast as well as cargo. The arrangement reveals a working economy in the supply chain, where heavy items served dual functions in transit and on arrival. The choice to send fifteen grindstones at different sizes also fits the pattern of equipping the various trade workshops with dedicated sharpening equipment, with the larger stones for the heavier trades and the smaller stones for the finer edge work. The sail needles in two separate packages, one of fifty heavy needles and one box of multiple varieties of finer needles, suggests that the company was supplying both the working canvas needs of ships calling at the road and the lighter sail and sack work of the island establishment. The arrangement reveals the island's role as a working maritime supply station extending beyond the company's own ships to ships of all nations that might call for repair or refit. The earlier handover material had identified the island as a refitting station for the company fleets; the sail needle supply confirms that the working canvas equipment was available for that purpose at scale. The discrepancies in the arithmetic of the haberdashery section, particularly in the lute-string and allamode hood entries where the recorded subtotals differ significantly from the apparent products of quantity and unit price, indicate either copying errors in the manuscript or pricing conventions not fully recoverable from the damaged text. The pattern continues across this section and confirms the working limits of the documentary record, where careful itemisation coexists with persistent arithmetical inconsistency. The recurrence of such ambiguities suggests that the working clerks at the East India House may have used auxiliary calculation methods not preserved in the final document, with the recorded subtotals representing the working answer reached by means external to the listed items.
138	149	Brou[gh]t over 1211 - 14 - 3 Sea Coales Sea Coales 10 1/2 Chaldron att 30[..] [..] 15 - 15 - Tarr Tarr 10 Barrells each w[i]th 6 Iron hoops of 30 y[..] Ton 15 - Lime [hogsheads] 80 Hogsheads Sifted Lime of 20 Ton at 20 y[..] Ton 20 - Fishing hooks & Lines Fishing Hookes & Lines in one Barrell unspoyled fishing Hookes and Lines for S[t] Hellena viz[t] 4 doz[en] Small Alboco[re] Hooks - at 4 - [..] [..] 16	The invoice continued with sea coal, tar, lime, fishing hooks and lines, twine, iron bars, steel and hard soap. The running subtotal brought forward £1,211 14s 3d Sea coals: Ten and a half chaldrons at 30s the chaldron £15 15s Tar: Ten barrels of tar, each with six iron hoops, of 30 [hundredweight to the] ton, at the rate given £15 Lime: Eighty hogsheads of sifted lime, of 20 tons, at 20s the ton £20 Fishing hooks and lines in one barrel for St Helena:

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		10 doz[en] Large Bonete Hooks - 3 - 4 [..] doz 1 - 6 - 8 10 doz[en] Small Ditto - 2 - 8 [..] doz 1 - 6 - 8 20 doz[en] Large Dolphin Hooks - 2 - [..] doz 2 - 40 doz[en] Small Ditto - 1 - 3 [..] doz 2 - 10 10 doz[en] Large Rock Fish Ditto - 0 - 10 [..] doz 4 - 3 - 4 10 doz[en] Ditto Small - [..] doz 3 - 6 - 8 100 doz[en] B[..]a[..] Hooks - 0 - 6 [..] doz 7 - 10 - 2 doz[en] Albocore Lines - 2 - 2 [..] doz 4 - 4 2 doz[en] Large Bonete Ditto - 2 - 0 [..] doz 4 - 2 doz[en] Small Ditto - 1 - 10 [..] doz 3 - 8 3 doz[en] Large Dolphin Ditto - 1 - 4 [..] doz 4 - 3 doz[en] Small Ditto - 1 - 0 [..] doz 3 - 6 3 doz[en] Large Rock Fish Lines - 0 - 11 [..] doz 2 - 9 3 doz[en] Small Ditto - 0 - 8 [..] doz 2 - 19 - 3 - 7 Twine Twine One Caske N[o] E - r[..] 136 . 3 [...] held Twine att 10 [..] y[..] Stayne 5 - 13 - 4 Iron Barrs Iron Barrs 10 wa[?] 40 - 2 - 14 - at 17 [..]y[..] [..] 34 - 10 - 7 Steele 1 Tangott of Steele 2 - 10 - Hard Soape Hard Soape 12 Chests N[o] 1 wa - 1 - 2 - 15 tara - [..]20 2 - 1 - 2 - 20 - 17 3 - 1 - 2 - 23 - 19 4 - 1 - 2 - 23 - 18 5 - 1 - 2 - 14 - 18 6 - 1 - 2 - 20 - 17 7 - 1 - 2 - 24 - 10 8 - 1 - 2 - [..] - 10 9 - 1 - 2 - 9 - 18 10 - 1 - 2 - 12 - 17 11 - 1 - 2 - 18 - 20 12 - 1 - 1 - 22 - 16 grose - 19 - 1 - 27 - 1 - 3 - 24 Tare - 1 - 3 - 24 17 - 2 - 3 is 1963 at 8 [..] [..] 65 - 8 - 8 Borne over 1389 - 15 - 5	Four dozen small albacore hooks at 4s the dozen 16s Ten dozen large bonito hooks at 3s 4d the dozen £1 6s 8d Ten dozen small bonito hooks at 2s 8d the dozen £1 6s 8d Twenty dozen large dolphin hooks at 2s the dozen £2 Forty dozen small dolphin hooks at 1s 3d the dozen £2 10s Ten dozen large rock fish hooks at 10d the dozen £4 3s 4d [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 10 dozen at 10d would produce 8s 4d] Ten dozen small rock fish hooks £3 6s 8d One hundred dozen [...] hooks at 6d the dozen £7 10s [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 100 dozen at 6d would produce £2 10s] Two dozen albacore lines at 2s 2d the dozen 4s 4d Two dozen large bonito lines at 2s the dozen 4s Two dozen small bonito lines at 1s 10d the dozen 3s 8d Three dozen large dolphin lines at 1s 4d the dozen 4s Three dozen small dolphin lines at 1s the dozen 3s 6d Three dozen large rock fish lines at 11d the dozen 2s 9d Three dozen small rock fish lines at 8d the dozen 2s Total of the fishing hooks and lines £19 3s 7d Twine: One cask, item E, weight 136 [pounds] 3 [...] Twine at 10s the stone £5 13s 4d Iron bars: Ten [...], weighing 40 [hundredweight] 2 [quarters] 14 [pounds], at 17s [per hundredweight] £34 10s 7d Steel: One tangott of steel £2 10s Hard soap in twelve chests: Chest 1: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 15 pounds, tare [...] 20 pounds Chest 2: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 pounds, tare 17 pounds Chest 3: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 23 pounds, tare 19 pounds Chest 4: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 23 pounds, tare 18 pounds Chest 5: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 pounds, tare 18 pounds Chest 6: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 pounds, tare 17 pounds Chest 7: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 24 pounds, tare 10 pounds Chest 8: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters [...] pounds, tare 10 pounds Chest 9: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 9 pounds, tare 18 pounds Chest 10: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 12 pounds, tare 17 pounds Chest 11: gross 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 18 pounds, tare 20 pounds Chest 12: gross 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 22 pounds, tare 16 pounds Gross weight 19 hundredweight 1 quarter 27 pounds Total tare 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 24 pounds Net weight 17 hundredweight 2 quarters 3 pounds, or 1,963 pounds, at 8d per pound £65 8s 8d Running subtotal carried forward £1,389 15s 5d **Interpretations** The fishing hooks and lines, supplied in graded sizes matched to the principal fish species of the South Atlantic, identify the working tackle of the island fishery as a specialised supply distinct from general line and twine. Albacore, bonito and dolphin were the major

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			pelagic species taken from boats off the island; rock fish were the bottom-dwelling species taken near the shore. The supply of hooks across these four categories, with both large and small sizes in each, gave the fishery the working range of equipment for both pelagic and inshore fishing. The arrangement reveals the company supplying the specific consumables of the fishery rather than generic tackle, which fits the productive expectations of the 24 March 1680 despatch where the plantation and fishery together were to bear the cost of the public table. The very large supply of one hundred dozen [...] hooks at the small end of the fishing range, alongside substantial quantities of dolphin hooks at twenty and forty dozen, indicates that the fishery operated at a level of activity requiring continuous replenishment of small consumable tackle. Fish hooks were single-use consumables in the sense that they were frequently lost to fish or broken in landing, and the supply at scale matches the operational reality of an active fishery rather than an occasional catch. The arrangement reveals the working maturity of the fishery as a continuing component of the island economy, with the supply line calibrated to actual consumption rather than to general provision. The eighty hogsheads of sifted lime at twenty tons in total identify the working masonry supply alongside the stone-working tools recorded in the earlier section. The sifted lime was prepared for mortar production by removing impurities, and the substantial quantity supports the building of mortared stone or brick structures rather than dry-stone or timber construction. The supply matches the change in building strategy implied by the stone cutters' tools and the masons' sharpening stones, and reveals the company providing the working materials for the new building programme alongside the tools that would work them. The arrangement reveals the consignment as a coordinated supply rather than an assortment of unrelated items. The hard soap in twelve chests at a net weight of 1,963 pounds, at eightpence per pound, represents the major hygiene supply to the island. The detailed recording of gross weight, tare and net weight for each individual chest reveals the precision of the working stores accounting, with each chest treated as a separate inventory unit. The earlier handover material had identified annual hard soap from Surat as a continuing supply, and the spring 1680 consignment continues that pattern with substantial quantity. The supply was probably for both the personal use of the establishment and the cleaning of clothing, equipment and the public buildings. The arrangement reveals the working scale of hygiene supply across the population of the island. The ten and a half chaldrons of sea coals identify the continuing supply of high-quality coal for the smith's forge, complementing the nine chaldrons recorded in the inventory of stores on 25 March 1680. The combined working stock after delivery would have approached twenty chaldrons, sufficient to support sustained smithing activity. The arrangement reveals the company maintaining the smith's fuel supply at a level matched to the working activity of the trade, which fits the broader pattern of supplying the consumables of each trade at scale. The iron bars at 40 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 pounds, valued at seventeen shillings the hundredweight, identify the principal raw material for the smith. The substantial supply, well exceeding the existing stock of 2,764 pounds recorded in the inventory, indicates that the company was significantly expanding the smithing material base on the island. The arrangement complements the supply of finished hardware in earlier sections and reveals a deliberate dual supply strategy, with both finished goods and raw

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			material supplied to support both immediate need and continuing local production. **Speculations** The supply of fishing tackle in species-specific configurations indicates that the company had received detailed feedback from the island Council about the working fishery operation and was responding with calibrated supply. The specification of albacore, bonito, dolphin and rock fish hooks in both large and small sizes could not have been done by general specification at the London end and must reflect either earlier Council requests or a detailed working knowledge of the South Atlantic fishery at the East India House. The arrangement reveals the working information flow between the island and London, with operational detail informing the supply decisions. The supply of one tangott of steel as a single recorded unit, against substantial supplies of iron bars by weight, indicates that the company supplied steel as the higher-value material in distinct packing while bulk iron came in conventional weight units. A tangott was a regional or trade term for a bundle or parcel of steel bars, probably reflecting the specialist nature of steel as a material reserved for edge tools and harder fittings. The arrangement reveals the different handling of the two metals in the supply chain, with iron as a bulk commodity and steel as a finer specialist supply. The detailed weight recording for each of the twelve chests of hard soap, with separate gross and tare figures for each chest, indicates a particularly careful accounting for this consignment. The decision to record individual chest weights rather than aggregate figures suggests that the soap was either valuable enough or contested enough to require precision, possibly because soap was subject to weight loss in transit through drying, or because individual chests would be issued separately at the island and needed to be weighed against the master invoice on receipt. The arrangement reveals the practical reasoning behind the documentary precision, with the working needs of the supply chain driving the accounting format. The discrepancies between the apparent arithmetic and the recorded subtotals in the fishing hooks section, particularly for the large rock fish hooks where 10 dozen at 10d would produce 8s 4d rather than the recorded £4 3s 4d, and the [...] hooks where 100 dozen at 6d would produce £2 10s rather than the recorded £7 10s, continue the pattern of arithmetical inconsistency in the manuscript. These specific discrepancies may reflect supply units larger than the single hook, with the recorded prices being per hundred or per gross rather than per dozen, or may simply continue the broader pattern of copying or calculation error. The recurrent ambiguity reveals the limits of confident reconstruction from the recoverable text.
139	150	Brou[gh]t over 1389 - 15 - 5 Sweet Oyle Sweet Oyle 6 Jarrs from N[o] 1 to 6 inclusive viz[t] N[o] 1 wa 2 3 4 ta 128 Leg[s]: wa 2 - 2 - 2 - 8 - 120 3 - 2 - 2 - 17 - 126 4 - 2 - 2 - 21 - 127 5 - 2 - 2 - 11 - 127 6 - 2 - 2 - 16 - 125 15 - 2 - 753 Legs wa at 100 [..] 60[..] w[..] there is 5 - 19 nett 5 - 19 att y[e] rate of 7 - 2 [..] [..] gal 10 - 2 - 2 makes 157 gall at 6 [..] gall 47 - 2 - Rape Oyle Rape Oyle 8 Cask C[on]t[ainin]g 240 gall from N[o] 1 to 8 inclusive N[o] 1 - 31 gall N[o] 5 - 29 gall 2 - 30 - 6 - 31	The invoice continued with sweet oil, rape oil, vinegar, fustians, mixed stuffs and serges, a new boat, a yawl and sails. The running subtotal brought forward £1,389 15s 5d Sweet oil in six jars, numbered 1 to 6: Jar 1: gross weight 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 4 pounds, tare 128 pounds; legs weight [...] Jar 2: gross 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 8 pounds, legs weight 120 Jar 3: gross 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 17 pounds, legs weight 126 Jar 4: gross 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 21 pounds, legs weight 127 Jar 5: gross 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 11 pounds, legs weight 127 Jar 6: gross 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 pounds, legs weight 125

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		3 - 30 - 7 - 30 4 - 29 - 8 - 30 120 - 120 120 at 2 - 6 [..] gall 30 - Vinegar Vinegar 6 Barrolls C[on]t[ainin]g 181 gall from N[o] to N[o] 14 N[o] 9 - 30 - N[o] 12 - 29 gall 10 - 30 - 13 - 30 11 - 31 - 14 - 31 91 - 90 91 181 att 2 - 3 [..] gall 20 - 7 - 3 Fustians Fustians one Bale N[o] 1 - 17 - 60 p[..] att 18 [..] p[..] [..] 54 - Stuffes Serges &c Stuffes Serges &c in One Bale N[o] 2 c[on]t[ainin]g viz[t] Crape Camblett 26 of fine Craped att 30 [..] p[..] 9 5 [..] mens Camblett 50 [..] p[..] 12 - 10 5 [..] sad & coloured ditto 48 2 [..] p[..] 12 - Shaloons 6 [..] Shaloons 58 2 [..] p[..] 17 - 8 Serges 8 [..] fine mixt Serges 50 [..] p[..] 20 - 4 ditto fine Greyes 44 2 [..] p[..] 8 - 16 - Chognies 4 ditto browne Chognies 44 2 [..] p[..] 8 - 16 Lynsey 157 y[ar]ds Linsey [..] - 2 y[ar]d 5 - 14 Flannell 55 ditto Flannell [..] - 2 y[ar]d 5 - 19 - 2 100 - 3 - 2 A Boate New Boate or Youall in Length 27 foot & 2 inches in breadth 7 foot and 4 inches in depth 3 foot and 6 inches 20 - A Youall New Boate or Youall in length 18 foot 6 inches in depth 2 foot 6 inches and in breadth 6 foot 12 - 32 - Sailes 2 new Sailes for the great Boate 2 - 10 2 Ditto for the small Boate 2 - 4 - 10 Borne over 1677 - 17 - 10	Total gross 15 hundredweight 2 quarters; legs weight 753 Net weight 5 hundredweight 19 pounds at the rate given Net at 7s 2d the gallon The 10 hundredweight 2 quarters 2 pounds make 157 gallons at 6s the gallon £47 2s Rape oil in eight casks, containing 240 gallons, numbered 1 to 8: Cask 1: 31 gallons Cask 2: 30 gallons Cask 3: 30 gallons Cask 4: 29 gallons Cask 5: 29 gallons Cask 6: 31 gallons Cask 7: 30 gallons Cask 8: 30 gallons Subtotal 240 gallons [the manuscript figures total 240, although the individual lines above sum to 240] At 2s 6d the gallon £30 Vinegar in six barrels, containing 181 gallons, numbered 9 to 14: Barrel 9: 30 gallons Barrel 10: 30 gallons Barrel 11: 31 gallons Barrel 12: 29 gallons Barrel 13: 30 gallons Barrel 14: 31 gallons Total 181 gallons at 2s 3d the gallon £20 7s 3d Fustians in one bale, item number 1: 17 pieces of 60 yards each at 18s the piece £54 Stuffs, serges and other cloths in one bale, item number 2: Crape camlet: 26 pieces of fine craped camlet at 30s the piece £9 [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 26 pieces at 30s would produce £39, so the recorded figure suggests a different quantity or unit] Men's camlet: five pieces at 50s the piece £12 10s Sad and coloured camlet: five pieces at 48s 2d the piece £12 Shalloons: six pieces at 58s 2d the piece £17 8s Serges: eight pieces of fine mixed serges at 50s the piece £20 Four pieces of fine grey serges at 44s 2d the piece £8 16s Chognies: four pieces of brown chognies at 44s 2d the piece £8 16s Linsey: 157 yards of linsey at [...] the yard £5 14s Flannel: 55 yards of flannel at [...] the yard £5 19s 2d Total of the stuffs and serges section £100 3s 2d A boat: New boat or yawl, 27 feet 2 inches long, 7 feet 4 inches wide and 3 feet 6 inches deep £20 A yawl: New boat or yawl, 18 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches deep and 6 feet wide £12 Subtotal of the boat and yawl £32 Sails: Two new sails for the great boat £2 10s Two new sails for the small boat £2 Subtotal of the sails £4 10s Running subtotal carried forward £1,677 17s 10d **Interpretations** The sweet oil supply in six jars, accounted in detail by gross weight, tare and legs weight, identifies the precision of the working accounting for an expensive consumable. The term legs in this context refers to the working unit of supply for the oil within the jar, with each jar's contents separately measured and then converted to gallons at the standard rate. The conversion of 10 hundredweight 2 quarters 2 pounds to 157 gallons, valued at six shillings the gallon, gives a working price benchmark for the consignment. Sweet oil was the high-grade olive oil used in cooking and

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			medicinal preparation, distinct from the rape oil used for lighting and lower-grade purposes. The arrangement reveals the differentiated supply of edible and industrial oils to the island. The rape oil in eight casks at 240 gallons, valued at two shillings and sixpence the gallon, identifies the principal lighting oil supplied to the island. Rape oil was extracted from rapeseed and was the standard lighting fuel for lamps in seventeenth-century English use. The supply of 240 gallons indicates that the company was equipping the island for sustained nightwork and indoor lighting, complementing the lamp supply of the earlier sections. The arrangement reveals the integration of the lighting equipment and the lighting fuel as a coordinated supply system. The vinegar in six barrels at 181 gallons, valued at two shillings and threepence the gallon, identifies the working supply of vinegar for food preservation, cleaning and medical use. Vinegar served as a preservative for meat, fish and vegetables in barrels, as a cleansing agent for wounds and surfaces, and as a flavouring for prepared foods. The supply at scale indicates that the company was equipping the island for sustained preservation activities, particularly important on a remote island where the freshness of provisions could not always be maintained. The arrangement reveals the working chemistry of preservation and hygiene supplied alongside the broader food and equipment provision. The fustians in one bale at 17 pieces of 60 yards each, valued at eighteen shillings the piece, identify a substantial supply of working cloth. Fustian was a coarse cotton or cotton-linen blend cloth, used for heavy outer garments, soldiers' clothing and rough working wear. The supply of 1,020 yards of fustian in a single bale represents a working stock for substantial clothing manufacture, complementing the tailoring tools and shears of the earlier sections. The arrangement reveals the working cloth supply at the volume needed to support clothing manufacture as a continuing trade. The mixed stuffs and serges in one bale identify the working supply of finer cloth for clothing manufacture across multiple qualities. Camlet was a fine cloth originally of camel hair but in the seventeenth century made of wool or silk; shalloon was a worsted cloth used principally for linings; serge was a durable twilled cloth used for clothing of all kinds; chogny was probably a worsted or coarse cloth of trade quality; linsey was a linen-wool blend; flannel was a soft woollen cloth. The supply across these qualities, at piece prices ranging from 30s to 58s 2d, indicates the differentiated supply for clothing across multiple social grades and uses. The arrangement reveals the working textile supply matched to the stratified retail of the consignment. The new boat at 27 feet 2 inches and the new yawl at 18 feet 6 inches, supplied with new sails for each, identify the working maritime equipment for the island fishery and inshore transport. The boat dimensions indicate substantial vessels capable of working off the island in moderate weather, with the larger boat serving for fishery and supply work and the smaller yawl for inshore and harbour work. The arrangement reveals the company supplementing the existing boat establishment, recorded in the inventory of stores on 25 March 1680 as one longboat and one pinnace bought of Captain Stanard, with new working vessels. The supply matches the productive expectations of the 24 March 1680 despatch for the fishery to contribute to the cost of the public table. The dimensions of the boats given in feet and inches, with the larger boat at 27 feet 2 inches by 7 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 6 inches, indicate the precision of the working specification. The arrangement reveals the company supplying purpose-built craft rather than generic boats, with the dimensions calibrated to

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			particular working uses on the island. The smaller yawl dimensions of 18 feet 6 inches by 6 feet by 2 feet 6 inches indicate a beamier shallower craft suitable for inshore work, while the larger boat's deeper draught at 3 feet 6 inches suggests a vessel suitable for offshore fishery and supply work in heavier sea conditions. **Speculations** The supply of two new boats with new sails, alongside the existing longboat and pinnace already on the island, suggests that the company was substantially expanding the maritime capacity of the island establishment in 1680. The four working vessels together would have given the Council the capacity for simultaneous fishery operations, supply runs between the road and the shore, communication work between the fort and the Watering Place, and inshore patrols against unauthorised landings. The arrangement reveals the practical infrastructure to support both the productive ambitions of the fishery and the defensive responsibilities of the planter militia. The detailed dimensional specification of the boats indicates that the company commissioned the vessels to particular requirements rather than purchasing standard craft from London boatbuilders. The arrangement suggests either a working specification developed by the Council on the island and forwarded to London, or a deliberate London-side design for the conditions of the road at St Helena, where exposed anchorage and shore work required specific seakeeping qualities. Either reading reveals the working knowledge of the local maritime conditions informing the procurement decisions. The supply of substantial quantities of camlet, shalloon, serge, fustian, linsey and flannel in a single consignment indicates that the company was establishing the cloth stock for a multi-year tailoring operation on the island. The bale of fustian alone, at 1,020 yards, would supply the working coarse clothing needs of the establishment for an extended period, and the mixed stuffs and serges bale provided the finer cloths for officers' and senior planters' garments. The arrangement reveals the company supplying the cloth raw material at the volume needed to free the supply chain from future cloth shipments while the existing stock was worked into finished garments. The substantial supply of vinegar at 181 gallons indicates that the company expected the island to need preservation capacity beyond what could be obtained from the immediate harvest of its own produce. Local vinegar production from wine or cider was possible if the appropriate raw materials were available, but the supply of imported vinegar suggests that the company either did not expect local production to meet demand or required a guaranteed supply for specific uses such as ship victualling. The arrangement reveals the practical limits of self-sufficiency on the island, with certain consumables continuing to come from England despite the broader policy direction. The discrepancy in the camlet pricing, where 26 pieces of fine craped camlet at 30s the piece would arithmetically produce £39 rather than the recorded £9, indicates either a copying error in the manuscript or a difference between the recorded quantity and the actual quantity in the consignment. The pattern of arithmetical inconsistency continues from earlier sections of the invoice and confirms the practical limits of the documentary record. The recurrent appearance of such discrepancies suggests that the working clerks at the East India House may have been recording subtotals from separate calculations not preserved with the line entries, with the line entries serving as item descriptions rather than as the source of the subtotal calculation.

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140	151	Brought over 1677 - 17 - 10 Linnen Cloth Linnen Cloth 2 Bales N[o] 6 and 7 c[on]t[ainin]g viz[t] [..] 57 [..] 60 69 - 82 [..] - [..] N[o] 6 N[o] 6 . 10 p[..] browne Tickings 58 - 61 - 63 Browne [..] 41 41 - 41 45 - 32 - 378 332 7 X 705 ells brod at 1 [..] p[..] ell 35 - 5 - [..] 26 [..] 26 1/2 26 - 17 1/2 Blew 10 p[..] blew Ditto - 26 - 21 26 - 19 25 - 25 1/2 129 - 108 1/2 108 1/2 6 X 237 1/2 ells blow att 13 [..] y[..] ell 12 - 17 - 7 N[o] 7 N[o] 7 [..] 44 [..] 49 40 - 39 40 - 2 - 40 34 - 28 46 - 52 46 1/2 White 17 p[..] whi[te] Osinbrigg 47 - 2 - 30 34 - 2 - 37 1/2 47 - 2 - 37 1/2 41 1/2 - 332 375 1/2 332 707 1/2 Ells att 1 [..] y[..] Ell 35 - 7 - 6 83 - 10 - 1 Deales Dram Deales 10 and 11 foot long 720 at 1 - 3 [..] y[..] p[..] 45 - Christiana Ditto - [..] - 400 at 1 - 3 [..] p[..] 150 - Firr Timber Firr Timber 9 p[..] of 15 1/2 foot at 9 [..] foot 5 - 16 - 3 Balks Dram Balks 12 foot long 240 [..] at 9 [..] p[..] 9 - Yuffors Y[u]ffors 17 foot long 2420 at 9 [..] p[..] 90 - 15 300 - 11 - 3 Biskett Bisquett in 40 Wood bound Cask C[on]t[ainin]g as followeth/ 25 Cask C[on]t[ainin]g 86 - 1 Briskett att 20 [..] p[..] C 86 - 2 15 Ditto - 40 - 3 - 22 22 [..] C 45 - 10 131 - 1 - Sheepskins Sheepskins &c in Cask superscribed Sheepskins for S[t] Hellena Sheepskins n[o] [..] 20 Sheepskins with the Wooll on them att 2 - 6 each 2 - 10 - Spungheads and Rammers Spungheads and Rammers viz[t] Dimmy Cannon - 4 p[..]	The invoice continued with linen cloth, deals, balks and yuffors, biscuit, sheepskins, sponge heads, rammers and sponge staves. The running subtotal brought forward £1,677 17s 10d Linen cloth in two bales, numbers 6 and 7: Bale number 6: ten pieces of brown ticking and ten pieces of blue ticking. Length figures for the brown pieces: 58, 61, 63, 57, 60, 41, 41, 41, 45, 32, totalling 378 ells with corrections producing a working figure of 332 ells. The working total is 705 ells of brown ticking at 1s the ell £35 5s Length figures for the blue pieces: 26, 26½, 26, 17½, 26, 21, 26, 19, 25, 25½, totalling 129 ells with corrections to 108½ ells. The working total is 237½ ells of blue ticking at 13d the ell £12 17s 7d Bale number 7: seventeen pieces of white osnaburg. Length figures: 44, 49, 40, 39, 40, 40, 34, 28, 46, 52, 46½, 47½, 30, 34½, 37½, 47½, 37½, 41½. The working totals are 375½ ells and 332 ells, combined to 707½ ells of white osnaburg at 1s the ell £35 7s 6d Total of the linen cloth section £83 10s 1d Deals: Dram deals, 10 and 11 feet long, 720 in number, at 1s 3d the piece £45 Christiana deals, [...] in number, 400 at 1s 3d the piece [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of 400 at 1s 3d would produce £25, so the recorded £150 suggests a different unit price] £150 Fir timber: Nine pieces of fir timber of 15½ feet each, at 9d the foot £5 16s 3d Balks: Dram balks 12 feet long, 240 in number, at 9d each £9 Yuffors: Yuffors 17 feet long, 2,420 in number, at 9d each £90 15s Total of the deals, balks and yuffors section £300 11s 3d Biscuit: Twenty-five wood-bound casks containing 86 hundredweight 1 quarter of biscuit at 20s the hundredweight £86 2s Fifteen further casks containing 40 hundredweight 3 quarters 22 pounds at 22s the hundredweight £45 10s Total of the biscuit section £131 1s Sheepskins and other items in a cask marked for St Helena: Twenty sheepskins with the wool on them at 2s 6d each £2 10s Sponge heads and rammers: Demi-cannon sponge heads and rammers: 4 pieces at 1s 6d each 3s Culverin: 16 pieces at 1s 4d each 10s Twelve-pound bullet: 10 pieces at 1s 4d each 10s Demi-culverin: 20 pieces at 1s 4d each 13s 4d Subtotal of the sponge heads and rammers £6 6s 4d [the manuscript figure; the arithmetic of the four items would produce £1 16s 4d] Sponge staves: Twenty-four sponge staves 11 feet long [...] Running subtotal carried forward £2,199 16s 6d **Interpretations** The linen cloth in two bales, comprising brown and blue ticking and white osnaburg, identifies the major working linen supply for the island. Ticking was a heavy linen fabric used principally for mattress and pillow covers and for working canvas applications; osnaburg was a coarse linen used for working clothing, sacking and packaging. The substantial supply of about 1,650 ells across the three categories represents working stock for sustained household and trade use, including mattress covers for soldier and planter housing, working clothing for soldiers and labourers, sacks for grain and

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		att 1 - 6 3 - Culvern - 16 p[..] - 1 - 4 10 12 [..] Bullett - 10 p[..] - 1 - 4 10 Dimmy Culvern - 20 p[..] - 1 - 4 13 - 4 6 - 6 - 4 Spunge & Sham Staves 24 Spunge Slishen staves 11 foot long att [..] [..] Borne over 2199 - 16 - 6	provisions, and packaging materials for the company stores. The arrangement reveals the broad working role of linen in the island establishment. The deals supplied in two categories, dram and Christiana, identify the timber supply from the Baltic Sea trade. Dram deals came from Drammen in Norway and were the standard cut of softwood planks for general construction; Christiana deals came from the area around present-day Oslo and were of similar provenance and use. The supply of 1,120 deals in total, plus nine pieces of fir timber and 240 dram balks at 12 feet long, gave the island substantial working timber stock for sustained construction. The arrangement complements the carpentry tools, nails and ironwork of earlier sections as part of the integrated supply for the construction programme on the island. The yuffors at 2,420 pieces of 17 feet long represent a particularly large supply of small Baltic timber. Yuffors were a smaller dimension of softwood timber than deals, used principally for battens, laths, light framing and lighter construction. The very large quantity indicates that the company was supplying timber not just for the immediate building programme but for years of continuing construction, fence work and minor structural needs. The arrangement reveals the company building the working timber stock to a level that would free future shipping from timber supply altogether. The biscuit in forty casks, totalling about 127 hundredweight at twenty and twenty-two shillings the hundredweight, identifies a substantial supply of ship's bread for the island. Biscuit was the dried twice-baked bread that formed the principal provision for sailors and for stored populations on long voyages or in remote settlements. The supply at this scale indicates that the company was providing both for the island population's working consumption and for the victualling of ships calling at the road, with the working stock available for issue against ship-victualling warrants. The arrangement reveals the island's role as a working victualling station for the company fleets. The sponge heads and rammers in four categories of artillery pattern, with demi-cannon, culverin, twelve-pound and demi-culverin sizes, identify the working artillery maintenance supply for the island fortifications. A sponge head was the bag of cloth or skin attached to a staff and used to clean the bore of a cannon between firings; a rammer was the cylindrical head used to push the charge home into the bore. Both were consumables that wore out with use and required regular replacement. The supply across four sizes corresponds to the artillery establishment of the island, with the largest demi-cannon and graduated smaller sizes covering the full range of guns mounted on the fortifications. The arrangement reveals the working artillery infrastructure of the island, with the consumables of cannon use supplied alongside the guns themselves. The twenty sheepskins with the wool on them, at two shillings and sixpence each, identify a small but specific supply distinct from the larger leather and clothing categories. Sheepskins with the wool retained served principally as drum-skin replacements, as parchment material before further preparation, or as warm linings for clothing and bedding. The supply of twenty skins in a cask marked specifically for St Helena indicates a particular purpose that the company had identified at the London end, although the working application is not specified in the manuscript. The arrangement reveals the level of specific provision made for the island's known requirements. **Speculations** The very large supply of small Baltic timber in 2,420 yuffors indicates that the company was preparing for sustained light construction on the island over an

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			extended period. The quantity is excessive for any single building project and suggests instead a strategic provision for the working construction needs of the planter establishment as it expanded under the by-laws of 20 March 1680. The yuffors would have served for battens in roofing, laths for walls, light framing for outbuildings and fencing for plantation boundaries, all of which would be needed in growing quantity as new planter holdings were established. The arrangement reveals the supply chain anticipating the construction needs of the demographic and land policies pressed in the spring 1680 cluster. The supply of artillery consumables across four categories of gun, with demi-cannon, culverin, twelve-pound bullet and demi-culverin patterns, indicates that the island fortifications mounted guns across all these calibres in working condition. The earlier handover material recorded the establishment of fortifications in successive despatches but had not detailed the artillery establishment by calibre. The sponge head and rammer supply gives a working picture of the artillery itself, with multiple calibres of heavy ordnance maintained for the defence of the road. The arrangement reveals the working depth of the military infrastructure on the island, which extends from the planter militia at one end to substantial fixed artillery at the other. The 127 hundredweight of biscuit supplied in spring 1680 represents a major provisioning commitment. The quantity could not have been intended solely for the island population, which would have consumed substantially less than this over a reasonable supply period. The likely destination was the supply of company ships calling at the road on their long voyages between England and the Indian Ocean stations, with biscuit issued against victualling warrants to ships as they paused for refreshment. The arrangement reveals the island's working role as a major victualling station within the company's wider trading network, with the biscuit supply serving the fleets rather than the resident establishment alone. The detailed measurement of the linen ticking and osnaburg, with each piece in each bale measured to the half-ell, indicates the precision of the working accounting for these consignments. The arrangement allowed the receiving side at the island to verify each piece against the master invoice and to record working stock at the unit of trade. The precision was probably necessary because linen cloth was both valuable and subject to short measure or quality complaints at the receiving end, with detailed measurement giving the island Council the documentary basis to resolve any subsequent dispute. The arrangement reveals the working role of documentary precision in protecting the supply chain against contested measure. The discrepancy in the sponge head and rammer subtotal, where the recorded £6 6s 4d does not match the arithmetic of the four line items totalling £1 16s 4d, continues the pattern of inconsistency in the manuscript. The discrepancy in this case is particularly large in proportional terms, with the recorded subtotal nearly four times the apparent line item sum. The pattern suggests either that the line items represent unit prices for substantially larger quantities than stated, or that additional items in the section are not recoverable from the damaged text, or that the recorded subtotal carries forward from a separate calculation not preserved in the recovered manuscript. The recurrent appearance of such discrepancies confirms the practical limits of confident reconstruction from the available text.
141	152	Brought over 2199 - 6 - 6 Bookes Printed Bookes Paper Bookes &c[a] in Case N[o] 90 viz[t]	The invoice continued with printed books, paper and stationery, axletrees and trucks for gun carriages. The running subtotal brought forward £2,199 6s 6d

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Primmers 3 doz[en] Primmers - at 3 - 6 [..] doz 10 - 6 Hornbooks 2 doz[en] Hornbookes guilt - 1 - [..] y[..] doz 3 - 11 [..] y[..] doz 1 - 2 Psalters 2 doz[en] Psalters 3 - 10 Bibles 1 doz[en] Bibles in 8[..] 17 Testam[ents] 1 doz[en] Testam[ents] 10 - 6 Practice of Piety 6 Practice of Pietys 1 - 6 Catechismes 1 doz[en] Assembleds Catechismes 11 - 6 Practice of Pietys 11 2 doz[en] of Hornbookes - att 11 - y[..] doz 1 - 10 2 doz[en] Primmers att - 3 [..] y[..] doz 6 - 1 doz[en] Psalters - att 12 [..] doz 12 1 doz[en] Bibles 8[..] 2 - 4 1 doz[en] Greyes Warfare 12 2 doz[en] Testam[ents] - at 15 [..] y[..] doz 1 - 10 1 doz[en] Catechismes - at 1 - 6 [..] y[..] doz 1 - 6 12 - 12 - 10 N[o] 90 Paper Paper &c in Ditto Case N[o] 90 as followeth/ 1 Paper Booke C[on]t[ainin]g 4 q[uire] bound in Vell and Ruled 15 1 Ditto 4 q[uire] Demy ruled 8 1 Ledger 4 q[uire] Demy ruled 8 For binding them in Vell, Pastboard & R[..] bound 9 2 Bookes each 3 q[uire] Demy 9 Binding Ditto in Calved Leather 8 1 Paper Booke 4 q[uire] Demy 6 Ditto bound in Calves Leather 4 6 Reames of paper Ordinary att 9 [..] y[..] R[eam] 2 - 14 1 Ditto Demy 1 - 5 - 1 Ditto Demy - 1 - 5 [..] 1 - 5 - Quills 1500 Quills 12 - 6 Pencills 1 dozen of best Pencills 1 - 6 Penknives 3 Penknives 3 - Standdish glasse 6 Glass Standdishes 2 - 3 Ruler 4 Rulers best - at 9 each 3 - Cake Ink 2 doz[en] Cake Ink - at 10 [..] [..] 2 - 10 Wax 2 [..] Sealing Wax - att 4 [..] [..] 8 10 - 5 - 3	Printed books, paper books and other items in case number 90: Primers: three dozen primers at 3s 6d the dozen 10s 6d Hornbooks: two dozen gilt hornbooks at 18d the dozen [the manuscript records the price unclearly] 3s Further hornbooks at 11s the dozen 1s 2d Psalters: two dozen psalters 3s 10d Bibles: one dozen Bibles in octavo 17s Testaments: one dozen testaments 10s 6d Practice of Piety: six copies 1s 6d Catechisms: one dozen of the Assembly's catechism 11s Six further copies of Practice of Piety 11s Two dozen hornbooks at 11s the dozen £1 10s Two dozen primers at 3s the dozen 6s One dozen psalters at 12s the dozen 12s One dozen Bibles in octavo £2 4s One dozen of Grey's Warfare 12s Two dozen testaments at 15s the dozen £1 10s One dozen catechisms at 1s 6d the dozen 1s 6d Total of the printed books £12 12s 10d Paper and stationery in the same case, number 90: One paper book containing 4 quires, bound in vellum and ruled 15s One further paper book of 4 quires, demy size, ruled 8s One ledger of 4 quires, demy size, ruled 8s For binding them in vellum, pasteboard and r[...] bound 9s Two books each of 3 quires, demy size 9s Binding the same in calved leather 8s One paper book of 4 quires, demy size 6s The same bound in calves' leather 4s Six reams of ordinary paper at 9s the ream £2 14s One ream of demy paper £1 5s One further ream of demy paper at 25s £1 5s Quills: 1,500 quills 12s 6d Pencils: one dozen of best pencils 1s 6d Penknives: three penknives 3s Standish glasses: six glass standishes 2s 3d Rulers: four best rulers at 9d each 3s Cake ink: two dozen cake ink at 10d each 2s 10s Wax: two pounds of sealing wax at 4s the pound 8s Total of the paper and stationery £10 5s 3d Axletrees of ash for gun carriages, 3½ feet long, 6 pieces at 6s 2d 6d each [pricing unclear] £7 10s Trucks for gun carriages, 40 wheels each of 20 inches diameter, totalling 400 inches at 3d the inch [the recorded total is £5, which would correspond to 400 inches at 3d, although that would arithmetically produce £5] £5 Further trucks for gun carriages, each containing 24 inches diameter, totalling 40 inches at 9d the inch £3 Running subtotal carried forward £2,237 14s 7d **Interpretations** The printed books section identifies a substantial religious and educational supply for the island. Primers were elementary teaching books for reading instruction; hornbooks were single-sheet teaching aids mounted on wooden paddles and covered with transparent horn for protection; psalters were the metrical psalm books for worship; Bibles in octavo were the standard portable scripture; testaments were copies of the New Testament; the Practice of Piety was Lewis Bayly's devotional manual, widely used as the standard English devotional work of the period; the Assembly's catechism was the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, the principal teaching text of English Reformed religion. The arrangement reveals the company supplying both the basic literacy materials and the working religious texts required to support the ministerial duties of preaching, catechising and teaching the children of inhabitants and slaves established in the

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		Axeltrees Axeltrees of Ash for Carriages 3 1/2 foot long 6 [..] - 6 - 2 - 6 each [..] 7 - 10 - Trucks for Carriages Trucks for Carriages 40 each 20 inches Diameter is 400 inches - att 3 [..] y[..] Inch 5 - Ditto for Carriages to each C[on]t[ainin]g 24 inches Diameter is in 40 Inches att 9 [..] y[..] Inch 3 Borne over 2237 - 14 - 7	founding instructions and reaffirmed in successive despatches. The supply of Grey's Warfare among the printed books identifies a more specialised work, probably John Gray's The Spiritual Warfare, a devotional treatise on the Christian struggle against sin. The choice to include this work alongside the basic teaching and worship books reveals that the company expected the chaplain to engage with serious religious literature beyond catechism and scripture. The arrangement matches the engagement of Joseph Church as chaplain under the despatch of 24 March 1680 and confirms the company's investment in the religious establishment as a working component of the island administration. The paper and stationery supply, with multiple bound paper books, ledgers and substantial supplies of paper, quills, pencils, penknives, ink, sealing wax and ruling equipment, identifies the working office supply for the island administration. The provision of bound books in vellum, pasteboard and calves' leather indicates that the company was supplying purpose-bound volumes for the working register, the accounts and the ledgers maintained by the Council. The 1,500 quills supplied in this consignment, added to the 1,000 quills already in stock per the inventory of 25 March 1680, gave the island a working supply for sustained documentary activity. The arrangement reveals the documentary infrastructure of the island maintained at a level matched to the working volume of correspondence and accounting required by the company's documentary regime. The axletrees and trucks for gun carriages identify the supply of working spare parts for the artillery establishment of the island. An axletree was the wooden cross-piece on which the wheels of a gun carriage turned; trucks were the small heavy wheels of the gun carriages themselves. The supply of six axletrees and forty trucks indicates that the company was providing for the working maintenance of multiple gun carriages, with spare parts available for replacement as the original components wore out under the working stress of firing and repositioning. The arrangement complements the sponge heads and rammers of the earlier section as part of the integrated artillery maintenance supply, and reveals the depth of the company's commitment to maintaining the working artillery establishment on the island. The use of ash for the axletrees identifies a particular timber choice, since ash was the preferred wood for working components of carriages and tools because of its combination of strength, shock resistance and ability to take heavy use without splintering. The supply of dimensioned ash axletrees at 3½ feet long shows the company providing semi-finished components rather than raw timber, allowing the island carpenters to fit them directly to existing or replacement carriages without the labour of selecting and dimensioning the wood locally. The arrangement reveals the working economy of the supply chain, with semi-finished components supplied where their preparation could be efficiently done in London. The supply of 1,500 quills, six reams of paper, two reams of demy paper, two dozen cakes of ink and substantial sealing wax indicates that the company expected the island administration to consume office supplies at a level requiring regular replenishment. The earlier inventory had recorded 1,000 quills, and the addition of 1,500 quills in this consignment increased the working stock to 2,500. The arrangement matches the increasing documentary burden on the Council under the by-laws of 20 March 1680, which required registration of all land transactions, biennial general courts of planters, and continuing duplicates of records sent to London. The supply of office consumables at

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			this scale supports the working operation of the new documentary regime. **Speculations** The supply of a particularly large stock of religious and educational books, with multiple dozens of primers, hornbooks, psalters, Bibles, testaments and catechisms, indicates that the company was equipping the chaplain Joseph Church for an active teaching ministry on the island. The Books would have been issued to the children of the planters for their education in reading, religion and basic learning, with separate provision for the soldiers and the slaves who were within the manumission pathway and required to learn Christianity for their baptism. The arrangement reveals the working scope of the chaplain's educational role, with material support supplied at a scale matched to a population of children and adults requiring continuing religious instruction. The Practice of Piety was the most widely circulated devotional work in seventeenth-century England, and its supply in twelve copies in this consignment indicates that the company expected planter households to maintain their own copies for family devotion. The arrangement reveals the religious culture of the island as extending beyond the formal worship at the chapel to private devotion in the planter homes, with the company supplying the standard English devotional literature to support that practice. The pattern matches the wider seventeenth-century pattern of household religion in English communities and confirms that the company's religious policy was directed at the household as well as the public level. The supply of axletrees and trucks at the scale of forty wheels indicates that the company was preparing for the working maintenance of approximately ten gun carriages, allowing for one full set of replacement components per carriage. The number is consistent with the multiple calibres of artillery indicated by the sponge head and rammer supply of the earlier section, and reveals a working artillery establishment of about ten guns mounted on travelling or platform carriages requiring regular wheel and axletree maintenance. The arrangement reveals the practical scale of the island fortifications, with substantial fixed artillery requiring sustained maintenance supply from England. The detailed bookbinding entries for the paper books and ledgers, with separate prices for vellum binding, pasteboard binding and calves' leather binding, indicate that the company invested significant attention in the durability of the working documentary infrastructure. Bound books were costly compared to loose paper, but they protected the working records of the island against loss, damage and disorder. The choice to supply purpose-bound volumes rather than to leave the binding to the island shows the company recognising the importance of durable documentary infrastructure in a remote and humid environment where loose papers would have rapidly deteriorated. The arrangement reveals the practical reasoning behind the documentary discipline pressed in the despatches, with the working materials supplied to support the working practice. The discrepancy between the recorded subtotal at the head of this section of £2,199 6s 6d and the subtotal at the foot of the previous section of £2,199 16s 6d indicates a small inconsistency of 10s in the running totals. The pattern of small arithmetical discrepancies between sections continues across the manuscript and confirms the working limits of the documentary record. The recurrent appearance of such inconsistencies suggests that the working clerks may have made minor adjustments between sections that are not preserved in the recovered text, with the running total drifting slightly across the document. The arrangement reveals

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			the practical limits of confident reconstruction from the manuscript.
142	153	Brou[gh]t over 2237 - 14 - 7 New Cabletts New Cabletts each c[on]t[ainin]g 120 Fathomes long as followes viz[t] 6 - 1 - 2 - 5 inches - 7 - 2 - 3 Ditto - 2 - 2 - 15 2 - 2 - 15 att 30 [..] [..] 14 - 9 - Wheele and Hand Barrowes 6 Wheele Barrows att - 6 [..] y[..] p[..] 1 - 16 6 Hand Barrows att - 5 [..] y[..] p[..] 10 3 - 6 - Flint stones Flint Stones Loose in y[e] Shipp 1 Tonn 10 - Silver Silver One Chest N[o] SH c[on]t[ainin]g as followeth viz[t] N[o] 241 c[on]t[ainin]g 500 [..] mar hat [..] 433 - 15 242 - 434 243 - 434 [SH] 244 - 425 245 - 600 dollars - 526 - 5 246 - 519 - 10 3200 [..] at 5 [..] y[..] p[..] 800 Gunpowder Gunpowder 20 Barrolls each marked w[i]th [..] [..] [..] [..] att - 3 - 10 [..] y[..] Barroll 70 - Garden Seeds & Beanes Garden Seeds & Beanes 1/2 a Bushell in One Box N[o] 60 viz[t] Cabbage Seed 2 Best Large Cabbage Seeds 5 - Turnip 4 Turnip Seeds 3 - 6 Colliflower 3 [..] best kind Colliflowr[s] 10 - Persnip 1 [..] Parsnipp Seeds 1 - 6 Carrot 2 Carrott Seeds 3 - 6 Lettice 1 [..] Lettice Seed 5 Spinage N[o] 60 1 [..] Spinage Seed 2 - Onyon 2 [..] best Onyon Seed 7 Leeks 1 [..] Leeks Seeds 2 - 6 Sweet Marjoram 4 oz[s] Sweet Marjoram Seed 2 - Thyme 4 oz[s] Thyme Seed 2 - Winter Savory 4 oz[s] Winter Savory 1 - 6 Rosemary 4 oz[s] Rosemary Seed 1 - Sorrell 8 oz[s] of Sorrell 1 - Garden Beanes 1/2 Bushell of Garden Beanes 3 - 2 - 16 Ashen Oares Ashen Oares 28 as followeth viz[t] 10 each 15 foot long - is - 150 foot 10 - 16 - 160 7 - 17 - 119 1 - 18 - 18 447 foot at 7 [..] 6 - 7 - 9 Borne over 3135 - 18 - 7	The invoice continued with new cables, wheel and hand barrows, flint stones, silver, gunpowder, garden seeds, beans and ashen oars. The running subtotal brought forward £2,237 14s 7d New cables, each 120 fathoms long: Six cables of 1 [hundredweight] 2 [quarters] 5 inches, totalling 7 [...] Two further cables of 3 [hundredweight], totalling 2 [hundredweight] 2 [quarters] 15 [pounds] Net weight 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 15 pounds at 30s [the hundredweight?] £14 9s Wheel and hand barrows: Six wheelbarrows at 6s each £1 16s Six hand barrows at 5s each £1 10s Subtotal of the barrows £3 6s Flint stones loose in the ship: 1 ton £10 Silver in one chest, item SH: Item 241: containing 500 [...], total 433 [ounces?] 15 [pennyweights?] Item 242: 434 Item 243: 434 Item 244: 425 Item 245: 600 dollars, totalling 526 5 Item 246: 519 10 Total 3,200 [ounces] at 5s [the ounce] £800 Gunpowder: twenty barrels, each marked, at 3s 10d [the pound] per barrel [pricing unit unclear] £70 Garden seeds and beans, half a bushel in one box, item 60: Cabbage seed: two [...] of the best large cabbage seed 5s Turnip: four [...] of turnip seed 3s 6d Cauliflower: three [...] of the best cauliflower 10s Parsnip: one [...] of parsnip seed 1s 6d Carrot: two [...] of carrot seed 3s 6d Lettuce: one [...] of lettuce seed 5d Spinach: one [...] of spinach seed 2s Onion: two [...] of the best onion seed 7s Leeks: one [...] of leek seed 2s 6d Sweet marjoram: four ounces of sweet marjoram seed 2s Thyme: four ounces of thyme seed 2s Winter savory: four ounces of winter savory 1s 6d Rosemary: four ounces of rosemary seed 1s Sorrel: eight ounces of sorrel 1s Garden beans: half a bushel of garden beans 3s Total of the garden seeds and beans £2 16s Ashen oars, twenty-eight in total: Ten oars of 15 feet long, totalling 150 feet Ten further oars of 16 feet long, totalling 160 feet Seven further oars of 17 feet long, totalling 119 feet One further oar of 18 feet long, totalling 18 feet Total 447 feet at 7d the foot [the recorded subtotal is £6 7s 9d, which corresponds to 447 feet calculated at the rate per inch rather than per foot] £6 7s 9d Running subtotal carried forward £3,135 18s 7d **Interpretations** The silver consignment in chest SH, with parcels recorded under items 241 to 246 and a total of 3,200 ounces at five shillings the ounce for a value of £800, identifies a substantial bullion shipment to the island. The mention of 600 dollars within item 245 indicates that part of the consignment consisted of foreign silver coins, probably Spanish dollars or rixdollars used internationally as a working trade currency. The conversion to ounces at five shillings each gives a working sterling valuation for both the coin and the bar silver in the chest. The arrangement reveals the company supplying the working monetary base for the island in bullion form, which would have been issued

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			for soldier pay and other working payments under the established arrangements pressed in the despatches. The twenty barrels of gunpowder at £70 total identify the principal military consumable supplied in the consignment. Gunpowder was the indispensable consumable of both the artillery and the small arms establishment, and the supply of twenty barrels represents a significant working stock for sustained military activity. The arrangement complements the shot moulds, cartridge paper, ramming sticks, sponge heads, rammers, axletrees and carriage trucks of earlier sections as the propellant element of the integrated military supply. The earlier despatch of 20 February 1678 had imposed a three-gun salute rule to conserve powder, with no firing at healths or other needless occasions and an annual return of powder expended required; the supply of twenty barrels in this consignment continues the careful management of powder stocks evident in the company's policy. The garden seeds in fifteen separate categories, with cabbage, turnip, cauliflower, parsnip, carrot, lettuce, spinach, onion, leek, marjoram, thyme, winter savory, rosemary, sorrel and beans, identify the supply for both the company plantation and the planter holdings. The supply across both vegetables and herbs, in varying quantities matched to the working scale of consumption, reveals a planned horticultural establishment rather than an opportunistic supply. The arrangement matches the productive expectations of the 24 March 1680 despatch for the plantation to bear the cost of the public table without bought victuals, with garden produce as a major component of that supply. The seed supply provided the working material to make the productive policy operative on the ground. The new cables, each 120 fathoms long, identify substantial maritime equipment for ships using the road. A cable at 120 fathoms was 720 feet long and provided the standard mooring length for a ship of significant size. The supply of multiple cables in the consignment matches the working role of the island as a victualling and refitting station for company ships, where mooring equipment lost or damaged in heavy weather could be replenished from the stores. The arrangement complements the pitch, rosin, sail cloth and sail needles of earlier sections as part of the integrated ship-keeping supply maintained at the island. The wheelbarrows and hand barrows at six of each identify the working ground-handling equipment for moving material around the construction sites, the company plantation and the stores yard. The earlier inventory of stores on 25 March 1680 had recorded ten wheelbarrows on hand, and the addition of six more in this consignment gave the island a working stock of sixteen wheelbarrows for sustained construction and supply work. The hand barrows, carried by two persons, served for heavier loads or for movement over uneven ground where wheels could not pass. The arrangement reveals the working transport infrastructure of the island as substantially equipped for the working scale of the establishment. The ashen oars in four lengths from 15 to 18 feet, totalling 28 oars in 447 feet of timber, identify the working propulsion equipment for the boats and yawls of the island. The graduated lengths matched the different vessel sizes recorded earlier in the consignment, with the longest oars for the larger boat and the shorter oars for the yawl and smaller vessels. The choice of ash for the oars matches the choice of ash for the gun carriage axletrees and confirms the company's working knowledge of the appropriate timber for each application. The arrangement reveals the working maritime supply as carefully calibrated to the specific equipment of the island establishment. **Speculations**

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			The supply of £800 in silver bullion at 3,200 ounces represents a major component of the working monetary base of the island. The amount is sufficient to support soldier pay for several years at the standard rates established in earlier despatches, even allowing for the partial payment in money and goods set in the despatch of 24 March 1680. The arrangement suggests that the company was supplying the working currency for an extended period to free future shipping from the need to carry substantial bullion, which was both heavy and a high-risk cargo on the long voyage. The consolidation of monetary supply into a single substantial consignment matches the broader pattern of large infrequent shipments evident across the consignment. The very detailed specification of garden seeds across fifteen categories, with quantities calibrated to each species and including specialist herbs alongside staple vegetables, indicates that the company was supplying the working horticultural needs of the island with knowledge of the local growing conditions. The supply of warm-climate herbs such as marjoram, thyme and rosemary alongside cool-climate vegetables such as cabbage, turnip and cauliflower suggests that the island's moderate climate could support both Mediterranean and northern European garden plants, with the seed supply enabling the development of a diversified horticultural establishment. The arrangement reveals the practical knowledge of the island conditions informing the procurement decisions at the London end. The supply of garden beans by the half-bushel, in contrast to the other seeds supplied by ounce or by [...], indicates that beans were being supplied in working agricultural quantities for field cultivation rather than for garden use alone. The arrangement matches the wider European agricultural pattern in which beans were grown both as a field crop for human food and animal fodder and as a garden vegetable. The supply at the half-bushel scale reveals the company's expectation that beans would be grown as a substantial component of the working agriculture of the island, supporting both the planter household economy and the company plantation's productive role. The recording of the silver consignment under multiple item numbers, with separate parcels weighed individually, indicates the working accounting procedure for bullion. Each parcel was probably bagged and weighed separately at the London end, with the receiving Council on the island required to verify the contents on arrival against the master invoice. The arrangement reveals the documentary discipline maintained for the highest-value items in the consignment, with detailed weight recording supporting the working security of the bullion shipment. The pattern matches the broader documentary controls pressed across the despatches and confirms the working integration of accounting precision with the security of valuable consignments. The discrepancy between the recorded subtotal at the head of this section, £2,237 14s 7d, and the subtotal at the foot of the previous section, also £2,237 14s 7d, indicates that the running totals are now consistent across this transition. The earlier inconsistency of 10s between sections has either been resolved or has not propagated through to this point. The pattern reveals the working limits of the documentary record but also the working capacity of the company's clerks to maintain consistency across the major divisions of the consignment.
143	154	Borne over 3135 - 18 - 7 Anchor & Grapling A small Anchor with an Iron stock w[ei]g[ht] small Graplin both wa[..] [..] 17 - att [..] 1 - 12 - 6	The invoice closed with a small anchor and grapnel, further ashen oars, the grand total and the receipts. The running subtotal brought forward £3,135 18s 7d

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		Ashen Oares Ashen Oares with y[e] Boat C[on]t[ainin]g each 15 foot at 30 at 4 [..] 10 - Sum Totall of this Cargo (w[hi]ch God prosp[er]) is £3138 - 1 - In the absence of old[?] Francis Boyer accom[pt] [Hen[ry] Leventhorpe Altham] Vera Copia exa[mina]t p[er] me [...] Blackmore Jun[ior] S[t] Helena The Copy of the Receipt vpon the Bill of Lading recd. by the Governor and Councell of the said Island out of the Shipp Society Cap[tain] Wm Thompson Com[m]and[er] the Contents of the[m] in this written Bill of Lading c[on]t[ainin]g the perticulers following. One Caske of Bullion, Stores & Stones - One quarter Caske of Beare, one quarter Cask of [Wheads?] to fill them vp, supposed to be Beake, but Wee have allso recd. One Caske of to fill yp the Caske w[oul]d not mentioned in this Bill or Invoice but finding the Hono[ble] [Co[mpany]s] mark thereon It was left with us. Wittness our hands this fifth [were on shoare] Day of August Anno Dni 1680/ R[obert] Blackmore Copy of a Rec[eip]t given to Cap[tain] Thompson Jo[seph] Johnson Robert Swallow John Greenwood John Coalston Island S[t] Hellena Reced this Sixth Day of Aug[ust] 1680 of y[e] Gov[ernor] & Councell of y[e] said Island into y[e] Stores of y[e] Hono[ble] Comp[any] of East India M[er]chants in London (on this their Island) the Contents of y[e] Invoice of Bullion, Stores, & Provision as they were receivd on shoare by y[e] said Govern[or] & Councell, but of y[e] Shipp Society, Cap[t] Wm Thompson Com[mander]; w[hose] Originall Invoice remaynes in their Custodie, the true Coppie whereof is contayned in y[e] Sheet foregoeing soll[i]c[ited]: Likewise reced one Caske of Oatemeale not menc[i]oned in y[e] said Invoice but haveing y[e] said honoble Com[pany] [..] Mark thereon it was reced into the s[ai]d Stores, Witness my hand the day and years above written. Anth[ony] Beale	A small anchor with an iron stock and a small grapnel, both weighing 17 [...], at the rate given £1 12s 6d Ashen oars with the boat, each 15 feet long, 30 oars at 4s each £10 Sum total of this cargo, which God prosper £3,138 1s In the absence of Francis Boyer, accomptant, certified by Henry Leventhorpe Altham. Certified as a true copy by [...] Blackmore Junior. The receipt at St Helena on the bill of lading was given by the Governor and Council of the island for goods received from the *Society*, Captain William Thompson commander. The bill of lading covered one cask of bullion, stores and stones, one quarter cask of beer, one quarter cask of [...] to fill them up, supposed to be beer. The Council also received one cask of [...] to fill up the cask, not mentioned in the bill or invoice, but finding the company's mark on it, the Council took it into store. Signed on shore at St Helena on 5 August 1680 by Robert Blackmore. The copy of the receipt given to Captain Thompson was signed by Joshua Johnson, Robert Swallow, John Greentree and John Coalston. On 6 August 1680, the Governor and Council of the island received into the company's stores at St Helena the contents of the invoice of bullion, stores and provisions as they were received on shore from the *Society*, Captain William Thompson commander. The original invoice remained in their custody, with a true copy contained in the preceding sheet. The Council also received one cask of oatmeal not mentioned in the invoice but bearing the company's mark, which was taken into the stores. Witnessed by Anthony Beale. **Interpretations** The sum total of the cargo at £3,138 1s confirms the consignment value previously recorded in the earlier handover material for the *Society* despatch of 24 March 1680. The match of the running total with the established figure shows that the working invoice has been substantially reconstructed despite the manuscript damage and the arithmetical inconsistencies between sections. The arrangement reveals the *Society* consignment as the major spring 1680 supply to the island, with the invoice giving the detailed composition behind the headline cargo value already known from the earlier reference material. The certification by Henry Leventhorpe Altham in the absence of Francis Boyer continues the working pattern of the company's authentication procedures, where the principal accomptant was supported by deputies who could certify documents when the principal was unavailable. The handover material identifies Francis Boyer as the Accomptant General who had certified earlier invoices including the *Johanna* invoice of 20 March 1678 and the *Caesar* invoice of 13 May 1679; Altham acted in his place on this occasion. The arrangement reveals the working continuity of the accounting hierarchy at the East India House across multiple consignments. The certification by Blackmore Junior repeats the verifying clerk function performed across the spring 1680 cluster, including the by-laws of 20 March 1680 and the despatch of 14 April 1680. The pattern shows the same clerk handling multiple instruments in the same supply cycle, which fits the working organisation of the documentary infrastructure for the spring 1680 cluster. The receipts at the island, signed by Robert Blackmore as Governor on 5 August 1680 and by Anthony Beale as Husband and Storekeeper on 6 August 1680, identify the working chain of receipt for the consignment. The Governor first signed the bill of lading receipt on 5 August 1680 to acknowledge the goods received on shore from the ship, with the

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			Council members Joshua Johnson, Robert Swallow, John Greentree and John Coalston signing the copy given to Captain Thompson. Beale then signed the stores receipt on 6 August 1680 to acknowledge the goods received into the company's stores on the island. The arrangement reveals the working two-stage receipt procedure, with the Governor and Council certifying the goods as landed and Beale certifying them as taken into stores. The Council membership signing the receipt on 5 August 1680 identifies Joshua Johnson, Robert Swallow, John Greentree and John Coalston as serving members on that date. The earlier handover material had recorded Johnson as engaged in London at forty shillings per month with a planter package by the despatch of 20 February 1678; Swallow as a continuing Council member from the original 1673 founding; Greentree as a Council member from the commission of 20 February 1678; and Coalston as the same John Coalston of 1673 named in the commission of 20 February 1678 as one of the Council. The continuity of these members through to August 1680 reveals the stable Council leadership that had been preserved across the change of Governor from Field to Blackmore. The unexpected casks not mentioned in the invoice, including one cask of beer used to fill up the others and one cask of oatmeal received separately, identify the practical reality of consignment receipts at the working level. The Council took the additional casks into stores on the basis of the company mark, accepting that the supply might have been added in London after the invoice was finalised or that minor items might not always be itemised in detail. The arrangement reveals the working flexibility of the receipt procedure, with the Council acting on practical evidence of company ownership rather than insisting on documentary exact correspondence. The presence of stones included in the cask of bullion, stores and stones identifies an unusual mixed parcel. The stones probably refer to grindstones or whetstones supplied for trade tool sharpening, although the inclusion in a cask also containing bullion is unusual. The arrangement may reflect either deliberate consignment loading with heavy items used as ballast around the bullion, or a packing convenience at the London end where small heavy items were combined into a single cask for shipment. **Speculations** The receipt of the consignment on 5 and 6 August 1680, approximately four and a half months after the despatch dated 24 March 1680, indicates the working voyage time of the *Society* from London to St Helena under Captain William Thompson. The voyage of about 135 days fits the established pattern of the company's homeward and outward voyages on the Atlantic route, with the *Society* presumably making her direct passage from England without extended stops. The arrangement reveals the working timing of the supply chain, with the spring 1680 cluster reaching the island during the late summer. The two-stage receipt procedure, with the Governor and Council signing for landing and Beale signing for stores receipt the following day, indicates that the consignment was substantial enough to require a full day of working unloading and accounting before the goods could be formally entered into stores. The arrangement matches the scale of the consignment at £3,138 1s and reveals the working logistics of receiving a major supply at the island, with the Governor's acknowledgement on shore preceding Beale's certification of the goods as actually stored. The unexpected casks of beer and oatmeal received outside the invoice indicate that the company's working supply procedures at the London end were not entirely

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			consistent with the formal documentation. The presence of items bearing the company's mark but not on the invoice suggests either last-minute additions to the consignment that were not recorded in the master document, or working filler material added to make up consignments where individual casks were not full. The arrangement reveals the practical limits of documentary control at the supply origin, with the receiving side at the island required to exercise judgment on items not formally itemised. The retention of the original invoice by the Council on the island, with a true copy contained in the preceding sheet, identifies the working documentary procedure for the supply chain. The original was kept on the island as the working authority for the receipt and subsequent issue of the goods, while the certified copy served the reference and audit purposes of the East India House. The arrangement reveals the working dual-record system, with the operational document held at the point of use and the certified copy retained at the centre for verification. The combination of the by-laws of 20 March 1680, the despatch of 24 March 1680, the despatch of 14 April 1680, the *Society* invoice of 26 March 1680, the inventory of stores remaining on 25 March 1680, and the receipts at the island on 5 and 6 August 1680, reveals the spring 1680 cluster as a coordinated administrative package. The legal framework of the by-laws, the operational instructions of the despatches, the detailed material consignment of the invoice, the working inventory of the existing stores and the receipt documentation together formed a complete documentary record of a major supply event in the working operation of the island establishment. The arrangement reveals the working maturity of the company's administrative system by the spring of 1680, with multiple instruments coordinated to support a single major supply cycle.
144	155	Blank page	
145	156	Wo[rshipfull] S[i]r It haueing pleased y[e] Divine p[ro]vidence to bless w[i]th a Safe and Seasonable p[assa]ge the hono[ble] Comp[anie]s this yeares Shipping to Zerratto [..] y[e] Williamson hereafter and Susanna being now fully Laden for England, we have the last yeare sent you upon them the like quantity of Rice and Padey as p[er] Invoice and Bill of Lading enclosed, and that wee may not be further trouble- some to you Send Coppy of our last yeares re[..] for your better govern[men]t as to the Supplying them with men from your Island, if they should stand in any need thereof, wherein we Intreate your Compleance and Remaine Yo[u]r very Loveing freinds Loyally Marine Junij y[e] 24 1680/81 Tho: Rolt Jar Chamberlan George Bowcher	The Surat Council wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena from Swally Marine on 24 June 1680. They opened by acknowledging that divine providence had blessed the company's shipping for the year with a safe and seasonable passage to Surat. The *Williamson* had since departed for England, and the *Susanna* was now fully laden for England. The Council had sent the same quantity of rice and paddy as in the previous year, as set out in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. To avoid further trouble to the Council at St Helena, they enclosed a copy of the previous year's request for the better guidance of the Council in supplying the ships with men from the island, should the ships require additional crew. The Surat Council asked for the St Helena Council's compliance and signed as loving friends. Signed at Swally Marine on 24 June 1680 by Thomas Rolt, James Chamberlain and George Bowcher. **Interpretations** The despatch of 24 June 1680 falls within the established annual rhythm of Surat Council correspondence with St Helena, with two principal contacts each year. The January despatch carried the full report on the previous year's business and the accounts; the June despatch served the more limited purpose of advising the St Helena Council of the homeward fleet's composition and supply needs as the ships departed Swally Marine for the long voyage to England via St Helena. The phrase divine providence and safe and seasonable passage at the opening of the letter functions as the standard religious formula for acknowledging the successful arrival of the company's ships at Surat from England. Such formulas opened most Surat despatches and reflected the seventeenth-century religious

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			framework within which the working commercial activity of the company was understood. The convention overlaid the practical commercial reporting, with the safe arrival of the ships treated as both a working fact and a providential blessing. The seamen supply clause referred to in the letter, with the previous year's request enclosed for the Council's guidance, identifies the charter party arrangement under which the Governor of St Helena was to supply replacement crew where possible to homeward ships short of complement, with the cost borne by the ship's owners under the charter parties. The June 1680 despatch shows the working operation of this arrangement in practice, with the Surat Council communicating directly with St Helena about the homeward ships' potential need for men. The signatories at the close identify the working composition of the Surat Council in June 1680. Thomas Rolt continued as President. James Chamberlain joined Rolt and George Bowcher in signing the letter. The continuity of the Council membership across the spring and summer of 1680 reveals the stable administration at Swally Marine through the working year. **Speculations** The decision to enclose a copy of the previous year's request for seamen supply, rather than to write a fresh request, indicates that the Surat Council was treating the arrangement as a continuing standing matter rather than as a fresh annual request. The arrangement reveals the working maturity of the seamen supply system, with the same procedural request rolled forward from year to year as the homeward fleet's standing need. The choice to send a copy rather than to draft a new letter also saved the time of the Surat Council and confirmed to the St Helena Council that the arrangement was unchanged from the previous year, providing continuity in the working understanding between the two stations. The brevity of the June 1680 letter, in contrast to the substantial despatches of January in earlier years, indicates that this was a working operational communication rather than a comprehensive update from Surat. The longer despatches at the start of each year carried the full report on the previous year's business, the accounts and the policy directions; the June despatch served the more limited purpose of advising the St Helena Council of the homeward fleet's composition and supply needs. The arrangement reveals the working differentiation of the Surat Council's correspondence to St Helena, with substantive and procedural letters serving different functions in the annual cycle. The reference to the *Susanna* being fully laden for England without further description suggests that the ship was new to the homeward route from Surat in 1680, joining the continuing rotation of vessels in the company's Indian Ocean service. The arrangement reveals the working scale of the company's shipping operation, with new vessels added to the fleet to meet the continuing demand for homeward cargo capacity from Surat to England via St Helena. The dating convention of June y 24 1680/81 in the closing of the letter, with the dual year notation, is unusual for a June date and may reflect a copying convention or an attempt at clarity for the international correspondence between Surat and St Helena. The June date falls in the same legal year either way under English old-style dating, since the legal year had begun on 25 March 1680, so the dual notation is unusual and may indicate later transcription practice rather than original intent. The arrangement reveals the working complexity of date conventions in the seventeenth-century company correspondence.

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146	157	Inv[oi]ce of 123 Bales of Rice & Padey provided by Nanaby Modji & Laden on the Shipps Williamson Lancaster and Johanna Capt. Stephen Bofee Cap[t] Tho[mas] Lockead & Cap[t]: Robert Bendall Com[m]anders and goes Consigned to y[e] Gov[ernor] and Councill of [...] Hellena for acc[oun]t of y[e] hon[ble] East India Company [...] follow[s] viz[t] Rufs Pe[..] Ba[gs] 20 Aroe[s] Rice marked Peach[..] of 6 [..] [..] at Rufs 24 - 4 [..] [..] [..] [..] Padey 144 - 11 80 Rice marked R each of 6 - 4 - 24 att 16 - 4 [..] [..] 372 - [..] 30 Padey marked Peach of 6 - 4 - 09 att 9 1/2 [..] [..] 85 - 36 12 [..] 601 - 36 Brokerage 4 [..] C[..] Charges of Gunny[..] Twine [..] Cordage Rope, Boatehire on board & for Petty[..] for baggs &c 4 corge[s] tog[ether] 120 - 53 and 10 - 132 - 53 731 - 17 Jar Chamberlan Laden on board Shipp Williamson 20 Bag[s] Rice Course marked R F P 9 Ditto fine R F P 11 Ditto Padey R F P 40 Laden on the Johanna 11 Bag fine Rice marked F P 24 Ba[g] Course Rice marked F P 11 Ba[g] Padey F P 46 Per Lancaster 30 Ba[g] Course Rice 8 Ba[g] Padey 38 Swally Marine Junij y[e] 24 168[..]	Invoice of 123 bales of rice and paddy, provided by Nanaby Modji and laden on the ships *Williamson*, *Lancaster* and *Johanna*, under commanders Captain Stephen Bofee, Captain Thomas Lockead and Captain Robert Bendall. The cargo was consigned to the Governor and Council of St Helena for the account of the Honourable East India Company. The invoice recorded the following entries: Twenty bags of rice marked Peach, each of 6 [...], at 24 rupees 4 [annas] the [...] 144 rupees 11 [annas] Eighty bags of rice marked R, each of 6 [...] 4 [...] 24, at 16 rupees 4 [annas] 372 rupees [...] Thirty bags of paddy marked Peach, each of 6 [...] 4 [...] 9, at 9½ rupees 85 rupees 36 [annas] Twelve [...] Subtotal 601 rupees 36 [annas] Brokerage at 4 [...] per hundred Charges for gunny bags, twine, cordage, rope, boat hire on board and petty charges for bags, totalling 4 corges 120 rupees 53 [annas] Further charges 10 rupees Subtotal of brokerage and charges 132 rupees 53 [annas] Total of the invoice 731 rupees 17 [annas] Signed by James Chamberlain. Laden on board the *Williamson*: Twenty bags of coarse rice marked R F P Nine bags of fine rice marked R F P Eleven bags of paddy marked R F P Total 40 bags Laden on the *Johanna*: Eleven bags of fine rice marked F P Twenty-four bags of coarse rice marked F P Eleven bags of paddy marked F P Total 46 bags Laden on the *Lancaster*: Thirty bags of coarse rice Eight bags of paddy Total 38 bags Swally Marine, 24 June 1680. **Interpretations** The invoice identifies the named supplier Nanaby Modji as the working procurement agent or merchant who provided the rice and paddy to the company at Swally Marine. The use of a named local supplier for the bulk of the consignment reveals the working practice of the Surat Council in sourcing major commodities, with established Indian merchants providing the grain stocks against company orders. The arrangement reveals the integration of the company's working procurement into the local commercial network of Gujarat, with the rice and paddy supply for St Helena drawn from the working trade of Surat rather than from the company's own production. The three commanders named in the invoice identify the working captains of the three ships carrying the consignment. Captain Stephen Bofee commanded the *Williamson*, Captain Thomas Lockead the *Lancaster* and Captain Robert Bendall the *Johanna*. The distribution of the cargo across three ships continues the working pattern of risk management in the company's consignment practice, with the loss of any single ship limiting the loss to a fraction of the total supply. The arrangement reveals the practical caution applied to the annual rice and paddy supply, which was the principal provisioning commodity for the island establishment. The differentiated pricing of the rice at 24 rupees 4 annas for the smaller marked Peach parcel and 16 rupees 4 annas for the larger R-marked parcel identifies a quality differential in the consignment. The higher-priced rice was probably the finer grade for the public table and for the senior establishment, while the lower-priced rice was the working ration for the soldiers, planters and slave populations. The paddy at 9½ rupees

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			was the unhusked rice, supplied separately for milling and for use as seed for cultivation on the island. The arrangement reveals the stratified supply at the level of the principal staple, with quality and price calibrated to the working consumption pattern of the island establishment. The brokerage at 4 [...] per hundred identifies the working commission paid to the procurement agent for the supply. The arrangement reveals the formal recognition of brokerage as a separate cost component in the company's procurement accounting, with the agent's commission distinguished from the underlying commodity cost. The further charges for gunny bags, twine, cordage, rope, boat hire and petty charges identify the working logistics costs of preparing the consignment for shipment, with the four corges of bags identifying the substantial packaging requirement for the rice and paddy supply. A corge was the standard unit of twenty in Indian trade, so four corges represented eighty bags. The marking system on the bags, with Peach, R, R F P and F P serving as identifiers, reveals the working consignment tracking arrangement. The marks identified the quality grade and the destination consignee, with different marks used for different parcels within the same ship. The arrangement allowed the receiving Council at St Helena to distinguish the bags on landing and to direct them into the appropriate stores categories on the island. The working precision of the marking system supports the broader documentary discipline pressed across the company's despatches. The grand total of 731 rupees 17 annas identifies the working invoice value for the entire consignment of 123 bags. The figure provides the formal accounting record for the supply, which the receiving Council on the island would have entered against the company's account in the working stores books. The arrangement reveals the working procurement value of the annual rice and paddy supply from Surat, which was substantially lower than the overall consignment value from London but reflected the local Indian price levels for the staple commodity. **Speculations** The distribution of the consignment across three ships, with 40 bags on the *Williamson*, 46 bags on the *Johanna* and 38 bags on the *Lancaster*, gives a working pattern of close to one-third on each vessel. The arrangement suggests a deliberate allocation rather than ad hoc distribution, with the Council ensuring that any single ship's loss would not deprive the island of more than a manageable portion of the annual supply. The deliberate distribution reveals the working calculation of supply risk in the company's procurement practice, with the cost of dispersed loading accepted in exchange for reduced single-point exposure to ship loss. The decision to ship paddy alongside rice, with eleven bags of paddy on the *Williamson*, eleven on the *Johanna* and eight on the *Lancaster*, indicates that the company was supplying both ready-to-use grain and the raw material for further processing on the island. The paddy required milling to remove the husks before consumption, which suggests that the island maintained the working milling capacity. The arrangement reveals the working integration of supply and local processing, with the company sending part of the staple in its raw form to be worked up on the island, presumably at lower transport cost per finished pound than supplying all the grain as finished rice. The use of gunny bags as the working packaging material identifies the standard Indian jute fabric used for grain shipment. Gunny was made from jute fibre and provided a strong, breathable packaging suitable for long-distance grain transport. The supply of four corges of bags, plus twine and cordage for sealing and

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			handling, reveals the working logistics infrastructure required for the consignment. The arrangement integrated the company's working procurement of grain with the established Indian packaging trade, drawing on the local commercial network for the practical requirements of shipment. The reading of the supplier's name as Nanaby Modji indicates a member of the Modji or Modi merchant community of Gujarat. The Modi family was prominent in the working trade of the region, supplying various commodities to the European trading companies. The choice of an established local merchant for the company's annual rice and paddy procurement reveals the practical preference for reliable suppliers over price competition, with the working relationship between the company and the supplier sustained across multiple years to ensure consistent quality and timely delivery. The arrangement reveals the practical character of the company's working procurement in Surat as relationship-based rather than transactional. The dating of the invoice at Swally Marine on 24 June 1680, matching the date of the covering letter from the Surat Council, indicates that the working procurement and documentation were completed simultaneously with the despatch of the covering correspondence. The arrangement reveals the integrated working procedure of the Surat Council, with the procurement, documentation and despatch coordinated to allow the ships to sail with complete papers for the long voyage to England via St Helena. The working efficiency of the procedure reveals the maturity of the Surat operation as a regional command of the company's eastern trade.
147	158	Worsh[i]p[full] S[i]r Bantam Jan[uar]y y[e] 20[th] 1680/1 I rec[eived] yours p[er] Capt. Thompson [..] the s[..] [...] [...] sent for your Sone which will by y[e] first Shipp send him he is well, and I hope a very hopefull Young Man beneing y[t] you desyred of the Bay, I cannot dispose of, here will send thither, by the inclosed Invoice and Bill of Lading you will find 4 Bales of Rufss a Butt of Arrack and two Chests of suger sent you on this Conv[ention] all the latter to gratife your Desire, and the [...] at Supplying p[ro]p[er] for your Island & utterly unconsider here, for all which haue desired the Hono[u]rable Company what cost & shall p[ro]p[er] for your Island vppon all occ[asi]ons shall take care to And yours w[i]th this and my acc[us]ed respects & Service, is at at p[re]sent offers from Your affectionate freind and Servant Fran[cis] Bowyear	The letter was sent from Francis Bowyear at Bantam on 20 January 1681. Bowyear acknowledged receipt of the addressee's letter delivered by Captain Thompson. He confirmed that he had sent for the addressee's son and would forward him by the first available ship; the young man was well and Bowyear hoped he would prove very promising. The goods requested from the Bay could not be supplied directly from Bantam, but Bowyear would send to the Bay for them. The enclosed invoice and bill of lading covered four bales of [...], one butt of arrack and two chests of sugar, all sent on this consignment to gratify the addressee's wishes. The articles were proper for the island and unconsidered locally. Bowyear had asked the Honourable Company to settle the costs and would take care of any further supplies proper for the island as occasions arose. He closed with his respects and service, signing as the addressee's affectionate friend and servant. **Interpretations** The letter falls within the personal and operational correspondence between Francis Bowyear at Bantam and the Governor of St Helena, written in a more personal register than the formal council despatches from Surat or the Coast. The use of the singular Worshipful Sir at the opening and the closing as affectionate friend and servant identifies a working personal relationship between Bowyear and the addressee, in addition to their respective official positions. The arrangement reveals the working network of personal connections that operated alongside the formal institutional correspondence of the company. The reference to the son being sent for and being well, with Bowyear's promise to send him to St Helena by the first ship, identifies a working arrangement for the placement of a young man in the company's service in the East Indies. The arrangement reveals the operation of family advancement through the company

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			network, with young men placed at distant stations and moved between them under the personal patronage of senior officers. The pattern of family placement runs through the company's working personnel system at this period, with private interest and institutional service combined in the working career progression. The reference to goods from the Bay that could not be supplied directly from Bantam identifies the Bay of Bengal trade as a separate sourcing region. Bantam was the company's principal station in Java, and goods from Bengal would have to be ordered through the company's Bay establishment rather than supplied from Bantam stocks. The arrangement reveals the working differentiation between the company's regional stations, with each station maintaining stocks of its own regional products and routing requests for other goods through the appropriate command. The consignment of four bales of [...], one butt of arrack and two chests of sugar identifies a small personal consignment sent specifically at the addressee's request rather than as part of a major institutional supply. The arrack was the distilled spirit produced in the East Indies from palm sap, rice or molasses; sugar was a major commercial product of the region; the bales of [...] cannot be identified from the damaged manuscript but were probably textiles or other regional goods. The arrangement reveals the working personal supply that operated alongside the company's institutional consignments, with senior officers able to procure regional goods for one another through the company's shipping network. Bowyear's reference to having asked the Honourable Company to settle the costs identifies the accounting arrangement for the personal consignment. The goods would be charged against the addressee's account with the company in London, with the cost recovered through the working personal accounts maintained at the East India House. The arrangement reveals the working financial system supporting personal transactions between officers, with the company acting as the working clearing mechanism for private as well as institutional supplies. The phrase proper for your island and utterly unconsidered here indicates Bowyear's assessment of the goods as appropriate for the requirements of St Helena but not in commercial demand at Bantam. The arrangement reveals the differentiated market conditions across the company's stations, with goods being shipped from regions of low demand to regions of higher demand within the working trade network. The pattern reflects the practical economics of the company's regional supply, with the surplus of one station serving the deficit of another. **Speculations** The dating of the letter on 20 January 1681, written from Bantam to St Helena, indicates that the consignment would travel on a homeward ship from Bantam via St Helena to England, following the standard return route. The voyage from Bantam to St Helena typically took several months under the prevailing winds of the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic, and the letter would have arrived at St Helena in the spring or early summer of 1681. The arrangement reveals the working timing of the cross-regional correspondence within the company's annual shipping cycle. The placement of the addressee's son under Bowyear's care, with the young man being moved between stations under personal supervision, indicates the working operation of family connections in the company's eastern service. The young man was probably being prepared for a position in the company's commercial or administrative establishment, with placement at Bantam serving as initial training before further progression. The arrangement reveals the

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			working career structure of the company's eastern service, with personal connections providing the entry pathway and senior officers supervising the progress of their younger relations or protégés. The reference to the goods being utterly unconsidered at Bantam indicates that arrack, sugar and the unidentified bales were in such ample supply at the source that their value at Bantam was low. The arrangement reflects the working economics of the company's regional trade, in which goods produced in surplus at one station could be shipped at low original cost to stations where they were in demand, with the working profit captured at the destination. The pattern reveals the practical commercial logic underlying the working dispersal of the company's regional stocks. The mention of arrack in a butt rather than in smaller casks indicates that the spirit was supplied in a substantial quantity, with a butt being the standard large cask of approximately 126 gallons. The supply at this scale suggests that the addressee intended the arrack either for the working consumption of the public table at St Helena or for trading with ships calling at the road. The arrangement reveals the working practice of senior officers maintaining personal supplies of regional commodities for their own consumption or for working trade, in addition to their official institutional supplies. The brief and personal character of the letter, in contrast to the formal council despatches, indicates that Bowyear was writing in his individual capacity rather than as the head of the Bantam establishment. The arrangement reveals the working differentiation between personal and institutional correspondence in the company's eastern service, with senior officers maintaining both registers of communication as appropriate to their working roles. The pattern reveals the practical complexity of the company's correspondence network, where personal and institutional channels operated in parallel.
148	159	In Bantam y[e] 28[th] Jan[uar]y Anno: - 81/2 Invoice of Goods Laden by & in [..] M[r] [..] Fra[ncis] Bowyear depr[..] in Councell President in Bantam for acc[oun]t of y[e] hon[ble] East Indi[a] Comp[any] in & vpon the good Shipps Nathaniell, Cap[t] Joh[n] [..]aud [..] Em[m]anuell &c [...] Consigned to ye worp[full] John Blackmore Govern[or] of S[t] Hellena for acc[oun]t aforesaid, being marked & numbred y[e] margent perticulars as viz[t] Nathaniell Rufss Rufss b[ales] sach[?] 4 in 28 [pieces] in y[e] whole att 5 [..] y[e] dollar Rufss 4 Bales of 92 P[iece]s Invoiced from Zuratto at 330 - 20 Sugar 2 Chests viz[t] one of 7 Pieuels c[on]t[ainin]g 10 ped at 5 [..] p[er] P[iece] 50 - one of 3 Pieuels c[on]t[ainin]g 10 ped [..] Arrack 1 Butt of 133 Gall[ons] at 23 [..] [..] [..] 51 - 5 - 56 Caske for y[e] same - 5 Sum[m] totall is [..]436 - 20 Erp[us] Excepted p[er] Char[les] Sweeting	Invoice of goods laden by Francis Bowyear, deputy and member of the Council and President at Bantam, for the account of the Honourable East India Company. The goods were carried on the ships *Nathaniel* under Captain John [...] and *Emmanuel* and were consigned to John Blackmore, Governor of St Helena, for the same account. The goods were marked and numbered in the margin as set out. On the *Nathaniel*: Four bales of rufts, each containing 28 pieces, totalling [...] pieces at 5 [...] the dollar Four bales of 92 pieces of rufts invoiced from Surat 330 dollars 20 [...] Two chests of sugar: One chest of 7 picul, containing 10 [pikuls], at 5 [...] the picul 50 dollars One chest of 3 picul, containing 10 [pikuls] [...] One butt of arrack of 133 gallons at 23 [...] the gallon 51 dollars Subtotal for arrack £5 56 [...] Cask for the same 5 [...] Sum total £436 20 [...] Errors excepted. Signed by Charles Sweeting. **Interpretations** The invoice records Francis Bowyear in the formal capacity of deputy and member of the Council and President at Bantam, identifying his working position within the company's regional administration in Java. The position of President at Bantam was the senior office of the company's establishment in the East Indies, second only to the Surat Presidency in the company's working hierarchy. The arrangement reveals the working seniority of Bowyear in the company's eastern service, which gave context to the personal

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			correspondence with the Governor of St Helena recorded in the covering letter of 20 January 1682. The addressee John Blackmore as Governor of St Helena identifies the working consignee of the goods. Blackmore had been appointed Governor by the commission of 20 February 1678 and remained in office at this date in early 1682. The arrangement reveals the working continuity of Blackmore's governorship across the seven years since his appointment. The consignment carried on two ships, the *Nathaniel* and the *Emmanuel*, continues the working pattern of distributing the cargo across multiple vessels for risk management. The arrangement reveals the practical caution applied to cross-regional consignments in the company's working trade network. The rufts in four bales of 92 pieces invoiced from Surat at 330 dollars 20 [...] identify the principal element of the consignment. Rufts were a coarse cotton cloth produced in India, used principally for soldiers' clothing, working garments and rough textile applications. The cloth was invoiced from Surat, indicating that the goods had been procured in the company's Gujarat trade and forwarded through Bantam for shipment to St Helena. The arrangement reveals the working inter-station trade within the company's network, with goods sourced at one station, held at another and forwarded to a third according to the working supply requirements. The sugar in two chests, with one chest of seven picul and one chest of three picul, identifies a working sugar consignment in the standard East Indies trade unit. The picul was the standard Chinese and Southeast Asian weight measure of approximately 60 kilograms, used in the regional sugar trade. The choice to ship sugar in this measure rather than in English hundredweight indicates that the consignment retained its original packaging from the source market, with the working accounting reflecting the regional trade conventions rather than English measures. The butt of arrack at 133 gallons identifies the working spirits consignment. Arrack was the distilled spirit produced in the East Indies from palm sap, rice or molasses, and the butt was the substantial cask of about 126 to 140 gallons. The supply at this scale corresponds to the working spirits requirement of the public table at St Helena and supplemented the brandy supply received from London. The arrangement reveals the working integration of supply sources across multiple regions for the consumable requirements of the island. The use of dollars as the working currency in the invoice identifies the international silver coin used as the standard trade currency in the East Indies. The Spanish dollar or its equivalent was accepted across the Asian trade routes and provided a common monetary standard between the company's stations. The arrangement reveals the working currency practice of the company's eastern trade, with dollars serving as the practical exchange medium between regional stations and European reckoning. The certification at the close, with the formula errors excepted and the signature of Charles Sweeting, identifies the working authentication of the invoice by a clerk or accomptant at the Bantam establishment. The phrase errors excepted was the standard reservation made by clerks to allow for the correction of arithmetical or transcription errors discovered later. The arrangement reveals the working documentary practice at Bantam, with formal authentication by a named individual responsible for the working accuracy of the invoice. **Speculations** The decision to ship rufts originally procured at Surat through Bantam rather than directly to St Helena indicates the working pattern of the company's regional commerce. Goods purchased at one station might be

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			moved to another for storage or for combination with consignments from other regions before final shipment. The arrangement reveals the practical complexity of the company's working supply chain, in which the apparent route from source to destination might pass through intermediate stations for working operational reasons. The supply of arrack from Bantam to St Helena, alongside the substantial brandy and beer supplies received from London, indicates that the working spirits consumption at the island establishment drew on multiple sources within the company's trade network. The arrangement reveals the working scale of the spirits requirement and the practical diversification of supply sources, with the senior establishment supplied from London with the higher-grade brandy and from Bantam with the East Indies arrack. The sum total of 436 dollars 20 [...] for the consignment indicates a relatively modest working value compared to the major institutional consignments from London. The arrangement reveals the consignment as a working supplement to the principal supply chain rather than a major provisioning shipment, with goods drawn from Bantam to address specific requirements identified by the Governor of St Helena. The pattern reveals the working differentiation between major institutional consignments and supplementary inter-station supplies in the company's working procurement. The dating of the invoice on 28 January 1682, eight days after the covering letter of 20 January 1682, indicates that the working procurement and documentation followed the personal correspondence by just over a week. The arrangement reveals the working operational sequence at Bantam, with the formal documentation of the consignment prepared in the days following the senior officer's letter of intent. The pattern reveals the working integration of personal correspondence and formal documentation within the company's regional administration. The signing of the invoice by Charles Sweeting rather than by Bowyear identifies the working delegation of authentication to a subordinate clerk or accomptant. The arrangement reveals the working hierarchical structure at Bantam, with the President of the Council directing the consignment and the working authentication performed by a designated officer. The pattern reveals the working separation of executive direction from documentary verification in the company's regional administration.
149	160	Worp[full] S[i]r Wee wrote you by the last yeares Shipping, this goes by the Josiah, on whom is laden 30 Baggs of Rice according to Invoice and Bill of Lading, which Wee wish acceptable to you, and should have sent yo[u]r annuall vsuall quantity from hence could the Successe and Mass[a]nburgh have taken in their proportion, It being now a very busy tyme with vs, cannot further enlarge but Remaine Yo[u]r very Loveing Freinds Swally Marine Jan[uar]y 23. 1681/2 Tho: Rolt Cesar Chambrelan J[osiah] Child John Petit George Bowcher	Swally Marine, 23 January 1682. To the worshipful Sir. The Surat Council wrote to the Governor of St Helena. They had written by the previous year's shipping, and the present letter went by the *Josiah*, on which were laden 30 bags of rice as set out in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. The Council hoped the consignment would be acceptable. The usual annual quantity would have been sent had the *Success* and the *Massanburgh* been able to take in their proportion. The Council closed with apologies for brevity in a busy time, and remained the Governor's very loving friends. Signed by Thomas Rolt, Caesar Chamberlain, Josiah Child, John Petit and George Bowcher. **Interpretations** The reduced rice consignment of 30 bags, set against the usual annual quantity, marks the working vulnerability of the supply chain to the carrying capacity of the homeward fleet. The *Success* and the *Massanburgh* could not take in their proportion, leaving the *Josiah* as the sole carrier of the year's supply to the island. The arrangement reveals the four-ship distribution pattern of the standing Surat supply, with the failure of any vessel to take its proportion immediately reducing the working total.

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			The signatories Thomas Rolt as President, Caesar Chamberlain, Josiah Child, John Petit and George Bowcher reveal the working composition of the Surat Council in January 1682. Thomas Rolt had been President since at least January 1678, with Caesar Chamberlain and John Petit serving alongside him from that date. George Bowcher had joined the Council by January 1680. The Surat Josiah Child appears in the present despatch, marking his service alongside the better-known signatories. The composition matches the pattern of the Surat establishment in the early 1680s. The 1682 dating places the despatch in close proximity to the Coast Council despatches of 19 January 1681 and 11 February 1682, indicating that the Surat and Coast supplies operated on broadly the same homeward season. The *Josiah* of Surat and the *Golden Fleece* of the Coast formed parts of a single homeward fleet from the Indian stations, with each station contributing its share of rice and paddy to the island. The double dating 1681/2 in the manuscript follows the working English calendar convention before the change of style, with the new legal year beginning on 25 March. The modern reading is 23 January 1682. The convention required both years to appear on documents in the January to March period to remove any ambiguity. The brevity of the letter, attributed to the busy time of the writing, reflects the working pattern of the homeward season at Swally Marine. The Council prepared multiple cargoes for despatch on the homeward ships, with the working volume of paperwork compressing the time available for any single letter. The present concession to brevity matches the pattern by which substantive provisioning despatches concentrated the working detail in the invoice and bill of lading rather than in the covering letter. **Speculations** The reduced consignment of 30 bags from the *Josiah* alone, when the standing annual quantity would have come on three or four ships, perhaps reflected a working failure of the homeward planning rather than a strategic suspension of the supply. The reduction perhaps arose from working logistical constraints on the *Success* and the *Massanburgh*, such as cargo space taken up by other commodities, condition issues with the vessels, or delays in their loading schedule. The Surat Council's working response was to despatch the available quantity on the single ship rather than to defer the supply to the following season. The continued operation of the standing annual supply arrangement in January 1682 is consistent with the working continuity of the Surat-island supply chain through the period. The Surat Council's annual despatches record the standing operation of the supply, with the working interruptions reflecting practical shipping constraints rather than policy decisions. The arrangement supports the working interpretation of the standing arrangement as a stable feature of the company's eastern operations, established by the directive of 20 February 1678 and maintained through the working homeward seasons of the early 1680s. The placement of Josiah Child among the Surat signatories, alongside Thomas Rolt as President and the senior members of the Council, indicates a person of working standing at the station rather than a junior officer. The Surat Josiah Child was probably distinct from Sir Josiah Child of the London Court, perhaps a son or nephew posted to Surat as part of the family's commercial advancement through the company network, working alongside the established senior officers in the routine business of the homeward provisioning.
150	161	Invoice of 30 Baggs of Rice Laden by the Hono[u]rable Thom[as] Rolt President & Councell in Suratt on board	Invoice of 30 bags of rice laden by Thomas Rolt as President and the Surat Council on board the *Josiah*,

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		the Josiah Cap[t] Nathaniell Owen Com[m]and[er] and goes Consigned to the Worpp the Govern[or] & Councell of the Island of S[t] Holena, being for acc[oun]t of the Hono[uable] East India Comp[any] Particulars viz[t] 20 Fine Rice 20 Baggs marked F each of 6 m[an]ds is 6 candys att 30 rup[ees] [..] candy 180 - 10 Ordinary Rice 10 Baggs marked R each of 6 m[an]ds is 3 Candys att 23 [..] Candy 069 - 249 - Josiah Charges hereon viz[t] Brokeradge 2 [..] Cent 4 - 69 12 Corge Cutty att 4 1/2 [..] corge 6 - 54 2 - 18 1/2 y[ar]ds Gunny att 7 1/2 [..] Corge 14 - 31 7 1/2 Seer twind att 4 [..] m[ille] 54 Packermons labour 9 [..] [..] bale 3 - 54 Ropes 37 1/2 sedr att rup[..]2 [..] m[ille] 1 - 63 Mosrage to the Boate 13 Carthire bringing from y[e] Boate to the moods Warehouse when came from Suratt, & afterwards carrying to the Boate when shipt off 1 - 16 Boate hire bringing from Suratt 2 - 35 38 - 29 287 - 29 Swally Marine y[e] 23 Jan[uar]y 1684/5 Cesar Chambrelan	Captain Nathaniel Owen commander, consigned to the Governor and Council of St Helena for the account of the Honourable East India Company. Twenty bags of fine rice marked F, each of 6 maunds, totalling 6 candies, at 30 rupees the candy 180 rupees Ten bags of ordinary rice marked R, each of 6 maunds, totalling 3 candies, at 23 rupees the candy 69 rupees Subtotal 249 rupees Charges: Brokerage at 2 per cent 4 rupees 69 [...] Twelve corge of [...] at 4½ rupees the corge 6 rupees 54 [...] Two corge 18½ yards of gunny at 7½ rupees the corge 14 rupees 31 [...] Seven and a half seer of twine at 4 [...] the [...] 54 [...] Packers' labour at 9 [...] the bale 3 rupees 54 [...] Ropes, 37½ seer, at 2 rupees the [...] 1 rupee 63 [...] Wharfage to the boat 13 [...] Carthire from the boat to the merchant's warehouse on arrival from Surat, and afterwards to the boat when shipped 1 rupee 16 [...] Boat hire from Surat 2 rupees 35 [...] Subtotal of charges 38 rupees 29 [...] Total of the invoice 287 rupees 29 [...]1682 Signed at Swally Marine on 23 January by Caesar Chamberlain. **Interpretations** The invoice for the *Josiah* consignment of 30 bags identifies a substantially smaller working consignment than earlier years' supplies. The arrangement reveals the practical impact of the shipping constraint referred to in the covering letter, with the smaller consignment reflecting the available cargo space rather than the working requirement of the island. The differentiated pricing of the rice at 30 rupees the candy for the fine rice marked F and 23 rupees the candy for the ordinary rice marked R identifies the quality grading and the working price differential. The fine rice was probably the higher-grade table rice for the public table and the senior establishment, while the ordinary rice was the working ration for the soldiers, planters and slave populations. The arrangement reveals the stratified supply at the level of the principal staple, with quality and price calibrated to the working consumption pattern of the island establishment. The use of the candy as the working unit of measurement identifies the standard Indian weight measure of about 500 pounds, with the maund as the smaller unit of about 80 pounds. Six maunds per bag and six candies for twenty bags gives a working bag weight of about 80 pounds, with the candy unit serving as the trading aggregate. The arrangement reveals the working use of Indian commercial measures in the company's procurement, with the local trade conventions preserved in the working documentation. The brokerage at 2 per cent identifies the working commission paid to the procurement agent for the supply, recorded as a percentage of the principal cost rather than as a fixed sum. The arrangement reveals the formal commission structure underlying the company's procurement in Surat, with brokerage as a recognised cost component proportional to the underlying commodity value. The charges itemised in detail, with separate entries for the corge of [...], gunny bags, twine, packers' labour, ropes, wharfage, carthire and boat hire, identify the working logistics costs of preparing the consignment for shipment. The corge as the unit of twenty was applied to the bag and packaging supplies; the seer was the smaller Indian weight unit used for twine and rope. The arrangement reveals the detailed working accounting for procurement logistics, with each cost component recorded separately to allow the company to track the

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			working margin between principal commodity cost and total landed value. The reference to the merchant's warehouse and the working movement of the goods between the boat and the warehouse before final shipment identifies the working logistics chain from Surat to Swally Marine. Surat was the inland commercial centre; Swally Marine was the coastal anchorage where the company's ships loaded. The goods moved from the merchant's premises at Surat to the boat, then to a warehouse at Swally Marine, then back to the boat for final loading aboard the homeward ship. The arrangement reveals the working complexity of the consignment logistics, with multiple handling stages between procurement and shipment. The certification by Caesar Chamberlain identifies the working authentication of the invoice at Swally Marine by a member of the Surat Council. Chamberlain had been a member of the Council since at least 1678 and continued in service through to the present despatch, providing the working continuity of authentication across multiple years of consignments. The arrangement reveals the working stability of the Surat administration, with established officers performing the authentication function across an extended period. The naming of Captain Nathaniel Owen as commander of the *Josiah* identifies the working captain responsible for the cargo on the homeward voyage. The supply chain placed the consignment under the captain's working responsibility from loading at Swally Marine until landing at St Helena, with the bill of lading providing the formal documentation of the consignment under the captain's charge. The arrangement reveals the working chain of custody for the consignment across the long sea voyage. **Speculations** The substantial proportion of the total invoice value represented by the charges, with 38 rupees 29 [...] in charges against 249 rupees in principal commodity cost, indicates that the working procurement logistics added about 15 per cent to the basic price of the rice. The arrangement reveals the working economic structure of the Surat procurement, with the costs of packaging, handling and short-distance transport forming a significant proportion of the landed Swally Marine cost. The pattern reveals the practical impact of the procurement logistics on the working delivered cost of the staple commodity. The detailed itemisation of small charges, down to wharfage at 13 [...] and packers' labour at 3 rupees 54 [...], indicates the precision of the working accounting practice at the Surat establishment. The arrangement reveals the working culture of careful documentation, with every working cost recorded separately rather than aggregated into general handling allowances. The pattern reveals the practical character of the company's working accounting, where transparency and traceability were valued above administrative simplicity. The recording of two boat journeys, one bringing the goods from Surat and one transferring them to the homeward ship, indicates the working pattern of repeated handling required by the geographical separation of Surat from Swally Marine. The arrangement reveals the working logistics burden of the Surat trade, with the inland commercial centre requiring multiple stages of working transport to reach the coastal shipping. The pattern reveals the practical character of the early modern Indian trade, where extensive working handling was inherent in the commercial geography. The much smaller scale of the 1682 consignment of 30 bags, set against the 123 bags of the June 1680 consignment, indicates a substantial reduction in the annual rice supply to St Helena over the intervening years. The arrangement reflects either a continuing shipping constraint affecting the homeward fleet over multiple years, or a working policy adjustment reducing

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			the dependence of the island on Indian rice in favour of local provision. The pattern reveals either practical operational difficulty or working policy change in the supply relationship between Surat and the island. The dating of the invoice on 23 January 1682, matching the date of the covering letter from the Surat Council, indicates that the working procurement and documentation were completed simultaneously with the despatch of the covering correspondence. The arrangement reveals the integrated working procedure of the Surat Council, with the procurement, documentation and despatch coordinated to allow the homeward ship to sail with complete papers for the long voyage to England via St Helena. The working efficiency of the procedure reveals the practical maturity of the Surat operation across the years between 1680 and 1682.
151	162	Laden by the grace of God in good Order and well - Conditioned by Thomas Rolt Presid[en]t & Councell in Suratt in and vpon the good Shipp called the Josiah whereof goeth Com[m]and[er] for this p[re]sent Voyage Cap[t] Nath[aniel] Owen, now rideing att Anchor in the roade of Swally, and by the Allmightybd p[ro]mission bound for the Port of S[t] Helena that is to say, Twenty Baggs ffine Rice, and Tenne Baggs course Rice, each contai[ning] - Six mannds; and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well conditioned att the aforesaid Port of S[t] Helena, for acc[oun]t of the Hono[ble] Comp[any] (the danger of the Sea[s] only excepted) vnto the Worsp[fu]ll the Gov[ernor] & Councill att the aforesaid Port of S[t] Helena, freight for said goods being to be payd according to the Hono[ble] Comp[an]ys institution, and for the true performance J[..] W[m] Parker purser of s[ai]d Shipp have signed to three Bills of Lading of this tennor and date, one of w[hich] being accomplished, the other to stand voyd and of none effect, Dated on Swally Marine this 23 January Anno 1684/5 Inside and Contents vnknowne p[er] W[m] Parker Purs[er] Island S[t] Hellena Rec[eived] by us the Gov[ernor] and Councell, of y[e] [..]B[oa]r[..]d of Cap[t] Nath[aniel] Owen, Com[m]and[er] of y[e] good Shipp Josiah the Contents of the within written Bill of Lading, being for 20 baggs of fine and 10 of Course Rice, in good order & well Conditioned, only one bagg of fine and another of Course Rice, which the Comm[an]der defac[ed] & is to accompt for. Witt[ness] hands this 30 of May 1682 Signed by Governor J[ohn] Johnson [..] Morrice [..] Sm[..]on	Bill of lading: laden in good order by Thomas Rolt as President and the Surat Council at Surat on the *Josiah*, Captain Nathaniel Owen commander, riding at anchor in the road of Swally Marine and bound for the port of St Helena. The cargo comprised twenty bags of fine rice and ten bags of coarse rice, each containing six maunds. The goods were to be delivered in the same good order at St Helena for the account of the Honourable Company, with the dangers of the sea only excepted, to the Governor and Council at the island. Freight was payable according to the company's institution. William Parker, purser of the ship, signed three bills of lading of the same tenor and date, with one to be accomplished and the others to stand void. Dated at Swally Marine on 23 January 1682. Inside and contents unknown, certified by William Parker, purser. Receipt at St Helena: the Governor and Council acknowledged receipt from Captain Nathaniel Owen, commander of the *Josiah*, of the contents of the bill of lading, comprising twenty bags of fine rice and ten of coarse rice, in good order and well conditioned. One bag of fine rice and one bag of coarse rice had been defaced by the commander, who was to account for them. Witnessed by the Governor on 30 May 1682, with John Johnson, [...] Morrice and [...] Smithson among the signatories. **Interpretations** The bill of lading follows the standard seventeenth-century form, opening with the religious formula laden by the grace of God in good order and well conditioned, naming the President at Surat as the consignor, identifying the ship, captain and route, listing the goods, and recording the working terms of delivery. The arrangement reveals the formal documentary convention applied to the maritime carriage of company goods, with the bill of lading serving as the working instrument transferring custody of the consignment from the consignor to the captain for the voyage. The exception of the dangers of the seas identifies the standard working limitation of the captain's liability under the bill of lading. The captain was responsible for delivering the goods in good order except where loss or damage arose from maritime hazards beyond his control. The arrangement reveals the working allocation of risk between the captain as carrier and the company as cargo owner, with maritime risk falling on the owner rather than the carrier under the standard form. The triple bill of lading practice, with three copies of the same tenor and date issued by the purser, identifies the working documentary protection against loss in transit. The three copies travelled by different routes or were held by different parties, with the first to be accomplished completing the working delivery and the others becoming void. The arrangement reveals the practical caution applied to the working documentation of maritime cargo, with multiple copies providing

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			redundancy against loss of the documentation during the long voyage. The phrase inside and contents unknown signed by the purser identifies the standard working limitation of the purser's certification. The purser certified the receipt of the bags as marked and counted but did not warrant the actual contents of each bag, which were known only to the shipper. The arrangement reveals the working division of certification responsibility, with the purser accountable for the working condition of the packaging and the shipper accountable for the contents. The receipt at St Helena on 30 May 1682 identifies the working completion of the voyage just over four months after the loading at Swally Marine on 23 January 1682. The voyage duration of about 127 days fits the working pattern of the homeward route from Surat to St Helena across the Indian Ocean. The arrangement reveals the working timing of the consignment as it reached the island, with the receipt providing the formal acknowledgement of safe delivery. The defacement of one bag of fine rice and one bag of coarse rice by the commander identifies a working incident during the voyage requiring formal acknowledgement at the point of delivery. The captain was to account for the two bags, meaning that he was to provide a working explanation or compensation for their loss or damage. The arrangement reveals the working accountability of the captain for the consignment under his charge, with formal recording of any discrepancy at the point of receipt to support any subsequent claim by the company. The signatories at the receipt identify the working composition of the St Helena Council in May 1682. The Governor, presumably John Blackmore, signed first; John Johnson signed alongside, having continued in service since his original engagement under the despatch of 20 February 1678. The further signatories Morrice and Smithson identify additional Council members in service at this date, providing the working corroboration of the receipt. The arrangement reveals the working continuity of Council membership across the years since Blackmore's appointment as Governor. **Speculations** The defacement of the two bags by the commander, with the commander required to account for them, may indicate either accidental damage during the voyage or working consumption by the captain or crew under conditions of need. The formal recording of the defacement at the receipt suggests that the cause was significant enough to require working explanation, with the bags presumably opened or damaged in some recognisable way. The arrangement reveals the practical working hazards of the long voyage and the documentary discipline applied to track any working loss against the master invoice. The four-month voyage from Surat to St Helena, against the typical pattern of homeward voyages including the long Indian Ocean passage, indicates that the *Josiah* made a reasonably direct passage without extended stops. The arrangement reveals the working efficiency of the homeward route under favourable conditions, with the ship arriving at the island in sufficient time to take on water and provisions before the final leg to England. The signing of the receipt on 30 May 1682 by the Governor and three Council members identifies the working procedural requirement for multiple signatures on consignment receipts. The arrangement reveals the practical operation of collective Council responsibility for the working acknowledgement of received goods, with multiple signatures providing internal corroboration of the receipt details. The pattern reveals the working documentary discipline maintained at the island for incoming consignments.

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			The reading of the second signatory as John Johnson identifies the continuing service of the Council member engaged in London at 40 shillings per month with thirty acres of land, one servant, one slave and four cows by the despatch of 20 February 1678. The seven years of service from his appointment through to the present receipt reveals the working career of an officer engaged in London for service on the island, with sustained service across multiple Governors and across substantial changes in the working policies of the company. The pattern reveals the practical operation of the long-term personnel commitment by company officers to service at the island. The triple bill of lading practice, with two copies becoming void on the accomplishment of the first, indicates the working procedure for handling the standard maritime documentary protection. The accomplished copy presumably remained at the island as the working evidence of receipt, while the void copies would have been returned to the company at London or destroyed as the working procedure required. The arrangement reveals the practical working operation of the maritime documentation system, with redundancy at sea giving way to single-copy certainty on safe arrival.
152	163	To the Worpp the Gov[ernor] Fort S[t] George Jan[uar]y 19[..] & Councill of S[t] Helena 1681 S[i]rs Wee have sent you by the Shipp Golden Fleece 50 baggs of Rice 30 baggs of Paddy and 1 bagg of Paddy for seed in all 81 baggs of S[t] 22 - 2 - amounting to Pag[odas] 374 - 10 - 1 as p[er] Invoice and Bill of Lading herewith sent you, and intend to send you the same quantity by each of the other three Shipps that are behind, viz[t]: the Bengala, the George and the Cesar, For which Wee shall also send you the Invoices and Bills of Lading Golden Fleece According to each Shipps Charter party if the Com[m]and[ers] themselves cant procure them you may make them a supply if you can of such a number of seamen or other persons as shall compleate the number they brought out of England, which are to be carryed thither vpon their said Shipps att the charge of the Own[e]rs and the Comp[an]y not to pay for any such persons passage And therefore Wee thought convenient to give you notice that the Shipp Golden Fleece wants 16 men of her first complem[en]t according to the Muster Role which Wee tooke at her departure and shall advise the same of the rest as Wee shall dispatch them from hence and haveing nott farther to enlarge Wee Com[m]itt you to the divine protection and Romaine Yo[u]r Affectionate Freinds John Pigrig William Gyfford Elihu Yale Jno: Bridger John Nicks Tim[othy] Wilkes	To the Governor and Council of St Helena, Fort St George, 19 January 1681. Sirs, The Golden Fleece carried 50 bags of rice, 30 bags of paddy and 1 bag of seed paddy to the island, making 81 bags in all at a weight of 22 [...] 2 [...], valued at 374 pagodas 10 [fanams] 1 [cash] under the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. The same quantity would follow on each of the other three ships still to depart, the Bengala, the George and the Caesar, with their invoices and bills of lading sent in due course. Under the charter party of each ship, the Governor and Council were asked to assist the commanders in making up their crew complements. Where a commander could not recruit replacements himself, the island was to supply seamen or other persons sufficient to restore the number that had sailed from England. Such persons travelled at the charge of the ships' owners. The company paid nothing for their passage. The Golden Fleece was short by 16 men of her first complement as recorded on the muster roll taken at her departure. Further shortfalls would be notified as the other ships sailed. The Coast Council closed by committing the island to divine protection and remained the Council's affectionate friends. Signed by John Pigrig, William Gyfford, Elihu Yale, John Bridger, John Nicks and Timothy Wilkes. **Interpretations** The charter party seamen supply clause appears here as a working operational arrangement rather than a new direction. The Coast Council treated the obligation as standing, requiring the island simply to make up the number short of complement under the contractual terms already in force. The clause channelled the cost to the ships' owners and protected the company from any passage charge, illustrating the contractual allocation of manpower risk to the freighters of the homeward fleet. The dispersal of the annual rice and paddy supply across four ships, the Golden Fleece, the Bengala, the George and the Caesar, continued the established risk-management practice of the Coast Council, spreading a single year's consignment across multiple bottoms to limit loss from any one shipwreck or seizure. The seed paddy entry, a single bag carried alongside the bulk rice and paddy, formed part of the continuing experimental sowing programme directed earlier by the Coast Council. The supply matched the practical limits identified by the company commanders, who had

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			reported the island ground stony and the water supply unsuitable for paddy cultivation. The compound currency reading of 374 pagodas 10 fanams 1 cash reflects the working Coast accounting convention. The pagoda divided into fanams, with cash as the smaller sub-unit, was the standard unit at Fort St George for valuing rice and paddy consignments. Elihu Yale appears here as a member of the Coast Council under William Gyfford, marking an early stage of his service at Fort St George before his subsequent rise to the agency. The continuity of Timothy Wilkes from the earlier Coast despatches of 23 January 1679 and 2 February 1680 reflects the working personnel stability at the senior level of the station across the period. The muster roll system, by which the Coast Council quantified the precise shortfall on each ship at departure, supported the working accounting on which the seamen supply request to St Helena depended. The 16 men short on the Golden Fleece gave the island Council a specific target for replacement rather than a general appeal. **Speculations** The Coast Council probably issued this despatch first by the Golden Fleece because she sailed earliest of the four homeward ships of the season, allowing the island to be put on notice of the supply pattern before the later ships arrived. The phrase the same quantity by each of the other three ships suggests a deliberately uniform consignment across the four bottoms, perhaps to avoid disputes about the relative burden of each commander, or to simplify the audit at the island end where receipts could be checked against a known standard. The administrative simplification served both the Coast and the island accounts. The shortfall of 16 men on the Golden Fleece, given as the first complement at departure, points to losses sustained on the outward and Coast legs rather than to under-recruitment in England. The company's contractual response, channelling the replacement cost to the owners, perhaps reflected the working pattern by which seasonal mortality and desertion at Indian stations consistently affected homeward crew strength, and the company had structured the charter parties to externalise the resulting cost.
153	164	Fort S[t] George the 19[th] of January 1681 Invoice of Rice & Paddy laden by the Right Worpp W[illia]m Gyfford Esqr Agent Gov[ernor] & Councill in Fort S[t] George for ac[c]omp[t] of the Hono[ble] Comp[any] of Merch[an]ts trading to the East Indies in & vpon y[e] good Shipp called the Golden Fleece burthen 565 Tonns or thereabouts whereof is Comand[er] for this p[re]s[en]t voyage Cap[t] James Cooke bound by y[e] Allmightyes p[er]mission for the Island of S[t] Helena and goes consigned to y[e] Worpp the Gov[ernor] & Councill of S[t] Helena being marked as p[er] margent the p[er]ticulers & cost as followes viz[t] Golden Fleece Rice 50 Baggs, each bagg of Nett 2 wright 100 - 0 - 00 makes Candy 22 - 08 maund which contains measured 4776 att meas[ured] 5 - 75 [..] 1 Fanam, is 973 Fanams which att 36 Fanams y[e] pag[oda] amo[un]t[s] to P[agodas] 27 - 01 - 0 Single baggs, Coolery & Boathire - 5 - 13 - 0 32 - 14 - 0 Paddy 10 Baggs, each bagg of Nett 2 wright y[..] [..] 20 - 0 - 00 or Candy 4 - 09 - 15 which containe measured 4620 att 14 meas[ured] to 1 Fanam, is Fanams 116 att Fanams 36 [..] y[e] pag[oda] amo[un]t to P[agodas] 3 - 08 - 0 Single baggs Coolery & Boathire - 1 - 02 - 3 4 - 10 - 3	Fort St George, 19 January 1681. The invoice covered the rice and paddy laden on the Golden Fleece, of about 565 tons burthen and commanded for this voyage by Captain James Cooke, bound for St Helena and consigned to the Governor and Council of the island for the account of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies. The cargo was marked as set out in the margin and itemised as follows. Rice 50 bags, each bag of net 2 [...] weight 100 [...] 0 [...] 0 [...], making 22 candies 8 maunds Measured contents 4,776 measures at 5 measures and 75 [...] to 1 fanam 973 fanams at 36 fanams per pagoda 27 pagodas 1 fanam 0 cash Single bags, coolie hire and boat hire 5 pagodas 13 fanams 0 cash Rice subtotal 32 pagodas 14 fanams 0 cash Paddy 10 bags, each bag of net 2 [...] weight 20 [...] 0 [...] 0 [...], making 4 candies 9 maunds 15 [...] Measured contents 4,620 measures at 14 measures to 1 fanam 116 fanams at 36 fanams per pagoda 3 pagodas 8 fanams 0 cash Single bags, coolie hire and boat hire 1 pagoda 2 fanams 3 cash Paddy subtotal 4 pagodas 10 fanams 3 cash Seed paddy 1 bag, marked No. 1, called Ponchares, of 280 [...] 22 [...] 2 [...] 0 [...], making 200 measures at 11 measures to 1 fanam 0 pagodas 18 fanams 1 cash

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		Seed Paddy 1 Bagg N[o] 1 called Ponchares of 280 [..] y[..] 22 - 2 - 00 makes measured 200 att 11 measured for 1 Fan[am] is P 0 - 18 - 1 Single bagg Coolery, & Boathire - 0 - 03 - 3 0 - 21 - 4 Rice 50 baggs & Paddy 11 baggs amo[un]t[s] to P 37 - 10 - 1 Errors excepted Transcribed & Examined p[er] J[ohn] Stables [..] Jno: Bridger	Single bag, coolie hire and boat hire 0 pagodas 3 fanams 3 cash Seed paddy subtotal 0 pagodas 21 fanams 4 cash Grand total 50 bags of rice and 11 bags of paddy 37 pagodas 10 fanams 1 cash Errors excepted. Transcribed and examined by John Stables [...] and John Bridger. **Interpretations** The grand total of 37 pagodas 10 fanams 1 cash differs from the figure of 374 pagodas 10 fanams 1 cash given in the covering despatch of the same date. The invoice arithmetic, by adding the rice subtotal of 32 pagodas 14 fanams 0 cash, the paddy subtotal of 4 pagodas 10 fanams 3 cash and the seed paddy subtotal of 0 pagodas 21 fanams 4 cash, points to a figure in the order of 37 to 38 pagodas, which fits the present invoice but not the despatch. The discrepancy reveals the working risk of transcription error in the multi-stage copying of invoices and covering letters between the Coast Council and the island. The compound measurement system used at Fort St George combined weight in candies and maunds with volume in measures, the latter being the operative unit for valuation through the conversion to fanams. The conversion ratio differed sharply between rice and paddy, with rice at 5 measures and 75 [...] to the fanam against paddy at 14 measures to the fanam, reflecting the lower per-unit value of the unhusked grain. The charges for single bags, coolie hire and boat hire formed a separate sub-line for each commodity, identifying the procurement logistics rather than absorbing them into the principal price. The arrangement supported the working audit at the island end, where the Council could test the principal commodity charge against the working measure independently of the packaging and transport costs. The seed paddy was marked No. 1 and called Ponchares, identifying a specific varietal supply distinguished from the bulk paddy. The same name had appeared in the Coast invoices for the homeward fleet of 28 January 1679, where pancharee seed paddy was carried on the Falcon, Society and Nathaniel as part of the experimental sowing programme. The continuity of the variety name reveals the working persistence of the seed trial across at least two seasons. John Stables appears here as a transcribing and examining clerk at Fort St George, marking the working separation between the originator of the invoice and the verifying officer. John Bridger, as a Coast Council member previously signing the despatches of 23 January 1679 and 2 February 1680, countersigned the invoice for the present consignment. **Speculations** The discrepancy between the despatch total and the invoice total perhaps arose from a clerical error at the despatch-writing stage, where the figure was probably copied from a working note and inflated by an order of magnitude. The invoice arithmetic, being internally consistent through the rice, paddy and seed paddy subtotals, is more likely to carry the correct working figure. The error illustrates the practical limits of the documentary controls intended to govern the supply chain, since even matched documents issued on the same day from the same body could carry inconsistent totals. The single bag of seed paddy at a value of less than one pagoda, included alongside a much larger bulk consignment, perhaps reflected a deliberate Coast practice of maintaining the experimental sowing programme at marginal cost, with each ship of the homeward fleet carrying a small varietal supply to spread the risk of seed loss across the fleet. The administrative cost of the separate sub-line, with its own measure conversion and its own packing charges,

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			exceeded the practical commercial value of the bag itself, indicating that the entry served a procedural rather than an economic purpose.
154	165	Laden by the grace of God in good ord[er] & well conditioned by Right Worpp Wm Gyfford Esqr Agent & Govern[or] & Councill in Fort S[t] George for acc[oun]t of the Hono[ble] English East India Comp[any] in & vpon the good Shipp called the Golden Fleece burthen 565 Tonns or thereabouts whereof goeth Mast[er] vnder God for this p[re]sent Voyage Capt: James Cooke now rideing att Anchor in the roade of Madraspatam and by Gods grace bound for the Port of S[t] Helena, that is to say fifty baggs of Rice of five Tonns and Tenn baggs of Paddy of one Tonn being marked and numbred as p[er] margent and are to be delivered in the like good ord[er] & well conditioned (the danger of the Seas onely excepted) att the aforesaid Port of S[t] Helena vnto the Worpp y[e] Gov[ernor] and Councill there for acc[oun]t of the Hono[ble] English East India Comp[any] and for the true p[er]formance hereof the Master or Purser of the sayd Shipps hath sign[e]d to three bills of Lading all of this tenour and date the one of which being accomplished the other two to stand voyd and of none effect, And for God send the good Shipp to her desyred port in safety Amen Dated in Fort S[t] George the 19[th] of Jan[uar]y 1681/82 Inside & contents of the above mention[e]d goods are unknowne To S[t] Helena James Cooke Rec[eived] by us the Govern[or] and Councill of the Sayd Island of Cap[t] James Cook Com[m]and[er] of the Shipp Golden Fleece the contents of the within written bill of Lading being 50 Baggs of course Rice and 11 baggs of Paddy but the Rice haveing bin pack[e]d vpp in single thin and slight gunny Baggs will needs some Waste and lo[ss]e Wittness o[u]r hands this 30 of May 1682 Signed by Govern[or] J[ohn] Johnson L[..] Morris M[r] Swallow Copy	Madraspatam, 19 January 1682. The bill of lading was issued by the right worshipful William Gyfford, Agent Governor, and the Council at Fort St George, for the account of the Honourable English East India Company. The cargo was laden in good order on the Golden Fleece, of about 565 tons burthen, commanded under God for this voyage by Captain James Cooke, then riding at anchor in the road of Madraspatam and bound for the port of St Helena. The consignment comprised 50 bags of rice weighing 5 tons and 10 bags of paddy weighing 1 ton, marked and numbered as set out in the margin. The goods were to be delivered in the same good order at St Helena to the Governor and Council there, for the account of the company, with the danger of the seas only excepted. The master or purser of the ship signed three bills of lading of the same tenor and date, with the first to be accomplished completing delivery and the others standing void. The contents inside the bags were unknown to the shipper. Signed by James Cooke. Receipt at St Helena, 30 May 1682. The Governor and Council acknowledged receipt from Captain James Cooke, commander of the Golden Fleece, of 50 bags of coarse rice and 11 bags of paddy as set out in the bill of lading. The rice had been packed in single thin and slight gunny bags and was expected to suffer some waste and loss in consequence. Signed by Governor John Johnson, [...] Morris and Mr Swallow. **Interpretations** The voyage of about 16 months from the bill of lading at Madraspatam on 19 January 1682 to the receipt at St Helena on 30 May 1682 indicates approximately 131 days at sea, fitting the working pattern of the homeward Indian Ocean route from the Coast. The pattern matched the comparable voyage of the Josiah from Surat in 1682, which had completed her passage in about 127 days. The double dating 1681/82 at the foot of the bill reflects the working English calendar convention before the change of style. The new legal year began on 25 March, so a document issued on 19 January fell under the old-style year 1681 but the new-style year 1682. The convention required both years to appear on documents in the January to March period to remove any ambiguity. The modern reading is 19 January 1682. The bill of lading recorded the quantities by weight in tons rather than by the candy-maund system used in the invoice of the same date, with 5 tons of rice for the 50 bags and 1 ton of paddy for the 10 bags. The use of tons in the bill matched the working English shipping convention for charter party freight calculation, while the candy-maund system in the invoice supported the working Coast accounting for the cost of procurement. The number of paddy bags differed between the documents and the receipt. The despatch and invoice of 19 January 1682 each recorded 10 bags of paddy and 1 separate bag of seed paddy, making 11 in total. The bill of lading itemised only 10 bags of paddy without mention of seed paddy. The receipt at the island recorded 11 bags of paddy as a single category, indicating that the seed paddy bag had been treated as part of the paddy consignment for the purpose of physical delivery. The phrase the danger of the seas only excepted reserved the carrier from liability for loss by maritime peril, the standard common-law exception in early modern bills of lading. The limitation defined the carrier's risk as confined to actions within his control,

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			with all natural maritime hazards falling on the owner of the goods. The triple bill of lading served as a standard documentary control. One copy travelled with the cargo, one was retained by the shipper at Fort St George, and one was sent by alternative route. The first to be accomplished standard ensured that only one copy could be presented for delivery, preventing duplicate claims against the carrier. The complaint by the Governor and Council at the island about thin and slight gunny bags reveals the working documentary discipline applied at the point of receipt. The endorsement formally reserved the position of the island establishment against any later challenge over short delivery, by recording the cause of waste as a packaging defect rather than as a fault in the receiving administration. The receipt signatories show the working continuity of the island Council from the earlier handover entries. John Johnson, previously appearing as Joshua Johnson, had advanced to the governorship of the island. Morris and Swallow had earlier signed the receipt for the Josiah cargo on 30 May 1682 in the same capacity. **Speculations** The packaging defect noted at the receipt perhaps reflected a deliberate cost-saving by the Coast Council, where double-bagging or stronger gunny would have absorbed part of the small per-bag margin recorded in the single bags, coolie hire and boat hire sub-line of the invoice. The endorsement at the island foreshadowed the working dispute over the resulting short measure, with the Council protecting itself against an audit challenge by recording the defect at the moment of receipt rather than after the rice had been issued from stores. The retention of the standard maritime exception clause in a bill issued for a voyage of about 131 days, on a route subject to predictable monsoon and seasonal weather, perhaps reflected the working risk allocation by which the company as owner bore all weather-related loss while the carrier bore only the loss attributable to his own fault. The arrangement supported the working insurance discipline of the company, which carried the maritime risk through its own diversified consignment across multiple ships rather than through a market insurance. The discrepancy between the bill of lading's 10 bags of paddy and the receipt's 11 bags probably reflected the working consolidation of the seed paddy bag with the bulk paddy at the point of physical delivery, since the seed paddy was a single bag of distinctive variety carried alongside the larger consignment. The Council's working practice of recording paddy by physical count rather than by sub-category supported the simpler audit of the receipt against the bill, even where the invoice itemised the seed paddy separately for accounting purposes.
155	166	To the Worpp y[e] Gov[ernor] & Fort S[t] George Feb[ruary] 11. 1681/2 Councill in S[t] Helena By y[e] Golden Fleece wee sent you 5 Tunns of Rice and 1 Tun of Paddy as p[er] Bill of Lading then sent your coppy whereof now sent by the George George Wee now send you by the George a female spotted Deer, and intend to send you a Buck by y[e] Cesar and another Doe by the Bangall mereh[ant] which wee Desire you to keepe for a Breed & hope they will greatly encrease vppon the Island, which will bee both to y[e] s[ai]d Shipps Conveniency and bee ready likewise to supply his Majesty, and the Hono[ble] Comp[any] when they their have Occasion, it being neare at hand Wee haue nothing more to add but Remaine Y[ou]r Loveing Freinds William Gyfford	To the Governor and Council at St Helena, Fort St George, 11 February 1682. Sirs, The Coast Council reminded the island that the Golden Fleece had earlier carried 5 tons of rice and 1 ton of paddy, with the bill of lading already sent. A copy now travelled by the George. The George brought a female spotted deer as breeding stock for the island. A buck was to follow on the Caesar and a second doe on the Bengal Merchant. The animals were to be kept for breeding, in the expectation that the herd would increase on the island and serve as a ready supply for the ships, for his Majesty and for the company. The Council closed with no further matter to add and remained the island's loving friends.

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		Jn[o] Bridger Tim[othy] Wilkes John Pigrig Elihu Yale	Signed by William Gyfford, John Bridger, Timothy Wilkes, John Pigrig and Elihu Yale. **Interpretations** The despatch of breeding stock across three separate ships, with one doe on the George, a buck on the Caesar and a second doe on the Bengal Merchant, reveals the working risk-management practice of the Coast Council applied to live animal transport. The arrangement spread the breeding pair and the spare doe across multiple bottoms, so that no single shipwreck or seizure could eliminate the herd before establishment on the island. The spotted deer, identifiable as the Indian chital, formed part of a deliberate Coast initiative to introduce a productive animal population on the island, supplementing the existing cattle and goat herds. The reference to a ready supply for the ships, for his Majesty and for the company indicates that the Coast Council saw the island as a strategic provisioning post serving both the homeward fleet and the wider royal and commercial interest. The double dating 1681/82 reflects the same working English calendar convention recorded for the bill of lading of 19 January 1682, with the new legal year beginning on 25 March. The modern reading is 11 February 1682. The despatch fell within the same homeward season as the earlier rice and paddy supply. The reference to nearness, with the island described as near at hand for supply to his Majesty and the company, reflects the working geography of the South Atlantic route in the Coast Council's understanding. The phrase reveals the strategic positioning of the island on the homeward leg, where a working herd could supply outbound and homebound traffic without the need for distant procurement. Elihu Yale continues to appear in the Coast Council signatures, alongside William Gyfford as Agent Governor, John Bridger, Timothy Wilkes and John Pigrig. The composition matches that of the despatch of 19 January 1682, indicating the working stability of the Coast Council across the homeward fleet sailings of the season. **Speculations** The decision to send a female first on the George, with the buck following on the Caesar, perhaps reflected the working sailing order of the homeward fleet rather than a deliberate sequencing of breeding stock. The Coast Council probably loaded each animal as the vessel became ready for departure, with the limiting factor being the availability of the breeding stock at Madraspatam rather than the optimal arrival sequence at the island. The unequal allocation, with two does and one buck, supported the working aim of rapid herd establishment on a polygynous breeding model, where a single male could service multiple females. The reference to supply for his Majesty, set alongside the company's own use, perhaps signals the Coast Council's awareness of the wider strategic interest in the island as a victualling station for royal naval traffic on the homeward Indian Ocean route. The phrasing places the herd within the broader framework of the company's chartered relationship with the Crown under the letters patent of 16 December 1673, where royal sovereignty over persons had been reserved while territorial control passed to the company.
156	167	Our Govern[or] & Councill London this 20 of May att S[t] Helena 1683 Wee have yo[ur] of the 18[th] of January last by the Faulcon advysing yo[ur] receipt of the Stores & p[ro]visions sent you on the Soudy, the mistakes comitted in the Invoice are noted and rectifyed, and Wee doubt not but you will see husband and improve this great supply Wee made you, as to be thereby enabled (with what the Island soe plentifully produces)	London, 20 May 1683. To the Governor and Council at St Helena. The company acknowledged the Council's letter of 18 January 1683, brought by the *Falcon*, advising the safe receipt of the stores and provisions earlier sent on the *Soudy*. The errors in the invoice had been noted and put right. The company expected the island to manage and improve this large supply, so that with the island's own produce it could maintain and defend itself for several

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		to maintaine & defend it without further expecta- tion of being recruited from hence for some yeares, and it will be yo[ur] parts soe to encourage the Inhabitants in their plantations, that by their labor and industry the Island may yeild an encrease of whatever is necessary for their comfortable subsistance, Our expectations from you being apprehensions of o[ur] charge yearely whatever is you [..] that o[ur] Island may at last maintaine it selfe w[i]thout putting vs to further expences/ ·2· Wee note yo[ur] proceedings in stating y[e] acc[oun]ts of the Sol- and Planters and doe recomend it to yo[ur] care to recover m[oney] debts as fast as you can, and to putt in execucon the Orders and Rules made for the good Government and defence of the Island and retrenching our charge and bringing it within a narrower compasse, In order whervnto as any of the Sol- diers Plant[ers] the number of the Couldery dec[reaseth] you must in proportion lessen the Officers now in pay especi- considering how little duty some of them doe p[er]forme if we be not mistaken in o[ur] intelligence/ ·3· There will many inconveniencyes arise to o[ur] p[re]judice if you be not punctuall in observeing the[e] Rules which vpon good advice Wee made touching the distribution & allottm[en]t of ground & Cattle on the Island, Wee therefore require that the same be strictly complyed with, and that none be suffered to enjoy the proportion of Lands assigned them, vnlesse they alsoe the number of persons to reside thereon, and the Cattle keep[t] appointed, Nor any persons to have two plantations w[i]thsoever **Margin Notes:** ·1· we have rec[eived] your Letter by the Faulcon, and you must do whatever it can to encou- rage the Inhabi- tants in their plantations/ ·2· you must gett in our debts at fast as you can and put in Exe- cution y[e] Rules & Orders made for y[e] Good Govern- ment of y[e] Island ·3· If you do not take perticu- lar care in y[e] distribution & allottment of y[e] Land & Cattle g[reat] inconveniencyes may arrise to our preju- dice	years without further consignments from London. The Governor and Council were to encourage the planters to work and improve their holdings, so that the island would yield everything needed for comfortable subsistence. The aim was to free the company from annual charges, with the island at last paying its own way. The company noted the Council's progress in settling the accounts of the soldiers and planters. The Council was directed to recover the planter debts as fast as possible and to enforce the orders and rules made for the good government and defence of the island, with a view to reducing the company's charge. As the number of soldiers fell through conversion to planter status, the officer establishment was to be reduced in the same proportion, since some officers were reported to be doing little duty. The remark drew on company intelligence about the working position on the island. The company stressed that strict observance of the land and cattle rules was essential to prevent prejudice to its interest. No planter was to retain the allotted acreage unless he also kept the required number of residents and cattle on the holding. No person was to hold two plantations under any condition. The directive extended the two-plantation prohibition: holdings acquired by purchase or by any other means were to be kept in distinct hands. The aim was to preserve the original purpose of the land grants, which was the strength and security of the island. For the future, the Governor and Council were to be sparing in allotting ground or cattle to any person other than those with a settled right under the company's existing agreements. The petitions of Lieutenant Johnson and Mr Moore had been considered, but the company saw no reason to answer their desires. All the black slaves were to be kept constantly employed on the company plantation and in the fishery. The Council was to proceed with the construction of the stone platform, now that the tools, materials and instruments proper for that work were on hand. The company expected the island's books of account, fairly balanced, to be sent home each year by the Surat and Coast ships. The records would show the true state of the island's affairs and the savings made against the great charge. The petition of Joseph Church the chaplain had also been considered. To encourage him, the company allowed him the same privileges enjoyed by Mr Wynn his predecessor. He was not obliged to teach any children except those already able to read. The arrangement was meant to keep him at his post, provided he received the standing in office due to him from the Council and the respect due from the planters and soldiers as a Minister of the Gospel. The company hoped he would not leave the island before a replacement could be provided, but allowed him liberty to return if otherwise resolved. Mr Wynn, on his arrival in London, had had his account stated and received the balance due to him. The *Scipio Africanus*, bound for Bantam, carried a parcel of glass for making windows, with lead and other materials, as the Governor had requested. The invoice and bill of lading were enclosed. Whatever remained after fitting the company's own house was to be sold to best advantage, with the proceeds placed to the company's account. Signed [...]. **Interpretations** The prohibition on combining holdings, whether by purchase or by any other means, gave the two-plantation rule its operative reach. Without the extension to acquisitions other than original grant, a planter could lawfully accumulate land through ordinary market transactions and so defeat the militia and cattle

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			obligations attached to each acreage band under Article 1 of the by-laws of 20 March 1680. The directive treated land consolidation as a defence question rather than as a question of private property, since each holding carried a fixed contribution to the militia roll. The reservation of slave labour to the company plantation and fishery, in answer to the petitions of Lieutenant Johnson and Mr Moore, supported the public-table policy under which the plantation and the fishery were to bear the cost of the Governor's table with a surplus for sale to ships, as directed by the despatch of 24 March 1680. The petitions, the contents of which are not given, perhaps sought the loan or hire of company slaves for private cultivation, an arrangement that would have diverted labour from the public productive base. The stone platform programme drew on the directive of 24 March 1680, when 20 tons of lime had been supplied for the replacement of wood platforms with stone. The reference to the conveniency of tools, materials and instruments proper for that work matches the working contents of the *Society* consignment of 26 March 1680, which had supplied a complete stone-working kit of stone-hewing tools, points, chisels, axes, beckmets and masons' rubbing stones, together with 80 hogsheads of sifted lime. The requirement to send the books of account, fairly balanced, by the homeward Surat and Coast ships extended the documentary control regime from the stores procedure of 24 March 1680 to the full island administration. The arrangement made the audit of the island the routine business of the homeward shipping, with the books treated as a regular consignment rather than as an exceptional return. The settlement of Joseph Church's privileges on the model of his predecessor reveals the working continuity of chaplain conditions on the island. Mr Wynn appears here as the standard reference point for ministerial entitlements, indicating that he had been the chaplain referred to as Mr John Wynn or Mr Wynne in earlier records. The teaching restriction, excluding children unable to read, marked a working narrowing of the chaplain's duties from the original founding instructions of 19 December 1673, when Minister William Swindle had been engaged to teach the children of inhabitants and slaves without qualification. The *Scipio Africanus* carried the glass and lead for the Governor's house as a small private supply alongside her bulk consignment for Bantam. The arrangement reveals the working use of outbound East Indies ships for marginal island supplies, with the routing decision saving the cost of a dedicated voyage while still meeting the Governor's request. **Speculations** The phrase others by purchase or otherwise perhaps responded to a specific consolidation attempt at the island. The directive of 20 May 1683 had identified the two-plantation prohibition as the operative safeguard against combining holdings, and the present extension to all means of acquisition suggests that the original prohibition had been read narrowly at the island. The company's working position required the rule to cover every route to multiple landholding, including purchase, exchange, gift, marriage settlement and informal arrangement, since each carried the same threat to the militia roll. The teaching restriction allowed to Joseph Church, exempting him from teaching children unable to read, perhaps reflected a working compromise between the chaplain's preference for adult and educational work and the company's continuing commitment to basic literacy on the island. Under the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, the minister had received a separate £25 0s 0d per annum as schoolmaster, attached to the duty of teaching all children. The restriction here

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			perhaps signalled the working transfer of basic literacy teaching to a separate schoolmaster appointment, with the chaplain freed for sermon, catechism and pastoral work. The instruction to sell any surplus glass to best advantage and credit the proceeds to the company's account perhaps reflected the working caution of the Court against overstocking the Governor's house at company expense. By making the surplus a marketable commodity rather than a free supply, the directive preserved the company's working interest in any reduction of the cargo's intended use, while still permitting the Governor to draw what he genuinely needed for the construction work.
157	168	whether by purchase or otherwise, but to keep them all in distinct hands, that soe the great end of our granting those Lands which was the strength and security of the Island may be answered and attayned, And for the future Wee desire yo[u] to be very spareing in the allotting of ground or Cattle to any pso but such as by o[ur] agreem[en]t with them have a just right thereunto/ ·4· Wee have considered the petitions of L[ie]u[tenan]t Johnson & M[r] Moore but see now reason to answere their desires, but expect that all o[ur] black slaves be constantly employed in our owne plantacon and in the Fishery, and that you goe in hand with making the platforme of stones now you have the conveniency of tooles materialls and instrum[en]ts proper for that worke/ ·5· Wee expect to receive yearely by o[ur] Surratt & Coast Shipps yo[ur] Bookes of acc[oun]ts fairely ballanced, that Wee may see the true state of o[ur] affaires, and what retrenchm[en]t are made in o[ur] great charge there/ ·6· As for M[r] Joseph Church Wee have considered his desires, and for his encouragem[en]t are willing he shall have the same priviledge that M[r] Wynn his p[re]decessor enjoyed and not to be obliged to teach any children, but such as can already read, and this wee believe may dispose him to continue his paines amongst you, especially if he be found that life in office from yo[ur] selves, and respects from the Plant[er]s & Sold[ier]s as is due to his function & calling, as a Minister of the Gospell and Wee hope hee will not soe farre disappoint you, as to leave the Island, till Wee can provide you with another Neverthelesse if he be otherwise determined Wee give him his liberty to returne, M[r] Wynn vpon his arrivall here hath had his ac[coun]t stated and received the Ballance due to him thereon/ ·7· Wee have on this shipp the Scipio Affricanus bound for Bantam laden a parcell of glasse for makeing of windowes as was desyred by o[ur] Governo[r] with lead and other materialls as p[er] Invoyce & Bill of Lading inclosed, and doe order that what yo[u] thereof is not vsed for o[ur] owne house be sold to the best advantage and the proceede thereof plaid to o[ur] acc[oun]t/ Will[..] **Margin Notes:** And for the fu- ture we would have you be very spareing in the allotting of ground or Cattle to any p[er] son but such as by our agreem[en]t them haveing right thereunto ·4· We have Conside- red of y[e] peticon of L[t]: Johnson and Mr Moore, but see no reason to ansr their Desire/ ·5· Wee Expect to re- ceive yearely by o[ur] Surrat Shipps yo[ur] Bookes of Acco[un]ty ·6· We have Considered M[r] Church desires and for his encou- ragem[en]t are willing we shall have y[e] same priveledge y[e] M[r] Wynn his pre- decessor had, Wee have paid M[r] Wynn the ballance of his Account/	The directive extended the two-plantation prohibition: holdings acquired by purchase or by any other means were to be kept in distinct hands. The aim was to preserve the original purpose of the land grants, which was the strength and security of the island. For the future, the Governor and Council were to be sparing in allotting ground or cattle to any person other than those with a settled right under the company's existing agreements. The petitions of Lieutenant Johnson and Mr Moore had been considered, but the company saw no reason to answer their desires. All the black slaves were to be kept constantly employed on the company plantation and in the fishery. The Council was to proceed with the construction of the stone platform, now that the tools, materials and instruments proper for that work were on hand. The company expected the island's books of account, fairly balanced, to be sent home each year by the Surat and Coast ships. The records would show the true state of the island's affairs and the savings made against the great charge. The petition of Joseph Church the chaplain had also been considered. To encourage him, the company allowed him the same privileges enjoyed by Mr Wynn his predecessor. He was not obliged to teach any children except those already able to read. The arrangement was meant to keep him at his post, provided he received the standing in office due to him from the Council and the respect due from the planters and soldiers as a Minister of the Gospel. The company hoped he would not leave the island before a replacement could be provided, but allowed him liberty to return if otherwise resolved. Mr Wynn, on his arrival in London, had had his account stated and received the balance due to him. The *Scipio Africanus*, bound for Bantam, carried a parcel of glass for making windows, with lead and other materials, as the Governor had requested. The invoice and bill of lading were enclosed. Whatever remained after fitting the company's own house was to be sold to best advantage, with the proceeds placed to the company's account. Signed William [...]. **Interpretations** The prohibition on combining holdings, whether by purchase or by any other means, gave the two-plantation rule its operative reach. Without the extension to acquisitions other than original grant, a planter could lawfully accumulate land through ordinary market transactions and so defeat the militia and cattle obligations attached to each acreage band under Article 1 of the by-laws of 20 March 1680. The directive treated land consolidation as a defence question rather than as a question of private property, since each holding carried a fixed contribution to the militia roll. The reservation of slave labour to the company plantation and fishery, in answer to the petitions of Lieutenant Johnson and Mr Moore, supported the public-table policy under which the plantation and the

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		·7· Wee have sent a parcell of Glass for Windowes and Lead w[i]thall, by this Shipp as appea[r]s or by Invoice and Bill of Lading	fishery were to bear the cost of the Governor's table with a surplus for sale to ships, as directed by the despatch of 24 March 1680. The petitions, the contents of which are not given, perhaps sought the loan or hire of company slaves for private cultivation, an arrangement that would have diverted labour from the public productive base. The stone platform programme drew on the directive of 24 March 1680, when 20 tons of lime had been supplied for the replacement of wood platforms with stone. The reference to the conveniency of tools, materials and instruments proper for that work matches the working contents of the *Society* consignment of 26 March 1680, which had supplied a complete stone-working kit of stone-hewing tools, points, chisels, axes, beckmets and masons' rubbing stones, together with 80 hogsheads of sifted lime. The requirement to send the books of account, fairly balanced, by the homeward Surat and Coast ships extended the documentary control regime from the stores procedure of 24 March 1680 to the full island administration. The arrangement made the audit of the island the routine business of the homeward shipping, with the books treated as a regular consignment rather than as an exceptional return. The settlement of Joseph Church's privileges on the model of his predecessor reveals the working continuity of chaplain conditions on the island. Mr Wynn appears here as the standard reference point for ministerial entitlements, indicating that he had been the chaplain referred to as Mr John Wynn or Mr Wynne in earlier records. The teaching restriction, excluding children unable to read, marked a working narrowing of the chaplain's duties from the original founding instructions of 19 December 1673, when Minister William Swindle had been engaged to teach the children of inhabitants and slaves without qualification. The *Scipio Africanus* carried the glass and lead for the Governor's house as a small private supply alongside her bulk consignment for Bantam. The arrangement reveals the working use of outbound East Indies ships for marginal island supplies, with the routing decision saving the cost of a dedicated voyage while still meeting the Governor's request. **Speculations** The phrase others by purchase or otherwise perhaps responded to a specific consolidation attempt at the island. The directive of 20 May 1683 had identified the two-plantation prohibition as the operative safeguard against combining holdings, and the present extension to all means of acquisition suggests that the original prohibition had been read narrowly at the island. The company's working position required the rule to cover every route to multiple landholding, including purchase, exchange, gift, marriage settlement and informal arrangement, since each carried the same threat to the militia roll. The teaching restriction allowed to Joseph Church, exempting him from teaching children unable to read, perhaps reflected a working compromise between the chaplain's preference for adult and educational work and the company's continuing commitment to basic literacy on the island. Under the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, the minister had received a separate £25 0s 0d per annum as schoolmaster, attached to the duty of teaching all children. The restriction here perhaps signalled the working transfer of basic literacy teaching to a separate schoolmaster appointment, with the chaplain freed for sermon, catechism and pastoral work. The instruction to sell any surplus glass to best advantage and credit the proceeds to the company's account perhaps reflected the working caution of the Court against overstocking the Governor's house at company expense. By making the surplus a marketable

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			commodity rather than a free supply, the directive preserved the company's working interest in any reduction of the cargo's intended use, while still permitting the Governor to draw what he genuinely needed for the construction work.
158	169	Wee take notice of the defective Armes returned vs by the Faulcon according to our Order And for the better carrying on of our Affaires on that our Island Wee have thought fitt to discharge w[i]th[..] M[r] Beale the p[re]sent Dep[uty] Gov[ernor] and husband, [...] there and doe Order that hee bee discharged from his employm[en]t accordingly vpon receipt of this Letter, and doe appoynt Le[i]u[tenan]t Joshua Johnson to succeed him in the place of Dep[uty] Gov[ernor] and as o[ur] husband & Storekeep[er] eatt the Sallary of 40 [li] p[er] ann[um] and noe more requireing him to be dilligent & faithfull in the manakem[en]t of the sayd trust and you are to lett him know that Wee greatly dislike his or any other ingrossing & buying of goods vpon the arrivall of o[ur] Shippes there & hindering o[ur] Plant[er]s from the advantage & benefitt of trading with the Officers & Marin[ers] for sale & disposall of such provisions as their plantacons doe afford, and doe require that vpon give all due incouragem[en]t vnto the Plant[er]s as occasion required Wee remaine Yo[ur] Loveing Freinds Jeremy Sambrooke Rob[ert] Thomson Sam[uel] Moyer Berkeley Ri[chard] Hutchinson Jos[eph] Child Gov[ernor] W[m] Hedges Jn[o] Merrick Edward Rudge Tho: Papillon Dep[uty] Joseph Herne Tho: Canham Joseph Asks Chris[topher] Boone W[i]th[..] Sedgwick Jn[o] Lawrence Nath[..] Letten John Cudworth John Clerke ·9· Post S[crip]t Vpon M[r] Anthony Bealles surrender of his employm[en]t Wee require you to cause an exact acc[oun]t to be taken of all the stores that shall then be vnder his charge, and that they bee deliver[e]d by Inventory vnto Le[i]u[tenan]t Johnson, who is to stand charged & that they be charged thirewith by his giveing a Receipt for the same doe L[i]e[utenan]t Johnson takeing a Coppy of which Inventory you are to returne vs by the his receipt for the [..] next Shipps, And lett M[r] Bealle accomp[t] to you for all the stores that have bin sold/ Jos[eph] Child Gov[erno]r Tho: Papillon Dep[uty] **Margin Notes:** We take Notice of y[e] Defective Armes Returned us by the Faulcon/ ·8· We have discharged M[r] Beale from being Dep[uty] Govern[or] & Store keeper, and doe appoynt Le[i]u[tenan]t John[son] to succeed him in y[e] place of Dep[uty] Govern[or] & Store keeper at a Sala- ry of 40 [li] p[er] ann[um]/ ·9· Post S[crip]t We require you of an Exact acco[un]t be taken of all y[e] Stores [that] are vnder M[r] Beales charge & that they bee L[i]e[utenan]t Johnson takeing a Copy of his receipt for the [..] next Shipps	The defective arms returned by the *Falcon* under the company's earlier order had been noted. For the better conduct of the island's affairs, the company removed Mr Beale from his office. He was discharged from his employment as Deputy Governor and Husband from the moment of receipt of this letter. Lieutenant Joshua Johnson was appointed to succeed him as Deputy Governor and as the company's Husband and Storekeeper, at a salary of £40 0s 0d per annum and no more. Johnson was required to be diligent and faithful in the management of the trust. The company further directed that Johnson be told plainly that it greatly disliked his or any other person's practice of engrossing and buying up goods on the arrival of company ships at the island. The practice had been depriving the planters of the advantage and benefit of trading with the officers and mariners for the sale of such provisions as their plantations produced. The Council was to give all due encouragement to the planters as occasion required. The company closed as the Council's loving friends. Signed by Joseph Child as Governor, Thomas Papillon as Deputy, Jeremy Sambrooke, Robert Thomson, Samuel Moyer, Berkeley, Richard Hutchinson, William Hedges, John Merrick, Edward Rudge, Joseph Herne, Thomas Canham, Joseph Asks, Christopher Boone, William [...] Sedgwick, John Lawrence, Nathaniel Letten, John Cudworth and John Clerke. In a postscript on the discharge of Anthony Beale, the Council was directed to take an exact account of all the stores then under his charge at the moment of his surrender. The stores were to be delivered by inventory to Lieutenant Johnson, who was to be charged with them by giving a receipt. Lieutenant Johnson was to take a copy of the inventory, and the receipt was to be sent home by the next ships. Mr Beale was to account to the Council for all stores that had been sold. Signed by Joseph Child as Governor and Thomas Papillon as Deputy. **Interpretations** The discharge of Anthony Beale from the deputy governorship and the office of Husband and Storekeeper marked the eventual application of the conditional power granted to the Court in the directive of 24 March 1680. That earlier directive had authorised Beale's replacement if he refused the new four-point stores procedure of monthly Council meetings, the warrant register and the audit by the Council. The present discharge brought the conditional authority into operation. The phrase the better carrying on of our affairs presented the removal as a matter of administrative reform rather than as a disciplinary action, preserving Beale's standing while ending his employment. Lieutenant Joshua Johnson succeeded Beale at a salary of £40 0s 0d per annum, fixed at no more. The cap revealed the working cost discipline of the Court, which set the post below the £50 0s 0d per annum that Beale had received under the founding instructions of 19 December 1673. The reduction reflected the strategic policy of bringing the island within a narrower compass of charge, as stated in the directive of 20 May 1683. Johnson's earlier monthly rate of 40s as lieutenant under the directive of 20 February 1678, with planter benefits of thirty acres, one servant, one slave and four cows, was now consolidated with his deputy governorship into a single annual salary.

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			The practice of engrossing goods on the arrival of company ships, identified as objectionable in the discharge instruction, reveals a working abuse of the Husband's office. The officer in charge of the stores stood at the working point of contact between arriving ships and the island market, and was able to forestall the planters by buying up provisions or trade goods before they reached the open market. The arrangement diverted to the Husband the benefit of trade that was intended to support the planter incentive. The directive treated the malpractice as a structural risk of the office rather than as a personal failing of Beale, since Johnson was put on notice against the same conduct. The handover procedure by inventory and receipt drew on the working four-point stores procedure of 24 March 1680. The audit of the stores at the moment of Beale's surrender, the delivery by inventory and the formal receipt by Johnson supported a clean documentary break between the two administrations. The duplicate copy of the inventory, sent home by the next ships, gave the Court an independent record against which any later claim by Beale could be tested. The signatory list reveals the working composition of the Court under Sir Josiah Child as Governor and Thomas Papillon as Deputy. The presence of William Hedges, the future Agent at the Bay, marks an early stage of his career on the Court. The continuity of Christopher Boone, Edward Rudge, Thomas Canham, Samuel Moyer and Jeremy Sambrooke from the earlier despatches of 8 November 1678, 16 May 1679 and 24 March 1680 indicates the working stability of the Court's senior membership across the period. The reference to defective arms returned by the *Falcon* reveals the working operation of the recall of unserviceable muskets and carbines directed by the despatch of 24 March 1680. The *Falcon*, returning to London with the unserviceable weapons, completed the working cycle of the recall, with the company acknowledging receipt and presumably arranging for the arms to be repaired, scrapped or sold. **Speculations** The timing of Beale's discharge, set against the conditional authority of 24 March 1680, perhaps reflected a specific report by Captain Cooke of the *Golden Fleece* or another commander of the homeward fleet of 1683. The earlier conditional power had required evidence of Beale's refusal to comply with the new stores procedure before its activation. The present directive treated his removal as decided, suggesting that intervening reports had confirmed the working position. The Governor's report by the *Falcon*, returning the defective arms, may have carried the relevant intelligence. The cap on Johnson's salary at £40 0s 0d perhaps reflected a working calculation that the combined post of Deputy Governor and Husband should now cost less than under the founding instructions, on the principle that the smaller establishment of the island justified a smaller fee. The reduction from Beale's £50 0s 0d to Johnson's £40 0s 0d, set alongside the consolidation of the deputy governorship with the Husband's office, gave the Court a working saving of £10 0s 0d per annum on the senior officer pay roll, with the merger of the offices itself perhaps yielding further savings on subordinate posts. The targeting of engrossing as a malpractice perhaps responded to a specific complaint from the planters that had reached the company by separate channel. The directive's careful identification of the working harm, with the planters deprived of the advantage and benefit of trading with the officers and mariners, indicates that the Court had received a particular account of the problem rather than a general suspicion. The arrangement allowed the planters to sell provisions directly to the visiting ships at the working

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			market, with the Husband's role limited to receiving the company's own stores.
159	170	London y[e] 20[th] of May 1683 Invoice of Goods Laden by the Governe[r] & Company of M[er]chants of London tradeing into the East Indies in and vpon the good Shipp called the Scipio Affricanus Burthen 450 Tonns or thereabouts whereof goeth Com[m]and[er] Cap[t]: Edward Cooke bound by the Allmighty[e]s p[er]mission for the Port of Bantam on the Island Java Major, and att her returne from thence to the Island S[t] Helena and goeth consigned to their Governo[r] & Councill there resident for acc[oun]t of the Generall Joynt stock, the perticulers are as followeth viz[t] Window glasse cutt into squares & is for fower Chests N[o] 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 q[uantity] 920 foot att 3 [..] p[er] foot 11 - 10 - 0 Sodder 6 [..] in each Chest Ditto is in all 24 at 15 [..] p[er] 1 - 10 - 0 Lead drawen & is for 4 chests N[o] 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 q[uantity] 4 [..] w[eigh]t att 23 [..] p[er] C[..] 4 - 12 - 0 Yellow rozen & is for 1 Cask N[o] 9 q[uantity] 1 w[eigh]t at 15 - 0 One peell putt in Gunny N[o] 16 q[uantity] viz 4 Sodering Irons, 2 Turnsoss, & 2 hammers for glasswork am[ounts] to 15 - 0 19 - 2 Some totall of this Cargo (w[hi]ch God p[ro]sper) am[ounts] to 19 - 2 Francis Boyer Accomptant Generall Vera Copia exa[mina]t p[er] me R Blackmore Jun[ior]	London, 20 May 1683. The invoice covered goods laden by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies on the *Scipio Africanus*, of about 450 tons burthen, commanded by Captain Edward Cooke. The ship was bound for the port of Bantam on Java Major, and on her return was to call at St Helena, where the consignment was to be delivered to the Governor and Council resident there, for the account of the General Joint Stock. The particulars were as follows. Window glass 4 chests numbered 1, 2, 3 and 4, cut into squares 920 feet at 3d per foot £11 10s 0d Solder 24 [...] in 4 chests, 6 [...] each At 15d per [...] £1 10s 0d Lead, drawn 4 chests numbered 5, 6, 7 and 8 4 hundredweight at 23s per hundredweight £4 12s 0d Yellow rosin 1 cask numbered 9 1 [...] weight £0 15s 0d Glaziers' tools 1 parcel in gunny numbered 16, comprising 4 soldering irons, 2 turnsoss and 2 hammers for glasswork £0 15s 0d Sum total £19 2s 0d Signed by Francis Boyer, Accomptant General. True copy examined by R. Blackmore Junior. **Interpretations** The *Scipio Africanus* carried the glass consignment as a small specialised supply on her outward voyage to Bantam, with delivery scheduled for her return call at St Helena. The arrangement matched the working pattern of the *Caesar* of 13 May 1679, which had carried the cobbling supply of £10 8s 8d on a Bantam-routed voyage. The use of homeward-routed ships for marginal island supplies saved the cost of a dedicated voyage while still meeting specific requests from the Governor. The invoice total of £19 2s 0d marked the small scale of the consignment, set against the £3,138 1s 0d total of the *Society* cargo of 26 March 1680 or the £2,809 16s 5d of the *Johanna* invoice of 20 March 1678. The consignment was clearly intended as a targeted supply for a single construction project, with the materials proportioned to the working glazing of one building. The four chests of window glass, the four chests of solder and lead, the cask of yellow rosin and the single parcel of glaziers' tools formed a complete kit for the working installation of glazed windows at the island. The pricing of the glass at 3d per foot, with 920 feet across four chests, indicates a working unit of about 230 feet per chest. The solder and lead supported the lead-came glazing technique standard for the period, in which small panes were joined by lead strips soldered at the joints. The yellow rosin served as the flux for the soldering work. The reference to our own house, in the directive of 20 May 1683 accompanying the consignment, fits with the working concentration of the supply on a single building, perhaps the company's main establishment at the fort. The instruction to sell any surplus to best advantage gave the Governor flexibility to use the materials elsewhere if the principal building did not absorb the whole supply. The continuity of Francis Boyer as Accomptant General from the earlier *Johanna* invoice of 20 March 1678 and the *Caesar* invoice of 13 May 1679 marks the working stability of the company's accounting establishment across the period. R. Blackmore Junior, the verifying clerk, also continued from the earlier despatch of 24 March 1680 and the *Society* invoice of 26 March 1680. **Speculations** The detailed itemisation of the soldering equipment, with four soldering irons and two turnsoss,

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			perhaps reflected a working calculation that the soldering work would require multiple irons rotating in and out of the fire, with the larger number protecting the working continuity of the installation. The two hammers supported the parallel working of cutting and shaping the lead came. The arrangement indicated that the company anticipated the work to be done by a small team on the island rather than by a single craftsman. The yellow rosin entry, valued at 15s for one [...] weight, perhaps marked the working transition from beeswax-based flux to rosin-based flux in lead glazing of the period. The directive of 20 May 1683 had referred to the Governor's request for the materials, suggesting that the working specification had come from the island rather than from London, with the Governor identifying the precise flux preferred for the working conditions on the island.
160	171	Laden by the Grace of God by the Govr & Company of Merchants of London tradeing into the East Indies in and vpon the Good Shipp called the Scipio Affricanus burthen 450 Tonns or thereabouts whereof goeth Com[m]and[er] Cap[t] Edward Cooke bound by y[e] allmightys p[er]mission for the Port of Bantam on the Island Java Major, and att her returne from thence to the Island S[t] Helena, that is to say Window glasse cutt in squares foure Chests N[o] 1, 2, 3, 4 q[uantity] 920 foot S[..] pounds of Sodder in each Chest, Drawen lead in 4 Chests N[o] 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 q[uantity] 400 w[eigh]t yellow rozen one Caske N[o] 9 q[uantity] 1 w[eigh]t One peell putt in Gunny N[o] 10 q[uantity] 4 Soddering Irons, 2 Turncocks, & 2 Hamers for Glasiers, All merchantable & well conditioned & are in like manner to be delivered (the dangers of the Sea excepted) vnto their Gov[ernor] & Councill in S[t] Helena aforesayd free of freight & for the true p[er]forme hereof J[oh]n John Benson Purser have signed vnto three Bills of Lading of this tenor & date the one being accomplished the other to be voyd, And soe God send the sayd Shipp vnto her port aforesayd in Safety Amen Dated in London y[e] 20 day of May Anno Dni 1681 Inside & contents unknowne to me [J] Benson Signed & delivered in y[e] p[re]sence of viz[t] M[r] Hooper Elias Micklethwaite Rec[eived] by us y[e] Govr and Councill of y[e] Island of Capt Thomas Woodcock Com[m]and[er] of y[e] good Shipp Scipio Affricanus the Contents of the within written Bill of Lading, being foure Chests of glasse, foure Chests of lead and one Caske w[i]th Roz[i]n, some Peell in Gunny, but the glasse in 3 of y[e] 4 Chests will all receive some damage by sweateing in the thence of the Shipp it stand[s] this 5 day [..] Signed by Governor J[..] Morrice R[..] Swallow Coppy of y[e] Rec[eipt] on y[e] s[ai]d Lading	London, 20 May 1683. The bill of lading was issued by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies for the goods laden on the *Scipio Africanus*, of about 450 tons burthen, commanded by Captain Edward Cooke. The ship was bound for the port of Bantam on Java Major, and on her return was to call at St Helena. The consignment was as follows. Window glass cut in squares 4 chests numbered 1, 2, 3 and 4 920 feet Solder [...] pounds in each chest Drawn lead 4 chests numbered 5, 6, 7 and 8 400 [pounds] weight Yellow rosin 1 cask numbered 9 1 [...] weight Glaziers' tools 1 parcel in gunny numbered 10 4 soldering irons, 2 turncocks and 2 hammers for glaziers The goods were merchantable and well conditioned. They were to be delivered in the same manner at St Helena to the Governor and Council, free of freight, with the dangers of the sea only excepted. John Benson the purser signed three bills of lading of the same tenor and date, with the first to be accomplished completing delivery and the others standing void. The contents inside the parcels were unknown to him. Signed by J. Benson. Witnessed by Mr Hooper and Elias Micklethwaite. Receipt at St Helena, 5 [...]. The Governor and Council acknowledged receipt from Captain Thomas Woodcock, commander of the *Scipio Africanus*, of the contents of the bill of lading, being four chests of glass, four chests of lead, one cask of rosin and a parcel of glaziers' tools in gunny. The glass in three of the four chests had suffered damage by sweating in the hold of the ship. Signed by the Governor, [...] Morrice and [...] Swallow. Copy of the receipt on the bill of lading. **Interpretations** The change of commander from Captain Edward Cooke at London to Captain Thomas Woodcock at the island reveals a working transfer of command in the course of the voyage. The bill of lading had been signed at London with Cooke as commander, but delivery at St Helena was made by Woodcock. The arrangement perhaps reflected the working pattern by which the *Scipio Africanus* changed command at Bantam, with Cooke remaining in the East Indies for further service and Woodcock taking the ship homeward through the call at the island. The damage by sweating in the hold of the ship reveals a working maritime hazard for glass and other moisture-sensitive cargo on the long voyage. Condensation in the closed hold, particularly on the warm tropical legs of the route, formed water that pooled and seeped into the chests, damaging the glass

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			surface. The endorsement at the receipt formally recorded the cause of the damage, protecting the island establishment against any later challenge over short measure and identifying the working risk for future consignments of glass. The three damaged chests out of four marked the working scale of the loss, with three quarters of the consignment compromised. The directive of 20 May 1683 had ordered any surplus to be sold to best advantage, but the working position at delivery left the Governor and Council with reduced material to apply to the company's own house and limited prospect of sale. The witnesses Mr Hooper and Elias Micklethwaite served as the working clerks at the signing of the bill of lading at London. The witnessing procedure supported the documentary discipline by which the bill was issued in three copies of the same tenor and date, with the purser's signature authenticated by independent observers. The signatories at the island, [...] Morrice and [...] Swallow, continue from the receipt of the *Josiah* cargo on 30 May 1682, where Morrice and Smithson signed alongside the Governor. The continuity of Morrice and Swallow on the Council across the period indicates the working stability of the island administration under John Johnson as Governor. **Speculations** The double dating discrepancy between the bill of lading (1681) and the invoice (1683), if both dates relate to the same document, perhaps reflects a transcription error in the bill's date. The invoice carries the date 20 May 1683, matching the covering despatch of the same date, and the Bantam routing with return call at St Helena fits a working voyage of about two years to delivery. The 1681 date on the bill of lading is probably a clerical slip for 1683. The endorsement of the damage at the moment of receipt perhaps reflected the working practice established by the *Golden Fleece* receipt of 30 May 1682, where the Council had recorded the packaging defect in the rice bags as protection against later audit challenge. The arrangement preserved the documentary record of the loss as a maritime rather than an administrative fault, with the carrier's standard exception for dangers of the sea covering the working position of the island establishment. The use of gunny for the glaziers' tools parcel, in contrast to the chests for the glass and lead, perhaps reflected the working economy of the consignment, with the parcel of tools considered sufficiently robust for transport in lighter packaging. The arrangement saved the cost of a fifth chest while still keeping the tools as a distinct working unit for the glazier.
161	172	To the Worshipfull John Blackmore Gov[ernor] of S[t] Helena Wee wrote you by the Oakland the 16[th] p[re]sent, by w[hi]ch you will See its y[e] Hon[ourable] Comp[any]s Orders, that wee send you noe Paddy nor Rice, as vsuall, Wee bespeake yo[u]r kindnes to this Shipp Sampson Sampson, and that you will supply her soe farr as you Can, with what men may be wanting to her, wee heartily wish you all health & prosperity, & rest Your Worpp[full] humble Servants Swally Marine y[e] 26 Jan[uary] 1683/4 Mynd that another Letter of y[e] same tennor & Date was sent in y[e] ffalcon mentioning y[e] Dragon instead of y[e] Sampson Jo: Child Fra[ncis] Day Bar[tholomew] Harris John Gladman Cornibold	Swally Marine, 26 January 1684. To the worshipful John Blackmore, Governor of St Helena. The Surat Council reminded the Governor of their earlier letter of 16 January 1684, carried by the *Oakland*. The earlier letter had set out the Honourable Company's order that no paddy or rice was to be sent to the island this year, contrary to the usual practice. The Council asked the Governor to receive the *Sampson* kindly and to supply her with whatever men she might be wanting, so far as the island could do so. The Council closed with wishes for the island's health and prosperity, and remained the Governor's humble servants. The Council noted that a letter of the same tenor and date had also been sent by the *Falcon*, naming the *Dragon* in place of the *Sampson*. Signed by Josiah Child, Francis Day, Bartholomew Harris, John Gladman and Cornibold. **Interpretations**

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			The suspension of the annual paddy and rice supply from Surat marks a sharp departure from the standing arrangement established by the directive of 20 February 1678 and confirmed through the consignments of 1679, 1680 and 1682. The Honourable Company's order, carried by the *Oakland* on 16 January 1684, broke the regular working pattern of provisioning from the Indian Ocean. The Surat Council's brief letter recorded the new position without explanation, treating the change as a London directive to be implemented rather than as a Surat decision. The seamen supply request continued in operation despite the suspension of the provisioning supply. The charter party seamen supply clause, introduced from 1680, applied independently of the rice and paddy consignments. The arrangement reveals the working separation of the two annual obligations, with the manpower supply continuing as a structural feature of the homeward fleet's call at the island even when the commodity supply was interrupted. The duplicate letter sent by the *Falcon*, naming the *Dragon* in place of the *Sampson*, supported the working communication discipline of the Surat Council. By despatching the same instruction by two ships under different names, the Council ensured that the message would reach the island even if one vessel were lost or delayed. The arrangement also gave the Governor cover to recognise the seamen supply request from either ship, with the standing terms applied to whichever vessel arrived first. The Josiah Child appearing as signatory at Surat is probably not the same person as the Sir Josiah Child of the Court in London, who at this date served as Governor of the company. The convention of multiple Childs in the service of the company, with John Child as the earlier Surat signatory of 30 January 1678, indicates a family network operating at both the Court and the Indian stations. The Surat Josiah Child here is perhaps a son or nephew of the London Josiah Child, posted to Surat as part of the family's commercial advancement through the company. The continuity of the seamen supply request reveals the working maturation of the arrangement first introduced in 1680. The Surat Council treated the supply request as a routine working obligation rather than as an exceptional measure, asking the island to do what it could rather than imposing a fixed quota. **Speculations** The suspension of the rice and paddy supply perhaps reflected the working position established by the directive of 20 May 1683, in which the company had expected the island to maintain itself without further consignments from London for some years. The Surat Council's brief notice, with no explanation given for the suspension, suggests that the order was understood at Surat as an extension of the broader self-sufficiency policy from the London supply to the Indian Ocean supply. The double despatch by the *Sampson* and the *Falcon* (the latter naming the *Dragon*) probably reflected the working schedule of the homeward fleet, with the *Sampson* and the *Dragon* sailing on broadly the same window. By naming each ship in its own copy of the letter, the Surat Council preserved the working position that either vessel might call at the island and seek to use the seamen supply arrangement. The administrative simplification served both the Surat accounts and the island's working response. The brevity of the letter, contrasting with the substantial Surat despatches of 1679 and 1680, perhaps reflected the suspension of the principal commodity content. With no rice, no paddy, no invoice, no bill of lading and no charges to record, the Surat Council had only the procedural matter of the seamen supply request to communicate. The letter functioned as a working

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			courtesy and a charter party reminder rather than as a substantive provisioning despatch.
162	173	Our Governour & Councill London the 14[th] March att S[t] Helena 1683/4 p[er] Surratt p[er] Sh[i]p[p] Our last vnto You was by y[e] Scipio dated y[e] 20[th] May 1683. coppy whereof goes herewith, Which Wee confirme ye r[ec]t[?] of and thereunto referre you/ Wee have since by o[ur] Shipps r[eceiv]ed severall of yo[ur] the last dated y[e] 10[th] Decemb[er] by y[e] Society, w[hi]ch brought the three Shipps from y[e] Coast, & one Barnardiston, and Persia Merch[an]t from y[e] Bantam) arrived here the 14[th] of January last/ In the first place Wee take notice what You say touching the 2 Interlopers, Cap[t] Taylor & Capt: Allay, that were relieved & supplyed by you, the excuses you make for yo[ur] denia[l] cond[i]c[i]on of o[ur] doe show m are very vnsatisfact[ory] and vnsatisfactory, and that those that inhabit on Our Island, and have rec[eive]d all they have from vs, soe to make themselves restrayned of their iust right, if Wee doe not suffer them to assist & encourage those, that would ruine and destroy vs, is very extravagant, as well as the highest Ingratitude/ We have bin att great charge to plant & settle y[e] Island onely for y[e] accomodac[i]on of Shipps in o[ur] service, and that o[ur] charge and Expence should be made vse of to y[e] ruine of o[ur] trade, would be most vnreasonable/ ·2· yo[ur] talking of yo[ur] demanding yo[ur] dollers towards yo[ur] Countrymen, that yo[ur] accom[p]t may not reflect vpon vs, is vex[a]b[le] absurd and ridiculous, you are to feed o[ur] our Sold[ier]s while you & yo[ur] families subsist vpon o[ur] charge or by our favo[u]r, and leave vs to consider o[ur] owne concernes, Our comands are a sufficient Warr[ant] to You to Act accordingly/ Wee were resolved to have turned out o[ur] Govern[or] vpon this occasion, and to have sent one, that should have bin punctuall & strict in the observance of o[ur] Com[m]ands But vpon application of his freinds to vs, and their enterring into Bond of 5000 penalty, that he shall cause the future Orders duely to be executed, and observed Wee have continued him in his charge. (And **Margin Notes:** ·1· Reproofes for relieveing & supplying Cap[t] Taylor, and Cap[t] Alley Interlopers. ·2· And Companys Resentm[ent] thereof	London, 14 March 1684. To the Governor and Council at St Helena, by the Surat ship. The company referred the Council to its previous letter of 20 May 1683 sent by the *Scipio Africanus*, a copy of which travelled with this despatch. The Council was confirmed in the receipt of that earlier letter. The company had since received several letters from the Council by various ships, the last dated 10 December and brought by the *Society*. The *Society* had arrived at London on 14 January 1684 in company with the three ships from the Coast, the *Barnardiston* and the *Persia Merchant* from Bantam. The company turned first to the Council's account of two interlopers, Captain Taylor and Captain Allay, who had been relieved and supplied at the island. The Council's excuses for departing from the company's orders were unsatisfactory. The argument that the inhabitants of the island, having received all they had from the company, could be restrained of their just rights if they were forbidden to assist those who would ruin and destroy the company's trade, was both extravagant and the highest ingratitude. The company recalled that it had been at great charge to plant and settle the island only for the accommodation of ships in its own service. Allowing that charge and expense to be turned to the ruin of the company's trade would be most unreasonable. The Council's argument about demanding the dollars of the interlopers towards supplying their countrymen, so that the account would not reflect on the company, was absurd and ridiculous. The Council was bound to feed the company's soldiers while the Council and their families lived at the company's charge or by its favour. The Council was to leave the company to consider its own concerns. The company's commands were a sufficient warrant for the Council to act accordingly. The company had been resolved to remove the Governor over this matter and to send a replacement who would be punctual and strict in observing the company's commands. The Governor's friends had applied to the company on his behalf and had entered into a bond of £5,000 penalty that he would cause the future orders to be duly executed and observed. On that security the company had continued him in his charge. **Interpretations** The relief of Captain Taylor and Captain Allay as interlopers crossed the prohibition on assistance to private traders to the Indies set out in the directive of 24 March 1680, which had named Captain Olley in the *Expedition* as the specific target. The expansion of the prohibition from one named offender to a general policy reveals the working scale of the interloper challenge to the company's monopoly. The island's strategic position on the homeward Atlantic route made it a natural calling point for private ships seeking water, provisions and repairs, and the company's defensive position required the working co-operation of the Governor and Council in denying support. The bond of £5,000 entered by the Governor's friends marks a substantial financial security against the working risk of further breach. The sum compared with the annual salary scales of the senior officers on the island, where the chaplain received £55 0s 0d, the surgeon £30 0s 0d and the Deputy Governor £40 0s 0d. The £5,000 bond exceeded by a wide margin any plausible private resources of the Governor himself, indicating that his friends, perhaps a London merchant network, stood behind him with substantial capital. The arrangement operated as a working surety bond, with the friends forfeiting the sum if the Governor failed to enforce the future orders.

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			The argument advanced by the Council, that the inhabitants could not lawfully be restrained from supplying any visiting ship, raised a working question about the legal position of the planters under the company's territorial sovereignty. The Council had argued in effect that the planters retained ordinary commercial rights against any party with the means to pay. The company's response treated the argument as a misunderstanding of the working relationship between the planters and the company, with the planters' subsistence and security depending on the company's charge and the company entitled in turn to direct the working trade of the island. The dollar dispute reveals the working dynamics of the interloper exchange. The Council had recorded that it had taken dollars from the interlopers and applied them to feed the company's soldiers, presenting the transaction as protecting the company's account by avoiding the issue of company provisions. The company rejected the working logic, treating the soldier provisioning as a charge already due from the Council to the company under the standing arrangements. The transfer of interloper dollars to the soldier account thus had no working effect on the company's position but did establish a precedent for trading with the prohibited parties. The signatures on this despatch are not given, but the reference to applications from the Governor's friends and the entry of the bond reveals the working London-side influence on personnel decisions, first established in the despatches of 8 November 1678, 16 May 1679 and 24 March 1680. The friends of the Governor here exercised the same working channel of influence that had previously secured the return of soldiers, lieutenants and chaplains on the application of their relations, but on a much larger scale and in support of continued service rather than departure. **Speculations** The decision to send the present rebuke by the Surat ship rather than by a direct outbound voyage perhaps reflected the working schedule of London-island communications. The Surat ships called at the island on their homeward leg, making them a natural channel for time-sensitive despatches that could not wait for the spring outbound fleet. The arrival of the *Society* on 14 January 1684 with the Council's letter of 10 December gave the company about two months to draft and despatch the present response, fitting the working pattern of replies sent by the next available shipping. The decision to continue the Governor in office on the £5,000 bond, rather than to send the replacement initially resolved, perhaps reflected a working calculation that a new Governor would face the same temptations as the present one. The bond gave the company a working financial sanction against further breach, applicable to a Governor whose conduct was now under intimate London supervision through his friends. The arrangement perhaps proved more effective than removal, which would have lost the present Governor's local knowledge and exposed the island to the working risks of transition during the interloper season. The repeated phrase by the company about the inhabitants having received all they have from us perhaps reflected a specific argument advanced by the Council in its letter of 10 December, that the planters could not be deprived of their commercial rights without prejudice to their position. The company's careful rejection of the argument, treating the planters as dependants rather than as independent traders, perhaps signalled a wider working debate about the legal status of the planters under the by-laws of 20 March 1680, with the company asserting a paternal authority over the working trade of the island.

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163	174	And that there may be noe Excuse left, neither for him, nor any vpon the Island, but that everyone may be held to their Duty both to God and Vs, Wee have (besides those Lawes and orders alreadysent you for setling of Propriety) made & ordeyned the Lawes & constitut[i]ons which Wee Order[e]d are to take how with transmitted you vnder our Seale, Which Wee require you, within 6 dayes after receipt thereof, to cause to be publickly proclaimed in the most solemne manner, And that you and all Officers do take care that the said Lawes & constitut[i]ons be exactly observed and putt in execuc[i]on, according to their tenor and forme/ The said Lawes and constitut[i]ons are see plaine in themselves, that Wee need not enlarge vpon any of them as to all matters betweene party and party, & transgress[i]ons of o[ur] orders, the tryalls whereof are appointed by a Court of Justice, according to the formes of England, whereof Our Govern[or] is to be the Judge (He onely haveing power to administer an Oath) Wee require him to deale impartially, and to Act in all things, as in the sight of God, without favo[u]r or affec[ti]on to one, more then another/ And as to the matter concerning Interlopers, We have therein forbidden all manner of trade, with any, before the same shalbe allowed by Our Governours, by proclamac[i]on to be made for that purpose/ And Wee doe hereby Impower and Authorize Our said Gov[ernor] according to y[e] Limitac[i]on reserved to Vs, in the said Lawes, That vpon y[e] arrivall of any English Shipp that hath bin tradeing in y[e] East Indies tho the Master & Marriners shall not assigne up their Shipp and Cargo, as is menc[i]oned in the said Lawes, yet if the Master of such Shipp, shall agree and pay into Our said Gov[ernor] for Our Vse the summe of 20[s] sterling or the value thereof, for every Tonn burthen of such Shipp, according as Our said Gov[ernor] shall estimate the same, which lett vs to (doe **Margin Notes:** ·1· New Lawes and Constituc[i]ons now sent, to be proclaimed in 6 dayes after receipt, And all Officers are to take care they bee observed/ ·2· A Court of Justice appointed, whereof the Govern[or] is Judge, And hath power to administer an Oath/ ·4· All manner of trade & Interlopers Sudden till allowed by Governour by Proclamation/ ·5· Shipps tradeing to India comeing to S[t] Helena, and not assigneing Shipp and Cargo, are to pay 20[s] p[er] Tonn before admitted to trade.	To prevent any excuse, either for the Governor or for any person on the island, and to hold every man to his duty to God and the company, the company had drawn up new laws and constitutions in addition to the existing laws and orders already sent for the settling of property. The new laws were now transmitted under the common seal. The Governor and Council were required to cause them to be publicly proclaimed in the most solemn manner within six days of receipt. The Governor and all officers were to ensure that the laws and constitutions were exactly observed and put in execution according to their tenor and form. The new laws and constitutions were so plain in themselves that the company need not enlarge upon them. As to all matters between party and party, and to transgressions of the company's orders, trials were to be held in a Court of Justice in the form of England. The Governor was to be the judge. He alone had power to administer an oath. He was required to deal impartially and to act in all things as in the sight of God, without favour or affection to any one party over another. On the matter of interlopers, the new laws forbade all manner of trade with any ship until allowed by the Governor by proclamation made for that purpose. The company further empowered and authorised the Governor, in accordance with a limitation reserved to the company in the new laws, to admit to trade any English ship that had been trading in the East Indies even where the master and mariners refused to assign up their ship and cargo as required by the new laws, provided that the master agreed to pay the Governor, for the company's use, the sum of 20s sterling for every ton burthen of the ship, or the equivalent value. The Governor was to estimate the burthen. **Interpretations** The new laws and constitutions, sent under the common seal alongside the by-laws of 20 March 1680, mark the second major instalment of formal company legislation for the island. The by-laws of 1680 had governed the conditions of tenure, registration, inheritance, alienation and forfeiture of plantation land. The present laws extended the legislative framework to the criminal jurisdiction, the trade prohibition and the working response to interloper traffic. The arrangement reveals the working maturation of the company's chartered legislative power under the letters patent of 16 December 1673, with successive codes building a comprehensive working code for the island. The six-day publication requirement for the proclamation of the new laws marked a working procedural discipline borrowed from English statutory practice, by which acts came into force on a publicly known date. The solemn proclamation made the working content of the laws available to every inhabitant and removed any defence of ignorance in subsequent prosecutions. The arrangement supported the Court of Justice now established by giving it a public foundation for its working jurisdiction. The Court of Justice with the Governor as sole judge, and the sole power to administer oaths, concentrated the working judicial authority on the island in a single office. The arrangement departed from the standard English practice of a separate magistracy and jury, perhaps reflecting the small population of the island and the working absence of a trained legal establishment. The requirement that the Governor act as in the sight of God, without favour or affection, formed the working substitute for the procedural safeguards of the English common law system. The 20s per ton trade admission fee for East India ships unwilling to assign up their cargoes formed a working compromise between the absolute trade prohibition and the practical position of the company's monopoly defence. By offering the master the option of

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			paying a tonnage fee in lieu of forfeiture, the law converted the working interloper challenge from a question of trade prohibition to a question of trade taxation. The arrangement gave the company a revenue from the working traffic it could not entirely prevent, while preserving the formal monopoly position. The trade prohibition in its absolute form, with no manner of trade allowed until the Governor's proclamation, gave the Governor a working discretionary authority over the commercial life of the island. The arrangement made every visiting ship dependent on the Governor's personal sanction for any trade, supporting the working enforcement of the interloper policy that had prompted the £5,000 bond. The discretion also gave the Governor a working power against the planters, who could not trade with any visiting ship without the Governor's allowance. The trial procedure for matters between party and party extended the Court of Justice beyond the working enforcement of company orders to the working civil jurisdiction of the island. The arrangement reveals the company exercising the chartered judicial power under the letters patent of 16 December 1673, where the Crown had granted capital and corporal jurisdiction as a delegation of royal authority justified by distance. The present extension to civil cases between planters completed the working judicial coverage of the island administration. **Speculations** The 20s per ton tonnage fee perhaps reflected a working calculation of the company's lost margin on the cargo of an average interloper. By setting the fee at a level that approached the working freight rate for the carriage of East India goods to London, the company perhaps aimed to make the interloper option commercially unattractive while still capturing a working revenue from the traffic. The arrangement converted the prohibition into a working tariff, with the fee operating as a working duty on private trade rather than as an absolute bar. The reservation of the sole power to administer oaths to the Governor perhaps signalled a working concern that the multiplication of oath-takers on the island would weaken the working solemnity of the procedure. By concentrating the power in one office, the company preserved the working gravitas of the oath as the foundation of judicial testimony. The arrangement also gave the Governor a working monopoly on the evidential foundation of any prosecution, supporting his working position as sole judge. The requirement that the Governor act in the sight of God, without favour or affection, perhaps reflected the working absence of any institutional check on his judicial authority. The English common law system relied on the working separation of judge, jury and prosecutor, with each acting as a check on the others. The Governor as sole judge had no working external check beyond his oath of office and his bond to the company. The phrase placed the working check internally, on the Governor's conscience and his accountability to God, in the working absence of external procedural safeguards.
164	175	ee to the full extent of her Tonnage. That then upon the paym[t] of such mony or goods to [the] value thereof, Our said Gov[r] may grant to such Ship Liberty of trade & p[ro]fessio[n] upon [the] said Island, and accordingly make Proclamatio[n] thereof. Any thing in the said Lawes to [the] contrary notwithstanding. And also for any Ship's or Vessells that shall only trade to Madagascar, for Blacks and have not bin att any other place in [the] East Indies, nor have any East India goods or Merchandise on board them. Our said Gov[er]n[or] Agreein[g] with them, and upon their	The new law continued. Where an interloping East India ship paid the tonnage fee to the full extent of her burthen, whether in money or in goods to the value, the Governor was empowered to grant her liberty of trade and refreshment at the island, and to make proclamation accordingly, regardless of any contrary provision in the new laws. A separate working rate applied to ships and vessels trading only to Madagascar for slaves, where the vessel had been at no other place in the East Indies and carried no East India goods or merchandise. On

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		paym[t] to him for Our use, of the s[u]mme of 2[l] 6[s] sterling, or the value thereof in goods, to his satisfac[t]ion for every Ton burthen of the said Ship or Vessell, to be p[er]formed to [the] full extent as aforesaid, & not otherwise, may grant unto the said Ships or Vessells, liberty of trade & p[ro]fessio[n] upon [the] said Island, and make proclama[t]ion thereof accordingly. And Wee doe req[ui]ire that you keepe an exact Register by it selfe of all Ships & Vessells whatsoev[er] (as well in Our service, as not in O[u]r service, that shall come to the Island, with the names of the Ships, their burthen, Com[m]and[er], what Voyages they have bin, what dayes they arrived, and what dayes they departed thence, and of all other matters relateing to them. Coppy of which Register (attested by Our Govern[our] and Councill) Wee req[ui]ire to be sent us every yeere by some of Our Returne Shipps. and of this Wee expect an exact and punct[u]all p[er]formance. Wee understanding by M[r] Churches Letter that si[n]ce his Marriage, he is willing to continue, Wee have otherways disposed of the Minister designed to supply his place, and therefore are content that M[r] Church should remaine with you, and hope by his diligent p[re]aching and **Margin Notes:** Madagascar Ships what rates to pay p[er] [...] burthen Register to bee kept of all Ships arrivall, and sent the Company yearly. Aboutt M[r] Church's his continuance.	agreement with the Governor and payment to him for the company's use of £2 6s 0d sterling per ton burthen, or the value in goods to his satisfaction, applied to the full burthen of the ship, the Governor might grant liberty of trade and refreshment at the island, and make proclamation accordingly. The Governor and Council were required to keep an exact and separate register of all ships and vessels whatsoever that called at the island, including those in the company's service and those not in the company's service. The register was to record the name of each ship, her burthen, her commander, the voyage she had made, the date of her arrival and the date of her departure, together with all other matters relating to her. A copy of the register, attested by the Governor and Council, was to be sent home each year by some of the returning ships. The company expected an exact and punctual performance. The company had understood by Mr Church's letter that since his marriage he was willing to continue at the island. The minister designed to supply his place had therefore been otherwise disposed of. The company was content for Mr Church to remain at the island, and hoped he would continue with diligent preaching. **Interpretations** The two-tier tonnage system, with East India ships paying 20s per ton and Madagascar slave ships paying £2 6s 0d per ton, reveals a graduated working tariff calibrated to the relative threat to the company's monopoly. The East India ship rate was the lower of the two, perhaps reflecting the working calculation that a tonnage fee on an interloping East India ship represented partial compensation for the lost cargo margin, while the Madagascar ship carried no East India goods and was charged the higher rate for the right of refreshment alone. The differential pricing supported the working policy of distinguishing the two trades. The Madagascar slave trade rate of £2 6s 0d per ton marks the working separation of the slave trade from the East India trade under the company's monopoly. The Madagascar voyages had developed as a private English trade in slaves carried to the Caribbean and the American colonies, formally distinct from the company's chartered East India monopoly. The new law treated the Madagascar ships as a separate category, neither fully prohibited nor fully permitted, but admitted to the island on a higher working tariff that reflected the absence of any monopoly justification for the prohibition. The ship register requirement, capturing every vessel at the island whether or not in the company's service, formalised the working intelligence function of the island administration. The register supported the company's working surveillance of the homeward Atlantic trade, with the data on burthen, commander, voyage and dates giving the Court a comprehensive picture of the working traffic through the island. The annual transmission of the attested register provided the working evidence for any later prosecution of interlopers and for the working monitoring of the trade prohibition. The retention of Joseph Church as chaplain reverses the working pattern of his earlier petition, when the company had allowed him liberty to return if otherwise resolved under the directive of 20 May 1683. His marriage had changed the working calculation, with the Council perhaps reporting that he had settled into the island establishment. The arrangement reveals the working pattern by which marriage on the island was a working anchor for senior officers, drawing them into the planter establishment and reducing the working pressure for return to England. The minister designated to replace him was now redirected to other service.

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			The phrase otherwise disposed of, applied to the replacement minister, indicates that the Court had a working pool of clergy candidates available for posting across its stations and could reallocate a candidate from one post to another as circumstances required. The arrangement reveals the working scale of the company's clerical recruitment by 1684, with multiple chaplains under engagement at any one time for posts at the island, Bantam, Surat, Fort St George, the Bay and other establishments. **Speculations** The Madagascar tonnage rate of £2 6s 0d perhaps reflected a working calculation about the practical value of refreshment at the island for a slave ship returning from Madagascar to the Caribbean or the American colonies. The slave ships had typically taken on water and provisions on the East African coast and faced the working Atlantic crossing with a full cargo of slaves whose survival depended on adequate fresh supplies. The premium over the East India ship rate perhaps captured the working value of the refreshment to the slave trade, which had limited alternative calling points on the South Atlantic route. The two-tier tonnage system perhaps also reflected a working political calculation about the relative power of the East India interest and the Caribbean slave-trade interest in London. The East India ship rate of 20s per ton operated against a clearly identified rival in the company's own monopoly trade, where the company had every incentive to suppress the working competition. The Madagascar ship rate of £2 6s 0d operated against a trade that was nominally outside the company's monopoly but still benefited from the working facility of the island, where the company could extract a working revenue without engaging the slave-trade interest in a direct challenge to the principle of its trade. The retention of Joseph Church on the basis of his marriage perhaps reflected a working London understanding that an unmarried chaplain was a working flight risk, with the post offering no significant attractions beyond the salary and the working isolation of the island wearing on a single man over time. The arrangement perhaps anticipated the working policy of preferring married candidates for senior island posts, with the marriage operating as a working bond holding the officer to the post.
165	176	pious conv[er]sa[t]ion, he will be instrumentall for good to the Soules of the people there. And soe Com[m]ending You and Our Affaires to [the] blessing and guideance of the Almighty, Wee Remaine Yo[r] Loveing Freinds Jos[iah] Child Gov[ernor] James Ward Tho[mas] Papillon Dep[uty] R[i] Hutchinson Joseph Ashe Edward Rudge J[no] Lawrence John Cudworth Ja[mes] Edwards John DuBois Will[m] Sedgwick Jeremy Sambrooke John Clerke Joseph Herne J[no] Morden Tho[mas] Canham	The company hoped that, through Mr Church's diligent preaching and pious conversation, he would be an instrument for the spiritual good of the people on the island. The letter closed with the company committing the Council and its affairs to the blessing and guidance of the Almighty, and remained the Council's loving friends. Signed by Sir Josiah Child as Governor, Thomas Papillon as Deputy, James Ward, Richard Hutchinson, Joseph Ashe, Edward Rudge, John Lawrence, John Cudworth, James Edwards, John DuBois, William Sedgwick, Jeremy Sambrooke, John Clerke, Joseph Herne, John Morden and Thomas Canham. **Interpretations** The closing signatory list reveals the working composition of the Court at the date of the despatch, under Sir Josiah Child as Governor and Thomas Papillon as Deputy. The continuity of Edward Rudge, Thomas Canham, Joseph Herne, Jeremy Sambrooke and John Clerke from earlier despatches of the 1678 to 1680 period marks the working stability of the senior Court membership across the period. James Ward, Richard Hutchinson, John Cudworth, James Edwards, John DuBois, William Sedgwick, John Lawrence, John Morden and Joseph Ashe appear in the present list, indicating the working membership of the wider Court.

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			James Edwards continues from his earlier service as Deputy at the date of the founding instructions of 20 February 1678, where he had countersigned the Blackmore commission and the operational despatch. His reappearance as a Court member in 1684 marks the working pattern of senior officers serving in different capacities across the years. John DuBois appears as a Court member of the period, identifiable as part of the working Huguenot interest in the company's London membership after the working influx of French Protestant capital into the city. The arrangement reveals the broadening of the Court's membership during the 1680s. The pious conversation expected of Mr Church set the working ministerial standard at the island. Conversation in the working sense of the period meant the manner of life and conduct rather than merely speech, and the phrase placed the working expectation on the chaplain as a model of Christian conduct as much as on his preaching. The arrangement matched the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, when the Lord's Day observance and the punishment of profane swearing, intemperance, fornication, drunkenness, uncleanness and unlawful gaming had been set out as the working framework of social discipline.
166	177	By the Governour and Company of Merch[ts] of London tradeing into the East Indies att a Court of Com[m]ittees holden for the said Company [the] 30[th] Day of March in [the] 34[th] yeare of [the] reigne of o[u]r Soveraigne Lord Charles [the] 2[d] by [the] grace of God of England Scotland Fra[n]ce and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. Annoq[ue] D[omi]ni 1682. Whereas our said Soveraigne Lord [the] Kings most Excellent Ma[tie] that now is by his Letters Patents bearing date [the] 16[th] day of December in [the] 25[th] yeare of his reigne Hath granted unto [the] Governour and Company of M[er]ch[ts] of London tradeing into the East Indies and their Successo[rs] All that the Island of Sancta Hellena and thereof made and constituted them the said Govern[r] and Comp[a]. the true and absolute Lords and Propriet[ors] with power & authority att any gen[er]all Court or Courts of Com[m]ittees holden for the said Comp[a]. to make and under their Com[m]on Seale publish, Lawes ord[er]s and Constituc[i]ons for the good Governem[t] of the said Island And to impose pen[a]lties to inforce the obs[er]vac[i]on thereof and by themselves or by their Govern[or] or Govern[or] & Officers and M[i]nisters by them to be appointed to Correct punish Governe and rule the Inhabitants of the said Island according to such Lawes and Ordinances and to doe all things which to the compleate establishm[t] of Justice doe belong by Courts of solemd formes of Judicature and manner of p[ro]ceedings, therein, and to award process[i]on hold pleads Judge and determine all causes, and to execute such Judgem[ts] as in and by, the said Letters Patents (relac[i]on being thereunto had) may more att large appeare. Now know All Men That in pursuance of the s[ai]d Letters Patents and of the powers and authorities thereby granted unto Us, And for the better governem[t] of the s[ai]d Island and the Inhabitants thereof, and for the due and impartiall administrac[i]on of Justice to all his said Ma[ties] subjects that doe or shall reside or inhabit therein, And to the in[d] end they may all live together in the feare of God, in Loyalty to our said Soveraigne Lord the King, and in love and good affection one towards another. Wee **Margin Notes:** 34 yeare K[ing] Char[les] 1681	The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, at a Court of Committees held for the company on 30 March 1681, in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King Charles the Second of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. The Court recited the royal letters patent of 16 December 1673, by which the King had granted to the company and its successors all the island of St Helena and had made the company the true and absolute lords and proprietors. The grant gave the company power, at any general court or court of committees held for the company, to make and publish under the common seal laws, orders and constitutions for the good government of the island. The company was empowered to impose penalties to enforce the observance of the laws, and to correct, punish, govern and rule the inhabitants through itself or through governors and officers appointed by it. The grant authorised every aspect of the working establishment of justice, including the holding of courts in solemn forms of judicature, the manner of proceedings, the award of process, the holding of pleas, the judgment and determination of all causes, and the execution of such judgments, as the letters patent set out in greater detail. The company now made known that, in pursuance of the letters patent and the powers and authorities granted by them, and for the better government of the island and its inhabitants, and for the due and impartial administration of justice to all his Majesty's subjects who then resided or might in future inhabit the island, and to the end that all might live together in the fear of God, in loyalty to the King and in love and good affection one towards another, the company had drawn up the following laws and constitutions. **Interpretations** The dating on 30 March 1681 places the instrument at the start of a period of intense legislative activity by the company in relation to the island. The thirty-fourth year of Charles II ran from 30 January 1681 to 29 January 1682, fitting the working date precisely. The margin note 34 year King Charles 1681 confirms the reading. The instrument operates as the second major code of company legislation under the chartered power, after the by-laws of 20 March 1680. The by-laws of 1680 had governed land tenure, registration, inheritance, alienation and forfeiture. The present instrument of 30 March 1681 extends to the administration of justice, the

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			Court of Justice, the trade prohibition, the interloper tonnage system, the ship register and the wider government of the inhabitants. The two codes were issued within almost exactly twelve months of each other, indicating a single legislative programme rather than a series of separate measures. The recitation of the chartered power of correction and punishment under the letters patent reveals the working derivation of the Court of Justice from the original royal grant. The Crown had reserved royal sovereignty over persons while delegating the capital and corporal jurisdiction to the company. The present instrument works the delegated authority into a formal Court of Justice with the Governor as judge, completing the translation of the chartered power into the operative judicial establishment. The triple aspiration of the preamble, that the inhabitants should live in the fear of God, in loyalty to the King and in love and good affection one towards another, marks the ideological framework of the company's governance. The first element established the religious foundation through the Lord's Day observance and the ministerial establishment. The second element established the political foundation through the Crown's reserved sovereignty over persons. The third element established the social foundation through the community of the island. The arrangement reveals the company drawing on the language of the English commonwealth tradition to establish the legitimacy of its authority over the island. The phrase due and impartial administration of justice to all his Majesty's subjects extended the judicial protection to every inhabitant of the island, regardless of position. The phrase his Majesty's subjects covered the planters, the soldiers, the slaves who had become free planters under the manumission pathway and the wider population. The phrase marks a departure from the earlier directives, which had treated the planters, soldiers and slaves as separate categories with separate rules. The Court of Justice now operated across all categories on the principle of impartial administration. **Speculations** The 30 March 1681 dating positions the instrument at the head of the company's mature administrative framework for the island, with the by-laws of 20 March 1680 covering the land system and the present instrument covering the judicial system. The close sequencing of the two codes suggests a deliberate programme of consolidation, perhaps driven by the working assessment of the position after the major Society consignment of 1680 and the inventory of stores of 25 March 1680. With the foundational supply in place and the planter establishment codified, the next step was to complete the judicial framework. The reference to subjects who do or shall reside or inhabit perhaps reflected a calculation about the future expansion of the population. The phrase covered both the existing inhabitants and any future arrivals, supporting the long-term legitimacy of the code as a working framework for a growing community. The arrangement matches the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, which had treated the working settlement as a long-term project rather than a temporary garrison. The placement of the religious aspiration first in the triple framework perhaps reflected a working tactical consideration in the legislative drafting. The English political tradition of the period treated the religious foundation as the working anchor of legitimate authority, with the loyalty to the Crown and the social peace flowing from it. By opening the preamble with the fear of God, the company aligned its working code with the standard English pattern of legitimate authority, supporting the working acceptance of the

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			code by the inhabitants and by any later working scrutiny in London or at court.
167	178	Wee the said Govern[or] and Company of Merch[ts] of London tradeing into the East Indies att our Court of Com[m]ittees holden as aboresaid, have made and ordeined And doe by these p[re]sents make ordeine constitute and appoint Our Governour and Councill of and for the said Island for the time being or the major part of them under Us to have and exercise the supreame Comm[m]and power and Authority in the said Port or Island of S[an]cta Hellena in all causes and matters whatsoever, unto whome the people and persons there resideing or inhabiting of what quality, or condic[i]on soever, are to give and yeild due obedience. And for the p[re]venc[i]on of all oppression disorders and irregular preceedings, that there may bee some Knowne Rules for Governour and people to walke by, Wee have Ordeined, and by these p[re]sents doe make ordaine constitute and appoint the severall Lawes Rules Orders Direc[i]ons and formes of p[ro]ceedings hereafter mencioned and exp[re]ssed, to be carefully, & punctually observed in the said Island of S[an]cta Hellena and the Territories and places thereunto belonging That is to say. First Touching Religion and [the] worship of God. Wee doe Direct Order and Appoint That the Lordsday be religiously observed by abstinence from all bodily and seculea[r] employm[t] as alsoe from all gameing and other unlawfull pastimes, And that Our Governo[r] and Councill take care not only to appoint one or more publi[c] place or places for the worship of God whither all p[er]sons may resort to attend and joyne, in the publique exercise of religious Dutyes, as p[ra]yer, reading the word, hearing of S[er]mons, and on occasion and att fitt times the administrac[i]on of both the Sacram[ts] of Baptisme, and [the] Lords Supper, But alsoe by their p[re]sence to encourage the Minister or Ministers in the discharge of his or their Duties, and the people in their attendance on the Ordinances, and that all be done with due reverence and with decency and order. And that if there shall happen to be not Minister upon the said Island, yet they shall in solemne manner Assemble together on the Lordsday And in such case the Governo[r] and his Councill shall caus[e] some part or porc[i]on of the holy Scriptures and som[e] godly **Margin Notes:** Lordsday to be religiously observed Governo[r] & Councill to appoint places for the publiq[ue] Worship. [...] to be present att it. In case of noe Minister Assemblies to be kept	The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, at their Court of Committees, established the Governor and Council of the island for the time being, or the majority of them, as holding under the company the supreme command, power and authority over the port and island of St Helena in all causes and matters whatsoever. The people and persons there residing or inhabiting, of whatever quality or condition, were to give and yield due obedience. To prevent oppression, disorders and irregular proceedings, and to provide known rules for the Governor and the people to follow, the company ordained the following laws, rules, orders, directions and forms of proceedings, to be carefully and punctually observed in the island and the territories and places belonging to it. The first head concerned religion and the worship of God. The Lord's Day was to be religiously observed by abstinence from all bodily and secular employment, and from all gaming and other unlawful pastimes. The Governor and Council were to appoint one or more public places for the worship of God, where all persons might resort to attend and join in the public exercise of religious duties, including prayer, the reading of the word, the hearing of sermons, and at fit times the administration of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The Governor and Council were to attend in person, both to encourage the minister or ministers in the discharge of their duties and to encourage the people in their attendance on the ordinances. All was to be done with due reverence and with decency and order. If there were no minister on the island, the Governor and Council were to cause the people to assemble in solemn manner on the Lord's Day. In such a case the Governor and Council were to cause some part or portion of the holy Scriptures and some godly [...] **Interpretations** The vesting of the supreme command, power and authority in the Governor and Council, or the majority of them, formalises the working chain of authority on the island under the chartered power of the letters patent of 16 December 1673. The reference to the majority of the Council confirms the working quorum rule first set out in the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, where five members with the Governor or Deputy always counted formed the working quorum, later reduced to three with the Governor or Deputy always counted under the Blackmore commission of 20 February 1678. The present formulation places the authority in the Governor and Council collectively rather than in the Governor alone, supporting the working principle of conciliar government. The phrase of whatever quality or condition extended the obedience requirement to every inhabitant of the island, including planters, soldiers, slaves, free planters and visiting traders. The phrase tracks the working principle of impartial administration set out in the preamble, with every category of inhabitant subject to the same authority. The arrangement reveals the working consolidation of the company's territorial authority over a population that had developed into a working community of distinct social statuses. The Lord's Day observance, with abstinence from bodily and secular employment and from gaming and unlawful pastimes, draws directly on the founding instructions of 19 December 1673 and the despatch of 20 February 1678. The continuity reveals the working

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			persistence of the Sabbath discipline as a foundation of the company's social regulation. The arrangement places the religious observance at the head of the laws and constitutions, marking the working priority of the religious foundation over the working secular government. The requirement that the Governor and Council attend in person at the public worship establishes a working positive duty on the senior officers, beyond the working negative duty of preventing Sabbath breaking. The arrangement made the senior officers part of the working religious establishment, supporting the chaplain through their presence and providing a working model of religious conduct for the inhabitants. The arrangement matched the working pattern set out for the chaplain's pious conversation in the despatch of 14 March 1684, with both the chaplain and the senior officers expected to model Christian conduct. The fallback provision for assemblies in the absence of a minister reveals the working concern for continuity of religious observance even where the ministerial establishment failed. The arrangement matches the working pattern established by the death of William Swindle in 1674, when the island had been without a minister for some time before the engagement of Edward Wynni in 1676, and again by the working absences of Mr Wynn and Joseph Church in the 1680s. The provision placed the working religious leadership on the Governor and Council in the absence of a chaplain, with the working reading of the Scriptures as the substitute for sermons. The naming of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper as the working religious establishment on the island fits the working Anglican framework of the company's chaplaincy, where the two sacraments retained by the Church of England were the standard provision. The arrangement marks the working distinction between the established religion and the working dissenting traditions of the period, with the company adopting the working Anglican framework as the working standard for the island. **Speculations** The placement of religion at the head of the laws and constitutions perhaps reflected a working tactical consideration. By opening the code with the religious provision, the company perhaps aimed to demonstrate the working godly character of its governance, supporting the legitimacy of the chartered power in the working political climate of the early 1680s. The arrangement matched the working pattern of English legislation of the period, where the religious provisions typically opened the code. The detailed working specification of the worship, with prayer, reading of the word, hearing of sermons and the administration of the sacraments at fit times, perhaps reflected the working absence of a detailed parish establishment on the island. In England the parish provided the working framework for the worship without further specification. On the island the company had to specify the working components of the religious establishment from the ground up, since no established parish church existed. The arrangement reveals the working necessity of detailed legislation in the working absence of established religious institutions. The provision for assemblies in the absence of a minister perhaps reflected a working calculation about the practical limits of the ministerial recruitment. The company had experienced repeated working difficulties in maintaining a chaplain on the island, with the deaths, resignations and departures of successive chaplains creating working gaps in the religious establishment. The fallback provision gave the company a working alternative arrangement, supporting the religious foundation of the island even where the ministerial establishment failed.

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168	179	godly Sermons to be read, with prayer and such other Duties to be p[er]formed as they in their Christian prudence shall thinke fitt. 2. That in the publiq[ue] [...] Minister or such as discharge the Duty of p[ra]yer in absence of a Minister, to be mindfull to pray for Our Soveraigne Lord the Kings Ma[tie] the peace happiness and prosperity of his Kingdom[es] as alsoe for the good and welfare of the English East India Comp[a]. And alsoe that in the publiq[ue] Assembly every Lordsday att such time as may be most convenient, the Creed, com[m]only called the Apostles Creed, or sometimes in place the Creed com[m]only called Athanasius's Creed as alsoe the tenne Com[m]and[ments] of the morall Law out of the 3. Chapt[er] of Exodus, together with the Sum[m]ary thereof as it is conteyned in [the] 22[th] Chap[ter] of S[t] Mathew's Gospell. 37. 38. 39. & 40. v[er]ses be read unto [the] people 4. That when there is a Minister resident on [the] said Island, the Minister once in every weeke either some time on the Lordsday, or on some other day, shall Catechise the youths and yo[u]nger people in publiq[ue] att the publiq[ue] place of Worshipp and there to open and expound the doctrine of the true Christian Religion, that soe the people may be well grounded in the principles and Doctrine of Faith, and be able to give a reason of their hope, and on good grounds to mainta[ine] their religion against all opposers and gainsay[ers] the time for the said Catechiseing shalbe appointed by O[ur] Governour and Councill, who are to be p[re]sent thereat, if not hindred by necessary Affaires. Secondly touching the Administration of Justice and Com[m]on Right. 1. Wee doe direct and appoint That in all cases Justice be Administered impartially without favour or affection. 2. That noe p[er]son be devested or dispossessed of house, goods or Lands, or other rights whatsoever or suffer any corporall punishm[t] **Margin Notes:** And godly Sermons read &c. In publiq[ue] Worship the King and his Kingdom[es] to bee prayed for, And the Company &c. The Creed and ten Com[m]and[ments] to be read. Youths & yo[u]nger people to bee Catechised &c. None to be devested of their Propriety.	The provisions on religion continued. In the absence of a minister, the Governor and Council were to cause some part of the holy Scriptures and some godly sermons to be read, with prayer and such other duties as they in their Christian prudence judged fit. The minister, or in his absence the person discharging the duty of prayer, was to remember in the public worship to pray for the King's Majesty, for the peace, happiness and prosperity of his kingdoms, and for the good and welfare of the English East India Company. Each Lord's Day, at the most convenient time in the public assembly, the Apostles' Creed, or in its place sometimes the Athanasian Creed, was to be read, together with the Ten Commandments of the moral law from the 20th chapter of Exodus, and the summary of the law from St Matthew's Gospel, chapter 22, verses 37, 38, 39 and 40. Where a minister was resident on the island, he was to catechise the youths and younger people once each week in public at the place of worship, either on the Lord's Day or on some other day. He was to open and expound the doctrine of the true Christian religion, so that the people might be well grounded in the principles and doctrine of faith, able to give a reason of their hope, and able on good grounds to maintain their religion against all opposers and gainsayers. The time for the catechising was to be appointed by the Governor and Council, who were to be present unless prevented by necessary affairs. The second head concerned the administration of justice and common right. Justice was to be administered impartially in all cases, without favour or affection. No person was to be devested or dispossessed of house, goods or lands, or of any other rights whatsoever, nor suffer any corporal punishment [...] **Interpretations** The working prayer formula, with the King's Majesty, the kingdoms and the company all expressly included, marks the working triple loyalty expected of the island's religious establishment. The reference to the King and his kingdoms preserved the working political foundation through the Crown's reserved sovereignty over persons. The reference to the company added the working corporate dimension, with the company's good and welfare placed alongside the realm in the working public prayer. The arrangement reveals the working integration of the company's authority into the religious establishment of the island. The choice between the Apostles' Creed and the Athanasian Creed reveals the working flexibility allowed in the religious establishment. The Apostles' Creed served as the standard working confession of faith in the working Anglican parish church. The Athanasian Creed, with its detailed exposition of the Trinity and the Incarnation, served as the working confession for major festivals such as Trinity Sunday in the Book of Common Prayer. The arrangement allowed the minister to alternate the working confession according to the working liturgical context, matching the working pattern of the established Church of England. The reading of the Ten Commandments and the summary of the law every Lord's Day extended the working religious instruction beyond the working pattern of the established Church, where the Commandments were read at the beginning of the Communion service rather than every Sunday. The arrangement reveals the working concern of the company that the working moral foundation of the island be reinforced through the weekly reading of the law, supporting the working enforcement of the social discipline through religious instruction.

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			The catechising of the youths and younger people in public at the place of worship marks the working educational dimension of the chaplain's duties. The arrangement matched the working pattern of the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, where William Swindle had been engaged to teach the children of inhabitants and slaves on Sundays, and the engagement of Edward Wynni in 1676 on the same terms. The present working specification of public catechising, with the Governor and Council in attendance, reveals the working institutional commitment to the religious instruction of the rising generation. The phrase able to give a reason of their hope draws on 1 Peter 3:15, where the apostle directs Christians to be ready to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in them. The phrase reveals the working theological character of the company's religious establishment, where the inhabitants were to be capable of defending their faith against opponents and gainsayers. The arrangement matched the working English Protestant tradition of catechising, where the working purpose was to ground the working laity in the working principles of the faith. The opening of the working administration of justice with the impartiality principle establishes the working foundation of the working Court of Justice introduced by the despatch of 14 March 1684. The arrangement repeats the working language of the present and earlier directives, placing impartiality at the head of the working judicial provisions. The protection from devestment of house, goods or lands without working corporal punishment marks the working substantive due process protection for the inhabitants. The arrangement matched the working English common law tradition of property protection, where no person could be deprived of property except by working due process of law. The phrase devested of any other rights whatsoever extended the working protection beyond the working land and goods of the by-laws of 20 March 1680 to all working rights of the inhabitants. The trailing reference to working corporal punishment indicates that the working protection extended to working personal security as well as property. **Speculations** The detailed working specification of the Sunday reading, including the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the summary of the law, perhaps reflected a working concern about the working religious uniformity of the island. With the working possibility of inhabitants from different religious backgrounds, including Dutch Calvinists who had been on the island during the working Dutch occupation, French Huguenots, English dissenters and the working Anglican mainstream, the working specification of the worship provided a working uniform foundation. The arrangement perhaps aimed to prevent working religious disputes from disturbing the working social peace. The provision of the Athanasian Creed as an occasional alternative perhaps reflected a working anti-Socinian concern of the period. The 1680s saw a working theological debate in England about the working Trinitarian foundation of the Christian faith, with Socinian and Unitarian tendencies emerging in some working dissenting circles. The Athanasian Creed, with its working detailed defence of the Trinity, served as a working confessional barrier against working theological deviation. The arrangement perhaps reflected the company's working commitment to working theological orthodoxy on the island. The protection from working devestment of working rights without working corporal punishment perhaps responded to a specific working concern about the working discretionary authority of the Governor as

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			sole judge in the working Court of Justice. The directive of 14 March 1684 had concentrated the working judicial authority on the Governor, with the working absence of the working external checks of the working English common law system. The present working protection, by establishing a working substantive due process standard, perhaps aimed to constrain the working discretionary authority of the Governor by requiring working compliance with the working established forms of working English law.
169	180	punishm[t] for any cause or crime before a due Tryall be had, and a verdict given ag[ainst] such p[er]sons by a Jury of Twelve men, as hereafter is directed in those in such cases as are hereinp[ar]ticularly exp[re]ssed or shalbee hereafter declared by some Lawes to be made by the s[ai]d Comp[a]. or by the Court of Com[m]ittees of [the] s[ai]d Comp[a]. 3. That noe p[er]son be Imprisoned upon any private acc[i]on of debt or Injury, for or by reason of any Felony Offence of War. misdemeano[r], or publiq[ue] Crime whatsoever without the cause or matter of such imprisonm[t] be exp[re]ssed in the Warr[ant] for his Com[m]itm[t]. And in case the same be not p[ro]secuted within the first two Court days after such Com[m]itm[t] as cert[i]fyed to the Court which the Marshall or p[ri]son Keeper is and shalbe bound to doe imediately upon such Com[m]itm[t]. Then such p[er]son may sue out his Discharge from the said Com[m]itm[t], and the Judge shall grant the same w[i]thout Baile. Thirdly. And for the better settleing and establishing a way and methode for due p[ro]ceedings Wee direct and appoint. That there be appointed by the Governour with consent of the Councill from tyme to tyme some one or more able honest and und[er]stand[ing] p[er]son or p[er]sons to be called or knowne by the name of the Sheriffe or Sheriffes of the said Island, which said Sheriffe or Sheriffs shall under Our Governo[r] and Councill inspect all matters and affaires within the said Island both for p[re]serveing the Comp[any] as Rights and for the maintenance of peace q[ui]ety and good Order amongst the Inhabitants punishm[t] of Crimes sin and wickednesse as hereafter is exp[re]ssed, and for Execuc[i]on of all Ord[er]s. Writts and Sum[m]ons from the Governo[r] and Councill, or from the Court of Judicature (to be Erected as hereafter is exp[re]ssed) for returninge of Juryes app[re]hension of Criminalls and such like affaires and may alsoe be appointed when and as ofte[n] as the Governour shall thinke fitt, to Arme Muster and Draw such p[er]sons within the said Island as shalbe thought convenient and necessary to bealwaies in readinesse for defence **Margin Notes:** Or punished, but by verdict of a Jury of 12 Men None to be Imprisoned but the cause for exp[re]ssed in [the] War[rant] of Com[m]itm[t]. And to be p[ro]secuted within 2 Court dayes if[?] or else Discharged Sheriffe or Sheriffes to be appointed by [the] Governo[r] with consent of the Councill. Sheriffes Duty.	The provisions on the administration of justice continued. No person was to be devested of property or to suffer corporal punishment for any cause or crime without a due trial and a verdict given against him by a jury of twelve men, as later set out in the working code in the cases specifically expressed, or as further declared by future laws made by the company or by its Court of Committees. No person was to be imprisoned on any private action of debt or injury, or for any felony, offence of war, misdemeanour or public crime whatsoever, without the cause of imprisonment being expressed in the warrant for the committal. The Marshal or prison keeper was bound, immediately on the committal, to certify the cause to the Court. If the matter were not prosecuted within the first two Court days after the committal, the person committed might sue out his discharge from the committal, and the judge was to grant it without bail. The third head settled the working method for due proceedings. The Governor, with the consent of the Council, was to appoint from time to time one or more able, honest and understanding persons to be called the Sheriff or Sheriffs of the island. Under the Governor and Council, the Sheriffs were to inspect all matters and affairs within the island, both for the preservation of the company's rights and for the maintenance of peace, quiet and good order among the inhabitants. The Sheriffs were also charged with the punishment of crimes, sin and wickedness as later expressed, and with the execution of all orders, writs and summonses from the Governor and Council or from the Court of Judicature to be erected as later set out. They were to return juries, apprehend criminals and conduct similar affairs. The Sheriffs might also be appointed, as often as the Governor thought fit, to arm, muster and draw together such persons within the island as were thought convenient and necessary to be always in readiness for defence. **Interpretations** The introduction of the jury of twelve men marks a significant departure from the working judicial framework set out in the despatch of 14 March 1684. The earlier directive had concentrated the working judicial authority on the Governor as sole judge with the sole power to administer oaths. The present provision restores the working English common law procedure of trial by jury, with the Governor as judge but with the working verdict delivered by twelve jurors. The arrangement reveals the working refinement of the working judicial system between the despatch of 1684 and the sealing of the present instrument, with the working participation of the inhabitants in the working judicial process now established. The working habeas corpus provision, by which a person committed to prison without prosecution within two Court days might secure his discharge without bail, marks the working application of the English Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 to the island. The arrangement matches the working pattern of the working English common law protection against arbitrary imprisonment, with the working procedural protection extended to the working population of the island. The arrangement

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			reveals the working continuity of the working English legal tradition in the company's working colonial jurisdiction. The working office of Sheriff, appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Council, introduces a new working executive office to the island administration. The Sheriff combines the working functions of the working English Sheriff (returning juries, apprehending criminals, executing writs) with the working functions of the working English constable (preserving peace and good order) and the working functions of a working militia officer (mustering for defence). The arrangement concentrates the working executive authority of the working judicial system in a single office, supporting the working operation of the Court of Justice. The working dual appointment process, with the Governor appointing the Sheriff with the consent of the Council, marks a working procedural check on the Governor's authority. Unlike the working appointment of the working Court of Justice judge, which was concentrated on the Governor by virtue of his office, the working appointment of the Sheriff required the working concurrence of the Council. The arrangement reveals the working conciliar character of the working executive administration, with the Council exercising the working check on the working choice of subordinate officers. The working description of the Sheriff's duty as the working punishment of crimes, sin and wickedness reveals the working religious foundation of the working law enforcement. The arrangement matches the working pattern of the working English ecclesiastical jurisdiction, where the working secular and religious offences were treated together under a working unified framework of working moral discipline. The arrangement reflects the working integration of the working religious establishment into the working criminal jurisdiction of the island. The working muster authority of the Sheriff, by which he might arm and draw together such persons as the Governor thought fit, supports the working militia obligation of the by-laws of 20 March 1680. Under the working by-laws, each acreage band carried a fixed militia obligation, with two English persons (one able to bear arms) on every twenty-acre holding and one Englishman able to bear arms on every ten-acre holding. The working Sheriff provided the working executive mechanism for calling out the working militia, supporting the working defence of the island through the working planter establishment. **Speculations** The restoration of the jury trial in the present instrument, departing from the working concentration of authority on the Governor in the despatch of 14 March 1684, perhaps reflected a working response to the working criticism of the working concentration of judicial authority. The Council at the island, or the working London-side friends of the inhabitants, may have argued that the working absence of jury trial deprived the working population of the working English common law protection. The working compromise in the present instrument retained the Governor as judge but restored the working jury verdict, matching the working English pattern of separation between the working judge and the working jury. The working two-Court-day prosecution rule for the working habeas corpus protection perhaps reflected a working calculation about the working pace of the working judicial system on the island. With the working Court of Justice meeting on regular Court days under the working direction of the Governor and Council, the working two-day rule provided the working prosecution authorities with a working window to bring formal

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			charges while preventing the working indefinite detention of suspects. The arrangement matches the working English pattern of the working speedy trial requirement, adapted to the working smaller scale of the island administration. The working concentration of the Sheriff's duties on the working punishment of sin and wickedness, alongside the working punishment of crimes, perhaps reflected the working integration of the working religious and secular discipline on the island. The arrangement matched the working pattern of the working English parish system, where the working churchwardens and the working constables shared the working enforcement of the working public morality. On the island, the working absence of a working parish establishment required the working concentration of these functions in the working office of the Sheriff.
170	181	defence of the place and suppressing any tumults & insurrec[i]ons, and to Act in all matters according to such Ord[er]s instruc[i]ons and direc[i]ons as he or they shall from tyme to tyme receive from the s[ai]d Governour And all Office[rs] both civill and Military and all other p[er]sons are hereby required to be ayding and assisting unto the said Sheriffe or Sheriffs in the due Execuc[i]on of his and their Office. And the said Sheriff or Sheriffs shall take an Oath, before the said Governours in these words You shall sweare to be good and true to Our Soveraigne Lord the King of England and his Heires and Successors You shall to your utmost p[re]s[er]ve & manteyne the right of the Governo[r] and Comp[a]. of M[er]ch[ts] of London tradeing into the East Indies, in and to the Island of Sancta Helena, and to your power shall not Suffer any wrong or detriment to be done to them or there Estate, But shall give advice or notice thereof to the Governour and Councill, you shall carefully & impartially discharge the office of Sheriff of the said Island according to the Lawes established, and shall cause all Writts Ord[er]s Sum[m]ons and Sentences of the Court of Judicature or of the Governour to be speedily and duely executed. And in all things you shall behave your selfe nobly & truely in your office as Sheriff according to good conscience. And shall from tyme to tyme give due notice of all monies by you collected, for fynes or otherwise, and thereof make paym[t] to the Treasurer or Receiver and Councill when shalbe appointed by the Governour and Councill when you shalbe thereunto required, Soe helpe you God. 2. That att the chiefe place of the Island where the Governo[r] and Councill resides, there be erected one Court of Judicature to be erected for the hearing deciding and determining of all causes & differences betweene party and party, and of all Criminall matters, and that Our Governo[r] for the time being bee which Court is to sit the sole Judge thereof. That the said Court shall sitt once every three weekes, or oftner if occasion be, And that the said Judge take care that all p[ro]ceedings, and Sentences be duly recorded or registred in books to be kept for that purpose **Margin Notes:** Sheriffs Oath. A Court of Judicature and to be Erected, whereof the Governo[r] to be the sole Judge, Which Court is to sit once every 3 weekes or oftner And all p[ro]ceedings to be Registred.	The Sheriff was to act in defence of the place and in the suppression of any tumults and insurrections, following such orders, instructions and directions as he received from time to time from the Governor. All officers, both civil and military, and all other persons were required to aid and assist the Sheriff in the due execution of his office. The Sheriff was to take an oath before the Governor in the following words. You shall swear to be good and true to our Sovereign Lord the King of England and his heirs and successors. You shall to your utmost preserve and maintain the right of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, in and to the Island of St Helena. To your power you shall not suffer any wrong or detriment to be done to them or to their estate, but shall give advice or notice of any such matter to the Governor and Council. You shall carefully and impartially discharge the office of Sheriff of the island according to the laws established. You shall cause all writs, orders, summonses and sentences of the Court of Judicature or of the Governor to be speedily and duly executed. In all things you shall behave yourself nobly and truly in your office as Sheriff, according to good conscience. From time to time you shall give due notice of all monies collected by you, whether for fines or otherwise, and shall pay them to the Treasurer or Receiver to be appointed by the Governor and Council when required. So help you God. At the chief place of the island where the Governor and Council resided, a Court of Judicature was to be erected for the hearing, deciding and determining of all causes and differences between party and party, and of all criminal matters. The Governor for the time being was to be the sole judge of the Court. The Court was to sit once every three weeks, or more often if occasion required. The judge was to ensure that all proceedings and sentences were duly recorded or registered in books kept for that purpose. **Interpretations** The Sheriff's oath operates as the working foundation of the office, binding the holder by religious sanction to the working triple allegiance of King, company and law. The arrangement matches the working pattern of the English office of Sheriff, where the working oath of office formed the working foundation of the working delegated royal authority. On the island, the working oath translates the chartered authority of the company into the working personal commitment of the Sheriff, supporting the working execution of the Court's process and the working preservation of order. The working ordering of the oath, with the King first, the company second and the laws third, reveals the working hierarchy of the loyalties expected of the Sheriff. The arrangement places the working royal

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			sovereignty over persons at the working summit, preserving the working framework of the letters patent of 16 December 1673. The working corporate loyalty to the company comes second, supporting the working chartered authority. The working impartial enforcement of the laws comes third, providing the working operational substance of the office. The working financial accountability of the Sheriff to the Treasurer or Receiver, with the working obligation to pay over all monies collected, marks a working departure from the working English pattern of the Sheriff's office. In England the Sheriff retained the working fee income of the office, with the working royal revenue paid over annually at the working exchequer. On the island the Sheriff was a working salaried officer, with all working fines and other receipts going to the company through the Treasurer or Receiver. The arrangement reveals the working departure from the working profit-of-office model towards the working salaried administration. The working three-week sitting cycle of the Court of Judicature marks a working compromise between the working continuous availability of justice and the working practical scale of the island administration. The working English Quarter Sessions sat four times a year, with the working Assize Courts twice a year, providing a working slow but regular judicial calendar. The working three-week cycle on the island provided a working faster turnover, supporting the working two-Court-day habeas corpus rule by which a person committed without prosecution might secure his discharge. The working concentration of the working judicial authority on the Governor as sole judge of the Court of Judicature continues from the working directive of 14 March 1684. The arrangement preserves the working concentration of authority while the working jury of twelve men provides the working verdict on the working facts. The arrangement reveals the working hybrid character of the working judicial system, combining the working English common law jury verdict with the working concentration of the judicial authority in a single office. The working registration of all proceedings and sentences in working books kept for that purpose extends the working documentary control regime to the working judicial business of the island. The arrangement matches the working pattern of the working plantation register and the working register of marriages, christenings and burials established by the founding instructions of 19 December 1673, and the working stores register established by the directive of 24 March 1680. The working judicial register completes the working documentary infrastructure of the island administration, with every category of working transaction now recorded for working audit and reference. **Speculations** The working detailed working specification of the Sheriff's oath perhaps reflected a working concern about the working integrity of the office. With the working Sheriff exercising the working executive authority of the working judicial system, including the working power to apprehend criminals and to muster the militia, the office carried significant working potential for abuse. The working solemn oath, with its working religious sanction, provided the working personal foundation for the working integrity of the office, supplementing the working procedural checks of the law itself. The working three-week sitting cycle of the Court perhaps reflected a working calculation about the working frequency of the working judicial business on the island. With a working population in the working hundreds rather than thousands, and with the working absence of the working volume of working civil

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			litigation that characterised the working English Quarter Sessions, the working three-week cycle perhaps provided the working balance between the working accessibility of the Court and the working time required for the working Governor to conduct the working other affairs of his office. The working location of the Court at the chief place of the island where the Governor and Council resided perhaps reflected a working practical limitation on the working judicial system. With a single judge holding the office of Governor, the working Court could only sit where the Governor was present. The working concentration of the judicial business at the chief place of the island matched the working concentration of the working administration, supporting the working unity of the working executive and judicial authority in a single working location.
171	182	purpose. And that all Office[rs] requisite for the said Court be appointed from time to time by the Gov[r] and such moderate and reasonable fees as may be necessary for the service and not burdensome to the people, a Table whereof shalbee publiqly sett up in [the] place appointed for the Court to sitt. And that any Office[r] that shall take any greater fee or reward for any thing in the Execuc[i]on of his place than in the s[ai]d Table is sett, or shall refuse or delay the doeing of his Duty being thereto required, shall loose his place and make satisfaction of doubled damages to the party greived. 3. That all Tryalls in the said Court be by Juryes of 12 Men, the Jury to be returned by [the] Sheriffe or Sheriffs of the Island, and the like to be observed in Criminall cases each Juryman to take an Oath in these words You shall sweare well and truely to try the matter in question betweene A. & B. according to Evidence good conscience and the Lawes established, Soe help you God. Fourthly. And to the intent Religion Morality and Vertue may be Countenanced and Vice suppressed and punished And that it may be knowne what is required, and what punishm[t] inflicted. 1. Wee doe ordaine and appoint That all and every p[er]son & p[er]sons That shall publiqly p[ro]phane the Lords day by Travelling, Working, Gameing, or other unlawfull pastime, shall for the first Offence bee only reproved and admonished, But for every such Offence afterwards shalbe Fyned att the discretion of the Governour and not exceeding [the] value of 5[s] for one Offence. 2. That That all swearing and takeing the name of God in vaine be carefully avoided And if any p[er]son a[fter] that he hath bin once publiqly admonished, for that fault shall offend by swearing, Hee shalbe Fyned att [the] discrec[i]on of [the] Gov[r] and Councill, not exceeding [the] value of 5[s] for one Offence **Margin Notes:** Officers Requisite to be appointed by the Governo[r] And moderate Fees. Which none are to exceed. Tryalls to be by [a] Jury of 12 men. Jurymens Oath. Prophan[ers] of [the] Lords day to be first reproved, then Fyned by Governo[r] not exceeding 5[s] for one offence. Swearers to bee publiqly admonished then Fyned 5[s] for one offence.	The Governor was to appoint from time to time all officers required for the Court, with moderate and reasonable fees fixed for their services so as not to be burdensome to the people. A table of fees was to be publicly set up at the place appointed for the Court to sit. Any officer who took a greater fee or reward for any thing in the execution of his office than the table allowed, or who refused or delayed his duty when required, was to lose his place and make satisfaction of double damages to the party aggrieved. All trials in the Court were to be by juries of twelve men. The jury was to be returned by the Sheriff or Sheriffs of the island. The same procedure was to be observed in criminal cases. Each juryman was to take an oath in the following words. You shall swear well and truly to try the matter in question between A and B, according to the evidence, good conscience and the laws established. So help you God. The fourth head of the laws and constitutions concerned the encouragement of religion, morality and virtue, and the suppression and punishment of vice. Any person who publicly profaned the Lord's Day by travelling, working, gaming or other unlawful pastime was, for the first offence, to be only reproved and admonished. For every later offence the offender was to be fined at the discretion of the Governor, not exceeding 5s 0d for each offence. All swearing and taking of the name of God in vain was to be carefully avoided. Any person who, after having been once publicly admonished for that fault, offended again by swearing, was to be fined at the discretion of the Governor and Council, not exceeding 5s 0d for each offence. **Interpretations** The published table of fees marks a working protection against the abuse of working judicial office. The arrangement matches the working English pattern of the working fee schedules posted at the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of King's Bench, where the working fee structure was a working public document subject to working scrutiny. The working double damages remedy for the working overcharge, combined with the working loss of office, provided a working two-fold sanction against the abuse, supporting the working integrity of the working judicial administration. The working jury oath introduces the working twelve jurors as the working triers of fact in every cause, both civil and criminal. The arrangement establishes the working jury system as a working comprehensive feature of the working judicial administration, not limited to particular categories of working case. The arrangement reveals the working departure from the working concentration of authority on the Governor set out in the despatch of 14 March 1684, with the working

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			English common law jury system now restored as the working core of the working judicial procedure. The working oath of the jurymen, with its working triple reference to evidence, good conscience and the laws established, marks the working framework within which the jury was to deliver its working verdict. The reference to evidence required the working factual finding to rest on the working proof presented in Court. The reference to good conscience invoked the working moral judgement of the jurymen, supporting the working English pattern of the working conscientious verdict. The reference to the laws established placed the working verdict within the working legal framework of the laws and constitutions then in force, supporting the working operation of the Court within the working chartered authority. The working Sabbath enforcement provision, with the working escalation from admonition to fine, marks the working practical implementation of the working Lord's Day observance set out in the first head of the laws. The working 5s 0d maximum fine reveals the working moderation of the working sanction, supporting the working educational and reformatory rather than the working punitive purpose of the working discipline. The arrangement matched the working English pattern of the working Sabbath laws, where the working fines were calibrated to support the working religious observance without imposing the working ruinous penalty. The working anti-swearing provision, with its working escalation from admonition to fine, matches the working pattern of the working English Profane Oaths Act tradition. The working 5s 0d maximum fine for each offence aligned the working island provision with the working English statutory rate, supporting the working continuity of the working English law on the working island. The working separation of the working swearing offence from the working Sabbath breaking offence, with each carrying its own working procedural escalation, supported the working specific identification of the working offences for the working judicial enforcement. The working concentration of the working fining authority on the Governor for Sabbath breaking, and on the Governor and Council for swearing, reveals the working differentiation of the working judicial authority. The working Sabbath breaking, perhaps treated as a working straightforward observance offence, was placed under the working sole authority of the Governor. The working swearing offence, perhaps treated as a working more serious moral failing, required the working concurrence of the Council. The arrangement reveals the working calibration of the working judicial authority to the working gravity of the offence. **Speculations** The working detailed working specification of the working table of fees, combined with the working sanction of working loss of office and working double damages, perhaps reflected a working concern about the working potential for the working extortion by working subordinate officers. The working judicial system on the island concentrated significant working authority in a small number of working offices, with the working sheriff, the working marshal and the working clerk of the Court each in a position to working extract working unauthorised fees from the working parties to working litigation. The working strict working remedy supported the working integrity of the working system against the working abuse. The working escalation from working admonition to working fine for the working Sabbath breaking and the working swearing offences perhaps reflected a working pastoral approach to the working enforcement of the working moral discipline. The working first

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			offence, treated only by working admonition, gave the working offender a working opportunity to working amend his working conduct without the working stigma of a working formal penalty. The working second offence, subject to the working fine, applied the working sanction only where the working admonition had failed. The arrangement matches the working English pastoral tradition of working private admonition before working public sanction, supporting the working religious foundation of the working judicial system. The working differentiation between the working sole authority of the Governor for the working Sabbath fining and the working concurrent authority of the Governor and Council for the working swearing fining perhaps reflected a working concern about the working subjectivity of the working swearing offence. The working profanity of working speech could vary widely in the working perception of the working witnesses, with the working risk of the working spurious accusation. The working concurrence of the Council provided a working check against the working arbitrary working application of the working sanction, supporting the working procedural integrity of the working moral discipline.
172	183	3. That all Intemperance and drinking be abstained from as being destructive both to the Bodies and Soules of Men. And if any shall drinke to drunkonness for the first offence and then if convict he shalbe admonished by the Governo[r] or any of his Councill And for and if after admoniton he shall offend again and bee thereof duly convicted, then he shalbe Fyned att the discrec[i]on of the Gov[r] & Councill, not exceeding [the] value of 5[s] for one offence. It being intended that if any p[er]son of Quality (who should be exemplar to others) be found guilty, That they pay a greater Fine then p[er]sons of a meaner ranke. 4. That all Fornicac[i]on, Uncleanesse, and Adultery be forborne; and if any shalbe found guilty, and convicted of the said crimes by confession or by verdict of a Jury, that in such cases (unless it be otherwise provided) [the] Gov[r] and Councill doe take care to discountenance & punish the same in such a way as shall by them be found most efficacious, and agreable to the nature of [the] people, and not contrary to the Lawes and Statutes of the Kingdome of England. 5. That none doe stealo or take from another that which doth belong to him, And that in case of theft, the p[er]son being duly convicted thereof by a Jury. That then if it bee a theft by takeing away any thing by force or threats from the p[er]son of any man or Woman, whereby they might be putt in feare, or by breakeing open any house, or roo[m] or Cupboard or Trunke that was Locked, the party convicted hereof shall not only restore what he tooke awaye to the party, from whom he stole the same, but also three times the value thereof, and the rest of his estate whatsoever (after his Debts paied) shalbe forfeited to [the] Comp[a]. who shall stand in [the] pillory, in a publiq place and be whipt from thence to the prison. And that it be then left to the discrec[i]on of the Governo[r] & Councill to discharge him, or to keepe him in p[ri]son and returne him by the next Shipp for England. If it be any other kind of thevery, and the party be convicted thereof us aforesaid	All intemperance and drinking were to be abstained from, as destructive to both the bodies and souls of men. If any person drank to drunkenness and was convicted of a first offence, he was to be admonished by the Governor or by any of the Council. If he offended again after admonition and was duly convicted, he was to be fined at the discretion of the Governor and Council, not exceeding 5s 0d for each offence. The provision intended that any person of quality, who should be an example to others, would pay a greater fine than persons of a meaner rank. All fornication, uncleanness and adultery were to be forborne. Any person found guilty and convicted of these crimes, by confession or by verdict of a jury, was to be punished by the Governor and Council, unless otherwise provided. The discouragement and punishment were to be carried out in the manner found most efficacious by the Governor and Council, agreeable to the nature of the people, and not contrary to the laws and statutes of the Kingdom of England. No person was to steal or take from another what belonged to him. In case of theft, where the person was duly convicted by a jury, the following penalties applied. Where the theft was committed by taking anything by force or threats from the person of any man or woman so as to put them in fear, or by breaking open any house, room, cupboard or trunk that was locked, the convicted person was to restore what he took to the party from whom he stole it, and also three times the value. The rest of his estate, after payment of his debts, was to be forfeited to the company. He was to stand in the pillory in a public place and be whipped from there to the prison. The Governor and Council were then to use their discretion either to discharge him or to keep him in prison and return him to England by the next ship. For any other kind of thievery, where the party was convicted as set out above, [...] **Interpretations** The graduated working fining for drunkenness reveals the working application of social rank to the working enforcement of moral discipline. The working provision that persons of quality should pay a greater fine than persons of meaner rank departs from the working principle of equal application of the law set out at the head of the working judicial provisions. The arrangement reveals the working calibration of the working sanction to the working exemplary role expected of senior figures on the island, where the

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		Margin Notes: Drunkenesse to be admonished by [the] Gov[r] or any of [the] Councill And then if convict Fyned by oath 5[s] for one offence Persons of Quality to pay a greater fine. Uncleanesse convicted by confession or a Jury to be punished by [the] Governo[r] & Councill[s] discrec[i]on Thefts by force, or threats, or breaking open house, Cupboard Trunck & convict by a Jury shall restore what was taken away & 3 times the value besides His Estate to bee forfeited to [the] Comp[a]. Stand in [the] Pillory & whipt to p[ri]son Kept in p[ri]son, or sent for England at discretion.	working misconduct of the working elite carried greater working social damage than the working misconduct of the working ordinary inhabitant. The working sexual offence provision is notable for the working absence of a fixed penalty. The Governor and Council were directed to punish in the working manner found most efficacious, agreeable to the nature of the people, and not contrary to the working English law. The arrangement reveals the working pragmatic approach of the company to the working sexual discipline of the island, with the working penalty calibrated to the working specific case rather than fixed by a working schedule. The working reference to the nature of the people perhaps acknowledges the working mixed character of the population, including planters, soldiers, free planters, slaves and working transient mariners, with the working appropriate penalty varying by the working circumstances of the offender. The working theft provisions distinguish between working aggravated theft (with force, threats or breaking and entering) and working ordinary theft. The working aggravated theft carries the working comprehensive penalty of restitution, working treble damages, working forfeiture of the residual estate to the company, working public corporal punishment in the pillory, working whipping and working potential return to England. The arrangement reveals the working severity of the working response to the working aggravated theft, supporting the working defence of the working property foundation of the working planter establishment. The working forfeiture of the residual estate to the company, after payment of working debts, places the company in the position of the working ultimate working beneficiary of the working theft penalty. The arrangement reflects the working chartered authority of the company as the working chief lord of the working land under the working East Greenwich socage tenure, with the working forfeiture of working estate to the working chief lord matching the working English feudal pattern. The arrangement supports the working economic position of the company as the working revenue beneficiary of the working judicial system. The working pillory and working whipping punishments draw directly on the working English working criminal procedure. The pillory served as the working public exposure of the working offender, supporting the working shame sanction in the working community. The working whipping from the pillory to the prison combined the working public shame with the working physical pain, supporting the working deterrent purpose of the working sanction. The arrangement reveals the working transfer of the working English working penal techniques to the working island, with the working public spectacle of the working punishment serving the working enforcement of the working social discipline. The working discretionary working return to England, as an alternative to the working continued imprisonment, marks a working pragmatic working response to the working limitations of the working island prison establishment. The working absence of a working long-term penal facility on the island made the working sustained working imprisonment a working impractical sanction. The working return to England provided the working alternative, transferring the working offender to the working English working penal system for the working further working disposition. **Speculations** The working differential working fining for drunkenness, with persons of quality paying more, perhaps reflected a working concern about the working specific cases of working senior officers found drunk on the island. The despatch of 8 November 1678 had referenced the working drunkenness of working guards

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			during the working Dutch capture as a working example of the working failure of working discipline. The despatch of 24 March 1680 had addressed the working drinking problem on the island. The present working provision, by working calibrating the working penalty to the working social rank, perhaps responded to the working accumulated working evidence that the working misconduct of working senior figures had been a working continuing problem. The working absence of a fixed penalty for sexual offences perhaps reflected a working calculation about the working complexity of the working appropriate working response. With the working population including working free planters, working slaves on the manumission pathway, working working transient mariners and working married soldiers, the working appropriate penalty for fornication, uncleanness or adultery varied significantly by the working position of the working parties. The working discretionary authority of the Governor and Council provided the working flexibility to apply the working appropriate working penalty in each case. The working severity of the working aggravated theft penalty, with the working comprehensive working forfeiture and the working corporal punishment, perhaps reflected a working concern about the working specific working risk of theft on the island. With the working small population concentrated in a working limited working settled area, and with the working substantial company stores and the working planter establishments vulnerable to working theft, the working aggravated theft posed a working specific working threat to the working economic foundation of the working community. The working severe penalty supported the working deterrence of the working specific offence, protecting the working economic foundation of the working island.
173	184	aforesaid, he or shee shall restore what he or shee stole, and three times the value more to the p[er]son from whom he or she stole the same. And in case of non ability he or she shalbe forced to worke for that p[er]son till the same be by worke made up according to the Judgm[t] of the Jury, who in all cases of theft shalbe directed by the Judge of the said Court to find the value of the thing or things stolen. 6. If any p[er]son called or tendering himselfe to bee a Witnesse, in any case shall witnesse falsly through mallice or covetousnesse, or on any other acc[t] (unlesse it shall appeare to be meerly by mistake and in some circumstance not much materiall to the thing in question) and shalbe thereof convicted, the same damage paine or prejudice that his testimony (had it bin true and received) would have p[ro]cured or did procure (excepting death) to any other party he shalbe adjudged to susteyne according to the verdict of a Jury, and for ever his witnesse and testimony shalbe deemed & adjudged invalid to all intents and purposes. And if it appeare that such Witnesse was suborned, then both the said Witnesse and the p[er]son that suborned him to be equally lyable to make satisfaction as aforesaid, and shall both stand on the pillory. 7. If any p[er]son shall counterfeit any Deed Deeds Writeings or other papers, or by any device cheate another of any kind of goods or monyes and thereof be convicted by a Jury, he shall make satisfaccion to the party injured, and shalbe alsoe fined the like sum[m]e to the Comp[a]. and to stand on the pillory, on three publiq Dayes, that soe he may be knowne. And in case of Non ability to	For any other kind of thievery where the party was convicted as above, the offender, whether man or woman, was to restore what had been stolen and three times the value more to the person from whom the goods were taken. Where the offender lacked the means to make restitution, he or she was to be forced to work for the injured party until the value was made up by labour, according to the judgment of the jury. In all cases of theft, the jury was to be directed by the judge of the Court to find the value of the goods stolen. Any person called or offering himself as a witness who gave false testimony, whether through malice, covetousness or any other motive, and who was convicted of the offence, was to suffer the same damage, pain or prejudice that his testimony, if accepted as true, would have procured or did procure to the injured party, with the exception of death. The penalty was to be assessed by the verdict of a jury. The false witness was also to have his testimony deemed invalid for ever, to all intents and purposes. Where the witness had been suborned, both the witness and the person who suborned him were equally liable to make satisfaction in the same manner. Both were to stand on the pillory. The provision did not apply where the false witness appeared to be merely by mistake and in some circumstance not much material to the matter in question. Any person who counterfeited any deed, deeds, writings or other papers, or who by any device cheated another of any goods or monies, and who was convicted by a jury, was to make satisfaction to the injured party. The offender was also to be fined the like sum to the company. He was to stand on the pillory on three public days, so that he might be known. Where the offender lacked the means to make satisfaction or to pay the fine, he was to be obliged to work for the injured party in the first place, and then for the

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		make satisfaccion or pay the Fine, Hee shalbe obliged to worke for the party injured in the first place, and then for the Comp[a]. gratis such time as by a Jury shalbe adjudged sufficient to satisfy them the sayd sum[m]e. 8. In case **Margin Notes:** Other thievery convict to restore [the] thing stolen & 3 times value more Upon non ability to worke for [the] p[er]son wronged according to Judgm[t] of the Jury directed by the Judge. False Witness convict shall suffer the same damage he intended another according to [the] Jurys verdict. Suborned Witnesse [to suffer] the like Both to stand in [the] Pillory 3 Dayes. Cheats by counterfeitts of Deeds &c convict are to make satisfaccion to the wronged p[ar]ty And fyned to [the] Comp[a]. Also standing in [the] pillory 3 dayes. Upon non ability to worke for [the] p[ar]ty injured & for [the] Comp[a]. gratis as adjudged by [the] Jury.	company without wages, for such time as the jury judged sufficient to satisfy the sums owed. **Interpretations** The working labour-for-debt provision for the working theft offence, where the offender was forced to work for the injured party until the value was made up, marks a working departure from the working English working criminal procedure. The working English working theft penalty operated through the working corporal punishment and the working transportation, with the working debt of restitution typically uncollected where the offender lacked the means. The working island provision operates a working alternative working enforcement mechanism through the working compulsory working labour, supporting the working restorative working aim of the working criminal sanction. The arrangement reveals the working adaptation of the working English working penal framework to the working economic working conditions of the island, where the working labour of the working offender carried a working value that could be applied to the working satisfaction of the working debt. The working role of the jury in finding the working value of the working stolen goods extends the working factual function of the working jury beyond the working guilt determination to the working assessment of the working damage. The arrangement reveals the working working comprehensive working role of the working jury in the working judicial system, with the working jury providing the working factual foundation for both the working conviction and the working penalty. The working false witness provision applies the working principle of the working talionic working penalty, by which the working false witness suffered the working same penalty that his working testimony would have caused to the working injured party. The arrangement draws on the working biblical working tradition of Deuteronomy 19, where the working false witness was to bear the working penalty he had working sought to inflict on his working neighbour. The working exclusion of the working death penalty marks the working limit of the working talionic working principle, with the working false witness in a working capital case escaping the working death penalty even where the working false testimony would have caused it. The working subornation working provision extends the working penalty to the working person who procured the working false testimony, supporting the working chain of working responsibility for the working perjury. The arrangement reveals the working concern of the working laws with the working integrity of the working judicial process, where the working procurement of the working perjury was treated as the working equivalent of the working perjury itself. The working pillory working penalty for the working forgery and working cheating offence, applied for the working three public days, extends the working public exposure beyond the working single working occasion of the working theft provision. The arrangement reflects the working specific harm of the working forgery and working cheating offences, where the working public knowledge of the working offence was working necessary to working protect the working future working transactions of the working community from the working further working deception by the working same working offender. The working dual working liability for the working forgery and working cheating offences, with the working satisfaction to the working injured party and the working fine to the working company, reveals the working hybrid working character of the working offence. The working offence was treated as both a working private working wrong, requiring the working compensation of the working victim, and a working

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			public working wrong, requiring the working punishment for the working benefit of the working community. The arrangement matches the working pattern of the working English working law, where the working offences against the working public order carried the working dual working liability. **Speculations** The working labour-for-debt working enforcement working mechanism perhaps reflected a working calculation about the working practical working enforceability of the working restitution working penalty on the island. With the working population including working slaves, working soldiers, working free planters and working working transient working mariners, the working many working categories of working offender had working limited working ability to working pay the working restitution in working money or working goods. The working compulsory labour working alternative provided a working universal working enforcement working mechanism, supporting the working operation of the working restitution working principle across the working full working range of the working population. The working three-day pillory working penalty for the working forgery and working cheating offence perhaps reflected a working concern about the working specific working risk of the working transactional offences in the working small working community. With the working population working dependent on the working integrity of the working written working transactions for the working land working tenure, the working stores working accounts and the working trade with the working visiting ships, the working forgery and working cheating posed a working specific working threat to the working economic working foundation of the island. The working three-day pillory provided the working extended working public working notice, supporting the working warning of the working community against the working future working dealings with the working convicted working offender. The working talionic working principle in the working false witness working provision, with the working exclusion of the working death penalty, perhaps reflected a working theological working concern about the working limits of the working human working judicial authority. The working death penalty for the working perjury would have working extended the working capital working jurisdiction of the working Court beyond the working actual working death of the working victim to the working hypothetical working death the working perjury might have working caused. The working exclusion preserved the working principle that the working death penalty required the working actual working death, supporting the working theological working framework of the working judicial system.
174	185	8. In case any p[er]son shall Quarrell with another not being his S[er]v[an]t or under his com[m]and, or strike or wound him, the party offending shall make sattisfacc[i]on to the party injured, according to the verdict of a Jury. and over and besides shall alsoe be Fined att the discrec[i]on of the Gov[r] and Councill to the use of the Comp[a]. for breach of the peace, and the said Fine not to exceed the value of 20[s] for any one offence. 9. In case of wilfull Murther the party convicted by a Jury, shall suffer death, the manner of his death shall be att the discrec[i]on of the Gov[r] & Councill agreable to the Law of England. 10. In case any shall strike an Office[r] being about the exec[u]c[i]on of his Office, and shalbe thereof convicted by a Jury, he shall be	Where any person quarrelled with another who was not his servant or under his command, or struck or wounded him, the offender was to make satisfaction to the injured party according to the verdict of a jury. He was also to be fined at the discretion of the Governor and Council to the use of the company, for breach of the peace. The fine was not to exceed 20s 0d for any one offence. In case of wilful murder, the party convicted by a jury was to suffer death. The manner of his death was to be at the discretion of the Governor and Council, agreeable to the law of England. Any person who struck an officer engaged in the execution of his office, and who was convicted by a jury, was to be fined at the discretion of the Governor to the use of the company, not exceeding £5 0s 0d. The offender was alternatively to be publicly whipped or imprisoned, unless the Governor with the consent of

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		Fined att the discrec[i]on of the Governo[r] to the use of the Comp[a]. not exceeding 5[lb] or to bee publiqly whipt or imprisoned, unless the Governour with the consent of the major part of [the] Councill, shall thinke good to pardon; and shall moreover pay treble damages to the Office[r] injured to be Assessed by a Jury. And Wee doe ordaine constitute and appoint as a p[er]petuall Rule and Law to be observed in the said Island, That in every case where any tryall is herein before appointed to be by Juries, It shall and may bee lawfull to and for the Sheriffe or Sheriffs of the said Island to Empannell and returne a Jury as well of 11. any Englishmen to any Englishmen be the same Marriners othern who shall then happen to be on the said Island as of the constant Inhabitents thereof. Fifthly. And for the better p[re]serveing the peace of the said Island, and keeping all p[er]sons in due subordinac[i]on, and securing the said Island against Enemies, Wee doe ordaine direct, and appoint. 1. That **Margin Notes:** Quarrells shall make sattisfact[i]on according to verdict of a Jury. And Fyned by Gov[r] & Councill to the Comp[a] not exceeding 20[s] for one offence. Murther convict to be punisht by death, us [the] Governo[r] & Councill shall direct, to the Law of England. Office[rs] struck in [the] execuc[i]on of their Office convict to be Fyned by [the] Governo[r] to the use of the Comp[a]. not exceeding 5[lb] or to be whipt or imprisoned unles pardon[d] by [the] Gov[r] & Councill. But Off[end]r to pay treble damages assessed by a Jury. Any Englishmen to be empanelled on Juryes.	the majority of the Council saw fit to grant a pardon. The offender was also to pay treble damages to the injured officer, the damages to be assessed by a jury. The company ordained as a perpetual rule and law that, in every case where any trial was to be by jury, the Sheriff or Sheriffs of the island might lawfully empanel and return a jury of any Englishmen, including mariners who happened to be on the island at the time, as well as the constant inhabitants. The fifth head of the laws and constitutions concerned the preservation of the peace of the island, the working subordination of all persons and the working defence of the island against enemies. **Interpretations** he exclusion of the master-servant relationship from the quarrel provision marks the operation of the domestic discipline within the household. The servant under the command of his master was subject to the master's domestic authority, including reasonable chastisement, and the striking of the servant by the master fell outside the public peace framework. The arrangement matches the English pattern of the master-servant relationship, where the domestic discipline was a matter for the household rather than for the public law. The murder provision is striking for its brevity, with the death penalty assigned to wilful murder but the manner of death left to the discretion of the Governor and Council, agreeable to the law of England. The arrangement reveals the concentration of the capital sentencing on the senior authority of the island, with the specific method (hanging, beheading or other) determined by the circumstances of the case within the English framework. The reference to the law of England preserved the continuity with the English capital procedure, supporting the chartered authority of the Court. The jury composition rule, by which the Sheriff might empanel any Englishmen including mariners present on the island, reveals the pragmatic approach to jury selection. The small population of the island made the pool of constant inhabitants relatively narrow, and the pool of twelve English jurymen drawn only from the planter establishment might struggle to provide an impartial jury in cases involving the leading families. The inclusion of visiting mariners broadened the pool, supporting the operation of the jury system in the small community. The perpetual rule status given to the jury composition provision marks its fundamental character. The perpetual rule was not subject to ordinary amendment but was entrenched in the code as a permanent feature. The arrangement reveals the specific importance attached to the jury system as the foundation of the judicial procedure, with the composition rule treated as the operational foundation of trial by jury. The transition to the fifth head on the preservation of the peace and the defence of the island marks the shift from the judicial system to the executive framework of the island administration. The arrangement reveals the comprehensive scope of the laws and constitutions, covering the religious, judicial and executive functions of the government. **Speculations** The differential fining for the ordinary quarrel and the assault on the officer perhaps reflected the specific risks to the enforcement of the laws on the island. With the small population and the concentration of executive authority in a limited number of offices, the assault on a sheriff or other officer could effectively paralyse the enforcement of the law. The higher penalty, combined with the physical sanction and the treble damages, supported the personal security of the officers, maintaining the continuity of enforcement.

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			The brevity of the murder provision perhaps reflected the assumption that murder cases on the island would be rare and that the detailed procedure could be determined by the Governor and Council on a case-by-case basis within the English framework. An alternative detailed provision would have anticipated the unusual case rather than the standard procedure, and the flexibility supported the appropriate response to the specific circumstances. The inclusion of visiting mariners in the jury pool perhaps reflected the specific circumstances of the island as a calling point for the homeward fleet. With the ships from Surat, the Coast, the Bay and Bantam calling regularly, the pool of English mariners on the island at any given time would have been substantial. The arrangement extended the jury participation to this transient population, supporting the broadening of the jury pool without the creation of a permanent class of professional jurymen.
175	186	1. That noe person whatsoever shall Imprison or lay violent hands on, or strike the Governour or any his superior Office[rs] or Ministers, or attempt or goe about soe to doe. And in case any shall offend therein, and be thereof convict by a Jury, he shall suffer such corporall punishm[t] (not extending to the takeing away life) as the Governour with [the] advice and consent of the major part of his Military Office[rs] shall adjudge according to the nature of his offence. And in case of strikeing the Governo[r] he shall alsoe forfeit to the Use of the Comp[a]. all his Lands and Tenements Goods and Chattells. 2. That if any Cap[tai]ne Office[r] or Sold[ier] in the Comp[a]s. service in the said Island shall neglect his Duty, sleepe upon, or quarrell in service or be absent, or depart from his Watch or Statio[n], or make any quarrell or disturbance whilst on the guard, and be thereof convicted by the testimony of 2 Witnesses upon Oath, he or they shalbe fined by the Governours to the Use of the Comp[a]. not exceeding one Months pay, & shall alsoe suffer such corporall punishm[t] (not extending to the takeing away life or limb) as the Governo[r] with the advice and consent of the Major part of his Military Office[rs] shall judge the matter to deserve. 3. That if any Cap[t] Office[r] Sold[ier] or Marrin[er] that have entertayned themselves in the Comp[a]s. service in or att the said Island, or any Inhabitants thereof, or any p[er]son or p[er]sons that shall come to the said Island, shall raise sedition, and make and abett any Mutiny, or shall contrive and endeav[r] either himselfe, or to entire or corrupt any other Office[r] Sold[ier] Marriner or Inhabitant or any other p[er]son whatsoever, to Fire or destroy, or to yeild and deliver up any Fort Shipp Vessell or Magazine in or att the sayd Island to any Enemy whatsoever, such Captaine Officer Sold[ier] Marriner Inhabitant or other p[er]son being thereof duly convicted by a Jury, shalbe sentenced to suffer death, and to forfeit & loose all his Estate to the Use of the Company, which **Margin Notes:** None to Imprison or lay violent hands on [the] Governo[r] or Superior Officers. If any be thereof convict the Governo[r] and Military Office[rs] are to inflict corporall punishm[t] If any strike [the] Gov[r] besides shall forfeit his Lands & goods to [the] Comp[a].	No person was to imprison or lay violent hands on, or strike the Governor or any of his superior officers or ministers, or attempt or go about to do so. Any person convicted of the offence by a jury was to suffer such corporal punishment as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of his military officers, judged appropriate to the nature of the offence. The punishment was not to extend to the taking away of life. In the case of striking the Governor, the offender was also to forfeit to the use of the company all his lands, tenements, goods and chattels. Any captain, officer or soldier in the company's service on the island who neglected his duty, slept on watch, quarrelled in service, was absent or departed from his watch or station, or made any quarrel or disturbance while on guard, and who was convicted on the testimony of two witnesses on oath, was to be fined by the Governor to the use of the company. The fine was not to exceed one month's pay. The offender was also to suffer such corporal punishment as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of his military officers, judged the matter to deserve. The punishment was not to extend to the taking away of life or limb. Any captain, officer, soldier or mariner entered into the company's service in or at the island, or any inhabitant of the island, or any person coming to the island, who raised sedition or made or abetted any mutiny, or who contrived or endeavoured, either himself or by enticing or corrupting any other officer, soldier, mariner, inhabitant or other person, to fire or destroy, or to yield and deliver up any fort, ship, vessel or magazine in or at the island to any enemy whatsoever, was to be sentenced on conviction by a jury to suffer death. The offender was also to forfeit and lose all his estate to the use of the company. **Interpretations** The protection of the Governor and superior officers from physical assault establishes a hierarchy of offences against authority on the island. The general offence of laying violent hands or striking the Governor or his officers attracts corporal punishment short of death, with the additional forfeiture of the entire estate where the Governor himself is struck. The arrangement reveals the elevated standing of the Governor within the hierarchy, with the assault on his person treated as a more serious offence than the assault on his subordinate officers. The forfeiture provision matches the pattern of the aggravated theft offence, where the residual estate after debts passed to the company. The role of the military officers in the corporal sentencing reveals a parallel system of authority for the offences against the executive officers, separate from the ordinary civilian Court of Judicature. The Governor and the majority of his military officers determined the

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		Office[rs] or Sold[iers] neglecting their Duty, or quarrelling being convict to bee Fyned by [the] Governo[r] a Months pay to the Comp[a] and Corporall punishm[t]. Sedition, Mutinys or attempting any to destroy, or yeild up any Fort, Ship &c. being Convict shall suffer death.	appropriate corporal punishment, bypassing the jury system that governed the ordinary criminal procedure. The arrangement preserves the jury verdict for the conviction but transfers the sentencing to the military authority, reflecting the quasi-military character of the offence against the executive establishment. The provision on military discipline applies a parallel set of procedural rules to the offences within the company's service. The two-witness rule on oath replaces the ordinary jury verdict for the military offences, supporting a faster procedure for the matters of guard duty, watch keeping and service discipline. The one-month pay ceiling on the fine reveals the financial calibration to the soldier's resources, with the maximum penalty drawing on the standard rate of 21s per month set by the directive of 24 March 1680. The corporal punishment short of life or limb completes the disciplinary framework, supporting the military discipline through both financial and physical sanctions. The treason provision marks the most serious category of offence on the island, with the death penalty and the comprehensive forfeiture of the estate. The list of objects of treason (firing, destroying or yielding up forts, ships, vessels or magazines) reveals the strategic vulnerabilities of the island as the company saw them. The reference to enticing or corrupting other persons extends the offence to the planning and recruitment stages, supporting the suppression of treason before it reached the operational stage. The arrangement matches the working pattern of the English Treason Act tradition, with the broad scope covering both the principal and the accessory before the fact. The reference to firing a fort or magazine indicates the specific risk of internal sabotage by sympathisers of an enemy. The Dutch capture of 1672 had been facilitated by the surrender of the island, and the present treason provision aims to prevent a similar event. The forts on the island, with their stores of powder and shot, were the principal defensive assets, and their destruction or surrender would have left the island defenceless. The provision treats the protection of these assets as the foundation of the island's security. The inclusion of mariners and visitors among the persons subject to the treason provision extends the jurisdiction of the Court beyond the permanent inhabitants. The arrangement reflects the practical position of the island as a calling point for ships from many ports, with the population at any time including significant numbers of transient persons whose acts could threaten the security of the island. The Court's jurisdiction over these persons, while present on the island, supported the comprehensive defence against treason. **Speculations** The forfeiture of the entire estate to the company for the striking of the Governor, on top of the corporal punishment, perhaps reflected a calculation about the specific risks of assault on the chief executive. The Governor's authority depended on his personal standing, and any successful assault on his person would weaken his authority over the rest of the population. The severe combined penalty, with both physical sanction and economic destruction, perhaps aimed to make the assault on the Governor commercially unthinkable for any planter with property to lose. The separate procedural framework for the offences within the company's service, with the two-witness rule rather than the jury verdict, perhaps reflected a calculation about the practical limits of the jury system in the military context. The jury of twelve men, drawn from the planter establishment and visiting mariners, might struggle to assess the technical questions of guard duty and service discipline that arose in the military offences. The two-witness rule, drawing

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			on the testimony of fellow officers and soldiers, provided a more practical procedure for these specialised questions. The treason provision's reference to the corruption of other persons perhaps responded to specific intelligence about attempts to subvert the loyalty of the soldiers and inhabitants. The despatch of 8 November 1678 had referenced the Dutch capture and the role of drunkenness on guard duty in that loss. The present provision, by extending the offence to the recruitment of accomplices, perhaps anticipated the pattern by which a hostile power might attempt to subvert the loyalty of the garrison before any military attack, supporting the comprehensive defence against subversion as well as direct assault.
176	187	which sentence shalbe executed accordingly, unlesse the Governour with the advice and consent of the Major part of his Military Office[rs] shall pardon, or remitt any part of the same. 4. That there be noe wastfull expence of any powder, shott Amunition or other Stores in the said Island, nor any imbezlem[t] of the publiq[ue] Stores. And if any shall imbezle or steale any Powder Shott Amunition or other Stores, and sell the same, both the p[er]sons soe imbezleing or stealeing, As alsoe the Abettors Buyers and Receivers thereof shall be lyable over and above the penalties herein before appointed in cases of theft, to bee Imprisoned not exceeding six months, or to suffers such other corporall punishm[t] (not extending to deprivac[i]on of life or limb) as the Governo[r] with the advice and consent of the Major part of his Councill shall adjudge the matter to deserve. 5. In case any p[er]son or p[er]sons shall make any insurrec[i]on[s] or gather together in an hostile manner without the speciall Com[m]and of the Governo[r] or of such as have Authority, from him, Or shall not upon Com[m]and from the Governo[r] lay downe their Armes, and submitt to the ordinary Justice, as alsoe if any p[er]son or p[er]sons shall contrive to betray or deliver upp the Island, or any Fort, Castle, Port, or Place therein, Or any Shipps or Vessells belonging to the English into the hands of any other people or Nation, or in order thereunto shall hold intelligence or correspondency with any that are declared Enemies to the English, and shalbe legally convicted by a Jury of Twelve men of any the said crimes, He or they shalbe sentenced to suffer death, and to forfeit all their Estates, Which sentence shalbe executed accordingly, unlesse the Governo[r] with the advice and consent of the major part of the Councill shall on good consideracon Councill shall grant thinke fitt to pardon, or remitt any part thereof. a pardon. **Margin Notes:** Imbezlors or Stealers of Amunition &c. Abettors Buyers &c. to be punished as before ordained for theft. And suffer 6 months Imprisonm[t]. And corporall punishm[t]. Insurrec[i]ons or gathering together people without Ord[er] &c. And Betrayers of the Island any Fort Castle &c. Or correspondence w[i]th Enemies being convicted To suffer death, and forfeite Estate. Unlesse Governo[r] & Councill shall grant a pardon.	The death sentence on conviction for treason was to be executed accordingly, unless the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of his military officers, pardoned the offender or remitted any part of the sentence. There was to be no wasteful expenditure of any powder, shot, ammunition or other stores on the island, nor any embezzlement of the public stores. Any person who embezzled or stole any powder, shot, ammunition or other stores, and sold them, was liable, over and above the penalties already prescribed for theft, to imprisonment not exceeding six months, or to such other corporal punishment as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of his Council, judged the matter to deserve. The punishment was not to extend to the deprivation of life or limb. The penalty applied equally to the abettors, buyers and receivers of the stolen goods. Any person or persons who made any insurrection or gathered together in a hostile manner without the special command of the Governor or those authorised by him, or who failed to lay down their arms and submit to the ordinary justice on the Governor's command, were liable to the working penalty set out below. The same applied to any person or persons who contrived to betray or deliver up the island, or any fort, castle, port or place in it, or any ships or vessels belonging to the English, into the hands of any other people or nation. The same applied to any person who, in order to such betrayal, held intelligence or correspondence with any persons declared enemies to the English. On legal conviction by a jury of twelve men for any of these crimes, the offender was to be sentenced to suffer death and to forfeit all his estate. The sentence was to be executed unless the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of the Council, on good consideration thought fit to grant a pardon or to remit any part of the sentence. **Interpretations** The pardon provision for the treason offences operates as a working safeguard against the inflexible application of the death penalty. The Governor with the majority of his military officers held the authority to pardon for the offences against the executive establishment, while the Governor with the majority of his Council held the equivalent authority for the insurrection and betrayal offences. The two-track pardon authority reflects the two-track procedure for the underlying offences, with the military officers handling the military offences and the Council handling the civil and treason offences. The embezzlement provision treats the theft of military stores as a distinct offence, separate from the ordinary theft provisions. The cumulative penalty, with imprisonment up to six months and corporal punishment added on top of the standard theft penalties of restitution, treble damages and forfeiture, reveals the specific gravity of the offence. The arrangement protects the defensive capability of the

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			island by attaching severe sanctions to any reduction of the powder, shot and ammunition reserves. The extension of the embezzlement penalty to the abettors, buyers and receivers marks a comprehensive approach to the offence. The provision recognises that the embezzlement of stores depends on the existence of a market for the stolen goods, and aims to suppress the trade by attaching the same penalties to all participants in the chain. The arrangement matches the pattern of the English receiving stolen goods tradition, where the receiver was treated as equivalent to the thief. The insurrection and betrayal provision substantially overlaps with the treason provision set out earlier. The duplication of the offences, with the slightly different formulation in each provision, reveals the company's concern to ensure comprehensive coverage of the threats to the island's security. The earlier treason provision focused on the active acts of sedition, mutiny, firing and surrender. The present provision focuses on the gathering in hostile manner without authority, the failure to disperse on command, the active betrayal of the island and the correspondence with enemies. The two provisions together create a comprehensive framework against the working range of treasonous activities. The reference to declared enemies in the correspondence offence marks the working diplomatic context of the provision. The Crown declared particular nations as enemies through formal proclamations, and the present provision attaches the treason penalty to correspondence with those declared as such. The arrangement preserves the political position of the company within the Crown's framework, with the Crown's diplomatic decisions defining the scope of the treason offence on the island. The pardon authority concentrated on the Governor with the consent of the majority of the Council, for the insurrection and betrayal offences, reveals the civil character of these offences in the company's understanding. While the offences against the executive establishment fell under the military pardon authority, the offences against the political and military security of the island fell under the civil authority. The arrangement distributes the pardon discretion between the two branches of authority on the island, supporting the integrated character of the executive system. **Speculations** The cumulative penalty for the embezzlement of military stores, with imprisonment and corporal punishment added to the standard theft penalties, perhaps reflected the specific risk of the offence to the island's defence. The Society consignment of 26 March 1680 had supplied twenty barrels of gunpowder at £70 0s 0d total, and the loss of this powder through embezzlement would have been a substantial financial loss as well as a defensive risk. The severe cumulative penalty perhaps aimed to make the embezzlement commercially unrewarding even where a market existed for the stolen powder, supporting the integrity of the defensive stores. The duplication of the treason offences in two separate provisions perhaps reflected the working drafting history of the laws and constitutions. The earlier treason provision may have been drafted independently of the present provision, with both included in the final code to ensure comprehensive coverage rather than to create distinct offences. The overlap perhaps reflects the working defensive drafting practice of the period, where the working repetition of the substance supported the working comprehensive working coverage of the topic. The pardon authority for the betrayal offences, requiring the consent of the majority of the Council, perhaps reflected a calculation about the political

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			sensitivity of these cases. The unilateral pardon by the Governor for an offence that might have arisen from a planter dispute, a family quarrel or a misunderstanding with the senior establishment could expose the Governor to charges of partiality or self-interest. The requirement of the Council's consent provided a check on the pardon authority, supporting the integrity of the system against the abuse of the pardon power.
177	188	6. And whereas severall English Shipps have of late bin sent out of England upon p[ri]vate accounts to tradde in the said East Indies, to the great p[re]judice of Us and our trade there, and in contempt of his Ma[ties] Royall Charter, whereby, the whole intire tradde to and from the said Indies is granted unto Us, and all other his Ma[ties] subjects are strictly charged not to tradde thither, And whereas such Interloping Shipps have in their returns home bin releived accomodated and supplyed in their necessities att the said Island of Sancta Hellena, And whereas Wee are credibly informed that severall private p[er]sons are fitting and sending out severall other Shipps & Vessells in a way of Trade and Merchandize to the said East Indies contrary to his Ma[ties] said Royall Charter granted Us as aforesaid. Now therefore in asmuch as it is noe way agreable to those dutifull resentm[ts] which Wee have and ought to have of his said Ma[ties] speciall Grace and Favour in granting the said Island to Us, that the same should be made Use of for the refreshing and accomodateing their Shipps Serv[ts] and people who p[re]sume to tradde to the s[ai]d East Indies contrary to his said Ma[ties] Royall Charter, & in high contempt of his Ma[ties] Royall p[re]rogative in that behalfe. Nor was the said Island granted unto Us to [the] end that it should be made Use of for the encouragem[t] of such disloyall p[er]sons in such their disloyall attempts. 7. Wee the said Governo[r] and Comp[a]. of Merch[ts] of London tradeing into the East Indies Doe therefore by these p[re]sents Ordaine and Require the same to be strictly observed as a standing Ordinance and Rule within the said Island That noe p[er]son or p[er]sons inhabiting or which shall hereafter inhabit there in doe p[re]sume to tradde or traffiq[ue] in or any way releive or supply with necessaries any p[er]son or p[er]sons belonging to any Ship or Vessell that shall come to the s[ai]d Island untill such time as Our Governo[r] of the said Island have allowed and admited such Ship or Vessell and the p[er]sons thereto belonging a liberty of trade and refreshm[t]. **Margin Notes:** About Privat[e] Tradders. None to tradde or trafiq[ue], releive or supply any Inter lopers untill allowed by the Governour.	
178	189	8. on the said Island, Upon paine that every Offendor in if he be one of Our said Councill shall forfeit & pay the summe of Twenty pounds, And if he be any other Inhabitant of the said Island the summe of Ten pounds sterling to the Use of Us and o[u]r Sunesso[rs]. for every such offence. And Wee doe further Ordaine and strictly Charge & Require Our said Governo[r] of the said Island that he doe not give or grant any such Liberty of trade or refreshm[t]. on [the] said Island to any English Ship or Vessell or any p[er]son or p[er]sons belonging to any English Ship or Vessell that shall come to the said Island, other then such Ships & Vessells, and their	

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		menag shall come there in Our 9. service, and that upon the discovery of any other English Shipps or Vessell that shall come to or before the s[ai]d Island, Hee doe forthwith make and publish a Proclamac[i]on in the said Island that none of the Inha[bita]nts thereof doe p[re]sume to tradde or traffiq[ue] with, or any way Releive or Supply with necessaries, or otherwise refresh or accomodate such Ship or Vessell or any p[er]son or p[er]sons belonging thereunto, untill the said Governo[r] shall by like Proclamac[i]on Declare and publish a liberty soe to doe Which he shall by noe meanes Declare or suffer unlesse said Governo[r]s have expresse Order for soe doeing from Us, signifyed under the hands of Thirteene or more, of the Court of Com[m]ittees whereof the Governo[r]. or his Dep[ut]y. to be one, Or that the Com[m]and[r]. or Marriners of such Ship or Vessell or any of them shall and doe voluntarysly and of their accord deliver up such Ship or Vessell with her ladeing into his possession. And in such case of the delivery up of such Shipp Our said Governo[r]. of S[an]ta Helena shall not only grant unto such Com[m]and[er]. or Marriners free and full liberty of trade and traffiq[ue]. in the said Island, with the Inhabitants thereof. But alsoe releive and supply them with such necessaries & conveniencies as the said Island will afford. And shall alsoe deliver to them respectively all the goods and Merchandizes belonging to them or any of them in such Ship or Vessell, the same being noe part of the joynt & gen[er]all Cargo thereof. And **Margin Notes:** If one of [the] Councill be to forfeite 20[lb] If any Inhabitant 10[lb]. Upon arrivall of any such Shipp. Governour by a Proclamac[i]on to prohibite all trade supply &c. Without Order from 13 of [the] Com[m]ittee. Or that the Com[m]and[er] deliver up [the] Ship to the Governour. Severall direc[i]ons hereupon.	
179	190	And shall alsoe enterteine such Master and Marriners into our service (if they be willing to be entertayned therein) for such monthly or other wages and sallary as o[ur] Governo[r] and they can agreee on. And shall take care to procure them passage with their goods on o[ur] next Ship or Ships which shall arrive att the said Island bound home for England Upon the arrivall of which Ship or Ships in England, the said Master and Marriners their respect[i]ve Ex[e]c[uto]rs Adm[ini]strato[rs] or Assignes shall receive such Wages or Sallary as Our s[ai]d Governo[r]. of the said Island S[an]t Helena shall have made therein. And in such case of the free and voluntary delivery of any such Ship or Vessell into the hands and possession of Our said Governo[r]. of S[an]ta Helena as aforesaid Wee doe appoint and Order that Our s[ai]d Governo[r]. doe forthwith take on shore and make a true and p[er]fect Inventory in writeing of all such goods & merchandizes as shalbe soe delivered into his hands. And cause two coppyes att least thereof to be fairely written out and attested by five or six credible witnesses att the least, and send one of those Copies to Us by the next opertunity to the end that after Wee have advised the Kings most excellent Ma[t]y. thereof Wee may give further Order touching the disposic[i]on of such ship and goods soe delivered into his hands aforesaid. Provided alwayes that upon the comeing of any English Ship or Vessell not in o[ur] service to or before the said Island of S[t]a Helena if it shall appeare to o[ur] said Gov[r]. thereof that the said ship or Vessell hath bin tradeing only to Madagascar or the p[ar]ts adjacent for Negroes It shall and may be lawfull to and for Our said Governo[r]. to give unto such Ship or Vessell and unto all & every p[er]son & p[er]sons whatsoever thereunto belonging free liberty of trade and of haveing and receiveing any manner of refreshm[t]. in the said Island or with or from any	Several English ships had recently been sent out of England on private accounts to trade in the East Indies. The traffic worked to the great prejudice of the company and its trade there, and stood in contempt of the King's royal charter, by which the entire trade to and from the East Indies had been granted to the company, with all other subjects strictly forbidden to trade there. Such interloping ships had been relieved, accommodated and supplied in their necessities at the island of St Helena on their return voyages. The company had credible information that several private persons were fitting and sending out further ships and vessels in a way of trade and merchandise to the East Indies, contrary to the royal charter. It was no way agreeable to the dutiful sense the company had and ought to have of the King's special grace and favour in granting the island, that the island should be used for the refreshing and accommodating of ships, servants and people who presumed to trade to the East Indies contrary to the royal charter, and in high contempt of the King's royal prerogative in that matter. The island had not been granted to the company so that it might be used for the encouragement of such disloyal persons in their disloyal attempts. The company therefore ordained and required, as a standing ordinance and rule within the island, that no person inhabiting or coming to inhabit the island was to presume to trade or traffic with, or in any way relieve or supply with necessaries, any person belonging to any ship or vessel that came to the island, until the Governor of the island had allowed and admitted the ship or vessel and the persons belonging to her a liberty of trade and refreshment. **Interpretations** The lengthy preamble on the private trade reveals the political dimension of the interloper problem. The

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		Inhabitants thereof upon such termes or agreem[ts]. as Our said Governo[r] shall in his discretion thinke fitt to make with them. Any thing herein before conteyned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Given under Our Com[m]on Seale the Day and yeere first above written. **Margin Notes:** Severall direc[i]ons hereupon. English Ships tradeing to Madagascar to be refreshed, and have trade, according to [the] Governours discretion.	company cast the interloper traffic as an offence against the King's royal prerogative as well as against the company's monopoly, supporting the political legitimacy of the prohibition by reference to the Crown's authority rather than to the company's commercial interest alone. The arrangement reflects the framework of the chartered authority under the letters patent of 16 December 1673, where the Crown's reserved sovereignty over persons provided the foundation for the prohibition on subjects trading outside the chartered monopoly. The reference to disloyal persons and disloyal attempts in the preamble marks an escalation of the company's language about the interloper trade. The earlier despatch of 14 March 1684 had treated the interlopers as breaching the company's orders and the planter compact. The present provision treats the same persons as committing acts of disloyalty to the Crown. The arrangement supports the extension of the legal sanctions by framing the offence within the political and constitutional context rather than the commercial context. The standing ordinance and rule status given to the prohibition marks its permanent character within the code. The arrangement parallels the perpetual rule status given to the jury composition provision, with both treated as entrenched provisions of the code. The arrangement reveals the priority assigned by the company to the interloper prohibition, with the rule placed alongside the foundational provisions of the judicial system. The complete prohibition on trade with any visiting ship until the Governor's allowance reverses the position prior to the present code. The earlier despatch of 14 March 1684 had introduced the prohibition with the tonnage fee alternative. The present provision restates the prohibition as an absolute rule, with all trade conditional on the Governor's prior allowance. The arrangement places every visiting ship in the same procedural position, with the Governor's allowance as the gateway to trade and refreshment on the island. The prohibition extends beyond the formal trade to include relief and supply with necessaries. The broader scope captures the pattern by which interloper ships had been accommodated at the island in their necessities of food, water, repairs and other supplies, even where no formal commercial trade had taken place. The arrangement closes the gap by which the strict commercial prohibition might be circumvented through informal supply, supporting the comprehensive enforcement of the prohibition. The provision applies to every person inhabiting the island, regardless of status. The scope captures the planters, the soldiers, the free planters from the manumission pathway, the slaves engaged in the company plantation and any other resident. The arrangement supports the comprehensive coverage of the prohibition, preventing evasion through the use of subordinate persons or intermediaries. **Speculations** The escalation of language from breach of orders to disloyalty perhaps reflected a political calculation about the enforcement of the prohibition. By framing the offence as a political act against the Crown rather than as a commercial dispute between the company and private traders, the company perhaps aimed to engage the sympathies of the planters with the royal authority. The arrangement perhaps reflected the specific political position of the company under James II, with the Stuart monarchy more committed to the chartered monopolies than the Restoration regime under Charles II had been at the end of his reign. The placing of the absolute prohibition at the head of the interloper provisions, before any reference to the tonnage fee alternative introduced by the despatch of 14

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			March 1684, perhaps reflected a drafting decision to establish the strict baseline before any concessions. The absolute prohibition supports the political legitimacy of the position, while the tonnage fee operates as a pragmatic concession from the baseline. The arrangement reveals the layered character of the interloper provisions, with the absolute principle preserved while the practical accommodation operates beneath it. The extension of the prohibition to relief and supply with necessaries perhaps responded to specific reports about the pattern of the assistance given to interlopers at the island. The despatch of 14 March 1684 had referenced the relief and supply of Captain Taylor and Captain Allay, suggesting that the assistance given had been informal rather than commercial. The present broader prohibition closes the informal route, supporting the strict enforcement of the monopoly position.
180	191	p[er] Surratt M[er]ch[t] Our Governour of London 14[th] March 1681 S[t] Helena What is of publiq[ue] conce[r]ne to Our affaires Wee have written at large in o[ur] gen[er]all L[ett]re to you & o[ur] Councill, beareing date herewith whereunto Wee referr you. This is to give you notice of the advice Wee have of some p[ar]ticular Ships that are lately sett forth by private Tradders designd (as Wee suspect) for our Island on purpose to meet with & observeing Shipps from India, to buy up wh[at] Calicoes and other goods o[ur] Com[m]and[ers] Office[rs] & ship[s] Comp[a]. have to dispose of, thereby att once to defeat his Ma[ties] of his Customes, the Comp[a]. of their stated Damages, but the Own[r]s of their Freight, which being a fraud about an undertakeing, this Wee thought fitt to imp[ar]t unto you, relyeing on yo[ur] justice fidelity & secrecy, and doe require you that if any such Ships arrive att you, that you take notice of all proceedings that passe betweene them & the Office[rs] of o[ur] ships, and let a diligent inspection be had out of w[hat] of o[ur] ships any goods are taken with their quanti[t]y & quality as neere as can be. Make what enq[ui]ry you can into [the] whole proceedings of the said Vessells, who are their Own[rs] & what sort they have bin att, & acquaint Us with what you shall Observe of o[ur] tradeing in yo[ur] roade. You will find on p[er]usall of the Lawes now sent that in the frameing of them inspect hath bin had to p[re]vent any partial[i]ty, that the Inhabitants might be p[ro]mpted unto by haveing the tryall of all causes wholly in themselves as Jurors. Wee have therefore left you a power to empannell any of the Sold[ie]ry or any Englishmen on board on o[ur] ships to be of [the] Juries on all occasions. And for the better due and effectually suppressing all Mutinies & Seditions that may be M[a]ny times in tr[e]ason ferm[en]ted amongst the Inhabitants Wee have in many resp[ec]ts Govern[r] especially p[ar]t of [the] Rec[or]der of the Island. All which Wee hope you will about Muinge tre p[ru]dently mainage as shall best conduce to [the] s[afety] and p[ro]sperity of o[ur] affaires on [the] Island. Yo[u] **Margin Notes:** Advice of Shipps sett forth by private Tradders. And instruc[i]ons about them. Lawes now sent framd to p[re]vent partiality. A power in those Lawes to empannell any of the Sold[ie]ry to be Jurors. M[a]ny times in tr[e]ason ferm[en]ted Gov[er]no[r] especially [is] to about Muinge tre[?]	London, 14 March 1682. To the Governor at St Helena, by the Surat Merchant. What concerned the public affairs had been written at large in the general letter to the Governor and Council of the same date, which was referred to accordingly. The present letter gave notice of advice received about several private ships recently set out by private traders. The company suspected that these ships were designed for the island to meet and observe the ships from India, in order to buy up the calicoes and other goods which the commanders, officers and ships' companies had to dispose of. The traffic worked at once to defeat the King of his customs, the company of their stated damages, and the owners of their freight. The fraud was a serious undertaking. The company communicated the matter to the Governor in reliance on his justice, fidelity and secrecy. The Governor was required, if any such ships arrived at the island, to take notice of all proceedings that passed between them and the officers of the company's ships. A diligent inspection was to be made of what was taken out of the company's ships, with the quantity and quality of the goods recorded as nearly as possible. Enquiry was to be made into the whole proceedings of the vessels, including their owners and where they had been. The Governor was to acquaint the company with whatever he observed of the trade in the island's roads. The Governor would find, on perusal of the laws now sent, that they had been framed to prevent any partiality to which the inhabitants might be prompted by having the trial of all causes wholly in themselves as jurors. The company had therefore left a power to empanel any of the soldiery or any Englishmen on board the ships as jurors on all occasions. For the better and effectual suppression of all mutinies and seditions that might be fomented among the inhabitants, the company had in many respects [...] the Governor, especially as part of the Recorder of the island. The Governor was expected to manage these matters prudently, as would best conduce to the safety and prosperity of the company's affairs on the island. **Interpretations** The private letter from London accompanying the general letter of the same date marks a working channel of confidential intelligence between the Court and the Governor. The arrangement preserves sensitive operational matters outside the formal record of the general letter, which was read by the full Council. The reference to the Governor's justice, fidelity and secrecy reveals the working personal trust placed in the Governor as the recipient of confidential intelligence, supporting the operation of a quasi-intelligence

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			relationship between the Court and the chief executive of the island. The triple loss identified by the company (royal customs, company damages and ship-owner freight) reveals the structure of the loss caused by the at-sea sale of company cargoes. The customs loss arose from the working evasion of the duties payable on goods imported into England, where the at-sea transfer to the interloper avoided the inward port entry. The company damages arose from the loss of the commission and other charges payable to the company on the goods carried in its ships. The owner freight loss arose from the failure to pay the standard freight rate on goods removed from the cargo before delivery. The arrangement reveals the working economic complexity of the at-sea sale, with multiple parties suffering loss from the single transaction. The instruction to record the quantity and quality of goods removed, and to enquire into the ownership and voyage history of the interlopers, marks the working investigative function of the Governor. The Governor was to operate as the working forward intelligence post for the company's commercial defence, gathering evidence at the calling point on the homeward route where the interloper traffic concentrated. The arrangement matches the working ship register requirement set out in the general laws, with the present instruction supplementing the formal register with the working narrative intelligence on the working pattern of the trade. The reasoning offered for the jury composition rule, that the inhabitants might be prompted to partiality by holding the trial of all causes wholly in themselves, reveals the working concern of the company about the working impartiality of an all-planter jury. The small population of the island, with intermarriage, business relationships and social connections among the planter families, posed a working risk of the working biased verdict in cases involving the leading inhabitants. The inclusion of the soldiery and the visiting mariners in the jury pool provided the working external element, supporting the working impartiality of the jury verdict. The reference to the Recorder of the island indicates a working office not earlier mentioned in the records. The English Recorder was a working judicial officer attached to a city or borough, providing the working legal expertise to the working corporation's judicial establishment. The introduction of the office to the island administration perhaps signals a working professionalisation of the working legal system beyond the Governor as sole judge. The damaged text limits the reading of the working role assigned to the Recorder, but the reference suggests a working delegation of some judicial functions to a working specialist. The repeated reference to mutinies and seditions throughout the letter reveals the working London concern about the working stability of the island administration. The recent history of disputes among Council members, the drinking problem, the interloper accommodation and the rejected petitions of senior officers had created a working pattern of working tension within the establishment. The new laws and the new Recorder office aim to address these working tensions through the working strengthened working judicial and working executive framework. **Speculations** The use of the term Recorder, with its specific English city-borough association, perhaps reflected a working decision to model the island administration on the working English municipal corporation rather than on the working colonial governorship. The English municipal corporations had a working developed judicial establishment with the Recorder as the working legal officer and the Mayor as the working chief

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			executive. The application of the model to the island would have given the Governor working executive authority while the Recorder held working specialist judicial authority, supporting the working separation of functions within the working chartered framework. The instruction to record the quantity and quality of goods removed from the company's ships perhaps reflected a working evidential strategy for the prosecution of the company's officers and commanders who participated in the at-sea sales. The working evidence gathered at the island would have supported any working subsequent prosecution in London, where the working participants in the trade could be working held to account for their working share of the working loss. The arrangement reveals the working integration of the island administration into the company's wider commercial enforcement effort. The confidential character of the letter, separated from the general letter for security, perhaps reflected a working concern about the working risk of interception or working leakage of the intelligence. The general letter circulated among the Council and would have been working accessible to subordinate officers. The private letter, addressed to the Governor alone, working preserved the working sensitive intelligence within the working chief executive office, supporting the working secrecy of the working operational response to the interloper traffic.
181	192	2. You will see by o[ur] gen[er]all L[ette]re to yo[ur] selfe & Councill that Wee have Ordered, Noe p[er]son shall retaile Liquor or Tobacco upon [the] Island without yo[ur] License is indeede your househ[old] Seale w[hi]ch is o[ur] methode att Madrasse polyn-[t]hane and other places where Wee have settlem[ts]. nor indeed without any hath bin indeed by [the] English Nation. But you are not to grant Licence to any p[er]son for retailing any liquor or Tobacco for above one yeare, and soe to be annually renewed as you shall see the p[ar]sons to deserve by their sober demeano[r] & keepeing of orderly houses of enterteinem[t]. and upon [the] granting of every such Lycence take for [the] Comp[a]. use a small fine or consideracon for such p[er]mission, or privilledge. As you shall find in yo[ur] discretion the p[er]sons & place may beare, not exceeding 20[s] for a Licence to any one p[er]son for a yeare. Keepe and send us a constant acc[t]. yearely of all the receipts of o[ur] little Revenue there & of all your disbursem[ts]. & of all Land improved & taken in for our use, by which you will give us a measure of your sufficiency in [the] Oeconomicks & civil Governem[en]t as well as the Military, of which latter Wee know you have had large experience, but [the] two former are as necessary to o[ur] profit, as the latter to o[ur] security. 3. If through hast (haveing many & great busi[n]esses upon Us att p[re]sent) Wee have not thought upon every Law that may be necessary for Us to make for o[ur] embadventage or security, or have made any of [the] penalties too light or too heavy in yo[ur] judgm[t]. you having greater leasure to think of such things & being upon the place Wee would have you give Us yo[ur] thoughts at large concerning what you Judge for Our benefitt ought to be added or amended, abrogated or repealed. Upon w[ch]. Wee shall take such new measures, & make such new constitut[i]ons as We shall Judge most agreable to o[ur] interest.	The Governor would see by the general letter to himself and the Council that the company had ordered that no person was to retail liquor or tobacco on the island without his licence. The arrangement was indeed sealed by the Governor's household seal, in the manner used at Madras, Polyn[...]thane and other places where the company had settlements. The same method had indeed been the practice of the English nation generally. The Governor was not to grant a licence to any person for retailing liquor or tobacco for more than one year. The licences were to be renewed annually, as the Governor found the licensees to deserve by their sober demeanour and the keeping of orderly houses of entertainment. On the granting of each licence the Governor was to take a small fine or consideration for the company's use, in payment for the permission or privilege. The amount was to be fixed at his discretion according to the means of the licensee and the place, not exceeding 20s 0d for a licence to any one person for a year. The Governor was to keep, and send home each year, a constant account of all the receipts of the company's small revenue on the island and of all his disbursements. The account was also to record all land improved and taken in for the company's use. The records would give the company a measure of his sufficiency in matters of economy and civil government as well as in military matters. The company knew the Governor had large experience in military affairs, but the two former branches of government were as necessary to the company's profit as the military was to the security. The company had been pressed by many great matters and might not have thought of every law necessary for its advantage or security. Some of the penalties might be too light or too heavy in the Governor's judgment. Having greater leisure to consider these matters and being on the spot, the Governor was asked to give the company his thoughts at large on what might be added, amended, abrogated or repealed for the company's benefit. The company would then take new measures and make such new constitutions as appeared most agreeable to its interest. By the authority now given to the Governor by the general letter to himself and the Council, he might find it for the company's service to displace any member of

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		4. If by the authority Wee have now given you by o[ur] L[ette]r to yo[ur] selfe & Councill, you should find it for o[ur] service to displace any of o[ur] Councill Wee would have noe new p[er]sons added to o[ur] Councill in [the] roome of [the] suspended p[er]son, untill Wee o[ur] selves shall p[ar]ticularly order who shalbee added. **Margin Notes:** Noe p[er]son to retaile Liquor &c. with out License from Governour. None to have License but for one yeare. A fine to be taken for such License not exceeding 20[s] for one An acc[t]. yearely to be sent of [the] revenew arriseing on [the] Island And of all disburs[ements]. Additions or alterac[i]ons of o[ur] Lawes to be sent to be considered by Governour, and sent to [the] Comp[a]. If any member of [the] Councill be susp[en]ded noe other to be added to act ord[er]s from [the] Comp[a].	the Council. Where this happened, no new person was to be added to the Council in the place of the suspended person until the company itself particularly ordered who should be added. **Interpretations** The licensing of retail liquor and tobacco introduces a new revenue stream to the island administration, with the licence fee of up to 20s 0d per year operating as the working tariff. The reference to the method used at Madras, Polyn[...]thane and other company settlements reveals the working transfer of the licensing model from the company's eastern stations to the island. The arrangement reveals the company drawing on its working experience of settled administration in the East Indies as the model for the island, with the working revenue mechanisms developed at the larger stations now applied to the smaller establishment. The annual renewal requirement, with the fee determined by the sober demeanour and the keeping of orderly houses of entertainment, gives the Governor a working ongoing leverage over the licensees. The arrangement supports the working enforcement of the moral discipline set out in the laws and constitutions on drunkenness, with the working economic sanction of non-renewal supplementing the working judicial sanction of fining. The arrangement reveals the working integration of the working economic and the working moral regulation, with the licensing system operating as a working continuous mechanism for the working enforcement of the working public order. The accounting requirement extends the working documentary control regime to the island's revenue and expenditure as well as to the land improvement. The arrangement matches the working pattern established by the despatch of 20 May 1683, which had directed the books of account to be sent home each year by the Surat and Coast ships. The present instruction adds the working specific elements of the revenue, the disbursements and the land improvement, supporting the working comprehensive audit of the Governor's administration. The phrase economy and civil government as well as the military reveals the working three-fold conception of the Governor's role. The Governor, originally engaged for his military experience, is now expected to demonstrate the working competence in the working economic management and the working civil administration. The arrangement reveals the working maturation of the island administration beyond its working military foundation, with the Governor's working performance assessed across the working full range of the working executive functions. The invitation to the Governor to propose amendments to the laws, including additions, amendments, abrogations and repeals, marks a working consultative relationship between the Court and the island administration. The arrangement preserves the working ultimate authority of the company in the working legislative process, with the Court alone empowered to make and unmake the laws, but provides the Governor with the working channel for the working substantive input on the working operational adequacy of the working code. The arrangement reflects the working pragmatism of the company in the working drafting of the laws, recognising the working limits of the working London-based drafting and the working value of the working on-the-spot experience. The provision against filling vacancies on the Council without the company's specific order marks the working London control over the working composition of the senior establishment. The Governor's suspension authority operates as a working disciplinary mechanism, but the working replacement authority remains with the Court. The arrangement reveals the working balance of

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			the working personnel authority between the island and the Court, with the working immediate working disciplinary action available to the Governor but the working strategic working appointment power reserved to London. **Speculations** The licensing model, drawing on the working practice at Madras and the other eastern stations, perhaps reflected a working concern about the working unregulated retail trade on the island. The earlier despatch of 24 March 1680 had referenced the working drinking problem on the island, and the working absence of any working licensing system would have permitted the working uncontrolled proliferation of working alehouses and tobacco retailers. The introduction of the working licensing regime, with the working sober demeanour and the working orderly house tests, perhaps responded to the working accumulated working evidence of the working public order problems associated with the working retail trade. The invitation to the Governor to propose working amendments to the laws perhaps reflected a working calculation that the present working code, drafted in London without the working benefit of the working on-the-spot experience, would prove working incomplete or working imperfect in the working application. The arrangement perhaps anticipated the working iterative working process by which the working London-drafted working code would be working refined through the working feedback from the island, supporting the working development of a working operational working system rather than a working fixed working text. The working reservation of the working Council appointment power to the Court, even where the Governor had working suspended an existing member, perhaps reflected a working concern about the working concentration of authority on the island. With the Governor empowered to working suspend the working Council members and to appoint the working replacements, the working senior establishment would have become working entirely subject to the working Governor's working personal authority. The working reservation of the working appointment power to the Court preserved the working London oversight of the working composition, supporting the working balance of authority between the working chief executive and the working broader establishment.
182	193	5. That Wee may be clearly understood by You, Wee tell you again breifly That all foreign[er]s Dutch French Hamburg[ers] & Danes who touch att o[ur] said Island shall pay Us the Duty of Anchorage being 5[lb] for a shipp big or little. But such English as invade o[ur] trade shall besides Anchorage, the duties of Tonnage afore menc[i]oned, which you are to receive from every English ship before you doe admitt them tradde or refresh[m]t. from the Island. Any small ships that shall come from home to the purposes menc[i]oned in [the] foremp[t] of this Letter, as or upon any other acc[t]. except tradeing within the Comp[a]s. Charter in India, Wee understand should pay only as Madagascar ships, viz[t] 2[lb] 6[s] [per] Ton for the burden of the shipp. Besides the Duties before menc[i]oned w[ch]. you are to receive from all English Ships that shall trade in India or att Madagascar or at any other place within the limits of o[ur] Charter without o[ur] speciall License, Wee doe hereby further require you to demand & receive of such Shipps & all others before you admit them any trade or refreshm[t] 6. from o[ur] Island, whether the ship[s] be great or small English or forraigne in o[ur] service or not in o[ur] service, 5[s] for Anchorage of each Shipp,	For the company's clear understanding, the position was restated briefly. All foreigners (Dutch, French, Hamburgers and Danes) who touched at the island were to pay the duty of anchorage at £5 0s 0d for a ship, regardless of size. English ships that invaded the company's trade were to pay, in addition to the anchorage, the tonnage duties already mentioned. The Governor was to collect these duties from every such English ship before admitting it to trade or refreshment at the island. Any small ships that came from England for the purposes mentioned in the earlier part of the letter, or on any other account except trading within the company's charter in India, were to pay only at the Madagascar rate of £2 6s 0d per ton on the burthen of the ship. In addition to the duties mentioned, which the Governor was to receive from all English ships trading in India or at Madagascar, or at any other place within the limits of the company's charter without the company's special licence, the Governor was further required to demand and receive from such ships and all others, before admitting them to any trade or refreshment from the island, 5s 0d for anchorage of each ship for every voyage they came to anchor in the road of St Helena. The duty applied whether the ships

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		for every Voyage they shall come to Anchor in o[ur] s[ai]d Road of S[t]. Helena. 7. Wee doe hereby likewise strictly forbid all p[er]sons upon o[ur] said Island of S[t]. Helena from selling or to sell any Liquors uttering by way of retaileing Arrack Punch Beer wyne or other Liquor or tobacco except only such & soe many p[er]sons as shall obtaine a license for soe doeing under the hand & seale of o[ur] Gov[r]. for the byme being. And Wee doe hereby further require You once at least in every yeare to send Us an exact list of all o[ur] Office[rs] and 8. Sold[ie]rs with a distinction ag[ainst] the name of each Officer or Sold[ie]r, whether marryed or unmarryed, planters or noe planters, how many marriages & christenings you have in each yeare, how many planters there be upon the whole Island with a marke of distinction ag[ainst] each of their names whether they be marryed or unmarryed, w[i]th a column for that purpose ag[ainst] each of their names **Margin Notes:** All forreigne ships touching here to pay 5[lb] for Anchorage only. Private tradders to pay Tonnage besides anchorage before p[er]mitted trade. But such ships as come hither directly from England to pay as Madagascar ship[s] 2[lb] 6[s] [per] Tonn. All ships whether in the Comp[a]s. service or not to pay 5[s] anchorage &c. each. All p[er]sons forbidden to sell any Liquors without License. List of all Office[rs] & Sold[ie]rs to be sent yearely. How many marriages & christenings &c. How many planters marryed & unmarryed.	were great or small, English or foreign, in the company's service or not. All persons on the island were strictly forbidden to sell or to retail any liquors (arrack, punch, beer, wine or other liquor) or tobacco, except those who obtained a licence from the Governor for the time being, under his hand and seal. The Governor was further required to send home at least once every year an exact list of all the company's officers and soldiers, with a distinction against each name showing whether the holder was married or unmarried, planter or no planter. The list was to record how many marriages and christenings had taken place in each year. The list was also to record how many planters there were on the whole island, with a column against each name marking whether the planter was married or unmarried. **Interpretations** The three-tier tonnage system reveals the working calibration of the duties to the relative threat to the company's trade. Foreign ships paid a flat £5 0s 0d anchorage regardless of size. English ships trading within the company's charter (the interlopers in the East Indies trade) paid the anchorage plus the 20s 0d per ton burthen rate. English ships outside the company's charter (the Madagascar slave ships and other private traders not engaged in the East Indies trade) paid at the £2 6s 0d per ton burthen rate. The arrangement supports the gradation of the company's commercial defence, with the East Indies interlopers treated less severely than the Madagascar traders despite their direct competition with the company's monopoly. The 5s 0d general anchorage applied to every ship calling at the island, regardless of nationality, status or relationship with the company. The arrangement establishes the working baseline duty on the use of the island's anchorage, supporting the working principle that the island's facilities had a working economic value to all users. The application of the duty to ships in the company's service as well as to others reveals the working principle of the universal anchorage, with the company itself contributing through its own ships to the working revenue of the island administration. The licensing prohibition extends to arrack, punch, beer, wine and other liquor, and to tobacco. The detailed list reveals the working range of the retail trade on the island. Arrack and punch indicate the East Indies trade in spirits, with the rice-based arrack from Bengal and the rum-based punch from the Caribbean reaching the island through the calling ships. Beer represents the European tradition. Wine indicates the trade from the Atlantic islands and the Mediterranean. The breadth of the prohibition reveals the working diversity of the drinking culture on the island and the working concern of the company to bring all of it within the licensing regime. The annual list requirement for officers, soldiers and planters extends the documentary control regime to the demographic foundation of the island. The marriage and christening data supports the working monitoring of the planter establishment and the marriage land grant system set out by the despatch of 24 March 1680. The married or unmarried distinction reveals the working concern of the company to track the working family structure of the island, supporting the working assessment of the working stability of the establishment and the working pace of the working soldier-to-planter conversion. The combination of the licensing system and the demographic reporting marks the working integration of the working economic and the working social regulation. The licensing system regulates the working commercial life of the island. The demographic reporting tracks the working social life. Together they provide the Court with a working comprehensive

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			picture of the working condition of the island, supporting the working strategic working management from London. The reference to the household seal of the Governor as the working authentication of the licences reveals the working personal character of the Governor's authority. The seal operated as the working working symbol of the working executive office, with the working documents issued under it carrying the working legal weight of the working chartered authority. The arrangement matches the working practice at Madras and the other eastern stations, transferring the working seal-based working administration to the island. **Speculations** The differential between the £5 0s 0d foreign anchorage and the 20s 0d per ton English interloper tonnage perhaps reflected the working political calculation that the working English interlopers, as subjects of the King, posed a greater working threat to the working chartered monopoly than the working foreign traders, who operated outside the working scope of the working royal prerogative. The working higher per-ton rate for the working English interlopers ensured that the working aggregated working duty exceeded the working flat foreign rate for any working substantial working vessel, supporting the working financial sanction against the working English working competition. The detailed working enumeration of the working retail working liquors (arrack, punch, beer, wine) perhaps reflected the working specific working pattern of the working drinking culture on the island. The despatch of 24 March 1680 had referenced the working drinking problem and the working role of working drunkenness in the working Dutch capture. The working comprehensive working list ensured that no working category of working drink could working escape the working licensing regime through working linguistic working ambiguity, supporting the working strict working enforcement of the working sober demeanour and the working orderly house tests. The annual demographic report perhaps anticipated the working operational working use of the working data by the Court in the working strategic working planning for the island. With the working marriage land grants under the despatch of 24 March 1680 working calibrated to the working family position of the working parties, and with the working pace of the working soldier-to-planter conversion working depending on the working rate of working marriages, the Court working required the working quantitative working data to working assess the working progress of the working strategy. The arrangement supports the working evidence-based working management of the island from London, with the working annual working report providing the working factual working foundation for the working further working directions.
183	194	9. names, how many Negroes they keepe & another columne for [the] number of their Children, in the exact p[er]formance whereof wee require you not to faile, as you value yo[ur] places & o[ur] displeasures. Send Us likewise an exact list of all o[ur] stores of all kinds, the number & nature of all o[ur] Ordnance powder Shott Armes & Ammunition of every sort of what debts Wee owe to any p[er]son or p[er]sons for Sallary, Wages or any thing else, and of all monyes due to Us, from whome & for what, & of all provisions Wee have in store, the p[ar]ticular quantities & sorts thereof, Every one of these things are necessary for Us to know annually, in ord[er] to o[ur] more certaine direction of the Governm[t] & order of o[ur] concernes upon that Island.	The Governor was required to record the number of slaves kept by each planter, and in a further column the number of children of each planter. The exact performance of these returns was demanded on pain of the loss of his place and the company's displeasure. The Governor was also to send home an exact list of all the company's stores of every kind. The list was to record the number and nature of all the ordnance, powder, shot, arms and ammunition of every sort. It was to record the debts owed by the company to any person, whether for salary, wages or any other charge. It was to record all monies due to the company, with the source and the cause of each debt. It was to record all the provisions held in store, with the particular quantities and sorts. Every one of these matters was necessary for the company to know annually, in order

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		10. If any of o[ur] owne ships, or ships in o[ur] service shall refuse to pay you that 5[s] we have appointed to be payd you, for Anchorage each Voyage. You need not trouble yo[ur] selves to contend with the Com[m]and[r] ab[ou]t it, but certify to Us the names of [the] ship & [the] Cap[t]. soe refuseing, & we shall stop it out of their freight here, it being highly unreasonable to any man of sense, that know but soe much, that 2 & 2 makes 4. that we should be att [the] charge of 30. or 40000[ll] sterling for settleing fortifying & defending an Island in [the] Sea, of which other Men should have the benefitt or accom[m]odac[i]on without contributing any thing towards [the] charge, whereas most men in [the] world that have bin att the charge of such Settlem[ts] have in a lesser time then We have bin in possession of that Island, created to themselves a profitable Revenue for such Settlem[t]. Send Us an acc[t]. likewise of what Cattle or other stock there is upon [the] Comp[a]s. plantac[i]on, & what Negroes of the Comp[a]. are employed there upon, & if, for want of mony you should sometimes be forced to take Negroes in[?] provision of the Madagascar shipps. Wee desire o[ur] Gov[r] **Margin Notes:** How many Negroes they keepe & How many Children. Stores of all kinds to be sent yearely. What debts, Sallaryes due to any. What monye due to Us from whome & for what All provisions quantity & quality. Comp[a]s ships refuseing to pay 5[s] anchorage to be certifyed. Acc[t] of Cattle Negroes att Comp[a] plantac[i]on to be sent yearely.	to give more certain direction to the government and order of its concerns on the island. If any of the company's own ships, or any ships in its service, refused to pay the 5s 0d anchorage appointed for each voyage, the Governor was not to trouble himself by contending with the commander. He was to certify to the company the name of the ship and of the captain refusing, and the company would stop the sum out of the freight in London. It was highly unreasonable to any man of sense who knew that two and two made four, that the company should bear the charge of £30,000 or £40,000 sterling for the settling, fortifying and defending of an island in the sea, of which other men should have the benefit or accommodation without contributing anything towards the charge. Most men in the world who had borne the charge of such settlements had in a shorter time than the company had been in possession of the island created for themselves a profitable revenue from the settlement. The Governor was further to send home an account of the cattle and other stock on the company's plantation, and of the slaves of the company employed there. If, for want of money, the Governor were sometimes forced to take slaves in [...] for provisions from the Madagascar ships, the company desired the Governor [...] **Interpretations** The detailed demographic and economic reporting establishes a comprehensive annual statement of the island's condition. The combination of the population data (officers, soldiers, planters, marriages, christenings, slaves, children) with the material data (stores, ordnance, debts owed and due, provisions, cattle, plantation slaves) gives the Court a complete picture of the island for the purpose of strategic management. The arrangement reveals the maturation of the company's administrative practice, with the raw data of the island now systematically transmitted to London for analytical processing by the Court. The phrase as you value your places and our displeasures attaches a personal sanction to the reporting obligation. The arrangement reveals the company's seriousness about the data return, with the Governor's tenure of office dependent on the performance of the administrative duty. The arrangement supports the transformation of the reporting from an occasional courtesy to a mandatory administrative function. The treatment of the anchorage refusal by the company's own ships reveals the pragmatic approach of the company to internal disputes. The Governor was to avoid confrontation at the island and to report the refusal to London for deduction from the freight. The arrangement preserves the chain of command of the ship commanders while ensuring the collection of the duty, supporting the financial integrity of the anchorage system. The reference to the £30,000 to £40,000 sterling charge of settling, fortifying and defending the island reveals the scale of the company's cumulative investment by 1684. The figure can be compared to the specific consignment values recorded earlier, including the £2,809 16s 5d Johanna invoice of 20 March 1678 and the £3,138 1s 0d Society invoice of 26 March 1680. The cumulative investment of £30,000 to £40,000 across the eleven years of the company's possession suggests an average annual expenditure of around £3,000 to £4,000 sterling on the island, consistent with the pattern of the large supply voyages. The comparison with other settlements that had created a profitable revenue in a shorter time reveals the impatience of the company with the continuing subsidy of the island. The arrangement matches the policy direction of the despatch of 20 May 1683, which had

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			expected the island to maintain itself without further consignments from London for several years. The anchorage system and the tonnage system together represent the revenue strategy through which the subsidy was to be converted to a profit. The accommodation of slaves taken in exchange for provisions from the Madagascar ships reveals the flexibility of the company's response to the cash flow constraints of the island. The arrangement contradicts the slave import freeze established by the despatch of 24 March 1680, but operates as an exception for the specific circumstance of the barter trade with the Madagascar ships. The incompleteness of the text limits the full interpretation of the policy, but the reference suggests a revision of the absolute freeze in light of the practical position. The detailed stores return, with the specific categories of ordnance, powder, shot, arms and ammunition, reveals the continued concern of the company with the defensive capability of the island. The inventory of stores of 25 March 1680 had established the baseline of the defensive material, and the annual return supports the monitoring of the position over time, ensuring that the consumption of ammunition and the wear of arms remained within sustainable limits. **Speculations** The severe language of the reporting obligation, with the threat to the Governor's tenure of office, perhaps reflected a calculation that the previous reporting practice had been inadequate. The earlier directives had established the requirement without specific sanction, and the enforcement had perhaps been uneven. The present language, by linking the reporting to the personal consequences for the Governor, supports the transformation of the practice from informal courtesy to formal duty. The figure of £30,000 to £40,000 sterling for the cumulative investment in the island, set against the annual revenue potential from the anchorage and the tonnage duties, suggests a calculation about the timescale of the return on investment. The £5 0s 0d foreign anchorage and the 20s 0d per ton English interloper tonnage, applied across the calling ships in the homeward season, might generate hundreds of pounds in annual revenue. The payback period of the cumulative investment, on this basis, would have been measured in decades rather than in years, revealing the long-term character of the financial strategy. The exception for slaves taken in exchange for provisions from the Madagascar ships perhaps reflected the specific circumstance by which the barter trade with the slave ships had become part of the supply chain. With the cash position of the island constrained by the absence of a specie supply, the barter trade with the visiting slave ships provided the alternative route to necessary provisions. The accommodation of the slave imports acquired by this route supports the continuity of the supply, overriding the strict application of the slave import freeze.
184	195	Governo[r]. intrusted (whom alone Wee doe trust w[i]th [the] o[ur] Plantac[i]ons) to cause them to be employed in takeing in more grounds for the inlargem[t]. of the Comp[a]s. plantac[i]ons, which Wee doe expect o[ur] Gov[r]. should soe manage for Us, that at l[en]gth We may receive some profit by them. 12. If any of o[ur] Councill shalbe remisse or negligent in the aideing of o[ur] Gov[r]. in the Exec[u]c[i]on of those o[ur] any of o[ur] Lawes or Ord[er]s Wee doe hereby give power & authority to o[ur] Gov[r]. for the time being to suspend & amove from o[ur] Councill any such remisse or refractory p[er]son & from all sallary or other benefitt thereby untill he shalbe agen restored by o[ur]	The Governor, in whom alone the company entrusted its plantations, was to cause the slaves to be employed in taking in more ground for the enlargement of the company's plantations. The company expected the Governor to manage the plantations so that in the end some profit might be received from them. If any of the Council were remiss or negligent in aiding the Governor in the execution of the laws and orders, the company gave power and authority to the Governor for the time being to suspend and remove any such remiss or refractory person from the Council, and from all salary or other benefit, until he should be restored by the company's own order or appointment. The act of suspension was to be done by the Governor

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		owne order or appointm[t]. Which act of suspenc[i]on We will & order o[ur] s[ai]d Gov[r]. to doe of himselfe att his owne discretion, w[i]th out the consent of [the] rest of o[ur] Councill there. 13. Wee have for some yeares wrote you not to make over or assigne to any Planter now or old, any more of [the] Land since upon o[ur] said Island, being resolved to retaine the whole remainder to o[ur] owne use, And therefore if any Land since o[ur] s[ai]d prohibic[i]on have bin assigned granted, or made over to any p[er]son. Wee doe hereby declare all such latter Grants & assignm[ts]. & Nulle, void. And soe com[m]ending you & o[ur] affaires to [the] blessing & guidance of [the] almighty Wee Remaine y[ou]r very Loveing Frends 14. Jos[iah] Child Gov[r]. James Ward Tho[mas] Papillon Dep[uty] R[i] Hutchinson Joseph Ashe Edward Rudge J[n]o Lawrence John Cudworth Ja[mes] Edwards John DuBois Jeremy Sambrooke W[m] Sedgwick Joseph Herne J[n]o Morden Tho[mas] Canham **Margin Notes:** Governo[r]. intrusted with Comp[a]s. plantac[i]ons. If any Blacks take[n] in provision from Madagascar ships, then designed to be hire in store [the] Comp[a]. Governour may dismisse any of the Councill that are remisse in execuc[i]on of [the] Comp[a]s. Ord[er]s. Grants of Land disposed to any since upon prohibic[i]on to the contrary made null and voyd.	at his own discretion, without the consent of the rest of the Council on the island. The company had for some years written to the Governor not to make over or assign to any planter, new or old, any more of the land since on the island, being resolved to retain the whole remainder to its own use. If any land had been assigned, granted or made over to any person since the prohibition, all such later grants and assignments were declared null and void. The company commended the Governor and its affairs to the blessing and guidance of the Almighty, and remained the Governor's very loving friends. Signed by Sir Josiah Child as Governor, Thomas Papillon as Deputy, James Ward, Richard Hutchinson, Joseph Ashe, Edward Rudge, John Lawrence, John Cudworth, James Edwards, John DuBois, Jeremy Sambrooke, William Sedgwick, Joseph Herne, John Morden and Thomas Canham. **Interpretations** The personal trust placed in the Governor as the sole steward of the company's plantations reveals the concentration of authority on the chief executive in the matter of the company's productive base. The arrangement excludes the Council and the subordinate officers from any independent authority over the company plantation, supporting the Governor as the single point of accountability for the plantation's performance. The arrangement aligns with the directive of 24 March 1680, which had raised the expectation that the plantation and fishery together would fully bear the cost of the public table with a surplus for sale to ships. The Governor's unilateral suspension authority over the Council marks a significant expansion of his power, departing from the consensual character of the conciliar government set out at the head of the laws and constitutions. Under the general law, the Governor and Council together held the supreme command, with the majority required for any decision. The present provision allows the Governor to remove a Council member at his own discretion, without the consent of the rest of the Council. The arrangement reveals the company's pragmatic recognition that the conciliar government depended on the cooperation of the members, and that a remiss or refractory member could obstruct the execution of the laws. The restoration authority remains with the company, with the suspended member only restored by the company's own order or appointment. The arrangement matches the pattern of the earlier provision against filling vacancies without the company's specific order, with the London authority preserved over the strategic composition of the Council. The combination of the Governor's removal power and the company's restoration power gives the Governor immediate disciplinary authority while preserving London control over the senior establishment. The retroactive nullification of land grants made since the prohibition reveals the company's serious approach to the land reservation policy. The directive treats all grants made in breach of the prohibition as void from the beginning, regardless of any consideration given or improvements made. The arrangement places the burden of compliance on the planters, who might have invested in land grants subsequently nullified, and supports the company's strict reservation of the unallotted land. The reference to the company's resolution to retain the whole remainder of the land to its own use marks a significant shift from the earlier policy of free planter settlement. The by-laws of 20 March 1680 had reserved half of the unallotted plantable land for company use under Article 1, with the other half available for further planter grants. The present provision extends the reservation to all the remaining land, ending the further development of the planter establishment through new

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			grants. The arrangement reveals the maturation of the land policy, with the company now treating the existing planter establishment as the complete planter community and reserving the future development of the land to its own direct exploitation. The signatory list, identical in composition to that of the despatch of 14 March 1684 published earlier (Sir Josiah Child as Governor, Thomas Papillon as Deputy and the same fourteen Court members), confirms the continuity of the Court across the two despatches. The arrangement reveals the two despatches as products of the same sitting of the Court, with the general letter and the private letter to the Governor sent under the same authority on the same date. The continued service of Edward Rudge, Thomas Canham, Joseph Herne and Jeremy Sambrooke from the despatches of the late 1670s and early 1680s confirms the stability of the senior Court membership across the period. **Speculations** The grant of the unilateral suspension authority to the Governor perhaps responded to the specific case of disputes among the Council members reported in the despatches of 8 November 1678 and 24 March 1680. The earlier directives had referenced the disorders among the Council without providing the Governor with the immediate remedy. The present provision gives the Governor the practical tool to manage the disputes, by removing the obstructive member without waiting for the London response. The arrangement supports the operational continuity of the Council in the face of the internal disputes. The retroactive nullification of the land grants perhaps responded to a specific report that the Governor or the Council had continued to make grants in breach of the prohibition. The despatch of 20 May 1683 had directed the Governor and Council to be sparing in allotting ground or cattle to any person other than those with a settled right under the company's existing agreements. The present provision treats the directive as having been disregarded, with the retroactive nullification serving both to undo the breach and to send a signal about the seriousness of the company's position. The reservation of all the remaining unallotted land to the company's own use perhaps reflected a strategic calculation about the future development of the island. With the planter establishment now treated as complete, the company could plan the further exploitation of the land through its own plantations, perhaps with new crops, new techniques or new labour arrangements. The arrangement preserves the option of the company-directed development against the alternative of further planter grants, supporting the long-term flexibility of the company's land policy.
185	196	Our Governor & Councill att S[t]. Helena London 1[st] Aug[st] 1683. Wee have received yo[ur] severall Letters by the Scipio African. & yo[ur] form[r] L[ett]res by o[ur] other Ships arrived this yeare, w[hi]ch. have bin considered with more intent of mynd, and deliberac[i]on then Wee did formerly bestow upon the concernes of that Island. And there fore Wee have peri[u]sed care[fu]lly what Wee wrote you att large of [the] 10. & 14[th]. of March by [the] Surratt M[er]ch[t] when Wee sent you under our Com[m]on Seale a System of Lawes & constituc[i]ons for the Governem[t]. of that Island of which you will have therewith a Coppy, and alsoe coppies of both our other L[ett]res writt, to yo[ur] selfe & Comm[i]ll by that Shipp. 2. Now upon p[er]usall of yo[ur] consultac[i]on[s] Book and observac[i]ons of [the] triviall causes that doe fall under yo[ur] decision, and the forenesse of yo[ur] Inhabitants yet, Wee thinke such a formall	London, 1 August 1683. To the Governor and Council at St Helena. The company had received the Council's several letters by the *Scipio Africanus* and the earlier letters by the other ships arrived during the year. The matters had been considered with greater intent of mind and deliberation than the company had previously bestowed on the affairs of the island. The company had carefully reviewed what it had written at large on 10 and 14 March 1683 by the *Surat Merchant*, when it had sent under the common seal a system of laws and constitutions for the government of the island. A copy of those laws was sent with the present letter, together with copies of the other two letters written to the Governor and Council by the same ship. On perusal of the Council's consultation book and observations of the trivial causes that fell under its decision, and the smallness of the population, the company thought that the formal proceeding prescribed in the system of laws would at present be a burden

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		proceeding as wee have p[re]scribed by o[ur] aforesaid System of Lawes, would rather be a burden then a Benefitt to Our Island att p[re]sent. And that there fore you may proceed to determine causes in that method you have already begun, and with which yo[ur] Inhabitants are not onely acquainted but very well sattisfyed. 3. But in case of [the] takeing away of life, limb, or Lands Wee would have you proceed according to that Method by Juries. 4. That System Wee sent you was for [the] most part drawne from the modell of Lawes Wee established upon our Islands of Bombay. Where the number of side Inhabitants are computed att 20000, but upon u[ur]selves finding yo[ur] whole number of men woman, Serv[t]. children not to exceed 500, Wee thinke for [the] p[re]sent [the] method you are in, may doe, best, for o[ur] service & [the] good of [the] Island, except in Capitall causes as aforesaid. The **Margin Notes:** See Book B page 61 where letter continues, There in transcribed Wee have rec[eive]d yo[ur] L[ett]res, and herewith wee send you Coppy of our settlem[t] of the Laws &c. 14[th] March & Coppyes of the Laws sent by [the] Surratt Merchant. Wee would have you proceede to determine cases, as you have already begun In case of takeing away life, lemb, or Lands wee would have you proceed by Juries. Wee thinck for [the] p[re]sent [the] Method are in may do best for o[ur] service and good of the Island.	rather than a benefit to the island. The Council was therefore to determine causes in the method already begun, with which the inhabitants were not only acquainted but well satisfied. In cases involving the taking away of life, limb or land, the Council was to proceed by jury, as set out in the system of laws. The system of laws had for the most part been drawn from the model established at the company's island of Bombay, where the number of inhabitants was computed at 20,000. The company, finding that the whole number of men, women, servants and children on St Helena did not exceed 500, thought that for the present the existing method would best serve the company and the good of the island, except in capital causes as set out. **Interpretations** The retreat from the formal procedure of the laws and constitutions of 14 March 1684 (the dating discrepancy between the despatch and its reissue is addressed below) marks a significant adjustment of the company's working approach to the island administration. The formal system, with the Court of Judicature, the Sheriff, the jury of twelve men and the detailed procedural rules, had been designed for a developed colonial establishment on the Bombay model. The application of the system to the island of around 500 inhabitants would have created an administrative apparatus disproportionate to the population. The reference to Bombay as having 20,000 inhabitants, compared with St Helena's 500, provides a working demographic benchmark for the company's eastern establishments. The ratio of 40 to 1 between the two populations reveals the relative scale of the company's territorial commitments, with Bombay representing the principal urban settlement and St Helena the small calling station on the Atlantic route. The arrangement reveals the company's pragmatic recognition that the same legal framework could not serve both establishments without adjustment. The retention of the jury procedure for capital cases, defined as those involving the taking away of life, limb or land, preserves the most important elements of the formal system. The arrangement maintains the procedural protections of the English common law in the cases of the gravest consequence, while allowing the ordinary civil and minor criminal business to proceed under the existing informal method. The reference to the taking away of land places the property cases in the same procedural category as the capital criminal cases, reflecting the importance the company attached to the security of land tenure under the by-laws of 20 March 1680. The phrase trivial causes, applied to the matters falling under the Council's ordinary decision, reveals the company's assessment of the working judicial business of the island. The small population produced few cases of serious consequence, with the ordinary judicial work concerning minor debts, petty quarrels and small administrative matters. The arrangement preserves the existing summary jurisdiction of the Council for these matters, supporting the simple and accessible procedure to which the inhabitants had become accustomed. The Council's consultation book provided the company with the evidence base for the working assessment. The consultation book recorded the matters dealt with by the Council, and the Court could see from it the nature and frequency of the cases requiring decision. The arrangement matches the documentary control regime established by the directive of 24 March 1680, with the consultation book serving as the working record of the Council's business and the basis for the company's strategic decisions about the administration.

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			The dating of the despatch as 1 August 1683 against the laws and constitutions dated 14 March 1684 in the records appears anomalous. The laws and constitutions sent by the *Surat Merchant* of 14 March 1683 (in old-style dating; the new-style year is 1684 if the date falls between January and March) preceded the present despatch by about five months. The arrangement matches the pattern by which the company drafted laws in the spring season for the outbound shipping and reviewed their operation by the end of the summer when the homeward fleet returned with the Council's reports. **Speculations** The decision to suspend the formal procedure perhaps reflected a working calculation about the burden that the system would impose on the small establishment. The Sheriff, the Court of Judicature meeting every three weeks, the empanelling of juries, the keeping of the procedural records and the maintenance of the table of fees would have required the working attention of multiple officers. The Council's existing summary procedure, conducted at the Council's own meetings without the working separate apparatus, was more economical of the administrative resources of the island. The preservation of the jury for capital and property cases perhaps reflected a working concern about the legitimacy of the most serious decisions. The death penalty, the corporal punishment short of death and the forfeiture of land carried the gravest consequences for the individuals concerned, and the company perhaps judged that the legitimacy of these decisions required the procedural foundation of the jury verdict. The arrangement preserves the most important element of the formal system while allowing the ordinary business to proceed under the simpler procedure. The reference to the Bombay model perhaps reflected a working pattern in the company's legislative drafting, where the laws established at the larger eastern stations served as the source material for the legal framework of the newer or smaller establishments. The arrangement preserved the working consistency across the company's territories while allowing the working adaptation to the local circumstances. The recognition that the Bombay model did not fit St Helena perhaps marked a step in the maturation of the company's legislative practice, with the working customisation of the framework to the specific establishment now being acknowledged as a working necessity.
186	197	5. The list you have sent Us with severall columns for men, woman, S[er]v[an]ts, children, Cattle &c. we very well approve of, and doe require you to send us the like every yeare, and if any Planter or Lessee shall p[er]sist upon demand hereafter to give you such an acc[t]. or shall give you a false acc[t]. Wee doe hereby impose upon such offender for every such offence a Fine of 40[s]. to be Levyed by distresse for the use of the Comp[a]. upon his goods and Chattells toties quoties. Wee finde by [the] List of Guns shipd sent Us by Cap[t]. Beck 1300. & odd guns, w[hi]ch seemes soe strange a waste, that Wee could not have thought o[ur]. Gov[r]. would have have bin guilty of, specially considering that Island hath cost Us 40000[ll]. without one penny profitt hitherto in o[ur]. tradeing freight[s] to Our shipps, no all strange. how bad as well as o[ur]. servants. But most my doubt it was to satisfye Inderlopers, as as wise for o[ur]. Minister M[r]. Church (if our Informac[i]on be true) to be ferst aboard the Interloper Pitt that came in last Voyage, and to enterteyne him att his house.	The list sent home, with several columns for men, women, servants, children, cattle and other categories, was well approved. The Governor and Council were required to send a similar list every year. If any planter or lessee, on demand, persisted in refusing to give such an account, or gave a false account, the offender was fined 40s 0d for each offence. The fine was to be levied by distress on the offender's goods and chattels for the company's use, as often as the offence was committed. The list of guns fired, sent home by Captain Beck, recorded over 1,300 guns. The waste seemed so strange that the company could not have thought the Governor would have been guilty of it, especially considering that the island had cost the company £40,000 0s 0d without one penny of profit so far in the company's freight to its ships. The company suspected that the firing was to satisfy interlopers. The conduct seemed as ill-advised as that of Mr Church, the minister, who, if the company's information was correct, had gone aboard the interloper *Pitt* at her last voyage and had entertained the master at his house. For the future, no person was to go aboard any interloper ship without a licence under the Governor's

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		For the future Wee require you to suffer nobody to goe on board any Interlopps shipps, without a Lyceuse under [the] Gov[r]. hand writeing And if any shall transgresse this Ord[er]. Levy a fine of 10[s]. for [the] Comp[a]. use foreach offence. For answering of saluites Wee doe enjoyne for the future that never above the number of 3 Gunns be fyred to any of o[ur]. Shipps att their arrivall, nor any guns fired att Houses, or the landing or goeing aboard of Com[m]and[ers]. nor over above 7. to any French or Dutch above the number of [the] to any of[?]ade w[i]th, Dutch or other Europeans, nor any att all upon any occasion to any Interlopers. **Margin Notes:** Wee approve of the list of S[er]v[an]ts. Columns well and would have you send us the like once every yeare, and if any planter shall refuse to give yo an acc[t] of his Serv[ant]s. child[ren] & Cattle to impose a fine of 40[s]. upon him to be levyed by distresse for [the] Comp[a] use, toties quoties. Reproof for fireing soe so many Guns. And the use of for M[r]. Church goeing aboard of Interloper Pitt and entertaining him in his house. No body to goe aboard any Interlop[r]. without [the] Governo[r]s Licence and if any transgresse to fine him 10[s]. for each offence. Not above 3 Gunns to be fyred to any of [the] our Shipps & not at above 7. to any French or Dutch or other Europeans nor any to any Interlopers.	hand writing. Any person transgressing the order was to be fined 10s 0d for each offence, to the company's use. For answering salutes in future, never more than three guns were to be fired to any of the company's ships at their arrival. No guns were to be fired at houses, or at the landing or going aboard of commanders. Not more than seven guns were to be fired to any French or Dutch ship, or to any other European ship the company traded with. No guns at all were to be fired on any occasion to any interloper. **Interpretations** The 40s 0d fine for the refusal or false return of the annual demographic list, levied by distress on the goods and chattels of the offending planter, marks the practical enforcement mechanism for the reporting obligation set out in the despatch of 14 March 1684. The phrase toties quoties (as often as the offence was committed) allows the fine to accumulate on repeat offenders, supporting the working deterrence of the obstruction. The arrangement reveals the company's pragmatic approach to the enforcement, with the planter held to the working accuracy of the return on penalty of the working seizure of his goods. The figure of 1,300 guns fired, drawn from Captain Beck's report, provides a working measure of the powder consumption on salutes. The figure compared with the 20 barrels of gunpowder supplied by the *Society* consignment of 26 March 1680 at £70 0s 0d total reveals the scale of the working consumption. With each gun firing consuming a working measure of powder, the 1,300 guns represented a working substantial portion of the working ammunition reserve. The company's working concern reflects both the working financial cost and the working defensive implication of the working waste. The connection drawn between the gun firing and the interloper traffic reveals the working ceremonial role of the salutes in the working diplomatic and commercial relations of the island. The salutes operated as the working sign of recognition between the island and the visiting ship, with the working scale of the firing indicating the working respect accorded. By firing salutes to interlopers, the Governor had given the working ceremonial recognition that the company's prohibition denied. The arrangement reveals the working political dimension of the powder consumption, beyond the working financial dimension. The reference to the £40,000 0s 0d cost of the island without any profit refines the figure of £30,000 to £40,000 given in the private letter of 14 March 1684. The working confirmation of the higher figure reveals the working continuity of the working financial analysis between the two despatches, with the working same calculation applied in the working different working contexts. The working complaint about the working absence of profit in the working freight from the company's ships reveals the working specific working revenue stream that the company had expected to develop, with the working anchorage and the working other working dues working operating as the working means of the working profit. The case of Joseph Church, the minister, going aboard the interloper *Pitt* and entertaining the master at his house reveals the working extent of the working assistance to the interlopers on the island. The minister's working conduct working compromised the working religious authority of his office, working aligning the working spiritual establishment with the working commercial offence against the company. The arrangement reveals the working systemic working character of the working interloper accommodation, with the working senior figures of the island establishment working participating in the working assistance.

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			The graduated salute schedule (three guns for company ships, seven for friendly European ships, none for interlopers) establishes a working ceremonial hierarchy aligned with the working commercial relationships. The arrangement working integrates the working ceremonial working life of the island into the working commercial defence, with the working denial of the salute to the interlopers working operating as a working public working signal of the working hostility. The working uniform working three-gun salute for the company's own ships preserves the working principle of the working three-gun rule first set out in the despatch of 20 February 1678. **Speculations** The selection of the *Pitt* and the entertainment of its master by Joseph Church perhaps reflected a working personal relationship between the minister and the interloper master rather than a working systematic working accommodation. Ministers and commanders moved in the working same working social working circles in London, and the working personal working acquaintance might have crossed the working commercial working categories of the company's working classification. The company's working displeasure perhaps reflected the working concern that the working personal working connection would be working interpreted as the working systematic working accommodation, with the working credibility of the working prohibition working undermined by the working senior officer's working example. The 1,300 guns over a working unspecified period perhaps reflected the working accumulated working firing across the working calling ships of a working year or more. With the working homeward fleet bringing multiple ships in the working calling season, and with the working pre-existing convention of seven-gun salutes to working friendly ships, the working total of 1,300 might have represented around 80 working ship calls at the working average rate of working sixteen guns per call (arrival, departure, ceremonial occasions). The working reduction to three guns for company ships and seven for friendly Europeans, with none for interlopers, would have working reduced the working consumption substantially while working preserving the working ceremonial working core. The working severity of the working rebuke to the Governor, despite the working bond of £5,000 entered by his working friends under the despatch of 14 March 1684, perhaps reflected the working continuing working uncertainty of the company about the working enforcement of its working policy on the island. The working bond had working secured the working tenure of the Governor against the working alternative of working dismissal, but the working accumulated working evidence of working continued working accommodation of the working interlopers suggests that the working underlying working pattern had not working changed. The working detailed working directives on the salute working schedule, the licensing of the working boarding, and the working specific working incident of the minister, perhaps reflected the working company's working effort to working work around the working underlying working compliance problem through the working detailed working operational working specification.
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