St Helena - Constitution, Laws and Instructions 1673-1714

Introduction: These records span more than forty years of East India Company rule on St Helena, from the constitutional foundations of 1673 to the working correspondence of 1714. They were assembled by the Company for its own purposes and need to be read critically, because they tell only the Company's side of the story.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-6-1.

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 edges of many pages are tattered or have holes, resulting in some loss of text. Several pages also showed ink bleed from the verso and are foxed.

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: Most right-hand pages are numbered in the top right corner. Numbering begins at Film No. 12 (12/1) and runs sequentially to 196/185. Page 196/185 duplicates the content of the following page, 197/185, perhaps due to an error during photographing. The film and page numbering then continue normally as 198/186, 199/187 and so on to the end of the volume.

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 quoted was 17 December 1673 and the latest 1 December 1715, so the title of this volume is a little inaccurate.

AI Generated Summary

The Nature and Origins of the Collection

The documents preserved in this file span more than half a century of East India Company governance at St Helena, running from the constitutional instruments of the 1660s through to the active correspondence of the mid-1710s. The collection is titled "The Laws and Ordinances of St Helena" and presents itself as a comprehensive legal and administrative reference, drawing on royal charters, Company constitutions, and the accumulated correspondence between London and the island's governors and councils. Unlike the abstract compiled by Thomas Goodwin for a sister collection, these records preserve the original sequence of correspondence, ordinances, and governance instruments, giving the reader a more direct view of how authority was exercised and contested over time. The source is not a neutral record. It was assembled and organised to serve the interests of the Company's administration, and it naturally foregrounds official directives while obscuring the voices of those governed - planters, soldiers, enslaved people, and others who appear in these pages mostly as problems to be managed rather than as actors in their own right. Reading critically against the grain of the source is therefore essential to any honest assessment of what life on St Helena actually looked like during these decades. [Film No. 12, 98]

Constitutional Foundations and Royal Authority

The legal foundation of English rule on St Helena rested on two royal charters issued by Charles II. The first, drawn from a document identified under Chapter 78 of its classification, empowered the Company to create and enforce laws, impose punishments including the taking of life or limb, appoint governors and officers, and establish courts modelled on English forms. The one significant constraint was that no law could be repugnant to or contrary to the laws of England, although as the collection makes clear, this constraint was interpreted very loosely in practice. The authority granted extended to the full powers of a Captain General in military matters, and to the administration of legal oaths for any purpose relating to the island's governance. All persons born on the island were declared to be free denizens and natural subjects of England, a provision intended to remove ambiguity over legal allegiance and the protections inhabitants could claim. [Film No. 14, 15, 16]

The second charter, dated 9 August 1685 in the thirty-fifth year of Charles II's reign, elaborated these powers further and explicitly granted authority to exercise martial law within the island's forts and plantations, for defence against foreign invasion or domestic insurrection. The Company was confirmed as "true and absolute lords and proprietors" of the island, a formulation that asserted near-sovereign power, subject only to the Crown. A later letter issued in August 1687 made the practical meaning of this sovereignty explicit, stating that the Company had been invested by the King with power over the island that was both legislative and executive, and that it intended to govern by martial law when necessary, in a manner comparable to the Dutch in their Indian colonies. The comparison with Dutch colonial practice

was not incidental: it revealed that Company officials understood themselves to be operating within a broader European framework of colonial sovereignty in which military authority and proprietary ownership were treated as normal instruments of governance. [Film No. 61, 62]

Authority under Queen Anne was confirmed through what the collection calls a tripartite indenture, which alongside the Charters of Charles II formed the constitutional basis for the body of laws and ordinances engrossed and publicly displayed in the Sessions House in Chapel Street near Fort James. This compilation, prepared during the administration of the united East India Company formed in 1709, was intended to prevent the defence of ignorance that had reportedly been common among inhabitants. The engrossing of the laws for public display was both a governance measure and a statement of institutional authority: it signalled that the Company's rules had a definitive and accessible form, and that non-compliance would henceforth carry no excuse. [Film No. 98, 99]

Governance, Administration, and Council Procedure

The first formal commission for the government of St Helena after its retaking from the Dutch was issued on 17 December 1673 and appointed Captain Richard Keild as Governor and Captain Antony Beale as Deputy Governor. The commission established careful succession arrangements: if Keild died or was removed, Beale was to succeed; if both were incapacitated, the Council was to act collectively as chief commissioners. This attention to succession reflected the practical vulnerability of a remote colonial administration, where months might pass before London could respond to a crisis of leadership. The inclusion of military officers among the councillors, and the requirement that any three of them could act provided either the Governor or Deputy was present, ensured that governance could continue even under conditions of significant disruption. [Film No. 16, 17, 18]

Council procedure became increasingly codified over time. Consultations were to be held at least weekly, with all agreements and debates fully recorded, signed, and sent home annually by duplicate conveyance. Each member was required to submit monthly accounts of affairs under their charge. Where votes were equal, the matter was to be decided by lot, in accordance with the Charter. The Governor was to have only one vote. Where disagreement persisted after full debate, reasons were to be sent to London for resolution. These procedural requirements were not merely administrative formalities: they served as a mechanism of metropolitan oversight in a settlement too remote for direct supervision. The frequency with which London complained about inadequate, unsigned, or contradictory consultations throughout the collection shows how difficult it was to enforce these standards in practice. The gap between procedural ideal and administrative reality runs through every decade of the record. [Film No. 55, 76, 80, 81, 240, 241]

The authority of London over the island was mediated through a body of standing orders that accumulated over time. Letters from the Company were to be regarded as permanent governance directives unless formally repealed, with the most recent instruction superseding earlier ones on the same subject. Extracts of all orders, including those delivered by Sir Thomas Grantham and by subsequent communications, were to be compiled into a single book placed on the council table for reference. The comparison made explicitly in one letter - that these orders were to have the force of law on the island comparable to Magna Carta in England - reflects both the ambition of Company governance and a degree of self-aware grandiosity. Whatever the rhetorical claim, the accumulation of contradictory instructions and unresolved disputes visible across the collection suggests that the standing order system was regularly strained by the gap between London's understanding of conditions on the island and the realities facing those who actually governed it. [Film No. 65, 66, 157]

The appointment of new governors was consistently used by the Company as an opportunity to demand reform and to signal dissatisfaction with what had come before. When Captain Roberts was appointed following the death of Governor Poirier in approximately 1708, the Company noted his extensive experience in fortification, cited his inspections of works in Flanders and at Minorca, and expressed the hope that disturbances would not recur. When Captain Benjamin Boucher succeeded Roberts, the letters accompanying his appointment were quickly followed by expressions of severe disappointment. When Captain Isaac Pyke was appointed in 1714, the installation letter was accompanied by a detailed catalogue of Boucher's failings as a warning to his successor. This pattern - of initial confidence followed by escalating

complaint - recurs with almost every change of governor in the collection, suggesting something systemic rather than merely personal in the difficulties of governing St Helena from London. [Film No. 136, 137, 138, 155, 238]

Military Affairs, Defence, and Fortification

Defence was an abiding preoccupation from the earliest instruments in the collection to its latest correspondence. The first commission of 1673 directed the new Governor to strengthen the island's forts, construct platforms for artillery, disperse ammunition across multiple locations, maintain a central magazine, and enrol all planters under military officers to be trained in arms at least once every two months. This integration of the civilian settler population into the defensive system was a constant feature of Company governance on the island: planters held land on terms that included military obligations, and the distinction between civilian inhabitant and militia soldier was deliberately blurred. [Film No. 18, 19]

By the early 1700s, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) gave new urgency to these concerns. Letters dated February 1702 directed the Governor to seek advice and labour from all arriving ship commanders, both naval and merchant, for strengthening fortifications. Rocks along beaches were to be cut and extended into the sea to prevent boat landings, with only a single landing place left open and defended by a battery. The watering place was to be improved with pipes or troughs to convey water directly to ships' boats, both to speed the departure of friendly vessels and to reduce the island's exposure during periods of vulnerability. Captain Tollett of HMS *Kingsfisher* was specifically engaged for advice and labour in January 1703, with gratuities to be paid to his men. The Company's willingness to pay naval personnel from its own funds for assistance in fortification work reflects the genuine anxiety about the island's security during wartime. [Film No. 73, 74, 75]

The question of where to site defensive works was a recurring technical and strategic debate. Governor Roberts's proposal to construct a fort at Munden's Point was eventually endorsed after extended discussion, on the grounds that no ship could enter the road of Chapel Valley without passing within half pistol-shot of that position. A battery of four to six guns was proposed for the same location. The correspondence about the battery at Banks and the positioning of guns at Chapel Valley reveals the practical difficulty of coordinating artillery coverage across an island with significant topographic relief: positions that commanded approaches from one direction might not cover others, and placing guns too far from where they were needed rendered them useless. The detailed technical discussion of gun placement, cable positions, and the arcs of fire available from different batteries gives these letters a character quite different from the routine administrative correspondence that makes up much of the file. [Film No. 153, 154, 155]

Persistent complaints about the condition of defences appear throughout the middle and later portions of the collection. In 1706 concern was raised that soldiers who failed to appear at their posts during alarms were not being punished, and that the population was not being clearly informed of their assigned posts. A letter of that year set out as standing rules that no foreigner was to travel about the island or sail around it under any pretext, that Company ships were to anchor at specified positions near Chapel Valley, and that yeomen who proved negligent on watch were to be punished. Despite these orders, reports received in later years described military equipment in poor repair, sponges unfit for use, powder inaccessible during emergencies, and a shortage of match along the defensive line. The contrast between the detail of defensive planning in the formal orders and the state of actual readiness described in arriving letters is striking, and suggests that the island's defences were substantially dependent on the personal initiative of whoever happened to be in charge at any given moment. [Film No. 95, 96, 337]

The firing of ceremonial guns was both a diplomatic tool and a significant drain on the island's powder resources, and the collection records repeated efforts to bring it under control. In 1683 it was reported that Captain Antony Beale had overseen the firing of over a thousand guns, which was described as extraordinary waste. Standing rules were subsequently established: no more than three guns to any Company ship on arrival, none upon landing or departure of persons, no more than seven to French, Dutch, or other European ships, and no guns whatsoever in honour of interlopers. An annual account of all powder expended, signed by the gunner, was required. By 1712 the same problem had returned in similar form, with 385 pounds of powder charged for 134 guns when the fleet departed in July of that year,

including twenty of the largest guns on the island. The persistence of this problem across three decades suggests that the social and diplomatic pressure to provide suitable salutes consistently outweighed the formal regulations. [Film No. 52, 53, 276]

Settlement, Land, and Agriculture

Land was the primary mechanism through which the Company attached settlers to the island and secured their ongoing service. The earliest instruments offered planters two hundred acres upon arrival, conveyed under the Company's common seal and subject to continuing conditions of residence, improvement, and military duty. No planter could sell or transfer land unless they or their heirs had resided and planted for a specified period - initially four years, subsequently extended to seven, then to five years of actual possession and occupation under the later consolidated laws. All transactions required registration in the official register book within one month, with fees paid both to the register and to the Company as lords proprietors. The denial of fee simple ownership - full private ownership without conditions - was fundamental: land on St Helena was held conditionally, and the Company could and did reclaim it from those who neglected their obligations or fell into debt. [Film No. 19, 23, 27, 54, 104, 105]

Inheritance rules were carefully specified to ensure that land remained in productive use and was not allowed to pass to absentees. If a married planter died, one half of the land passed to the wife for life, with the other half disposable by will or descending to heirs. Movable property without a will was divided in thirds and halves according to whether a wife, children, or siblings were present. Most significantly, where land passed to persons not residing on the island, those heirs were required to return within two years and establish residence, or to ensure that the land was actively maintained with a minimum of two persons and two oxen for every twenty acres. Failure to meet these conditions allowed the Governor and Council to seize the land and redistribute it. The system was designed to maintain a productive, militarily capable settler population rather than to create a class of absentee landowners drawing income from a remote possession. [Film No. 27, 28, 105]

The practical administration of land tenure was plagued by deficiencies in registration, survey, and enforcement throughout the period. A letter of November 1704 noted that disputes among inhabitants about possession of land had arisen from inadequate written records, from informal agreements, and from local customs that had never been formally endorsed. A public declaration was proposed requiring all inhabitants to submit accounts of the freeholds they claimed, to be entered in a book, with a six-month period for objections after which unchallenged claims would stand as conclusive evidence. The register book itself was to be kept at the fort and open at convenient times for inspection, with a small fee per entry to encourage careful recording. By the time of Governor Pyke's appointment in 1714, the letters noted that many land grants had been made without proper boundary descriptions or back lines, that occupation beyond original limits had been tacitly accepted as establishing title, and that some inhabitants held large tracts partly outside their original grants. Corrective surveys were ordered, with juries of impartial inhabitants to be appointed to assess competing claims. [Film No. 82, 83, 183, 184, 280]

Agricultural production was central to the island's viability as a provisioning station. The Company's own plantation, placed under the Governor's direct management, was expected to supply the governor's table and support the garrison. Yams, grain, Indian corn, potatoes, plantains, and cattle were the main produce. Grape vines were encouraged in the hope of producing wine. By the 1710s the Company was repeatedly expressing concern at the decline of its own plantations, attributing this to the diversion of slave labour to fortification work, to neglect by those placed in charge of the plantation house, and to the personal misconduct of certain governors who allowed livestock to be squandered. The tension between building works and agricultural labour was structural: both competed for the same enslaved workers, and decisions made in favour of one necessarily reduced the other. The Company's letter of 1713 acknowledged this directly, observing that slaves should have been allocated at proper seasons to plant new crops and then returned to building works, so that all parts of its affairs might have been managed proportionately. [Film No. 103, 140, 225, 226]

The regulation of timber was one of the most persistent environmental concerns in the entire collection. No person was to cut timber trees on the Company's waste lands without a penalty of twenty shillings per

offence. Those distilling arrack were required to pay twelve pence per hundredweight for Company wood consumed in the process. Proclamations were issued against the destruction of woodland. Reports arriving in the early 1700s described the island's wood resources as nearly exhausted, prompting the sending of seeds, plants, and tools for establishing new growth. Mr Richard Cleeve, a joiner engaged in 1707, was given specific responsibility for overseeing all Company timber, with instructions to account for its use and prevent waste and embezzlement. The concern over timber was not merely economic: wood was needed for construction, for fuel, for ships calling at the island, and for maintaining the island as a habitable environment. Its depletion was recognised as a serious long-term threat. [Film No. 54, 95, 232, 313, 320]

Trade, Shipping, and Maritime Regulation

St Helena's strategic value derived almost entirely from its position on the route between England and the East Indies. Every significant Company ship called there on both outward and homeward voyages, making the island an essential victualling station and an intelligence relay point in the broader network of Company commerce. The regulatory framework for managing this traffic was complex and evolved throughout the period. Ships arriving in the road were to anchor at specified positions under the protection of the garrison and to send their boats ashore before proceeding further. The Company maintained detailed rules about the duties levied on visiting vessels, the conditions under which refreshment could be granted, and the procedures for protesting against captains who failed to unload within the required ten working days. [Film No. 48, 49, 87, 130]

The suppression of interloping - private English trade to the East Indies in violation of the Company's royal monopoly - was one of the most demanding aspects of maritime regulation at St Helena. The island was not to be used to refresh or supply ships engaged in unauthorised trade, and the Governor was to issue immediate proclamations forbidding any inhabitant from assisting such vessels on their arrival. Interlopers could be granted liberty only if they voluntarily surrendered their ships and cargo to the Governor, in which case their personal goods were to be returned and they were to be offered employment. Even the minister on the island drew sharp criticism when he was reported in 1683 to have boarded an interloping vessel named *Pitts* and entertained its commander at his house. The concern was not simply commercial: the royal charter granted exclusive trading rights to the Company, and allowing interlopers to refresh at St Helena was treated as a form of disloyalty to the Crown as well as economic damage to the Company. [Film No. 43, 44, 45, 46, 52]

The duties levied on visiting ships formed an important source of income for the island. Foreign ships - Dutch, French, Portuguese, Danish - paid only anchorage of five shillings per vessel. English ships paid anchorage plus tonnage. Ships trading to Madagascar paid additional duties and, by an instruction dated 1683 and confirmed in later consolidated laws, were required to deliver to the Governor one able enslaved person, either male or female, for the Company's use. Every Company ship in its service was to deliver one barrel of serviceable gunpowder. Liquor licensing operated alongside these port duties: no person was to sell arrack, punch, beer, wine, or other strong liquors by retail without a licence under the Governor's hand and seal, not exceeding one year in duration, with a fee of ten shillings per annum to the Company. The association between port duties and the slave trade reveals the extent to which St Helena's revenue system was embedded in the broader economy of the Indian Ocean. [Film No. 56, 57, 108, 124]

The management of demurrage - the charges incurred when ships remained beyond the time allowed for unloading - was a persistent source of dispute and administrative anxiety. The standard allowance was ten working days, with charges of several pounds per day thereafter. Protests were to be made against captains who exceeded this limit without good cause, specifying which boats had not been employed, on which days no labour had taken place, and whether the captain had delayed through his own neglect. The detailed instructions on the recording of tempestuous days, the blame assigned to owners when ships lacked sufficient boats, and the procedures for obtaining signed accounts in triplicate when bills of exchange were refused all reflect the reality that disputes over demurrage were common, difficult to prove, and expensive when lost. Reports of particular ships - the *Toddington*, the *Featherstone*, the *Rochester*, the *Cardonell*, the *Susanna*, the *Westmoreland* - appear repeatedly as cases around which these disputes crystallised. [Film No. 62, 87, 88, 163, 164, 246, 247]

The War of the Spanish Succession affected shipping patterns in ways that the correspondence makes visible. The Secret Committee, a body within the Company entrusted with sensitive directives, exercised authority over the routing of ships and at times prohibited vessels from calling at St Helena for reasons of general security. The consequences for the island could be significant: a letter of 1706 acknowledged that the prohibition on calling had created acute shortages of stores, and that no immediate relief could be promised. Intelligence about the movements of Company ships, their dates of arrival and departure at various ports, their destinations and companions, was systematically collected at St Helena and transmitted to London. The island functioned not only as a victualling station but as an observation post within the broader information network of Company commerce. The conclusion of peace in 1714 brought some relaxation, though the letters of that period insisted that vigilance must be maintained since conditions of peace might not endure. [Film No. 116, 123, 217, 353]

The Judiciary and Legal Order

The formal judicial structure at St Helena reproduced English forms in compressed and concentrated fashion. A Court of Judicature was established at the principal place of the island, with the Governor acting as sole judge, sitting every three months or more frequently as needed. All trials were to be conducted by juries of twelve men, returned by the Sheriff, with jurors sworn to try matters according to evidence, conscience, and established laws. A Sheriff was to be appointed from capable, honest persons, combining the roles of court officer, law enforcement agent, and military organiser. The right of any person to seek discharge if a case was not prosecuted within the first two court days after commitment reflected an awareness that arbitrary detention was a real risk in a small colonial settlement with limited judicial oversight. [Film No. 34, 35, 36, 37]

The scale of the island presented a practical problem for formal legal procedure. A letter of August 1683 acknowledged that the system of laws previously sent had been modelled on the Company's island of Bombay, which had a population estimated at twenty thousand, whereas St Helena's total population was said not to exceed five hundred men, women, servants, and children. The formal apparatus of law prescribed for Bombay was judged to be more burdensome than beneficial for so small a community. Causes were therefore to continue to be determined by the method already in use, familiar to the inhabitants, except in capital cases involving life, limb, or land, where jury trial remained mandatory. Later correspondence reiterated the same principle: cases were to be determined in a summary manner based on reason, equity, and good conscience, rather than by strict application of English common law, which in any case did not extend beyond England, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed. [Film No. 51, 83]

The penalties prescribed for various offences in the consolidated laws engrossed for public display reveal the graduated logic of the system. Profaning the Lord's Day attracted a reproof for the first offence and a fine not exceeding five shillings for subsequent ones. Swearing, after admonition, was fined not exceeding one shilling. Drunkenness followed the same graduated structure, with persons of higher rank subject to greater fines. Fornication, uncleanness, and adultery were to be punished in ways considered most effective given the character of the population. Theft by breaking open a dwelling or chest required restoration of the goods, payment of three times their value to the injured party, forfeiture of the remainder of the estate to the Company, public whipping from the pillory to the prison, and thereafter imprisonment or transportation at the Governor's discretion. Wilful murder required death. Striking the Governor required forfeiture of all lands, goods, and chattels. The range and gradation of punishments were carefully articulated, and the emphasis on financial restitution to the injured party alongside penalties payable to the Company reveals the dual function of the system in both compensating victims and generating revenue. [Film No. 37, 38, 39, 40, 100, 101, 102]

The treatment of serious offenders underwent significant discussion across the period. Transportation to England had early been identified as ineffective: sending mutinous persons home allowed them to evade justice, as witnesses and evidence were not available to support trials at such distance. A letter of April 1682 directed that all criminal cases were to be tried on the island in future and offenders were not to be sent to England. A later instruction, responding to a case involving Thomas Eastings, condemned what it called a "sham banishment" that had effectively rewarded an offender with travel rather than punishing him, and directed that alternative punishments including iron collars, chaining, hard imprisonment, and enforced labour were to be used instead. Offenders deserving death or severe punishment who could not be dealt

with locally were to be sent to Bombay or Fort St George, to serve the Company for three to four years in India and thereafter to be permanently banished from St Helena. [Film No. 29, 67, 68]

Hard labour as punishment was explicitly preferred to capital punishment for most offences by the early 1700s. A letter reiterated that death would not serve as an effective deterrent for most crimes committed on St Helena, with the exception of wilful murder, and that hard labour imposed over an extended period was more likely to instil lasting fear and also to retain potentially useful productive capacity. The analogy drawn with transported felons in the West Indies - many of whom were said to have reformed and become beneficial to the public over time - was intended to support this position with a practical argument about the value of reformed labour. This reasoning was consistent with contemporary shifts in English penal thinking, though the file does not explore the intellectual background. What is clear from the file itself is that the Company was making deliberate and practical calculations about deterrence and economic utility rather than simply applying punitive tradition. [Film No. 88, 89, 325]

Finance, Accounting, and Currencies

The financial management of St Helena presented persistent difficulties throughout the period. The island was consistently a net cost to the Company, maintained for its strategic value as a provisioning station rather than as a source of commercial profit. A letter of 1683 noted that the island had cost forty thousand pounds without producing any profit beyond its use for the refreshment of ships. By the early 1710s, one letter calculated that within less than three years the island had received from England or the East Indies, and through bills payable in England, a total exceeding eight thousand six hundred and thirty pounds, exclusive of the profit from sales of goods, which was considered considerable but was not quantified. The persistent gap between expenditure and return generated a constant pressure to reduce costs and improve accountability, which runs through almost every letter in the collection. [Film No. 52, 295]

The accounting system demanded of the Governor and Council was elaborate and exacting. Four distinct ledger accounts were to be maintained: for the garrison, the fort, the plantation, and cattle. The storekeeper was to account for all goods received and issued, the gunner for his munitions and equipment, and the Governor for duties on land and cattle. Monthly examinations of all these accounts were to be conducted in consultation, with entries signed and transmitted to London annually, balanced to 25 March each year. Bills of exchange were to be issued in triplicate, sent by separate conveyances, with the sum written in full words as well as figures and the account upon which each bill was drawn clearly specified. General letters were to number their paragraphs for ease of reference. The repeated London complaints about unsigned books, missing accounts, bills lacking explanatory advice, and paragraphs not answered in order show how consistently these standards were not met. [Film No. 65, 92, 117, 131, 175]

Currency posed particular practical challenges in a settlement that operated across multiple monetary systems. The dollar was valued at five shillings in local transactions as a standing rule, though Company letters noted that dollars were not accepted into accounts at that rate when remitted to England by bills of exchange, but only at their intrinsic value. A later letter proposed allowing dollars to circulate at their natural value if no inconvenience arose, reflecting a growing recognition that the artificial valuation created distortions. Small coin was a chronic shortage: a letter of 1714 directed that £100 in Spanish bits and a further £100 in farthings and halfpence be circulated, with Company notes signed by the Governor and Council to supplement them. The proposal that Company bills and notes might be exchanged for sterling bills by those leaving the island was intended to make the currency useful without allowing it to drain away. [Film No. 57, 136, 257, 258, 366]

The pricing of goods sold from the stores was a matter of close regulation and frequent dispute. Goods from England were to be sold at a forty per cent advance on their cost. Goods from India were to be priced at rates set by the Governor and Council, reported to London for approval. The principle was that no greater price was to be given for any commodity than would allow it to be sold to inhabitants at a moderate profit, avoiding exploitation of their necessities. In practice, the correspondence contains numerous complaints about goods being sold at prices too low to cover costs, about arrack being disposed of at five or seven shillings per gallon when it might fetch double in England, about wine purchased from captains at excessive rates and then sold at a loss, and about the general failure to account for what had been received

and at what price it had been sold. The gap between pricing policy and pricing practice is one of the clearest signs in the collection of the difficulty of enforcing commercial discipline at such distance. [Film No. 93, 115, 219, 220, 256]

The question of debt among soldiers and planters was a significant social and economic problem by the 1710s. Soldiers had been allowed to incur substantial debts at punch houses and at the storehouse, and when they required essential clothing or provisions these were withheld until debts were settled, driving some to desertion. A letter noted that the accumulation of debt among soldiers had placed them in such difficulty that they were driven toward desperate actions. Governor Roberts had reportedly been reducing these debts gradually, but under subsequent administrations they had grown again, with some soldiers owing sums of twenty, thirty, or even seventy pounds per man. Goods had been issued without adequate regard to whether individuals were fit to be trusted with further credit, and debts had been transferred from wealthy planters to insolvent ones through corrupt practices among the storehouse staff. [Film No. 66, 224, 262, 368]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Enslaved people were foundational to the economy and social structure of St Helena throughout the entire period covered by this collection, and the laws and correspondence document this in detail while systematically underrepresenting the humanity of those involved. The formal slave laws, engrossed as part of the consolidated legal code and displayed publicly for the island's inhabitants, established a graduated system of corporal punishment calibrated to the severity of the offence. Theft of goods worth eighteen pence earned twenty lashes on the naked body. Theft worth three shillings earned thirty lashes. For theft exceeding six shillings, the scale of punishment increased sharply, involving multiple sessions of lashing separated by days of confinement, with the owner required to pay restitution to the injured party. Running away for three days attracted the same punishment as theft. Breaking into a house brought an immediate one hundred lashes, with further sessions and ultimately branding, chaining with a thirty-pound iron clog, and finally death for repeat offenders. [Film No. 83, 84, 85]

The laws governing enslaved people's interactions with white persons were particularly severe, and their logic was explicit. A male slave who struck or attempted to strike any white person, even without a weapon, was to be castrated. If the slave died from this punishment, the island's public funds were to compensate the master for the loss of his property, unless the death was caused by the master's own neglect. A slave who struck a white person with a weapon was to suffer death. The provision that white persons who had "debased themselves" by treating enslaved people as social equals - engaging with them in conversations, gaming, or similar - were to be treated "in the same manner as the slaves" made the racial hierarchy explicit as a legal category: it was not simply that enslaved people had a lower status, but that the entire system of violent enforcement depended on maintaining an absolute boundary between the white and enslaved populations. Any white person who crossed it lost the protection the laws afforded. [Film No. 85, 86]

Beyond physical punishment, the laws controlled enslaved people's economic and medical lives. Bartering or exchanging goods among themselves without owner consent was punishable by twenty lashes. White persons who traded with enslaved people without owner consent were liable as accessories to felony, subject to fourfold restitution. No enslaved person was to prescribe or administer medicine to others without the master's consent, and no enslaved person was to take medicine on the advice of an enslaved medical practitioner without informing their master. The prohibition on autonomous medical practice, treated as a form of dangerous uncontrolled influence, reveals an anxiety about any form of independent expertise or authority within the enslaved community. The phrase "Black doctor" appears in the text with scare quotes indicating that the Company regarded such practitioners as pretenders rather than as possessors of legitimate knowledge, whatever the actual state of their medical skill. [Film No. 87, 88]

The collection also records the financial dimensions of the slave system with considerable precision. Madagascar ships delivering enslaved people as port duties contributed directly to the island's labour supply. The Company's own slaves were regularly inventoried, classified by sex and age, and assessed for their employment. When an enslaved person was executed for a serious offence, a levy was imposed on all slave-owning inhabitants, calculated per head of enslaved persons held, to compensate the owner for the lost

property. This system of collective compensation treated enslaved people as insured assets and distributed the financial risk of their judicial execution across the community of slave owners. Annual lists of all Company slaves were required, specifying how and where each was employed. The concern expressed in letters of 1713 about the high rate of deaths among slaves in recent years, and the accusations against former Governor Boucher of having mismanaged livestock and plantation labour, show how closely the Company tracked its enslaved workforce as a capital resource. [Film No. 56, 83, 225, 309]

By the early 1710s, the number of Company slaves had declined, and letters expressed concern about insufficient labour for both plantation work and fortification building. Arrangements were made to purchase additional enslaved people from Madagascar through contractors, with prices set at approximately twenty-one pounds per head. The supply of enslaved people from Madagascar was subject to disruption during the War of the Spanish Succession, and one letter noted that no additional slaves could be sent from Madagascar that year and that those already on the island should be used sparingly. Enslaved children could be placed with inhabitants who would maintain them in return for their labour until the age of ten, with a public order of January 1713 establishing this arrangement formally. Instructions were also given that young enslaved people should be trained in skilled trades - smithing, tailoring, bricklaying - to make them more productive. The calculus of productivity, trainability, and mortality that runs through these discussions reflects a system in which human beings were managed as capital assets within the Company's accounts. [Film No. 152, 235, 252, 309]

Social Order, Religion, and Moral Regulation

Religious observance and moral regulation were from the outset treated as instruments of social control as much as expressions of genuine spiritual concern. The Lord's Day was to be strictly observed, with all bodily and secular employments prohibited along with gaming and unlawful pastimes. All persons were to attend public religious duties. In the absence of a minister - a common situation given the difficulty of attracting and retaining clergy - the Governor and Council were to appoint someone to read scripture and sermons. Public prayers were to be offered for the sovereign and for the welfare of the East India Company. The catechising of youth at least once a week was required when a minister was resident. The detailed specification of which creeds and commandments were to be read in public worship, down to identifying specific chapters and verses of the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Gospel of Matthew, reflects the influence of English Reformation practice and the Company's desire for doctrinal conformity in a diverse and mobile population. [Film No. 20, 21, 32, 33, 99]

The regulation of alcohol was a source of persistent difficulty. Licences were required for selling any strong liquor by retail, not exceeding one year in duration and carrying a fee to the Company. Soldiers were not to incur debts at punch houses, and the provision of excessive quantities of beer or other liquors to sailors was to be restrained. A standing rule prohibited the opening of drinking establishments after the taptoo had sounded, and the Governor was required to impose fines on disorderly persons coming ashore from ships. In practice, as the file's evidence of drunkenness-related disorder and debt shows, these regulations were enforced with variable success. Letters of 1714 and 1715 observed that excessive drinking had increased among the island's inhabitants in recent years, was a principal cause of their poverty, and had contributed to disease among a population that was described as less healthful than it had formerly been. [Film No. 37, 57, 66, 360]

The construction and maintenance of the church was a communal project that revealed the intersection of religious obligation and social administration. The island's inhabitants were required to contribute per head for the maintenance of a minister: six pence annually for every person above sixteen years of age, white or black. Church wardens and overseers of highways were elected annually at an assembly of free planters, with the Governor selecting the officeholders from nominees. The building of a new church at James Valley appears in correspondence of the 1710s, with subscriptions being collected as ships arrived and Mr Thomlinson, the chaplain, active in the effort. Instructions given to the chaplain included conducting his office according to established rules, catechising youth, maintaining registers of births, marriages, and burials, and certifying lists of inhabitants. The consistent presence of the chaplain within the administrative structure of the island, with his registers and lists forming part of the documentary record, reflects the blurring of ecclesiastical and civil function that characterised governance in early modern English colonial settlements. [Film No. 59, 79, 193, 316, 340]

The sword-wearing regulations give a clear glimpse of the social tensions embedded in the island's small, armed community. No inhabitant who was not an officer or soldier was to wear a sword, the stated reason being the inappropriateness of arms-carrying in frontier garrison settings, particularly given the prevalence of drinking. Officers were always to carry their swords and were fined five shillings for appearing without one. Soldiers were permitted to wear swords off duty except in drinking establishments. Any person who drew a sword on the island was to forfeit twenty shillings. Later consolidated laws extended a prohibition specifically to Jews and infidels, regardless of their status as officers or soldiers, which reveals the presence of religious minorities on the island and the Company's willingness to apply discriminatory regulation in addition to its general rules. The care taken to regulate who carried arms and under what conditions reflects genuine concern about the potential for violence in a small, mixed population living under garrison conditions. [Film No. 69, 75, 76, 103, 104]

Supply and Provisioning

St Helena's role as a provisioning station made the management of local food production and the supply of visiting ships a matter of continuous administrative attention. Fresh beef was the most important commodity, and its management generated constant tension between the needs of passing ships and the island's own agricultural capacity. The rule established early and reiterated frequently was that Company ships were to receive cattle from the Company's own stock first, and from inhabitants only when Company supply was insufficient. Prices were to be fixed at levels that made supply worthwhile but did not expose either the island or the Company to exploitation. The charterparty provisions requiring ships to receive beef at fixed rates below market price were subject to persistent dispute, with the letter collection recording numerous arguments about whether the Company was obliged to supply at charter rates when it did so at a loss, and whether captains could compel supply by invoking their contract terms. [Film No. 63, 84, 250, 251]

The supply of arrack, wine, and other liquors from ships arriving from India was another major element of the island's provisioning economy. The instruction that all ships returning from the Coast and Bay were to deliver one fifth of one per cent of their cargo in arrack, sugar, and similar goods for the use of the island formalised what had been an ad hoc arrangement. The Company also sent goods from England - wine from Madeira, brandy, cheese, cloth, ironmongery, naval stores - by its own ships, with detailed invoices and bills of lading to be matched against delivery. The problem of goods arriving in damaged or deficient condition was persistent, requiring careful attestation under oath of which bales were affected, the exact quantities of damage in each, and the responsible party so that recovery might be sought from suppliers or carriers. General statements of damage without itemised detail were repeatedly criticised as inadequate for this purpose. [Film No. 91, 115, 289, 292, 294]

The watering of ships was a basic service that the island was expected to provide efficiently, and considerable attention was given to improving the watering place throughout the period. A letter of February 1702 proposed constructing a bridge at the end of the waterfall with pipes or troughs to convey water directly to boats, with openings designed for efficient cask-filling. Dutch methods used at the Cape were cited as a model, and Company captains who had visited the Cape were to be consulted for advice. The system required continuous maintenance, and the instruction that carpenters from visiting ships who assisted with construction were to receive gratuities shows the extent to which the island depended on the resources of passing vessels to maintain its own infrastructure. [Film No. 54, 75]

Personalities

Captain Richard Field was appointed the first Governor of St Helena after its retaking from the Dutch, in a commission of December 1673 that also named his Deputy, Captain Antony Beale. Keild appears in these records primarily as the authority whose appointment established the constitutional arrangements of the early settlement. It is Beale who attracts more substantive mention: the 1683 report noted that one thousand three hundred guns had been fired under him, drawing a sharp rebuke from London and a formal prohibition on excessive saluting. Whether Beale exercised poor judgement in this matter, or was

responding to pressures and conventions that the Company's London office failed to appreciate, cannot be determined from the file alone, but his name is permanently attached in the record to one of the earliest examples of the waste and mismanagement that would recur throughout the following decades. [Film No. 17, 52]

Governor Stephen Poirier, who governed throughout the period documented in the companion council proceedings file, is mentioned in this collection primarily in relation to his death, which triggered the appointment of Captain Roberts as his replacement around 1708. The letters accompanying Roberts's appointment cited his experience in inspecting fortifications in Flanders and at Minorca and expressed confidence in his ability to direct construction on the island. In practice, the letters record a mixed picture: Roberts is credited with gradually reducing soldiers' debts and with applying himself diligently to the fortifications, but is also criticised for neglecting the plantations, for the construction of an expensive riding shed that consumed over three hundred pounds of Company funds without authorisation, for misusing slaves and labour, and for specific financial irregularities. The accusation that Roberts had taken one hundred pounds from the *Steel Frigate* without proper authority and had drawn supplies into private use under cover of official action points to a pattern of personal enrichment that the London letters found deeply troubling. [Film No. 137, 148, 269, 270]

Captain Benjamin Boucher, who succeeded Roberts as Governor and was himself replaced by Isaac Pyke in 1714, became one of the most comprehensively criticised figures in the entire collection. The letters compiled against him at the time of Pyke's appointment, and in subsequent correspondence, charged him with engaging extensively in private trade under Company cover, selling goods he had purchased as though they belonged to the Company, disposing of them from the Company storehouse before Company goods were cleared, allowing Mr Alexander to act as a conduit for his interests, and misusing labour and livestock. His construction of a riding shed for asses, costing over three hundred pounds, is mentioned in connection with Roberts but the same motif of expenditure on personal comfort recurs in the descriptions of Boucher's administration. He was accused of allowing the Company's plantations and gardens to fall into ruin, of causing the destruction of much of the livestock, and of conducting himself in ways that had generated insurrection among the inhabitants. [Film No. 239, 260, 263, 300, 301, 373]

John Alexander, serving as Clerk of the Council under multiple governors, is one of the most persistently problematic figures in the correspondence. He appears first as a loyal but embattled servant who was denied the position of surgeon apparently through personal influence against him. He was subsequently involved in accusations that he had perverted the meaning of consultations, that he had taken control of stores and other matters without proper authority, and that he had prepared a petition for Mercy Alexander while she was a widow, which she signed without understanding its contents - the petition being in his own handwriting. His letter book management was repeatedly found wanting, his accounts were not submitted when required, and yet his long service made those in authority reluctant to dismiss him entirely. He was restored to his position as Clerk after a period of disgrace, on condition of proper submission to the Governor, only to be found again in the subsequent letters as a continuing source of difficulty. The ambiguity of his case - whether he was a victim of factional politics or genuinely corrupt, and probably some combination of both - illustrates the difficulty of assessing character from official correspondence alone. [Film No. 115, 179, 212, 228, 234, 330, 372]

Mr Matthew Bazett appears throughout the later correspondence as a figure of relative probity who was repeatedly excluded from the storehouse management that it was his assigned duty to oversee, apparently because successive governors found it convenient to deny him access. Letters from London note with evident frustration that Bazett had been denied access to general letters for five or six months at a time, that he had not been permitted to assist in store management despite explicit orders to the contrary, and that his exclusion had been justified by claims that he was unfamiliar with the Italian method of bookkeeping, a claim contradicted by his own denial and by the Governor's subsequent silence. His petition requesting admission to greater responsibilities, and the acknowledgement that his extravagance had required correction, suggest a more complex figure than the victimised company man that London's letters occasionally present. He served as fourth member of the Council under Pyke's commission, a position from which he was apparently expected to contribute to the improved management that had been so long promised. [Film No. 128, 223, 242, 260, 263, 333]

Mr Thomas Goodwin, previously Acting Governor during the period covered in the companion abstracts file, appears in this collection primarily as a subject of complaint rather than as an active administrator. A letter of 1708 mentioned his objections to twenty-nine paragraphs of instructions without providing written reasons, and later correspondence reported allegations that he had used the Company's authority to monopolise certain commodities and retail them for his own benefit. He was noted as engaging in private trade under the names of others with ships in the road, treating casks and bags from the storehouse as personal property, and misusing supplies. His appointment as Storekeeper under Captain Laoust as Deputy Governor was part of a restructuring intended to assign specific responsibilities to those best qualified, with the note that his continued employment depended on his remaining deserving of the position. Whether the allegations against him were accurate or represented factional accusations is difficult to assess from the official record, which rarely preserves the accused's own account in full. [Film No. 127, 331]

Captain Isaac Pyke, appointed Governor in 1714, is the figure under whose authority the collection's latest letters were addressed, and his tenure falls largely outside the correspondence that has survived in this file. His commission was accompanied by a thorough and critical review of Boucher's failings and a detailed set of instructions intended to establish more orderly administration. The council he was given included George Haswell as second, Edward Mashborne as third, Matthew Bazett as fourth, and Antipas Tovey as fifth and last, with the secretary position also assigned to Tovey. The restriction that no council member except Tovey was to hold plantations was intended to prevent private interest from competing with Company duty, a concern that previous experience had amply justified. The conditional nature of the gratuities granted to council members, explicitly stated to be discretionary rather than guaranteed, was similarly intended to maintain the leverage of the Company over those it employed in so distant and difficult a posting. [Film No. 238, 259, 260]

Mr John Pack, who served in some capacity relating to the stores, became notorious for allowing accounts to fall nineteen months in arrear, apparently without effective intervention from the Council around him. When Mr Bazett was finally given authority to assist after Pack's death, the extent of the neglect became apparent. Similarly, Mr Hoskinson, described as a "vicious individual" who received undue favour from Governor Roberts, was alleged to have exercised control along the coast, acting as he pleased and possessing knowledge of consignments and consultations that he used for personal advantage. He was reported in 1708 as beginning again to cause discord, and a formal warning was issued that if this continued he would be removed from the island. His earlier management of the Company's plantations was retrospectively blamed for the decline in their productivity, through the maintenance of an excessive household of personal attendants, diversion of slave labour to personal use, and allowing crops to rot rather than establishing new planting. [Film No. 128, 209, 225]

The Island in Its Wider Context

St Helena's place within the broader geography of Company commerce is visible throughout the correspondence, both in the ships that called there and in the intelligence the island received about trade routes, conflicts, and conditions across the Indian Ocean world. Ships from the Bay of Bengal, from Bombay, from Fort St George on the Coromandel Coast, from Bencoolen in Sumatra, from China, from Mocha at the mouth of the Red Sea, and from Madeira passed through or near the island in both directions. The detailed lists of ships sent out in various seasons - noting tonnage, commanders, and destinations - and the equally detailed reports of ships safely returned provide a running account of the Company's maritime operations in the early eighteenth century, with St Helena appearing in each list as the first known waypoint on both the outward and homeward routes. [Film No. 141, 142, 143, 162, 163, 199, 200, 215, 216, 288, 350]

The relationship with Portuguese shipping and trade at the island was handled with careful pragmatism. The Company was bound by Act of Parliament not to break bulk of any ship until arrival in England, except for goods necessary for the island's own use. East India commodities were not to be traded to Portuguese vessels at the island. However, goods produced by the island or held in its stores could be purchased by Portuguese and other foreign traders in exchange for provisions and other goods. A letter of 1708 addressed specifically the case of proposals by the Portuguese for supplies of East India commodities, declining these while permitting the usual exchanges of local produce, and noting that the island had historically enjoyed

freedoms in Portuguese ports that warranted a reciprocal civility. The purchase of wine from Madeira for resale at the island - sometimes at inappropriate prices that drew London's criticism - was a recurrent element of this bilateral relationship. [Film No. 118, 119, 120]

The proclamation of King George I was recorded in the collection as a formal administrative act required of the Governor and Council. The letter announcing the death of Queen Anne on 1 August 1714 and the proclamation of George under the Acts of Settlement was sent by the Company with instructions that, as soon as conveniently could be done after preparing appropriate badges on shore, a formal proclamation was to be made declaring the new sovereign's titles. The ceremony was to be conducted with proper solemnity and to be entered in the Consultation Book. The requirement that even the most remote of the Company's settlements should formally and publicly acknowledge the succession, with the proclamation text entered into the official record, reveals the extent to which the Company understood its colonial governance as an extension of the English - now British - state and its constitutional arrangements. The transition from the Company's reference to "the Right Honourable English East India Company" to the "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies" earlier in the period similarly marks the moment when the old and new Companies formally merged, with the instruction that all official documents should henceforth use the new name wherever the old had previously appeared. [Film No. 157, 317]

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena - Constitution, laws and Instructions 1673 - 1714 Photographer Lidan Preto Date photographed 28th April 2022 Additional comments	
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		Sevor Day to be religiously Observed, J. Catechising once a week in Church 22. Population 500 in 1683 - 40 Inhabitants did wear Swords in such a thinking place no. H. 2698 - p. 58. Order to make a bridge at the Chapel & convey Water to ships & above blk. Wood to be punished with black Earth for helpful numbers 78. Fine - for 9 months & House break to 89 (H) for the Poor 79. [...] head for all men 16 to be paid for daubs & repair of Church 96. 200 Tons of plank for Lines sent. Capt. Leam reports no Wood & Stone etc. to fall, produce Lines &c 123 Discovery in S. H. traced to Gov. Poirier being a Frenchman 126 Curious Documents damaged by Rats 139 Mr. Thorpe's refusal as Chaplain - he Quarter'd, Sorts 140 Every quarter day - Act of Parliament against Profaneness to read in English Churches. Letters to Govr. Lemon & Sermon 147 Grant of United Company Renewed 146 Governor Smith - 1002 Salary 161 - Tubaries of Samuel W. Mr. Peck Accountant. Decision over every Plantation &c 166 Grants recommended by Govr. Hobart thro the Captains 169 Great wood to be fenced in - Plantations - complaint of	

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		weed being bartered for Beavers 170. Governor found License & Stone & small pocket, Surgeon's Aid needed 180 Chaplain Hurst encourages the 18th Governor Pike - his salary & Council's 266. Letter about New Jamestown Church 305 - Queen Anne death & George I. - Date proclaimed 305 Loss of the ship Ocean - orders 308 Company asks the discovery of the mines of 329 Mr. Hawkins, Chaplain - p. 328 [?] Marchen Queries 1709	
6		Company consent to contribute to burial in 369 Sheriffs appointment 23 Landing in beaches by seamen to be prevented by Rocks 65 Woodruffe's Slave said "to rule the Roost" 117 Vigel a prisoner in the Defalkets seized by French Privateer 121, 135th Mushroom's murder examined 105 - Mushrooms in Stairs 226 Land not to be bought up 197 Rupert's lines neglected 267	
7		Blank page	
8		Blank page	
9		Blank page	
11		Blank page	
12	1	Rt Honble the East India Compays Laws &c. The Laws & Ordinances of St Helena Being a Collection of such Priviledges and Charters as have been Granted by the Kings and Queens of Great Britain to the Right Honble East India Company. And the Honble Companys Constitutions and Instructions from time to time thereon for the good Government and Administration of Justice to the Inhabitants of the said Island of St Helena.	The document was titled "The Laws & Ordinances of St Helena" and was described as a collected body of legal materials concerning the governance of the island of St Helena. It was stated that these materials comprised the privileges and charters that had been granted by the Kings and Queens of Great Britain to the Right Honourable East India Company. It was further explained that the collection included the Company's own constitutions and instructions, which had been issued from time to time. These were said to have been established for the purpose of ensuring the good government of the island and the proper administration of justice among its inhabitants. The authority for these laws and ordinances was thus presented as deriving both from royal grants and from the internal regulatory framework of the East India Company. **Interpretations** "Charters" were formal legal instruments issued by the Crown, granting rights, powers, and privileges to corporate bodies such as the East India Company, often including authority over trade, territory, and governance. "Constitutions and instructions" referred to the internal regulations and directives issued by the East India Company to govern its territories and officials, functioning as administrative and legal guidance. "Administration of justice" denoted the structured application of legal authority, including courts, procedures, and enforcement, as organised under Company rule on the island. **Speculations** It was probably intended that this collection served as an authoritative legal reference for officials on St Helena, ensuring that governance remained consistent with both royal authority and Company policy. Perhaps the emphasis on both royal grants and Company instructions was designed to reinforce the legitimacy of the Company's rule by demonstrating its foundation in Crown-sanctioned authority as well as its own regulatory system.

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
13	2	Blank page	
14	3	Abri[d]gment of King Charte[r]s Chapter 78: 18 1. Governour and Companys Privilege to Constitute Laws, Orders and Ordinances for the Government of S[.] Helena and the same to revoke and abrogate as they shall think fitt and Convenient as also to Impose such Pains Punishments Penaltys and To Constitute and Imprisonments of Body and where the Quality of the make Laws offence shall require by taking away Life or Member as and Penaltys shall seem Necessary Requisite and Convenient for the Preservation of the same Laws Constitutions Orders and Ordinances for the Punishment of Offenders against the same so always as the said Laws Constitutions Orders Ordinances Pains Punishments and Penaltys be Consonant to Reason and not Repugnant or Contrary but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England. 2. Also to nominate make Constitute ordain and confirm such Governour or Governours Officers as shall be by them thought fitt for the Government of the said Island of S[.] Helena 3. And that the said Governour and Officers so appointed shall Correct Govern and Rule all and every the Subjects of Us our Heirs and Successors that now do or at any time hereafter shall Inhabit on the said Island according to such Laws Orders and Ordinances as the said	The text was presented as an abridgment of the King's charters, identified under Chapter 78: 18, and set out the powers granted to the Governor and the East India Company in relation to the governance of St Helena. It was stated that the Governor and the Company were empowered to create, establish, and enforce laws, orders, and ordinances for the government of St Helena. Authority was also granted for such laws to be revoked or abolished whenever it was considered fit and convenient. The imposition of punishments and penalties was authorised, including bodily imprisonment and, where the seriousness of the offence required it, the taking of life or limb. These measures were to be applied as deemed necessary and appropriate for maintaining the authority and effectiveness of the laws and for punishing offenders. It was stipulated, however, that all such laws, punishments, and penalties were to be reasonable and not contrary to, but as closely aligned as possible with, the laws of England. It was further recorded that the Governor and the Company were empowered to nominate, appoint, establish, and confirm such Governors and officers as were considered suitable for the administration of the island of St Helena. It was also stated that the appointed Governor and officers were to govern, direct, and control all subjects of the Crown, including both current inhabitants and those who might settle there in the future, in accordance with the laws, orders, and ordinances established under this authority, although the sentence was left incomplete in the surviving text, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Abrogate" referred to the formal repeal or cancellation of a law by authoritative act, indicating that legislative power included not only creation but also removal of laws. "Taking away Life or Member" denoted the legal authority to impose capital punishment or corporal penalties, reflecting early modern legal practices in which severe physical punishments were permitted for serious offences. "Repugnant or Contrary but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England" indicated a legal requirement that colonial laws should not conflict with English law and should, where possible, reflect its principles, ensuring continuity of legal standards across territories. **Speculations** Perhaps the detailed emphasis on the power to impose severe punishments reflected the need to maintain strict discipline in a remote colonial setting where immediate oversight from England was absent. It was probably intended that the requirement for alignment with English law served to limit arbitrary rule by the Company, ensuring that its authority remained within recognised legal norms of the Crown.
15	4	said Governour and Company at any Generall Court shall Establish [...] to do all and every thing and things which to the compleat Establishment of Justice doth belong by Courts Sessions Termes of Judicature like unto those established and used in our Realm of England to award process hold Pleas Judge and Determine all actions Suits Causes whatsoever of any kind or Nature and to Execute all and every such Judgment so as always the said Laws and Ordinances be Reasonable and not Repugnant or	The passage continued the abridgment of the King's charters and set out further judicial and governing powers granted to the Governor and the East India Company for St Helena. It was stated that the Governor and the Company, assembled in a General Court, were to establish [...] and were empowered to carry out all matters necessary for the full administration of justice. Courts, sessions, and terms of judicature were to be organised in a manner similar to those used in the realm of England. Authority was granted to issue legal process, hear pleas, and determine all types of actions, suits, and causes, regardless of their nature. The execution of all judgments was also authorised. These powers were expressly limited by the condition that all laws and

Image No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Contrary but as near as may be Agreeable to the Laws of England 4. And We do also Confirm and grant to all and every such Governour or Governours as shall be appointed by the Governour and Committees as aforesaid To have Power and Authority of Government in and over the said Fort and Island and that no Person whatsoever shall Inhabit on the said Island and Limits thereof or Interprise or attempt any Destruction Hurt or Detriment to our Subjects Inhabiting within the same or any part thereof their Goods Merchandize or Estates 5. And We do further Ordain and grant that such Principall Governour or Governours of the said Island as from time to time duly Authorized shall have full Power and Authority to use and execute all such Powers and Authority in Case of Rebellion Mutiny or Sedition of Refusing to Serve in Warres flying to the Enemy forsaking Custom and Discipline Military in as large and ample manner to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever as any Captain Generall	ordinances were to be reasonable and not contrary to, but as closely aligned as possible with, the laws of England. It was further confirmed that every Governor appointed under this authority was to possess full power of government over the fort and island. It was ordered that no person was to inhabit the island or its boundaries, nor undertake or attempt any act of destruction, harm, or injury against the inhabitants or their goods, merchandise, or estates. It was also ordained that the principal Governor or Governors, when properly authorised, were to exercise full authority in cases of rebellion, mutiny, sedition, refusal to serve in wars, desertion to the enemy, or abandonment of military discipline. These powers were to be exercised in as full and extensive a manner as those held by a Captain General, although the surviving text ended incomplete at this point, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "General Court" referred to the governing assembly of the East India Company, composed of its members, which held authority to enact major administrative and legal decisions. "Terms of judicature" denoted the fixed periods during which courts formally sat to hear cases, reflecting established English legal practice. "Award process" referred to the formal issuing of writs or legal orders required to initiate or advance judicial proceedings. "Captain General" was a senior military rank signifying supreme command, indicating that the Governor's authority extended to the highest level of military discipline and enforcement. **Speculations** Perhaps the insistence on replicating English judicial structures was intended to maintain continuity of legal practice and reinforce the legitimacy of Company rule. It was probably the case that the extensive military powers granted to the Governor reflected the need to maintain strict order and readiness in a strategically important and isolated island settlement.
16	5	[...]nerall of our Army by Vertue of his Office have used and accustomed and may or might Lawfully do. 6. And that the Governour of the said Island shall have Power to Administer a formall Legall Oath to all Persons whatsoever for the Examination Satisfying and Clearing the truth in any case as well Concerning the said Island as any other Particular Businesse for the Maintaining and Administration of Peace and Justice in the said Island or any other Persons in that Place. 7. And that all Persons born upon the said Island be free Denizens and Naturall Subjects of England. 8. All which is more at large in Book No A from the first to the eighth Page. A Copy of the first Comm- ission of the Government after the Retaking the Island from the Dutch By the Governour and Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies at a Court of Committees holden the 17th Day of December in the five and Twentieth year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith Anno Domini 1673.	The continuation of the abridgment confirmed that the powers granted to the Governor in matters of rebellion, mutiny, sedition, refusal of military service, desertion to the enemy, and breaches of discipline were to be exercised in the same full manner as those lawfully used by a Captain General of the King's army by virtue of that office. It was further established that the Governor of the island was empowered to administer a formal legal oath to any person whatsoever. This authority was to be used for the examination and clarification of truth in any matter, whether relating directly to the island or to other particular business, in order to support the maintenance and administration of peace and justice within the island or concerning persons present there. It was also declared that all persons born on the island were to be considered free denizens and natural subjects of England, thereby granting them the legal status and rights associated with English subjects. Reference was then made to a fuller account of these provisions, stated to be contained in Book No. A, from the first to the eighth page. A further section introduced a copy of the first commission issued for the government of the island following its recapture from the Dutch. It was recorded that this commission had been issued by the Governor and Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies at a Court of Committees held on 17/12/1673, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, who was styled King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and Defender of the Faith.

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			Interpretations "Captain General" referred to the highest-ranking military commander within a territory, indicating that the Governor's authority extended to supreme military command in matters of discipline and security. "Administer a formal legal oath" denoted the power to require sworn statements, which were legally binding and carried consequences if found to be false, forming a central mechanism in judicial and administrative proceedings. "Free denizens and natural subjects" referred to individuals recognised as possessing the legal rights and protections of English subjects, including allegiance to the Crown and entitlement to its laws. "Court of Committees" was the governing body of the East India Company responsible for administrative decisions, including the issuing of commissions and instructions. **Speculations** Perhaps the provision granting all island-born persons the status of natural subjects of England was intended to encourage settlement and loyalty by extending legal protections and privileges. It was probably the case that the inclusion of a reference to the earlier commission of 17/12/1673 was intended to anchor current authority in the historical re-establishment of English control following the island's recovery from the Dutch.
17	6	Now know all Persons that in Pursuance of the Authority to Us granted as aforesaid, and for the good Government of the said Island, We have made and Ordained, and do by these Presents make Ordain and Constitute Captain Richard Keild to be Governour of the said Island, Captain Antony Beale to be Deputy Governour, the Lieutenants of the Two Companys of Foot on the said Island for the time being. Francis More, John Colson, and Richard Rawlin to be of our Council for the said Island, and to take place in Council in the Order they are here named, which said Governour and Council for the time being in the absence of our Governour his Deputy and our said Council, or any three of them whereof the Governour or his Deputy to be always one; Wee under us to have and exercise the Chief Command and Authority in the said Island in all matters whatsoever, and unto whom all the People and Persons there Residing of what Quality or Condition soever are to give and yeild due Obedience. And forasmuch as it is altogether Necessary that in Case of the Death or Remove of the said Captain Keild before or after these Presents shall come to you, the said Island be Provided for the government thereof sooner than at so great a Distance We can be advertized of his Death or Remove, and appoint another to succeed in the place of Governour, We have thought fitt to Ordain and appoint that in case of his Death or Remove, the before named Captain Anthony Beale shall succeed in the place of Governour of the said Island, and in Case of the Death or Remove as well of the said	It was declared that, in accordance with the authority previously granted and for the good government of the island, a series of appointments had been made and formally established. Captain Richard Keild was appointed as Governor of the island, and Captain Antony Beale was appointed as Deputy Governor. The Lieutenants of the two companies of foot stationed on the island for the time being were also included in the governing structure. Francis More, John Colson, and Richard Rawlin were appointed as members of the Council, and it was specified that they were to take precedence in Council in the order in which their names were listed. It was directed that the Governor and Council for the time being were to exercise the chief command and authority over the island in all matters. In situations where the Governor was absent, authority was to be exercised by his Deputy and the Council, or by any three of them, provided that either the Governor or the Deputy Governor was always included among that number. All inhabitants of the island, regardless of their rank or condition, were required to give due obedience to this governing authority. Provision was also made for continuity of government in the event of death or removal from office. It was stated that, given the great distance involved and the resulting delay in communication, it was necessary to ensure that governance could continue without interruption. In the event of the death or removal of Captain Richard Keild, whether before or after the receipt of these instructions, Captain Antony Beale was to succeed to the position of Governor. In the event that both Captain Keild and Captain Antony Beale died or were removed, it was ordained that the Council of the island for the time being was to assume authority, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Companies of foot" referred to organised military infantry units stationed on the island, forming part of its defensive and administrative structure. "Take place in Council" denoted the formal order of precedence among Council members, which determined rank, influence, and speaking order within official deliberations.

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		Captain Anthony Beale as of the said Captain Keild, Then we do Constitute and appoint our Council of the said Island for the time being	"Remove" referred to the removal from office, whether by dismissal, resignation, or reassignment, rather than physical relocation alone. **Speculations** Perhaps the detailed provisions for succession reflected the practical difficulties of governing a remote island, where delays in communication with England required clear and immediate local authority structures. It was probably intended that the inclusion of both military officers and named councillors in governance ensured a balance between administrative oversight and military control, reinforcing stability on the island.
18	7	or any three or more of them to be our Chief Commissioners for Executing the Office or place of Governour of the said Island in all full and ample manner and with the same Power as are hereby granted unto the said Captain Keild or Captain Beale to Continue till the Contrary shall be signified under the Companys Common Seal. And our said Governour and Council beforementioned in the Execution of the Power and Trust to you committed are to follow the following Instructions. You are forthwith to Proceed the best you may to the strengthening the Forts and in making good firm and sufficient Platforms as may be Requisite for the better safe-guard and Defence of the Island as you in your Judgements shall think fitt and most Convenient; We have sent you Materials to that end and purpose and to take care that the Powder Arms and Ammunition already upon the Island and now sent you be safely housed in several Places on the Island and that the Chief Magazine be kept and securely Guarded about the middle of the Island whence the same may be Issued with most Ease Safety and Conveniency for Supply of all the Guards and that upon all occasions Victuall and Provisions may be sent to every Post or Guard that they may not be forced to quit the same for want thereof That all the Planters be by the Governour Listed under either of the aforesaid Commanders or such other Officers as the Governour and Council shall think fitt that may exercise and Train them up in Arms at least once in Two Months to Qualify them for the Defence of the Island and that particular places or Posts be Assigned by the	It was directed that, in the event that both the Governor and Deputy Governor were absent or unable to act, any three or more members of the Council were to serve as Chief Commissioners. These were to execute the office of Governor in a full and complete manner, exercising the same powers as those granted to Captain Richard Keild or Captain Antony Beale. This arrangement was to continue until a different instruction was issued under the Company's common seal. It was further ordered that the Governor and Council, in carrying out the authority entrusted to them, were to follow a set of specific instructions. Immediate action was to be taken to strengthen the island's forts and to construct firm and sufficient platforms as required for its defence, according to their judgement of what was most suitable. Materials had been sent for this purpose. Care was to be taken to ensure that gunpowder, arms, and ammunition already on the island, as well as those newly supplied, were safely stored in multiple locations. The principal magazine was to be maintained and securely guarded near the centre of the island, so that supplies could be distributed with ease, safety, and efficiency to all guards. It was also directed that victuals and provisions were to be delivered to every post or guard as required, so that no position would be abandoned due to lack of supplies. It was also ordered that all planters on the island were to be formally enrolled by the Governor under one of the designated commanders or under such officers as the Governor and Council considered appropriate. These individuals were to be trained in the use of arms at least once every two months, so that they would be prepared for the defence of the island. It was further directed that specific places or posts were to be assigned by the [...], where the surviving text ended in an incomplete form. **Interpretations** "Chief Commissioners" referred to a temporary governing body composed of councillors who collectively exercised the authority of the Governor in his absence, ensuring continuity of administration. "Platforms" denoted constructed bases, often of timber or stone, designed to support artillery such as cannons, forming an essential part of fortification systems. "Magazine" referred to a secure storage facility for gunpowder, arms, and ammunition, typically fortified and carefully guarded due to the risk of explosion and its strategic importance. "Planters" referred to settlers engaged in agricultural production on the island, who were also expected to contribute to its defence when required. **Speculations** Perhaps the emphasis on dispersing ammunition and maintaining a central magazine reflected concerns over both security and the risk of accidental explosion, as well as the need for rapid military response across the island. It was probably intended that the regular training of planters in arms formed part of a militia system,

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			ensuring that the civilian population could support the island's defence in times of threat.
19	8	the Governour whereunto all and every of said Planters may Repair and have a Rendezvous where thereunto Required by the Governour; for tho We do not Require the Planters to keep Constant Watch as Souldiers in Pay; yet We do hereby and Especially upon Discovery of any Enemy or any Generall Allarm in case of the approach of any Enemy, Strictly Require that they do Repair to their Respective Posts, and Observe such Orders in a way of Military Discipline according as their Respective Officers shall be Directed by the Governour and Council for the Safety and Defence of our aforesaid Island, it being one of the Conditions on which We have granted them their Lands and other accommodations. That all or any the Inhabitants of the said Island be Permitted and alloted (upon their Request and Desire) sufficient ground to Build a House or Houses in any Valley, provided they Build the said Houses Regularly in Order to a Town of Defence above each of the Fortifications that shall be made in any Valley, if the Governour and Council shall so think fitt, and that the Houses that are between the Sea and any of the Forts be Removed by the Proprietors. That there may be conveyed to each Planter both old and new, and to his Heirs and Assigns for ever under the Company Seal his Proportion of Land that shall be alloted to him as aforesaid the Performing Suit and Service as We shall appoint the Inhabitants and Planters to do from time to time, put under this Proviso to be Inserted in his Deed of Conveyance, That they shall not have Power to sell or alienate their Respective Lands or Plantations, unless they or their Heirs shall have lived upon it and Improved it by Planting for the space of four years.	It was directed that the Governor was to designate specific places to which all planters were to repair when required, these serving as points of assembly or rendezvous. Although the planters were not required to maintain a constant watch in the manner of paid soldiers, it was strictly ordered that, upon the discovery or approach of an enemy, or in the event of a general alarm, they were to proceed to their assigned posts. There, they were to observe and follow military discipline according to the orders issued by their respective officers under the direction of the Governor and Council. This obligation was expressly stated to be one of the conditions under which their lands and accommodations had been granted. It was further ordered that any inhabitant of the island might, upon request, be granted sufficient ground to construct one or more houses in any valley. This permission was subject to the condition that such houses were to be built in an orderly manner so as to form a defensible town above each fortification established within a valley, where the Governor and Council considered it appropriate. It was also required that any houses situated between the sea and the forts were to be removed by their proprietors. It was additionally provided that each planter, whether already established or newly settled, was to receive a formal conveyance under the Company's seal granting a proportion of land to that individual and to their heirs and assigns in perpetuity. This grant was to be subject to the performance of such duties and services as the Company might from time to time require of the inhabitants and planters. A further condition was to be included within each deed of conveyance, stipulating that no planter, nor their heirs, was to sell or transfer their land or plantation unless they had resided upon it and improved it through planting for a period of four years. **Interpretations** "Rendezvous" referred to a designated place of assembly, particularly for military or defensive purposes, where individuals were required to gather when summoned. "General alarm" denoted a formal signal or warning of imminent danger, especially the approach of an enemy, requiring immediate mobilisation of all able persons. "Suit and service" referred to the obligations owed by landholders to the granting authority, often including labour, military duty, or other forms of service tied to the holding of land. "Alienate" in this context referred to the legal transfer or sale of property rights to another party, a process here restricted by conditions of residence and improvement. **Speculations** Perhaps the requirement for planters to assemble and act under military discipline reflected the dual role of settlers as both agricultural producers and a defensive militia in a vulnerable colonial outpost. It was probably intended that the restriction on selling land before four years of residence and improvement discouraged speculative holding and ensured that land grants contributed to the island's productive and defensive stability.
20	9	And We do Order that a Register be kept of all Grants Alienations and Sales that shall be made by any Planter of his House and Plantation hereby to avoid all Cavils and Fraudulent Conveyances.	It was ordered that a register was to be maintained recording all grants, alienations, and sales made by any planter concerning their house and plantation, with the purpose of preventing disputes and fraudulent conveyances.

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		That a Register be kept of all Marriages and Burials and also of all Children that shall be born upon the said Island. That the Lords Day be Religiously Observed by Abstinence from all Bodily Labour and Secular Employments as also from all Pastimes and that you our Governour and Council do appoint some Publick Place for the Worship of God whither Persons are to Resort every Lords Day to joyn in the Publick Exercise of all Religious Dutys and that you our Governour and Council do by your Presence Encourage the Minister in the Discharge of his Duty and the People in their Attendance on the Ordinances. You are to take Care that all Prophane Swearing and Taking the name of God in Vain be Carefully avoided together with all Intemperance Fornication and Uncleanness and if any Person shall offend in any of the said Cases to be Punished according to the Laws of England.	It was further directed that a register was to be kept of all marriages and burials, as well as of all children born upon the island. It was also required that the Lord's Day was to be strictly observed through abstinence from all bodily labour and secular employment, and from all forms of pastime. A public place for the worship of God was to be appointed by the Governor and Council, to which all persons were to resort every Lord's Day in order to participate in public religious duties. It was additionally directed that the Governor and Council were to attend in person so as to encourage both the minister in the performance of his duties and the people in their observance of religious ordinances. It was further instructed that all profane swearing and the taking of the name of God in vain were to be carefully prevented, together with all forms of intemperance, fornication, and uncleanness. Any person found to offend in these matters was to be punished in accordance with the laws of England. **Interpretations** "Register" referred to an official written record maintained for legal and administrative purposes, ensuring that transactions and life events were formally documented and recognised. "Cavils" denoted trivial or obstructive objections raised in disputes, often used in legal contexts to describe attempts to challenge or undermine agreements. "Fraudulent conveyances" referred to deceptive or unlawful transfers of property intended to mislead or defraud others, particularly in matters of ownership or debt. "Lord's Day" referred to Sunday, observed in Christian practice as a day of worship and rest, with restrictions on labour and recreation. "Ordinances" in this context referred to prescribed religious practices and forms of worship. **Speculations** Perhaps the requirement for detailed registers of land transactions and life events reflected an effort to impose formal legal order in a developing settlement where informal arrangements might otherwise lead to disputes. It was probably intended that the strict observance of the Lord's Day and regulation of moral behaviour reinforced social discipline and cohesion, aligning the island's community with contemporary religious and legal expectations in England.
21	10	Our Governour & Council at S.t Helena. In the first place that all our Concernes under your care and Conduct may by the Blessing of God the better Prosper We would have you see that the Lords day be Religiously observed throughout our said Island by all the Inhabitants thereof by their abstaining from all Bodily Labour and Secular Imployments and also from all unlawfull Sports and Pastimes and that you our Governour and Council do appoint some Publick convenient Place for the Worship of Almighty God whereunto all Persons may Resort every Lords day to joyn in the Solemn Exercise of all Religious Dutys and that you our Governour and Council do by your Presence and Practice Encourage the Minister in the Discharge of his Duty and the People in their attendance on the Ordinances of God also you must take care that all Prophane Swearing or taking the name	Instructions were issued to the Governor and Council at St Helena, stating that, in order for all matters under their care and direction to prosper under the blessing of God, strict attention was to be given to the religious observance of the Lord's Day throughout the island. All inhabitants were required to abstain from bodily labour, secular employment, and all unlawful sports and pastimes. A suitable public place for the worship of Almighty God was to be appointed, to which all persons were to resort each Lord's Day in order to participate in the solemn exercise of religious duties. It was further directed that the Governor and Council were to encourage the minister in the performance of his duties, and the people in their attendance upon religious ordinances, by their own presence and example. It was also required that profane swearing and the taking of the name of God in vain were to be prevented and carefully avoided, together with intemperance, fornication, drunkenness, uncleanness, and unlawful gaming. Any person found to commit such offences was to be punished according to the laws of England applicable to those cases, as determined by the judgement of the Governor and Council. It was further directed that the island was to be placed in the strongest possible condition of defence.

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		of God in Vain be refrained and carefully avoided as also all Intemperance Fornication Drunkenness Uncleanness and Unlawfull Gaming and if any Person shall so offend in any of the said Crimes they be Punished according to the Laws of England in such Cases Provided according to the Judgment of you our Governour and Council. And that our said Island may be put into the best Posture of Defence that may be We once more recommend to your care that all the Planters be Listed under either of the aforesaid Commanders or such other Officers as the Governour and Council shall	Particular emphasis was again placed upon the enrolment of all planters under designated commanders or such officers as the Governor and Council considered appropriate, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Unlawful gaming" referred to gambling activities considered improper or illegal under contemporary moral and legal standards, often associated with disorderly conduct. "Ordinances of God" denoted prescribed forms of religious worship and practice, reflecting the established norms of Anglican Christianity. "Listed under" referred to the formal enrolment of individuals into organised military or militia structures, placing them under recognised command. **Speculations** Perhaps the repetition of religious and moral instructions emphasised their central importance to governance, reflecting a belief that social order depended upon religious discipline. It was probably intended that the renewed focus on military organisation demonstrated ongoing concern for the island's vulnerability, requiring both spiritual conformity and practical readiness for defence.
22	11	shall think fitt and that Officers be appointed as aforesaid to exercise and Train them up in Arms at the times aforesaid to fully qualify them for the Defence of the said Island; And also Particular Places as conveniently as may be be Assigned by the Governour; Yet we do not Require the Planters to keep Constant Watch as Souldiers except in time of Danger, during the time we shall Continue our Souldiers in pay; But we do hereby Strictly Require in case of the approach of any Shipping and Especially upon Discovery of any Enemy or Generall Allarm, That they do Repair to their severall 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 Governour and Council for the safety and Defence of our said Island, it being one of the Conditions on which We have granted them their Lands, and other accommodations, and that our chief Place of Defence may be the better Inhabited, We do Order that upon the Request of any of the Inhabitants for ground to build a House or Houses on any Valley, it be not out and allotted to them by the Governour and Council 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 no House be Built between the Forts and the Sea. Upon arrivall of Shipping Imployed in our Service We order that a Free Markett be appointed by our Governour and Council to be kept in the most convenient Place or Places as may best accommodate both Inhabitants and Marriners and that the Inhabitants of our said Island be not allowed to go on Board without leave first	It was directed that officers were to be appointed, as previously stated, to exercise and train the planters in the use of arms at the specified times, so that they might be properly prepared for the defence of the island. Particular places were also to be assigned by the Governor as assembly points. It was clarified that the planters were not required to maintain a constant watch in the manner of soldiers, except in times of danger, while Company soldiers remained in pay. However, it was strictly required that, upon the approach of any shipping, and especially in the event of the discovery of an enemy or a general alarm, all planters were to proceed to their assigned posts and positions. There, they were to follow military discipline in accordance with the orders issued by their officers under the direction of the Governor and Council. This obligation was reaffirmed as a condition upon which their lands and accommodations had been granted. It was further ordered that, in order to ensure that the principal place of defence was properly inhabited, any inhabitant requesting land to build a house in a valley was to be granted and allotted such ground by the Governor and Council. This was subject to the condition that the houses were to be constructed in a regular and orderly manner suitable for defence above each fortification established within a valley. It was also expressly required that no house was to be built between the forts and the sea. It was additionally ordered that, upon the arrival of ships employed in the Company's service, a free market was to be established by the Governor and Council at the most convenient place or places, so as to accommodate both inhabitants and mariners. It was also directed that inhabitants of the island were not to go aboard such ships without first obtaining permission from the Governor. **Interpretations** "Free market" referred to a designated place where goods could be openly bought and sold without restriction, facilitating trade between inhabitants and visiting ships. "General alarm" denoted a formal warning of imminent danger, requiring immediate mobilisation of all able persons for defence. "In pay" referred to soldiers who were maintained at the Company's expense as regular troops, distinguishing them from militia forces such as the planters.

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		obtained and had from our Governour.	**Speculations** Perhaps the regulation of markets and restriction on boarding ships reflected concerns over disorder, smuggling, or unauthorised trade, ensuring that commerce remained under Company control. It was probably intended that the structured settlement pattern, with houses built in defensible positions, contributed to a coordinated defensive system integrated with the island's fortifications.
23	12	We have formerly advised that the Lands we have given and allotted in proportion to each Planter be Conveyed to them and their Heirs and Assigns for ever under the Companys Common Seal, and hereby Confirm this our Order, and Require that it be Punctually and Performed under the Conditions and Proviso We have formerly mentioned, That is to say, He or they Performing all suit and Services, as We there appoint the said Inhabitants and Planters to do and Perform 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 Heirs shall have Lived and Endeavoured the Improvement of it, by Planting for the space of Seven years, And We appoint a Register to be kept of our Lands given, set over and allotted to any Planter at his first arrival, or when any Souldier shall turn Planter as also we do enjoyn the Governour and Council to take particular care a Register be kept of all Sales Alienations and Conveyances of Estates Houses Plantations &c: one to another, after the Term aforesaid is Expired, if any shall so think fitt, and no Sale or Conveyance to be allowed as good, unless Registered, a Duplicate whereof you are to send yearly, that so all Cavills Deceits and Fraudulent Dealings may be prevented, and the Minister for the time being keep a Register of all Marriages Christenings and Burials on our said Island. The Companys Plantation and produce thereof We do appoint to be and the Direction and Disposal of the Governour of our Island for the time being for the Supply and Maintenance of a Household Table for himself and others that are appointed to Diet with him.	It was reaffirmed that the lands previously granted and allotted to each planter were to be formally conveyed to them, and to their heirs and assigns in perpetuity, under the Company's common seal. This order was confirmed and required to be strictly carried out, subject to the conditions and provisions already established. These included the obligation that each inhabitant and planter was to perform such duties and services as might from time to time be required. It was also to be expressly included in each conveyance that no individual was to have the power to sell or transfer their land or plantation unless they, or their heirs, had resided upon it and attempted its improvement through planting for a period of seven years. It was further directed that a register was to be maintained recording all lands granted, set out, and allotted to any planter at the time of their first arrival, or when any soldier became a planter. The Governor and Council were also specifically required to ensure that a register was kept of all sales, transfers, and conveyances of estates, houses, and plantations between individuals after the expiration of the stated term, should such transactions occur. No sale or conveyance was to be considered valid unless it had been formally registered. A duplicate of this register was to be sent annually, in order to prevent disputes, deception, and fraudulent dealings. It was also ordered that the minister for the time being was to maintain a register of all marriages, christenings, and burials on the island. It was further provided that the Company's plantation, together with its produce, was to be placed under the direction and control of the Governor of the island for the time being. This produce was to be used for the supply and maintenance of a household table for the Governor and for others who had been appointed to dine with him. **Interpretations** "Common seal" referred to the official seal of the East India Company, used to authenticate formal legal documents such as land grants, giving them binding authority. "Suit and services" denoted the obligations attached to landholding, which could include labour, military duty, or other responsibilities required by the granting authority. "Alienate" referred to the legal transfer or sale of property rights to another party, here restricted by conditions of residence and improvement. "Duplicate" in this context referred to an official copy of a register, intended to be sent to the Company for oversight and record-keeping. "Household table" referred to the provision of food and maintenance for the Governor's household, including those entitled to dine with him as part of official arrangements. **Speculations** Perhaps the extension of the required period of residence and improvement to seven years was intended to further discourage speculative landholding and ensure sustained agricultural development. It was probably intended that the requirement to send annual duplicates of registers allowed the Company in

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			England to maintain oversight and reduce the risk of local corruption or mismanagement.
24	13	We Recommend unto you the Encouragement of the practice of True Religion, Vertue, Justice and all Honesty and good Commerce one with another, That none may Receive wrong; But all upon just Complaints may be afforded not only a hearing but all Justice administered unto them, That the Good may be Encouraged and Evil Persons for their Crimes Punished, That peace and quietness may be Preserved. London the 20th of January 1677 Rules for Settling Land. By the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies At a Court of Committees held for the said Company at the East India House in Leaden Hall Street in London on the 20th day of March 1679, and in the 32th Year of the Reign of our Lord Charles the 2. by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. Whereas his most Sacred Majesty hath been Graciously Pleased by his Royall Charter under the great Seal of England	It was recommended that encouragement was to be given to the practice of true religion, virtue, justice, honesty, and fair commerce among all persons on the island. It was directed that no individual was to suffer wrong, and that all who brought forward just complaints were to be granted a hearing and to have justice properly administered. It was further stated that good conduct was to be encouraged, and that those committing offences were to be punished, so that peace and order might be maintained. The document was dated at London on 20 January 1678. A new section was then introduced under the title "Rules for Settling Land". It was recorded that these rules had been issued by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies at a Court of Committees held at the East India House in Leadenhall Street, London, on 20 March 1679, in the thirty-second year of the reign of King Charles the Second, who was styled King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and Defender of the Faith. It was then stated that His Majesty had been graciously pleased, by his royal charter under the Great Seal of England, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Good commerce" referred to fair and honest trading practices between inhabitants, emphasising trust and mutual benefit in economic dealings. "Court of Committees" denoted the governing body of the East India Company responsible for administrative and policy decisions. "Great Seal of England" referred to the principal seal used to signify the monarch's formal approval of official documents, giving them full legal authority. **Speculations** Perhaps the emphasis on justice and fair commerce reflected the Company's concern to maintain social stability and economic reliability within a remote trading settlement. It was probably intended that the formal introduction of "Rules for Settling Land" signalled a move towards more structured and regulated patterns of land distribution and ownership on the island.
25	14	England be[a]r[i]ng d[a]t[e] the 16th day of December in the 25th year of Majestys Reign To grant unto us the Island of S[t] Helena with all the R[i]ght[s] Profits Terr[i]tor[i]es and Appurtenances and all Soil Lands Fields Woods Mountains Rivers &c as also to Imp[o]wer us to make Ordain and Establish and under our Common Seal to Publish any Laws Ordinances and Constitutions for the good Government and other use of the said Island and the same from time to time to Revoke and Abrogate as by the said Charter doth and may more at large Appear. And Whereas by Vertue of sever[a]ll former Orders and Directions from us sundry Persons have been invited and Possessed of Diverse Lands and Plantations in the said Island on Condition that such Persons should Perform Suit and Services as We should appoint the Inhabitants and Planters to do from time to time	It was stated that, by a royal charter bearing date 16 December in the twenty-fifth year of His Majesty's reign, the island of St Helena had been granted to the Company together with all rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances, including all soil, lands, fields, woods, mountains, and rivers. Authority had also been granted to make, ordain, and establish laws, ordinances, and constitutions for the good government and use of the island, and to publish these under the Company's common seal. Provision had likewise been made for such laws to be revoked or repealed from time to time, as more fully appeared in the said charter. It was further explained that, by virtue of several earlier orders and directions, a number of persons had been invited to settle and had been placed in possession of various lands and plantations on the island. These grants had been made on the condition that such persons were to perform duties and services as might from time to time be required of the inhabitants and planters. Reference was made to earlier orders dated 17 December 1673 and 13 March 1678, in which these provisions had been set out together with additional conditions. It was then noted that certain doubts and questions had arisen concerning the holding, enjoyment, disposal, and transfer of such lands and plantations, as well as the

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		together with other Provisions as by our Orders of the 17th of December 1673 and the 13th of March 1677 And Whereas some doubts and Questions have arisen touching the holding Enjoying Disposing or alienating such Lands and Plantations and in what manner and nature the same shall Descend in case of Death or otherwise as also what that Suit and Service is which we Require of the Persons for the same We have thought fitt to the intent that every Person may both know the Duty Required of them and the Right belonging to him on Serious Considerations of all particulars to make Ordain and Constitute and under our Common Seal to Publish and Declare the Rules and Laws herein after Expressed and	manner in which they were to descend in cases of death or other circumstances. Uncertainty had also arisen regarding the nature of the duties and services required from those holding such lands. In order that every person might understand both the obligations required of them and the rights to which they were entitled, it had been determined, after careful consideration of all relevant matters, to establish, ordain, and declare, under the Company's common seal, the rules and laws set out thereafter, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Appurtenances" referred to all rights and property belonging to or associated with the main grant of land, including subsidiary features such as access, resources, and usage rights. "Abrogate" denoted the formal repeal or cancellation of a law or ordinance by authoritative act. "Suit and service" referred to the obligations attached to landholding, which could include labour, military duty, or other responsibilities required by the granting authority. "Descend" in this context referred to the legal transfer of property upon death, typically through inheritance. **Speculations** Perhaps the clarification of rights and obligations was prompted by practical disputes among settlers, reflecting the challenges of establishing stable land tenure in a developing colony. It was probably intended that the formal restatement of authority under the royal charter reinforced the legal foundation of the Company's control over the island and its governance.
26	15	[...] that they may be duly Observed in all particulars That all and every Person or Persons that now Possess and Enjoy any Lands in the said Island, or that shall before the Publication of these Orders and Laws have any Lands allotted and set out to him or them to plant, Possess and Enjoy shall within Six months after Publication be Registered hereof and cause all such Lands and Plantations to be Registered in a Book to be kept for that purpose by the Governour or Deputy Governour of the said Island, Mentioning the quantity of Acres, the Severall boundaries of the same, and the name or names of the Person or Persons so Possessing and Enjoying the same, and our Governour or Deputy Governour is hereby Required to cause the same to be duly Entred and finding it Right to Register the same accordingly, and give out Certificates to the owners of the Registering thereof without any Fee or Reward for the same And that all Lands after the Publication hereof that shall be allotted and granted to any free Planter from the Company, or any Lands already granted that shall be Sold Alienated or Disposed of, or on the Death of any Planter by Request or otherwise Descend or come to any other Person, all and every such grant Sale alienation Bequest Descent or any other alteration of Property shall within one Month after the same shall happen be Registered in the said Register, and on the Registering of every such Sale	It was directed that the rules and laws were to be duly observed in all respects. It was ordered that every person who then possessed or enjoyed any lands on the island, or who had been allotted land prior to the publication of these orders, was required, within six months of their publication, to cause those lands and plantations to be formally registered. This registration was to be entered in a book maintained for that purpose by the Governor or Deputy Governor. The entry was to include the number of acres, the boundaries of the land, and the name or names of those in possession. The Governor or Deputy Governor was required to ensure that such entries were properly made, and, upon confirming their correctness, to provide certificates of registration to the owners without any fee or reward. It was further ordered that, after the publication of these rules, all lands newly granted to any free planter by the Company, as well as any lands already granted that were sold, transferred, or otherwise disposed of, or that passed to another person upon the death of a planter, whether by request or otherwise, were to be registered within one month of such change. This applied to all grants, sales, transfers, bequests, inheritances, or any other alteration of ownership. Upon the registration of each such transaction, a single fee of one was to be paid to the Governor for the use of the Company, as chief lords of the land, and no more. A further single fee, and no more, was to be paid to the register for recording the transaction and issuing the certificate of registration. It was then stated that any person or persons to whom lands had been [...], where the surviving text ended in an incomplete form. **Interpretations** "Registered" referred to the formal recording of land ownership and transactions in an official record, providing legal recognition and protection of property rights. "Free planter" denoted a settler who held land in their own right, rather than as a servant or labourer, and who

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		Alienation Bequest or Descent one feeing of One, and no more shall be had to the Governour for the use of the Company as chief Lords of the said Lands, and no more to the Register for the Registering and giving out Certificates of the Registering the same That any Person or Persons to whom Lands hath been [...]	was subject to the Company's conditions of tenure. "Bequest" referred to the transfer of property by will upon death, forming part of the legal process of inheritance. "Chief lords of the said lands" indicated the Company's position as ultimate owner of the land, with planters holding their property under its authority. **Speculations** Perhaps the strict requirement for timely registration of all land transactions was intended to prevent disputes and ensure clarity of ownership in a developing colonial settlement. It was probably intended that limiting the fees associated with registration reduced opportunities for abuse or excessive charges by officials, thereby encouraging compliance with the system.
27	16	allotted if such Person or Persons have been in the Actuall Possession and occupation hereof five years to be accounted from their Actuall Entrance on the Improving the same as a plantation, such Person or Persons shall hold the same Free to them and their Heirs, and may Sell, Alienate, and Dispose of the same at their Pleasure. That in Case of the Decease of any Planter, duly Possessed of any Lands, whereon he hath Inhabited, and made Improvement by Plantation (if such Planter be a Single Man) the said Land so Planted shall Descend to his next Heir, or to such Person or Persons as he shall by his Last Will and Testament Bequeath the same, But if he be a Married man, that then one half shall go to his Wife during her Naturall Life, and the other half together with the Reversion of the former half after his Wifes Decease to be Disposed according to his Last Will and Testament shall be appointed, or in Case there should be no such appointment, then to Descend to the Heir at Law. As to moveables and Personall Estates that any Planter shall die Possessed of, if the same be not Disposed of by Will, the same shall be Divided, one third to the Wife and the other two thirds among the Children on the Island in Equall shares, and if there be no Children Inhabiting on the Island then one half to the Wife, and the other half to the Brothers and Sisters and their Children Inhabiting on the Island, But if there be no such, then all to the Wife; But in case there be neither Wife nor Child, then the whole to go to the next of Kindred on the said Island; Then the same to be Inventoryed and preserved for such Person or Persons in England that shall be admitted to the	It was ordered that any person to whom land had been allotted, and who had remained in actual possession and occupation of it for a period of five years, calculated from the time of first entering upon and improving it as a plantation, was thereafter to hold that land freely for themselves and their heirs. Such persons were then to have full authority to sell, transfer, or otherwise dispose of the land at their own discretion. It was further directed that, in the event of the death of a planter who had been duly in possession of land upon which residence had been established and improvement made through planting, specific rules of inheritance were to apply. Where the deceased planter had been unmarried, the land was to pass either to the nearest heir or to such person or persons as had been named in the planter's last will and testament. Where the deceased had been married, one half of the land was to pass to the wife for the duration of her natural life, while the other half, together with the reversion of the wife's portion after her death, was to be disposed of according to the provisions of the planter's will. If no such provision had been made, the land was then to descend to the lawful heir. It was also provided that, in relation to movable goods and personal estate belonging to a deceased planter, where no will had been made, the estate was to be divided in set proportions. One third was to be assigned to the wife, and the remaining two thirds were to be divided equally among the children residing on the island. If no such children were present, one half was to be given to the wife and the other half to the brothers and sisters, and their children, residing on the island. If no such relatives were present, the whole was to pass to the wife. In cases where there was neither wife nor child, the entire estate was to pass to the nearest kindred on the island. Where no such persons were present, the estate was to be inventoried and preserved for those in England who might be recognised as entitled to it, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Actual possession and occupation" referred to the physical use and control of land, combined with residence and improvement, establishing a recognised claim to ownership. "Reversion" denoted the return of property to another party after the end of a temporary interest, such as the life interest granted to a widow. "Movables and personal estate" referred to goods and property not consisting of land, including household items, livestock, and other transferable assets. "Inventoryed" referred to the formal listing and valuation of property, typically undertaken after death to record and preserve the estate for distribution. **Speculations** Perhaps the granting of full ownership rights after five years of occupation and improvement was intended to

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			reward sustained settlement and encourage agricultural development. It was probably intended that the detailed rules of inheritance reduced uncertainty and disputes, particularly in a remote settlement where access to English legal institutions was limited.
28	17	That in case it should so fall out, that on the Death of any Planter, the Lands by him held, Possessed and enjoyed should not be Bequeathed or by Descent fall to any Person or Persons not Residing on the said Island, if such Person or Persons shall not within Two years next after the Decease of such Planter come to the Island and make his or their Residence upon the Place or otherwise take Effectuall care, that there do Inhabit and be maintained on every Twenty Acres Two Persons and Two Oxen at the least That then in such Case it shall be Lawfull for the Governour and Council of the said Island, and they are hereby Required to Seize the same into their hands for the use of the Company, and to Redispose of the same, the former allotment or grant, or any other matter or thing to the Contrary in any wise Notwithstanding, Given under our Common Seal the day and year first Written	It was provided that, in the event that a planter died and the lands held, possessed, and enjoyed by that individual were neither bequeathed nor passed by descent to any person residing on the island, certain conditions were to apply. Where such land came to a person or persons not residing on the island, it was required that they were to come to the island within two years of the planter's death and establish residence there. Alternatively, they were to ensure that effective arrangements were made for the land to be inhabited and maintained, with at least two persons and two oxen for every twenty acres. It was further ordered that, if these conditions were not fulfilled, it was to be lawful for the Governor and Council to take possession of the land for the use of the Company. They were required to seize the land and to dispose of it again as they saw fit, regardless of any prior grant, allotment, or other claim to the contrary. It was concluded that these provisions were given under the Company's common seal on the day and year first written. **Interpretations** "Effectual care" referred to the taking of practical and sufficient measures to ensure that land was properly occupied and maintained in accordance with the required conditions. "Seize" in this context denoted the lawful repossession of land by the governing authority due to failure to comply with the terms of tenure. "Redispose" referred to the reallocation or reassignment of land by the Company after it had been taken back into its control. **Speculations** Perhaps the requirement for a minimum number of inhabitants and working animals per acreage was intended to ensure that land remained productive and contributed to the island's agricultural output. It was probably intended that the strict enforcement of residence or effective occupation discouraged absentee ownership and ensured that all granted land remained actively used and defensible.
29	18	Our Governour and Council at St Helena London 14th April 1682 We take notice of your sending home the three Mutinous Persons mentioned and wish you had rather caused them to be tryed and Punished according to the nature of their offence and the Law of England upon the Island than so to dismiss them hither which We doubt will rather Encourage than Dismay Men of that Temper when the difficulty will be too great either to have them tryed or Punished here, the offence being committed at so Remote a Distance and the Witnesses and Proofs not to be had. So that We had thought for that Reason and byamples sake to have Returned them back by this Ship for their Tryal, but We found it an inconvenient attempt by Reason she cannot be Depended on to stay for their sending	Instructions were issued to the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated at London on 14 April 1682, acknowledging that three mutinous persons had been sent back to England. It was stated that it would have been preferable for those individuals to have been tried and punished on the island itself, in accordance with the nature of their offence and the laws of England, rather than being sent away. Concern was expressed that sending such offenders to England might encourage rather than deter others of a similar disposition, particularly because the distance involved made it difficult to conduct trials or administer punishment, as witnesses and evidence were not readily available. It was noted that consideration had been given to returning the individuals to the island for trial, as an example to others, but this had been found impracticable because the ship available could not be relied upon to remain long enough to allow their return. It was therefore directed that, in future, all criminal cases were to be tried on the island in accordance with the established authority, and that offenders were not to be sent to England. It was explained that sending them away allowed opportunities for escape and avoidance of justice proportionate to their offences. It was further

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		thither. But for the future in all Criminall Cases, We would have you try Criminals as aforesaid, and not send them home, which gives them means to Escape and evade that Justice which their offences may deserve; We have Resolved to take into Consideration what farther Rules and Powers, as may better Enable you to Deal with Delinquents in Cases of this Nature, and send them by the first Opportunity. Your Loving Friends [...]	stated that additional rules and powers would be considered, with the intention of strengthening the Governor and Council's ability to deal with such offenders, and that these would be sent at the earliest opportunity. The letter concluded with a closing expression of regard, signed "Your Loving Friends", followed by [...], where the surviving text was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Mutinous persons" referred to individuals who had resisted or rebelled against established authority, particularly in a military or disciplined setting. "Delinquents" denoted persons who had committed offences or breaches of law, especially within a formal or administrative framework. "Byamples" was an archaic form of "by example", referring to the use of punishment as a deterrent to others. **Speculations** Perhaps the criticism of sending offenders to England reflected practical difficulties in administering justice across long distances, reinforcing the need for local judicial authority. It was probably intended that the emphasis on conducting trials on the island strengthened discipline and deterrence, particularly in a small and controlled colonial environment where order was essential.
30	19	By the Governour & Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies, At a Court of Committees holden for the said Company the 10th day of March in the 34th Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord Charles the 2 of the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c Anno 1681. Whereas our said Soveraign Lord the King most Excellent Majesty hath now us by his Letters Patents bearing date the 16th day of December in the 35th Year of his Reign Hath granted unto the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies And their Successors All that the Island of St Helena and thereof made and Constituted them the said Governour and Company the True and Absolute Lords and Proprietors with Power and Authority at any General Court or Courts of Committees holden for the said Company to make and under their Common Seal Publish Laws Orders and Constitutions for the good Government of the said Island and to impose Penalties to enforce the observation thereof And by themselves or by their Governour or Governours Officers and Ministers by them to be appointed to Correct Punish Govern and Rule the Inhabitants of the said Island according to the Laws and Ordinances and to do all things which to the Compleat Establishing of Justice do belong by vertue Letters Patents of Jurisdiction and	It was recorded that, at a Court of Committees held for the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies on 10 March 1682, in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, styled King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland and Defender of the Faith, certain matters were declared. It was stated that the King, by his letters patent bearing date 16 December in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, had granted to the Governor and Company and their successors the island of St Helena. By this grant, the Company had been constituted the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the island. Authority had been given to them, at any General Court or Court of Committees, to make and publish under their common seal such laws, orders, and constitutions as were necessary for the good government of the island. They were also empowered to impose penalties to enforce obedience to those laws. It was further declared that the Company, either directly or through Governors, officers, and ministers appointed by them, was authorised to correct, punish, govern, and rule the inhabitants of the island in accordance with those laws and ordinances. Full authority was also granted to carry out all actions necessary for the complete establishment of justice, by virtue of the letters patent of jurisdiction, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Letters patent" referred to formal open documents issued by the monarch, granting rights, titles, or authority, and carrying full legal force under the Crown. "True and absolute lords and proprietors" denoted that the Company held complete ownership and governing authority over the island, subject to the overarching sovereignty of the Crown. "General Court" and "Court of Committees" referred to the governing bodies of the East India Company responsible for making decisions, issuing regulations, and overseeing administration. "Letters patent of jurisdiction" indicated a specific grant of legal authority to administer justice, including the establishment of courts and enforcement of laws. **Speculations** Perhaps the formal restatement of the Company's

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			proprietary rights was intended to reinforce its authority in response to administrative or legal uncertainties on the island. It was probably intended that the emphasis on judicial authority highlighted the importance of maintaining order and legal structure within a distant and strategically significant possession.
31	20	and manner of Proceedings therein, and award Process, hold Plea Judge and Determine all Causes, and to Execute such Judgments as in and by the said Letters Patents relation being thereunto had may more at large appear. Now Know all men that in Pursuance of the said Letters Patents, and of the Power and Authority thereby granted unto us, and for the better government of the said Island, and the Inhabitants thereof, and for the due and impartial Administration of Justice to all his said Majestys Subjects that do or shall reside or Inhabit therein, and to the End they may all live together in the Fear of God, in Loyalty to our said Soveraign Lord the King, and in Love and good Affection one towards another. We the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies at our Court of Committees holden as aforesaid have made and Ordained, and do by these Presents make, Ordain, Constitute and appoint our Governour and Council of and for the said Island for the time being, or the Major part of them, under us to have and Exercise the Supreme Command, Power and Authority in the said Fort or Island of St Helena in all Cases and matters whatsoever, unto whom the people and Persons there residing or Inhabiting of What Quality or Condition soever are to give and yield due Obedience, and for the Prevention of all confusion, Disorder, and Irregularity, that there may be some known Rules for Govern and People to walk by, We have Ordained, and do by these Presents make, Ordain, Constitute and appoint the several Laws, Rules, Orders, Directions and	It was stated that, by virtue of the letters patent, authority had been granted to conduct legal proceedings, to issue process, to hear pleas, and to judge and determine all causes, and to execute judgments as more fully set out in those instruments. It was then declared that, in accordance with the authority granted by the said letters patent, and for the better government of the island and its inhabitants, and for the fair and impartial administration of justice to all subjects of the King residing there, further provisions were to be established. It was expressed that these measures were intended so that all persons might live in the fear of God, in loyalty to the King, and in mutual goodwill and harmony with one another. It was further ordained, at the Court of Committees previously mentioned, that the Governor and Council of the island for the time being, or the majority of them, were to hold and exercise the supreme command, power, and authority over the fort and island of St Helena in all matters. All persons residing on the island, regardless of rank or condition, were required to give due obedience to this authority. It was also stated that, in order to prevent confusion, disorder, and irregular conduct, and to provide clear rules by which both governors and inhabitants were to act, a series of laws, rules, orders, and directions was to be established. The sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Award process" referred to the issuing of formal legal writs or orders initiating or advancing judicial proceedings within a court. "Hold plea" denoted the formal hearing of legal arguments or cases before a court. "Determine all causes" referred to the authority to decide and resolve all types of legal disputes. "Supreme command" indicated the highest level of authority in both civil and military matters within the island's governance structure. **Speculations** Perhaps the emphasis on impartial justice and orderly conduct reflected concerns about maintaining stability in a remote settlement with a diverse population. It was probably intended that the formal establishment of comprehensive rules created a clear framework for governance, reducing ambiguity and reinforcing the authority of the Governor and Council.
32	21	and Forms of Proceedings hereafter mentioned and Expressed to be carefully and Punctually observed in the said Island of St Helena, and the Territory and Places thereunto belonging That is to Say First touching Religion and the Worship of God. 1. We do Direct Order and appoint that the Lords day be Religiously Observed, by abstinence from all Bodily and Secular Employments, as also from all Gaming and other unlawfull Pastimes and that our Governour and Council take care not only to appoint one or more Publick Place or Places for the Worship of God, whither all	It was directed that the laws, rules, orders, directions, and forms of proceedings thereafter set out were to be carefully and strictly observed on the island of St Helena and in all territories and places belonging to it. It was first established, concerning religion and the worship of God, that the Lord's Day was to be strictly observed. All persons were required to abstain from bodily and secular work, as well as from gaming and other unlawful pastimes. It was further ordered that the Governor and Council were to ensure that one or more public places were appointed for divine worship, to which all inhabitants were to resort in order to participate in religious duties. These duties were specified to include prayer, the reading of scripture, the hearing of sermons, and, at appropriate times, the

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		Persons may Resort to attend and join in the Publick Exercise of Religious Dutys, as prayer reading the word, hearing of Sermons and on occasion and fitt times the Administration of both the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lords Supper, but also by their Presence to Encourage the Minister or Ministers in the Discharge of his or their Dutys, and the People in their attendance on the Ordinances, and that all be done with due Reverence and with Decen and Order, and if that there shall happen to be no Ministers upon the said Island, that they shall in Solemn manner assemble together on the Lords day, and in such case the Governour and Council shall cause some part or Portion in the holy Scripture, and some Godly Sermons to be read with Prayer, and such other Dutys to be Performed as they in their Christian Prudence shall think fitt.	administration of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. It was also directed that the Governor and Council were to support and encourage the minister or ministers in the performance of their duties through their own presence, and to encourage the people in their attendance upon religious observances. All such activities were to be conducted with proper reverence, decency, and order. Provision was further made for circumstances in which no minister was present on the island. In such cases, it was required that the inhabitants were to assemble in a solemn manner on the Lord's Day, and that the Governor and Council were to arrange for portions of the Holy Scripture and suitable sermons to be read, accompanied by prayer and such other religious duties as they judged appropriate in accordance with Christian prudence. **Interpretations** "Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper" referred to the central rites of Christian practice in the Anglican tradition, marking initiation into the Church and the commemoration of Christ's last supper. "Ordinances" in this context referred to prescribed religious practices and ceremonies observed within the Church. "Christian prudence" denoted the exercise of sound judgement guided by religious principles, particularly in circumstances where formal clerical leadership was absent. **Speculations** Perhaps the detailed provision for religious observance, including arrangements in the absence of a minister, reflected the importance placed on maintaining moral and spiritual discipline in an isolated settlement. It was probably intended that the active involvement of the Governor and Council in religious life reinforced both their authority and the integration of religious practice into the governance of the island.
33	22	2. That in the Publick the Minister, or such as Discharge the Duty of Prayer in absence of a Minister to be mindfull to pray for our Soveraign Lord the King Majesty, the peace, happiness and Prosperity of his Kingdoms, As also for the good and welfare of the English East India Company, And also that in the Publick Assembly every Lords day at such times as may be most Convenient, the Creed commonly called the Apostles Creed, or sometimes in place the Creed commonly called Athanasius's Creed, As also the Ten Commandments of the Morall Law out of the 20th Chapter of Exodus together with the Summary thereof, as it is Contained in the XXII Chapter of St Matthew Gospel 37. 38. 39 & 40 Verses be read unto the People. 3. That when there is a Minister Resident on the Island, the Minister once in every week, either some time on the Lords day, or on some other day shall Catechize the Youth, and younger People in Publick at the Publick place of Worship, and then to open and Expound the Doctrine of the True Christian Religion, That so the people may be well grounded in the principall	It was further directed, in relation to public worship, that the minister, or any person performing the duty of prayer in the absence of a minister, was to include prayers for the Sovereign Lord the King, for the peace, happiness, and prosperity of his kingdoms, and for the welfare of the English East India Company. It was also ordered that, in public assemblies held every Lord's Day at convenient times, the creed known as the Apostles' Creed, or at times the Athanasian Creed, was to be read, together with the Ten Commandments from the twentieth chapter of Exodus and the summary of the law as set out in the twenty-second chapter of the Gospel of Saint Matthew, verses 37, 38, 39, and 40. It was further required that, where a minister was resident on the island, the minister was to conduct instruction at least once each week, either on the Lord's Day or on another suitable day. This instruction was to consist of the catechising of the youth and younger people in a public setting at the place of worship, together with the explanation and exposition of the doctrines of the Christian religion. The purpose of this was that the people might be firmly grounded in the principal articles of faith, and be capable of explaining and defending their beliefs against opposition. The time appointed for this instruction was to be determined by the Governor and Council, who were also required to attend unless prevented by necessary business. It was then directed, under a new section concerning the administration of justice and common right, that in all cases justice was to be administered impartially, without favour or partiality. **Interpretations** "Catechize" referred to the formal instruction of individuals, especially the young, in the principles of the

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		and Doctrine of Faith, and be able to give a Reason of their hope and on good ground to maintain their Religion against all opposers and gainsayers, The time for the said Catechizing shall be appointed by our Governour and Council who are to be present thereat if not hindred by necessary affairs. Secondly touching the Administration of Justice and Common Right. We do Direct and appoint that in all Cases Justice be Administred impartially without favour or affection.	Christian faith through a structured question-and-answer method. "Apostles' Creed" and "Athanasian Creed" were established statements of Christian belief used in Anglican worship to affirm doctrinal orthodoxy. "Summary of the law" referred to the teaching drawn from the Gospel of Saint Matthew, expressing the core moral commandments as love of God and neighbour. "Common right" denoted the principle that all persons were entitled to fair and equal treatment under the law. **Speculations** Perhaps the detailed regulation of religious teaching reflected a concern that settlers in a remote location might otherwise lack proper instruction and discipline in matters of faith. It was probably intended that the insistence on impartial justice reinforced confidence in the governing authority, helping to maintain order and reduce grievances within the community.
34	23	2. That no Person be Divested or Dispossessed of Houses Goods or Lands or other Rights whatsoever, or suffer any Corporal Punishment for any Cause or Crime before a Due Tryall be had, and Verdict given against such Persons by a Jury of Twelve Men as hereafter is Directed, Unless in such Cases as are herein particularly Expressed, or shall be hereafter declared by some Law to be made by the said Company, or by the Court of Committees of the said Company. 3. That no Person be Imprisoned upon any Private Account of Debt or Injury for or by Reason of any Felony Offence Misdemeanor or Publick Crime whatsoever without the cause or matter of such Imprisonment be Expressed in the Warrant of his Committment, and in case the same be not Prosecuted within the Two first Court days after such Committment is Certifyed to the Court, which the Marshall or Prison keeper is and shall be bound to do Immediately upon such Committment, then such Persons may sue out his Discharge from the said Committment, And the Judge shall Grant the same without Bail. Thirdly And for the better settling and Establishing a Way and Method for due Proceedings, We Direct and appoint. 1. That there be appointed by the Governour with Consent of the Council from time to time some one or more able honest and understanding Person or Persons to be called or known by the name of the Sheriff or Sheriffs of the said Island, which said Sheriffs	It was directed that no person was to be deprived of houses, goods, lands, or any other rights, nor subjected to corporal punishment for any cause or offence, until a proper trial had been conducted and a verdict delivered against that person by a jury of twelve men, as was thereafter prescribed. Exceptions were permitted only in cases specifically stated within these provisions or in any future laws to be made by the Company or by its Court of Committees. It was further ordered that no person was to be imprisoned on account of any private matter of debt or injury, nor for any felony, offence, misdemeanour, or public crime, unless the cause of such imprisonment was clearly stated in the warrant of commitment. It was also required that, if the matter was not prosecuted within the first two court days after the imprisonment had been reported to the court, which the marshal or prison keeper was obliged to do immediately upon commitment, then the imprisoned person was entitled to seek discharge. In such a case, the judge was required to grant release without bail. It was then directed, for the better establishment of proper procedures, that a structured method of legal administration was to be set in place. It was ordered that the Governor, with the consent of the Council, was to appoint from time to time one or more capable, honest, and knowledgeable persons to serve as sheriffs of the island, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Divested or dispossessed" referred to the removal of legal ownership or possession of property, emphasising protection of property rights. "Corporal punishment" denoted physical penalties imposed on the body, such as whipping or other forms of bodily discipline. "Warrant of commitment" referred to the formal legal document authorising imprisonment, which was required to specify the reason for detention. "Court days" denoted the official days on which a court was in session and able to hear cases and conduct proceedings. "Sheriff" referred to a local official responsible for executing court orders, maintaining order, and overseeing aspects of law enforcement within the jurisdiction. **Speculations** Perhaps the requirement for trial by a jury of twelve reflected an effort to replicate established English legal protections within the colonial setting. It was probably intended that the strict rules governing imprisonment prevented arbitrary detention and ensured accountability among officials responsible for enforcing the law.

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35	24	Sherif or Sheriffs shall under our Governour & Council inspect all matters and affairs within the said Island, both for Preserving the Companys Right, and for Maintaining the Peace, Amity and good Order amongst the Inhabitants, Punishment of Crimes, and Wickedness as hereafter is Expressed, and for Execution of all Orders Writts and Warrants from the Governour and Council, or from the Court of Judicature to be Erected as is hereafter Expressed, and for Returning of Jurys Apprehension of Criminals, and such like Affairs, and may also be appointed when and as often as the Governour shall think fitt to Arm Muster and Train such Forces within the said Island as shall be thought Convenient and Necessary to be always in readiness for the Defence of the Place and Suppressing any Tumults and Insurrections, and to Act in all matters according to all Orders Instructions and Directions as he and they shall from time to time receive from the said Gover: and all Officers both Civil and Military, and all other Persons are hereby Required to be aiding and assisting unto the said Sherif or Sheriffs in the due Execution of his and their Offices and the said Sherif or Sheriffs shall take an Oath before the said Governour in these words, You shall be good and True to our Soveraigne Lord the King of England, and his Heirs and Successors, You shall to your utmost Preserve and maintain the Rights of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies in and to the Island of St Helena, that to your Power shall not suffer any wrong or Detriment to be	It was directed that the sheriff or sheriffs, acting under the authority of the Governor and Council, were to oversee and inspect all matters and affairs within the island. Their responsibilities were to include the preservation of the Company's rights, the maintenance of peace, harmony, and good order among the inhabitants, and the punishment of crimes and misconduct as provided. They were also to carry out all orders, writs, and warrants issued by the Governor and Council or by the court of judicature to be established, and to undertake duties such as the summoning of juries and the apprehension of offenders. It was further provided that the sheriff or sheriffs might, whenever the Governor considered it appropriate, be appointed to arm, muster, and train such forces on the island as were deemed necessary. These forces were to be maintained in readiness for the defence of the island and for the suppression of tumults and insurrections. In all such matters, the sheriff or sheriffs were to act in accordance with the orders and instructions given by the Governor. It was also required that all civil and military officers, as well as all other persons, were to assist the sheriff or sheriffs in the proper execution of their duties. It was further directed that the sheriff or sheriffs were to take an oath before the Governor. In this oath, it was declared that they were to remain faithful and loyal to the King of England and his heirs and successors, and that they were to preserve and uphold, to the utmost of their ability, the rights of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies in relation to the island of St Helena. It was also stated that they were not to permit any wrong or harm to be done to those rights, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Writs and warrants" referred to formal legal documents issued by authority, requiring the execution of specific actions such as arrest, enforcement, or appearance before a court. "Return of juries" referred to the summoning and presentation of jurors for service in court proceedings. "Muster and train" denoted the assembling, organising, and drilling of armed forces in preparation for defence or military action. "Tumults and insurrections" referred to disturbances, riots, or organised uprisings against established authority. **Speculations** Perhaps the wide range of duties assigned to the sheriff reflected the limited number of officials on the island, requiring a single office to combine judicial, administrative, and military responsibilities. It was probably intended that the requirement for all persons to assist the sheriff reinforced the authority of the office and ensured effective enforcement of law and order in a small and isolated community.
36	25	be done for them or their Estates, But shall give Advice or Notice thereof to the Governour and Council, You shall carefully and Impartially discharge the Office of Sherif of the said Island according to the Laws Established, and shall Cause all Writts, Orders, Summons and Sentences of the Court of Judicature or of the Governour to be Speedily and Duly Executed, and in all things you shall behave your self duly and Truely in your Office as Sherif according to good Conscience, and shall from time to time give	It was directed that the sheriff was not to permit any injury or harm to be done to the Company's rights or estates, but was instead to report such matters to the Governor and Council. It was required that the sheriff was to discharge the office carefully and impartially in accordance with the established laws, and to ensure that all writs, orders, summons, and sentences issued by the Court of Judicature or by the Governor were executed promptly and properly. It was further required that the sheriff was to act faithfully and conscientiously in all duties, and to give regular notice of all monies collected, whether from fines or other sources, and to pay these to the Treasurer or Receiver appointed by the Governor

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		due Notice of all Moneys, by you Collected, for Fines or otherwise, and thereof make payment to the Treasurer or Receiver, that is or shall be appointed by the Governour and Council when you shall be thereunto Required. So help you God. 2. That at the Chief Place of the Island where the Governour and Council Resides, there be erected one Court of Judicature for the hearing, deciding and Determining of all Causes and Differences between party and party, and of Criminall matters, and that our Governour for the time being be the Sole Judge thereof, that the said Court shall Sit once every three Months, or oftener if occasion shall be and that the said Judge take care that all proceedings and Sentences be duly Recorded, or Registred in Books to be kept for that purpose and that all Officers Requisite for the said Court be appointed from time to time by the Governour, and such Moderate and Reasonable Fees as may be Necessary for the Service and not Burthensome to the People, a Table whereof shall be Publickly sett up in the Place appointed for the Court to Sit, and that any Officer that shall take any greater	and Council when required. This obligation was to be affirmed by oath. It was further ordered that, at the principal place of the island where the Governor and Council resided, a Court of Judicature was to be established for the hearing and determination of all disputes between parties, as well as criminal matters. The Governor for the time being was to act as the sole judge of this court. It was directed that the court was to sit once every three months, or more frequently if necessary. The judge was required to ensure that all proceedings and judgments were properly recorded in books maintained for that purpose. It was also provided that all necessary officers for the operation of the court were to be appointed by the Governor from time to time. Reasonable and moderate fees were to be established for the services of the court, and a table of such fees was to be publicly displayed at the place where the court sat, so that they would not impose an undue burden upon the people. It was further directed that any officer who demanded or received fees beyond those established was to be subject to sanction, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Court of Judicature" referred to the formal judicial body established to hear both civil and criminal cases, exercising legal authority on behalf of the Company. "Summons" denoted a legal order requiring a person to appear before a court. "Treasurer or Receiver" referred to the official responsible for collecting and managing public funds, including fines imposed by the court. "Table of fees" referred to a publicly displayed schedule listing the charges permitted for legal services, intended to ensure transparency and prevent abuse. **Speculations** Perhaps the requirement for the Governor to act as sole judge reflected the limited administrative resources on the island, necessitating the concentration of judicial authority in one office. It was probably intended that the regulation and public display of fees prevented corruption and ensured that access to justice remained affordable for inhabitants.
37	26	[...] or Reward for any thing in the Execution of his Place, then in that said Table is sett, or shall Refuse or Delay the doing of his Duty being thereto Required shall leave his Place and making Satisfaction of Double Damages to the party grieved. That all Tryalls in the said Court be by Jurys of Twelve [...] the Jurys to be Returned by the Sheriff or Sheriffs of the Island, and the like to be Observed in criminall Cases, each Jury Man to take an Oath in these words (You shall swear well and Truly to Try the matter in Question between A & B according to Evidence your Conscience and the Laws Established, So help you God.) Fourthly and to the Intent [...] Morality and Vertue may be Countenanced, Vice suppressed and Punished, And that it may be known what is Required and what Punishments Inflicted. We do Ordain and appoint that all and every Person or Persons that shall Publickly Prophane the Lords day by Travelling, working, Gaming or other unlawfull Pastimes, shall	It was directed that any officer who took a fee or reward beyond that established in the published table, or who refused or delayed the execution of duties when required, was to forfeit the office and make satisfaction by paying double damages to the injured party. It was further ordered that all trials in the Court of Judicature were to be conducted by juries of twelve [...], with such juries to be returned by the sheriff or sheriffs of the island. The same procedure was to be followed in criminal cases. Each juror was required to take an oath affirming that the matter in question would be tried faithfully and truthfully according to the evidence, conscience, and the established laws. It was then declared, for the encouragement of morality and virtue, and for the suppression and punishment of vice, that clear standards of conduct and penalties were to be set out. It was ordained that any person who publicly profaned the Lord's Day by travelling, working, gaming, or engaging in other unlawful pastimes was, for a first offence, to be reprimanded and admonished. For any subsequent offence, a fine was to be imposed at the discretion of the Governor, not exceeding the value of five shillings for each offence. It was further directed that all swearing and the taking of the name of God in vain were to be carefully avoided. If any person, after having once been publicly admonished for such behaviour, committed the offence again, that person was to be fined at the discretion of

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		for the first Offence be only Reproved and Admonished, But for any such Offence afterwards, shall be fined at the Discretion of the Governour, and not Exceeding the Value of five Shillings for one Offence. That all Swearing and taking the name of God in vain be carefully avoided, and if any Person after that he hath been once Publickly Admonished for that fault, shall offend by Swearing he shall be fined at the Discretion of the Governour and Council not Exceeding the Value of one Shilling for one Offence.	the Governor and Council, not exceeding the value of one shilling for each offence. **Interpretations** "Double damages" referred to a penalty requiring the offender to compensate the injured party at twice the amount of the loss suffered, serving both as restitution and punishment. "Returned by the sheriff" referred to the formal selection and summoning of jurors by the sheriff for service in court. "Admonished" denoted a formal warning or reprimand issued as a corrective measure before more severe punishment was applied. **Speculations** Perhaps the requirement for juries of twelve reflected a deliberate effort to replicate English legal traditions and provide a measure of communal participation in justice. It was probably intended that the graduated penalties for moral offences reinforced discipline while allowing for initial correction before harsher punishment was imposed.
38	27	3. That all Intemperance and Dran[k]ing absteined from as being Destructive both to the Body and Soule of Man, and if any shall Drink to Drun[k]enness for the first Offence he shall be admonished by the Governour or any of his Councell, And if after admonition he shall offend again and be again duly Convicted, Then he shall be fined at the Governour and Councell Discretion not Exceeding the Value of five shillings for the first Offence, it being Intended that if any Person of Quality (who shall be Examples to others) be found guilty, That they pay a greater fine than Persons of a meaner Rank. 4. That all Fornication, Uncleanness and Adultery be forborn and if any be found Guilty and Convicted by the said Crimes by Confession or by Verdict of a Jury, That in such Cases (untill it be otherwise provided) Our Governour and Councell do take care to Discountenance and Punish the same in such a way as shall be found most efficacious and Agreeable to the Nature of the People and Contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom of England. 5. That none do Steal or take from another that which doth not belong to him, And that in Case of Theft, the Person being duly Convicted thereof by a Jury, That then if it be theft by taking away any thing by force or threats from the Person of any Man or Woman whereby they might be put in fear, Or by breaking open any House or Room or Cupboard or Trunk that was locked, the party Convicted shall not only Restore what he took away to the party from whome he stole the same, but also three times the Value thereof, and the rest of	It was directed that all intemperance and drunkenness were to be avoided, as being harmful both to the body and to the soul. If any person was found to have become drunk, that person was, for a first offence, to be admonished by the Governor or any member of the Council. If, after such admonition, the offence was repeated and the person was duly convicted, a fine was to be imposed at the discretion of the Governor and Council, not exceeding the value of five shillings for that offence. It was further indicated that persons of higher rank, being examples to others, were to be subject to greater fines than those of lower condition. It was further ordained that fornication, uncleanness, and adultery were to be avoided. If any person was found guilty and convicted of such offences, whether by confession or by the verdict of a jury, it was directed that, until further provision was made, the Governor and Council were to discourage and punish such behaviour in a manner considered most effective and suitable to the nature of the people, and consistent with the laws and statutes of the kingdom of England. It was also ordered that no person was to steal or take that which did not belong to them. In cases of theft, where a person was duly convicted by a jury, and where the offence involved taking goods by force or threat from another person, thereby placing them in fear, or by breaking open any house, room, cupboard, or locked chest, the offender was to restore the stolen goods to the injured party. In addition, the offender was required to pay three times the value of the stolen property, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Intemperance" referred to excessive consumption of alcohol or indulgence in behaviour considered morally or socially harmful. "Persons of quality" denoted individuals of higher social rank, whose conduct was expected to set an example for others within the community. "Uncleanness" referred broadly to sexual immorality outside accepted social and religious norms. "Breaking open" denoted forced entry into secured property, indicating a more serious form of theft involving intrusion and damage. **Speculations** Perhaps the differentiation in fines according to social rank reflected contemporary expectations that those in positions of influence bore greater responsibility for maintaining moral standards. It was probably intended that the severe penalties for theft involving force or breaking reflected a concern for

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			personal security and property protection in a small and vulnerable settlement.
39	28	his Estate whatsoever (after his Debts are paid) shall be forfeited to the Company, and he shall stand in the Pillory in a Publick place, and be Whipt from thence to the Prison, and if it be then left to the Discretion of the Governour and Councell to discharge him or keep him in Prison, and Return him in the next Ships for England. If it be any other kind of Thievery and the Party be convicted thereof as aforesaid, He or She shall return what He or She Stole and three times the Value more to the Person from whom He or She Stole the same; And in Case of Non ability, He or She shall be forced to Work for that Person till the same be by work made up according to the Judgment of the Jury who in Cases of Theft shall be directed by the Judge of the said Court to find the Value of the thing or things Stolen. 6. If any Person called or Tendering himself to be a Witnesse in any Case, shall Witnesse falsely, through Malice or Covetousness or any other Account, unless it shall appear to be meerly by Mistake and in some Circumstances not much Materiall to the thing in question and shall be thereof Convicted, the same Damage, Pain, or Prejudice that his Testimony (had it been True and Received) would have Procured or did Procure (except Death) to any other Person he shall be Adjudged to Sustain according to the Verdict of a Jury; And for ever his Witnesse and Testimony shall be deemed and Adjudged invalid to all intents and purposes. And if it appear such Witnesse was Suborned then both the said Witnesse and the Person that Suborned him to be equally Liable to make Satisfaction as aforesaid, and shall both	It was directed that, in cases of serious theft involving force or breaking, after the offender's debts had been paid, the remainder of the offender's estate was to be forfeited to the Company. The offender was also to be placed in the pillory in a public place and then whipped from that location to the prison. Thereafter, it was left to the discretion of the Governor and Council either to release the offender or to keep that person imprisoned and return them to England on the next available ship. It was further provided that, in cases of other forms of theft, where a person was duly convicted, the offender was required to restore the stolen goods and to pay three times their value to the injured party. If the offender lacked the means to make such payment, that person was to be compelled to work for the injured party until the value had been satisfied, as determined by the judgement of the jury. In such cases, the jury was to be directed by the judge to determine the value of the goods that had been stolen. It was also ordained that any person who gave evidence as a witness in any case and was found to have given false testimony, whether through malice, greed, or any other motive, was to be punished unless the falsehood arose purely from mistake in circumstances not material to the matter in question. Where such false testimony was proven, the offender was to suffer the same damage, penalty, or disadvantage that their evidence would have caused or did cause to another person, except in cases involving death. This was to be determined by the verdict of a jury. It was further directed that such a person was thereafter to be regarded as unfit to give evidence in any matter. Where it was found that the false witness had been persuaded or induced by another person, both the witness and the person responsible were to be equally liable to make restitution in the same manner, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Pillory" referred to a public punishment device in which the offender's head and hands were secured, exposing them to public humiliation and often further physical punishment. "Non ability" denoted the inability to pay a financial penalty, resulting in alternative forms of punishment such as compulsory labour. "Suborned" referred to the act of persuading or bribing someone to give false testimony, a serious offence against the administration of justice. **Speculations** Perhaps the combination of public humiliation, corporal punishment, and financial penalties for theft reflected an intention to deter crime through both physical and social consequences. It was probably intended that the severe penalties for false testimony reinforced the importance of truthful evidence in maintaining the integrity of the judicial system on the island.
40	29	7. If any Person shall Counterfeit any Deed or Deeds, Writings or other Papers, or by any Advice Cheat any other of Lands, Goods or Money and thereof be Convicted by a Jury, He shall make Satisfaction to the Party Injured, and shall also fine the like Sum to the Company and to stand on the Pillory on three Publick days, that so he may be known, and in case of Disability to make Satisfaction or pay the	It was ordained that, if any person forged or counterfeited deeds, writings, or other papers, or by deceit defrauded another of land, goods, or money, and was convicted by a jury, that person was required to make restitution to the injured party. An equivalent sum was also to be paid as a fine to the Company. In addition, the offender was to stand in the pillory on three public days so as to be publicly identified. If the offender was unable to make payment, that person was to be compelled to work for the injured party in the first instance, and thereafter for the Company without payment, until such time as a jury determined that

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		fine, He shall be Obliged to Work for the party Injured in the first place and then for the Company Gratis untill such time as by a Jury shall be Adjudged Sufficient to Satisfy them the said Sums. In case any Person shall Quarrell with another not being his Servant, or under his Command, or Strike or wound him, the party offending shall make Satisfaction to the party Injured according to the Verdict of a Jury and over and besides shall also be fined at the Discretion of the Governour and Councell to the use of the Company for breach of the peace, the said fine not to Exceed Twenty Shillings for any one Offence. In Case of Wilfull murther the party Convicted by a Jury shall suffer death; the manner of his Death shall be at the Discretion of the Governour and Councell, Agreeable to the Law of England. In Case any Strike an Officer being about the Execution of his Office, and shall be thereof Convicted by a Jury, he shall be fined at the Discretion of the Governour to the use of the Company not Exceeding five Pounds, or be Publickly whipt or Imprisoned, unless the Governour with the Consent of the major part of the Councell shall think fitt to Pardon	sufficient labour had been given to satisfy the sums owed. It was further directed that, if any person quarrelled with another who was not under their authority, or struck or wounded them, the offender was to make compensation to the injured party as determined by a jury. In addition, a fine was to be imposed at the discretion of the Governor and Council for breach of the peace, not exceeding the value of twenty shillings for any one offence. It was also ordained that, in cases of wilful murder, any person convicted by a jury was to suffer death. The manner in which the sentence was to be carried out was to be determined by the Governor and Council, in accordance with the laws of England. It was further provided that, if any person struck an officer while that officer was engaged in the execution of official duties, and was convicted by a jury, a fine was to be imposed at the discretion of the Governor for the use of the Company, not exceeding the value of five pounds. Alternatively, the offender might be publicly whipped or imprisoned, unless the Governor, with the consent of the majority of the Council, chose to grant a pardon. **Interpretations** "Counterfeit" referred to the act of forging or falsifying legal documents, a serious offence affecting property rights and legal trust. "Breach of the peace" denoted conduct that disturbed public order or safety, even if not rising to the level of a more serious crime. "Wilful murder" referred to intentional and premeditated killing, distinguished from accidental or lesser forms of homicide. "Gratis" indicated that labour was to be performed without payment, serving as a form of punishment and restitution. **Speculations** Perhaps the public punishments, such as standing in the pillory, were intended not only to penalise offenders but also to deter others by visible example. It was probably intended that the combination of fines, restitution, and corporal punishment provided flexibility in sentencing, allowing penalties to be adapted to the circumstances of each offence.
41	30	Pardon him, and shall moreover pay Treble Damages to the Person injured to be Assessed by a Jury. And We do Ordain, Constitute and appoint as a perpetuall Rule and Law to be Observed in the said Island that in every Case where any Tryall is herein before appointed to be by Jurys, it shall and may be Lawfull to and for the Sheriff and Sheriffs of the said Island to Impannell and return a Jury as well of any English man, be he seaman Marriner or others who shall happen to be on the Island, as of the Constant Inhabitants thereof. And for the better preserving the peace of the said Island and keeping all Persons in due Subordination and Securing the said Island against Enemy, We do Ordain Direct and appoint. That no Person whatsoever shall Imprison or lay Violent hands on, or Strike the Governour, or any his Superior Officers or Ministers, or attempt or Conspire so to do: and in case any shall	It was directed that, where a pardon was granted in such cases, the offender was nevertheless required to pay treble damages to the injured party, as assessed by a jury. It was further ordained, as a perpetual rule and law to be observed on the island, that in every case where trial by jury had been appointed, it was lawful for the sheriff or sheriffs to summon and return juries composed not only of permanent inhabitants, but also of any Englishmen present on the island, including seamen, mariners, or others. It was then provided, for the better preservation of peace, the maintenance of proper subordination, and the defence of the island against enemies, that additional regulations were to be enforced. It was ordered that no person was to imprison, assault, or strike the Governor, or any superior officer or minister, nor attempt or conspire to do so. Any person convicted by a jury of such an offence was to suffer corporal punishment, not extending to death, as determined by the Governor with the advice and consent of the majority of the military officers, according to the nature of the offence. In the specific case of striking the Governor, the offender was also to forfeit all lands, tenements, goods, and chattels to the use of the Company. It was further directed that, if any captain, officer, or soldier in the Company's service neglected duty, slept

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		offend therein, and be thereof Convicted by a Jury, he shall suffer such Corporall Punishment not Extending to the taking away of Life, as the Governour with the Advice and Consent of the Major part of his Military Officers shall Adjudge, according to the Nature of his Offence, and in case of his Striking the Governour he shall also forfeit to the use of the Company all his Lands and Tenements Goods and Chattels. That if any Captain, Officer or Soldier in the Companys Service in the said Island shall Neglect his Duty, Sleep upon, or be absent or Depart from his Watch or Station, or make any Quarrell or Disturbance whilst on the Guard, and be thereof	while on watch, was absent from or abandoned a post, or caused a quarrel or disturbance while on guard, and was convicted of such conduct, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Impannel" referred to the formal process of selecting and assembling a jury for trial. "Perpetual rule" denoted a law intended to remain in force indefinitely unless formally altered or repealed. "Subordination" referred to the hierarchical order within military and civil authority, requiring obedience to superiors. "Tenements" referred broadly to property holdings, including land and buildings held under tenure. **Speculations** Perhaps the inclusion of visiting Englishmen in juries reflected the limited population of the island, ensuring that sufficient jurors could always be assembled. It was probably intended that the severe penalties for offences against authority reinforced strict discipline, particularly in a setting where military order was essential for survival and security.
42	31	Convicted by the Testimony of Two Witnesses upon Oath, He or they shall be fined by the Governour to the use of the Company not Exceeding one Months pay, and shall also suffer such Corporall Punishment not Extending to the taking away Life or Limb, as the Governour with the Advice and Consent of the Major part of his Military Officers shall Adjudge the matter to Deserve. That if any Captain, Officer, Soldier or Marriner that have Entertained themselves in the Companys Service in or at the said Island or any Inhabitant thereof, or any Person or Persons that shall come to the said Island, shall raise Sedition, and make or abett any Mutinying, or shall Contrive and Endeavour either himself or to Intice or Corrupt any other Officer, Soldier or Marriner or Inhabitant or any other Person whatsoever, to seize or Destroy, or to yield and Deliver up any Fort, Ship or Vessell or Magazine in or at the said Island to any Enemy whatsoever, such Captain, Officer, Soldier, Marriner, Inhabitant or other Person being thereof Duly Convicted by a Jury, shall be Sentenced to Suffer death, and to forfeit and lose all his Estate to the use of the Company which Sentence shall be Executed accordingly, unless the Governour with the Advice and Consent of the Major part of his Military Officers shall Pardon or Remitt any part of the same. That there be no wastefull Expence of any Powder, shott Ammunition, or other Stores in the said Island, nor Imbezzelment of the Publick Stores, and if any shall Imbezle or Steale any Powder	It was directed that, where any captain, officer, or soldier was convicted upon the testimony of two witnesses given under oath of neglecting duty, sleeping on watch, absence from post, or causing disturbance while on guard, that person was to be fined by the Governor for the use of the Company in a sum not exceeding one month's pay. In addition, such corporal punishment, not extending to the loss of life or limb, was to be inflicted as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of the military officers, considered appropriate. It was further ordained that, if any captain, officer, soldier, mariner, inhabitant, or any other person on the island, or arriving there, raised sedition, promoted or supported mutiny, or attempted to persuade others to seize, destroy, surrender, or deliver any fort, ship, vessel, or magazine on the island to an enemy, and was duly convicted by a jury, that person was to suffer death. All property belonging to the offender was also to be forfeited to the Company. This sentence was to be carried out unless the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of the military officers, chose to grant a pardon or remit part of the punishment. It was also directed that no wasteful use of powder, shot, ammunition, or other stores was to be permitted, and that no embezzlement of public stores was to occur. It was further stated that, if any person embezzled or stole such materials, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Testimony of two witnesses upon oath" reflected a legal standard requiring corroborated sworn evidence before conviction, strengthening the reliability of proof. "Sedition" referred to conduct or speech inciting resistance or rebellion against established authority. "Mutiny" denoted organised resistance or rebellion, particularly by soldiers or sailors against their commanders. "Magazine" referred to a storehouse for arms and ammunition, of critical importance for defence. "Imbezzle" referred to the theft or misappropriation of goods entrusted to one's care, particularly public or official property. **Speculations** Perhaps the requirement for two sworn witnesses reflected an effort to prevent unjust convictions in a setting where formal legal safeguards were limited. It was probably intended that the severe penalties for sedition and mutiny underscored the strategic

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			importance of the island and the necessity of maintaining strict loyalty and discipline.
43	32	Ammunition or other Stores and Sell the same, both the Persons so Imbezeling or Stealing as also the abettors, Buyers and Receivers thereof shall be Liable over and above the Penalty herein before appointed in Cases of Theft to be Imprisoned not Exceeding Six Months, or to suffer such Corporall Punishment not Extending to Deprivation of Life or Limb as the Governour with Advice and Consent of the Major part of his Councell shall Adjudge the matter to Deserve. In case any Person or Persons shall make any Insurrections or gather together in an Hostile manner without the Especiall Command of the Governour, or of such who have Authority from him, or shall not upon Command from the Governour lay down their Arms and Submit to the Ordinary Justice, as also if any Person or Persons shall Contrive to betray or Deliver up the Island or any Fort, Castle Port or Place therein, or any Ships 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 Legally convicted by a Jury of Twelve Men of any the said Crimes, he or they shall be Sentenced to suffer death and forfeit all their Estates, which Sentence shall be Executed accordingly unless the Governour with the Advice and Consent of the Major part of his Councell shall on good Considerations think fitt to Pardon or Remitt any part thereof. And Whereas severall English Ships have been lately sent out from England upon private Accounts to Trade in the said East Indies to the great Prejudice of us and our Trade there; and in	It was directed that, where any person embezzled or stole ammunition or other public stores and sold them, both the offender and any abettors, buyers, or receivers were to be subject, in addition to the penalties already established for theft, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or to such corporal punishment, not extending to loss of life or limb, as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of the Council, considered appropriate. It was further ordained that, if any person or persons raised an insurrection or assembled in a hostile manner without the express command of the Governor or authorised officers, or refused, when commanded, to lay down their arms and submit to lawful authority, or attempted to betray or surrender the island, its forts, castles, ports, or any ships or vessels belonging to the English to another nation, or maintained communication with declared enemies, and were duly convicted by a jury of twelve men, such persons were to suffer death and forfeit all their estates. This sentence was to be carried out unless the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of the Council, determined upon sufficient grounds to grant a pardon or remit part of the punishment. It was then noted that several English ships had recently been sent from England on private ventures to trade in the East Indies, to the considerable disadvantage of the Company's trade in that region, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Abettors, buyers and receivers" referred to those who assisted in, purchased, or knowingly accepted stolen goods, and who were therefore treated as participants in the offence. "Insurrection" denoted an organised uprising or rebellion against established authority. "Hold intelligence or correspondency" referred to maintaining communication or exchange of information with enemies, often implying espionage or treachery. "Private accounts" referred to private trading ventures undertaken independently of the Company, often in competition with its authorised monopoly. **Speculations** Perhaps the extension of punishment to buyers and receivers of stolen goods reflected a desire to eliminate the wider network supporting such offences, not merely the original perpetrators. It was probably intended that the severe penalties for insurrection and communication with enemies reinforced the critical importance of loyalty and security on an isolated and strategically significant island.
44	33	Under your rules, this portion is sufficiently visible to permit a far fuller transcription. Applying the constraints strictly: contempt of his Majestys Royall Charter whereby the whole intire Trade to and from the said Indies is granted unto us and all other his Majestys subjects are strictly charged not to Trade thither And Whereas such Interloping Ships have in their Return home been Relieved, accommodated & Supplyed in their Necessities at the said Island of St Helena And Whereas we are Credibly informed that several Private Persons are fitting and setting out severall other Ships and	It was stated that certain English ships had been sent out on private trading ventures to the East Indies in contempt of His Majesty's royal charter, by which the entire trade to and from those regions had been granted exclusively to the Company, and all other subjects had been strictly forbidden from engaging in such trade. It was further explained that such interloping ships had, on their return voyages, been relieved, accommodated, and supplied with necessities at the island of St Helena. It was also reported that several private individuals were preparing and dispatching additional ships and vessels to trade in the East Indies, contrary to the royal charter granted to the Company. It was then declared that such actions were inconsistent with the duty owed to the King, whose special favour had been shown in granting the island to the Company. It was stated that the island ought not to be used for the refreshment or support of ships,

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		Vessells in a way of Trade and Merchandize to the said East Indies Contrary to his Majestys said Royall Charter granted us as aforesaid Now Therefore in as much as it is no way Agreeable to have dutifull Resentments which We have and ought to have to his said Majestys Speciall grace and favour in granting the said Island to us, that the same should be made use of for the Refreshing and Accommodating of their Ships Servants and People, who presume to Trade to the said East Indies Contrary to his said Majestys Royall Charter and in high contempt of his Majestys Prerogative in that behalf Nor was the said Island granted to us to that End, that it should be made use of for the Incouragement of such Disloyall Persons in such their Disloyall attempts, We the said Governour and Company of Merchants of England Trading into the East Indies, DO therefore by these Presents Ordain and Require that the same be Strictly Observed as a standing Ordinance and Rule within the said Island, That no Person or Persons Inhabiting, or which shall Inhabit hereafter therein do presume to Trade or Traffick with, or any way relieve or Supply with necessary [...]	servants, or persons engaged in unauthorised trade in violation of the royal charter and the King's prerogative. It was further asserted that the island had not been granted for the purpose of encouraging or assisting such disloyal activities. It was therefore ordained and required, as a standing rule to be strictly observed on the island, that no person then residing or thereafter to reside there was to engage in trade or commerce with, or in any way assist, relieve, or supply with necessities any such unauthorised traders or their ships, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Interloping ships" referred to vessels engaged in unauthorised trade within a region where exclusive trading rights had been granted to a chartered company. "Royal charter" denoted the formal grant by the Crown conferring exclusive trading privileges and legal authority upon the Company. "Prerogative" referred to the sovereign authority of the monarch, particularly in granting exclusive rights and privileges such as trade monopolies. **Speculations** Perhaps the strong language concerning disloyalty reflected the Company's concern that unauthorised trade undermined both its commercial interests and its legal authority under the Crown. It was probably intended that prohibiting assistance to interloping ships would reduce their ability to operate successfully, thereby reinforcing the Company's monopoly over trade in the East Indies.
45	34	any Person or Persons belonging to any Ship or Vessells that shall come to the said Island, untill such time as our Governour of the said Island have allowed and admitted such Ship or Vessells And the Persons thereunto belonging a Liberty of Trade and Refreshment on the said Island upon Pain that offender herein, if he be one of the said Councell shall forfeit and pay the Sum of 20 pounds, And if any other Inhabitant of the said Island the Sum of Ten pounds Sterling to the use of us and our Successors for every such Offence 8. And We do further Ordain and Strictly charge & Require our said Governour of the said Island, that he do not give or grant any such Liberty of Trade or Refreshment on the said Island to any Ship or Vessells that shall come to the said Island other than such Ship and Vessells and their Men that shall come there in our Service And that upon the discovery of any English Ship or Vessells that shall come to or before the said Island, He do forthwith make and Publish a Proclamation on the said Island that none of the said Inhabitants thereof do presume to Trade or Traffick with, or any way Relieve or Supply with Necessarys or otherwise Refresh or Accommodate such Ship or Vessells or any Person or Persons	It was directed that no person belonging to any ship or vessel arriving at the island was to be supplied or assisted in any way until such time as the Governor had granted permission and admitted that ship, vessel, and its crew to trade and obtain refreshment on the island. It was ordered that any offender who acted contrary to this rule, if a member of the Council, was to forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, and if any other inhabitant, the sum of ten pounds sterling, payable to the Company and its successors for each offence. It was further ordained and strictly required that the Governor was not to grant any liberty of trade or refreshment to any ship or vessel arriving at the island, except those engaged in the Company's service. It was also directed that, upon the arrival or approach of any English ship or vessel, the Governor was immediately to issue a public proclamation on the island forbidding all inhabitants from trading with, assisting, supplying, or otherwise accommodating such ships or their crews. It was further required that no such liberty was to be granted or declared until the Governor had issued a second proclamation permitting it, and that such permission was not to be given unless express orders had first been received from the Company. These orders were to be formally authorised under the signatures of thirteen or more members of the Court of Committees, including the Governor or his Deputy. It was also indicated that, alternatively, provision might be made in relation to the commander or mariners of such ships, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Liberty of trade and refreshment" referred to official permission granted to ships to engage in commerce, resupply provisions, and make use of the island's facilities. "Proclamation" denoted a formal public announcement issued by authority, intended to communicate binding

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		belonging thereunto untill the said Governour shall by like Proclamation declare and Publish a Liberty so to do, which he shall by no means declare or suffer untill our said Governour have Express Orders for so doing from us, Signifyed under the hands of Thirteen or more of the Court of Committees whereof the Governour or his Deputy to be one, or that the Commander or or Marriners of such Ship or Vessells or any of them shall and [...]	orders to all inhabitants. "Court of Committees" referred to the governing body of the East India Company responsible for major administrative decisions and authorisations. **Speculations** Perhaps the imposition of heavy fines on both councillors and inhabitants reflected the seriousness with which the Company sought to enforce its monopoly over trade. It was probably intended that the requirement for formal authorisation from the Court of Committees prevented local officials from exercising discretion in ways that might undermine the Company's commercial interests.
46	35	do voluntarily and of their accord deliver up such Ship or Vessells with her Lading into his Possession. And in such case of delivery up of such Ship, Our said Governour of St Helena shall not only grant unto such Commander or Marriners free and full Liberty of Trade and Traffick in the said Island, and with the Inhabitants thereof But also Relieve and Supply them such Necessarys & Conveniences as the said Island will afford, and shall also deliver to them respectively all the goods and Merchandize belonging to them or any of them in such Ship or Vessells, the same being no part of the joint generall Cargo thereof And shall also Entertain such Master and Marriners into our Service (if they be willing to be Entertained therein) for such monthly or other wages and Salary as our Governour and they can Agree on And shall take care to procure them Passage with their goods on our next Ship or Ships which shall arrive at the said Island bound home for England, upon the Arrival of which Ship or Ships in England, the said Master and Marriners, their respective Executors Administrators and Assigns shall Receive such Wages or Salary as our Governour of the said Island St Helena shall have made with them; And in such Case of the free and Voluntary delivery of such Ship or Vessells into the hands and Possession of our said Governour of St Helena as aforesaid, We do appoint and Order that our said Governour do forthwith take on Shore, and make a True and Perfect Inventory in Writing of all such Goods and [...]	It was provided that, if the commander or mariners of any such ship or vessel voluntarily surrendered and delivered the vessel, together with its cargo, into the possession of the Governor, certain allowances were to be granted. In such cases, the Governor was to permit those individuals full liberty to trade and conduct commerce on the island and with its inhabitants. They were also to be relieved and supplied with such necessities and conveniences as the island could provide. It was further directed that all goods and merchandise belonging personally to the commander or mariners, and not forming part of the general cargo, were to be returned to them. It was also ordered that such commanders and mariners were to be received into the Company's service, if they were willing, upon such wages or salary as might be agreed between them and the Governor. It was additionally required that arrangements were to be made for their passage, together with their goods, on the next Company ship or ships departing the island for England. Upon arrival in England, the wages or salary agreed upon by the Governor were to be paid to them or to their respective executors, administrators, or assigns. It was further ordained that, upon the voluntary surrender of any such ship or vessel, the Governor was immediately to take possession of it and to bring its cargo ashore. A true and complete written inventory of all such goods was then to be made, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "General cargo" referred to the collective goods carried as part of the main commercial shipment, distinct from personal property belonging to individuals on board. "Executors, administrators and assigns" referred to those legally entitled to manage or receive property or payments on behalf of another, particularly after death or by formal transfer. "Voluntary delivery" denoted the surrender of a ship and its cargo without force, suggesting cooperation in exchange for favourable treatment. **Speculations** Perhaps the offer of favourable terms for voluntary surrender was intended to encourage compliance and reduce resistance from those engaged in unauthorised trade. It was probably intended that integrating such mariners into the Company's service both strengthened its workforce and reduced the number of individuals willing to participate in competing ventures.
47	36	Wrongs most Excellent Majesty thereof We may give further Orders touching the Disposition of such ships and goods as shall be brought into our said Island by any such Persons may be lawfull to and for our said Governour to give unto such Commander or Marriners free and full	It was declared that, in order that no prejudice might arise to His Majesty's rights, further orders might be issued concerning the disposal of ships and goods brought into the island by such persons engaged in unauthorised trade.

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		Liberty of Trade and Traffick in the said Island, and with the Inhabitants thereof, and also to Relieve and Supply them with such Necessaries and Conveniences as the said Island will afford, and to deliver unto them their goods and Merchandizes respectively, they submitting themselves to our Government and Authority there and that upon such their submission and acknowledgement they shall be protected and defended in their Persons and Estates during their stay, and shall receive such further Encouragement as shall be thought fit by our said Governour and Council Provided always that such Liberty shall not extend to any Persons who shall have offended against our Charter or Trade, otherwise than by Ignorance or Necessity, nor to any who shall refuse Obedience to our Authority And We do further declare that it shall not be lawfull for any Person or Persons whatsoever to Trade or Traffick with any Interlopers or others not in our Service without special Licence first had and obtained from our said Governour Given under our Common Seal the day and year first written	It was provided that it was lawful for the Governor to grant to any such commander or mariners full liberty to trade and conduct commerce on the island and with its inhabitants, and to relieve and supply them with such necessities and conveniences as the island could provide. It was also directed that their personal goods and merchandise were to be returned to them, provided that they submitted themselves to the authority and government established on the island. It was further ordained that, upon such submission and acknowledgement, those persons were to be protected and defended in their persons and property during their stay, and were to receive such additional encouragement as the Governor and Council considered appropriate. It was, however, expressly provided that such liberty was not to be extended to any persons who had offended against the Company's charter or trade other than through ignorance or necessity, nor to any who refused obedience to the established authority. It was further declared that no person whatsoever was to trade or engage in commerce with any interlopers or others not in the Company's service without first obtaining special licence from the Governor. It was concluded that these provisions were given under the Company's common seal on the day and year first written. **Interpretations** "Interlopers" referred to individuals or ships engaging in unauthorised trade in violation of the Company's monopoly granted by royal charter. "Submission and acknowledgement" denoted a formal acceptance of the Company's authority and jurisdiction as a condition for receiving protection and privileges. "Special licence" referred to explicit permission granted by the Governor, acting under Company authority, allowing otherwise prohibited actions. **Speculations** Perhaps the conditional granting of trading privileges was intended to balance enforcement of the Company's monopoly with pragmatic accommodation of those willing to submit to its authority. It was probably intended that the distinction between offenders acting through ignorance or necessity and those acting deliberately allowed for a degree of flexibility in enforcement while maintaining overall control of trade.
48	37	Our Governour & Council of St Helena. London 14th March 1701 That We may be clearly understood by you, We tell you again briefly that all Forreigners Dutch, French, Portuguese and Danes who touch at our said Island, shall only pay to the Duty of Anchorage being five shillings for a Ship bigg or little, But such English Ship as trade into India, shall pay us besides Anchorage the Duty of Tonnage aforementioned, which you are to receive from every English Ship, before you admitt them to Trade or have any Refreshment from the said Island, any small Ship that shall come from home to the purposes mentioned in the former part of this Letter or upon any other Account Except Trading within the Companys Charter in India, We understand shall pay only as Madagascar Ships Vizt Two Shillings and Six pence the Tonn for the	You are correct - that was an error. Here is the full corrected text: Instructions were issued to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated at London on 14 March 1702, in order to clarify the duties to be levied on ships arriving at the island. It was stated that all foreign ships, including those of the Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Danes, were only to pay a duty of anchorage, fixed at five shillings for any ship regardless of size. It was further directed that English ships trading into India were to pay, in addition to anchorage, a duty of tonnage as previously specified. This duty was to be collected from every such English ship before it was permitted to trade or to receive any form of refreshment from the island. It was also explained that smaller English ships arriving from home for purposes other than trading within the Company's charter in India were to be charged at the same rate as ships trading to Madagascar, namely two shillings and six pence per ton according to the burden of the vessel. These charges were to be paid in addition to the previously mentioned duties. It was further required that all English ships trading in India or Madagascar, or in any place within the limits of the

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		Burthen of the Ship, Besides the Dutyes beforementioned which you are to Receive from all English Ships that shall Trade in India or Madagascar, or at any other place within the Limitts of our Charter without our Speciall Licence; We do hereby further require you to Demand and Receives of such Ships and all others before you Admitt them any Trade or Refreshment from the Island whether the Ship be great or small, English or Forreign in our Service	Company's charter without special licence, were to be subject to these payments. It was additionally ordered that these duties were to be demanded and collected from all such ships, and from all others, whether large or small, English or foreign, before they were admitted to any trade or permitted to obtain refreshment from the island. **Interpretations** "Anchorage" referred to a fee charged for the right to anchor a ship at a port or harbour. "Tonnage" denoted a duty calculated based on the carrying capacity or burden of a ship, commonly used as a basis for taxation in maritime trade. "Burthen of the ship" referred to the vessel's carrying capacity, used as a measure for calculating duties. "Refreshment" in this context referred to the provision of supplies such as food, water, and other necessities to ships. **Speculations** Perhaps the distinction between foreign and English ships reflected the Company's intention to maintain revenue while enforcing its trading monopoly more strictly upon English subjects. It was probably intended that requiring payment before any trade or resupply prevented evasion of duties and ensured consistent enforcement of Company regulations.
49	38	or not in our Service, five shillings for Anchorage for each Ship for every Voyage she shall come to Anchor in our said Island of St Helena. Against Retailing of Liquors We do hereby likewise strictly forbid all Persons upon our said Island of St Helena from Selling or uttering by way of Retailing, Arack, Punch, Beer, Wine or other Liquor or Tobacco, except only such and so many Persons as shall Obtain a Licence for so doing under the hand and seal of our Govr for the time being. Send Lists of Inhabitants & And We do hereby further Require you once at least in every year to send us an Exact List of all our Officers and Soldiers with a Distinction against the name of each Officer and Soldier, whether Married or unmarried, Planter or no Planter, how many Marriages and Christnings you have in each year, and how many Planters there be upon the whole Island with a mark of Distinction against each of their Names, whether they be Married or unmarried, and in a Column for that Purpose against each of their names, how many Negroes they keep, and another Column for the Number of their Children, in the Exact Performance whereof we Require you not to fail as you Value your Places and our Displeasure. List of Garrison Stores Send us likewise a Perfect List of all our Stores of all kinds, the number and Nature of all our Ordinances	It was directed that all ships, whether in the Company's service or not, were to pay a duty of five shillings for anchorage for each voyage upon which they anchored at the island of St Helena. It was further strictly forbidden that any person on the island was to sell or retail arrack, punch, beer, wine, or any other liquor, or tobacco, unless a licence had first been obtained under the hand and seal of the Governor for the time being. Only those persons so licensed were permitted to engage in such trade. It was also required that, at least once in every year, an exact return was to be sent to the Company containing a full list of all officers and soldiers. This list was to include a clear distinction for each individual, stating whether that person was married or unmarried, and whether a planter or not. It was also required that the number of marriages and christenings occurring within each year was to be reported. In addition, a complete list of all planters on the island was to be provided, with a distinction for each as to marital status. Further columns were to record, for each planter, the number of enslaved persons kept, and the number of children belonging to them. It was expressly ordered that this requirement was to be performed exactly and without failure, upon penalty of displeasure and risk to office. It was further directed that a complete and accurate list of all Company stores was to be sent, including all types of stores, and the number and nature of all ordnance, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Retailing" referred to the sale of goods in small quantities directly to consumers, as opposed to wholesale trade. "Arrack" was a distilled alcoholic spirit commonly produced in Asia, widely traded in early modern colonial contexts. "Licence under hand and seal" denoted formal written permission authenticated by the Governor's signature and official seal, giving legal authority to engage in restricted activities. "Ordnance" referred to artillery, including cannons and other large weapons, forming a key part of the island's defensive resources.

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			Speculations Perhaps the restriction on the sale of alcohol and tobacco was intended to control disorderly behaviour and maintain discipline among both settlers and soldiers. It was probably intended that the detailed annual returns allowed the Company to monitor population, labour resources, and military strength, ensuring effective oversight of the island's administration.
50	39	Powder, Shotts, Armes and Ammunition of every Sort, of what Debts we owe to any Person or Persons for Sallary, Wages or any other thing else, and of all Money due to us from whom and for what, and of all Provisions We have in Store the particular Quantitys and Sorts thereof, every one of these things are Necessary for us to know Annually in Order to our more Certain Direction of the Government, and Order for our Concerns upon that Island. Send us an Account likewise of Cattle and other Stock there is upon the Companys Plantation and what Negroes of the Companys are Imployed thereupon, and if for want of Money you should some time be forced to take Negroes for Provisions of the Madagascar Ships We leave our Governour whom alone We do trust with our Plantation which We do Expect our Governour shall so manage for us that at length We may Receive some Profitt by them. If any of our Councill should be Remiss or Negligent in the aiding of our Governour in the Execution of these or any of our Laws or Orders We do hereby give Power and Authority to our Governour for the time being to Suspend and Remove from Councill any such Remiss and Unsatisfactory Person, and from all Sallary or other Benefits thereby, untill he shall be Restored again by our own Orders and Appointment, which Act of Suspension We will Order our said Governour to do of himself at his own Discretion with or without the Consent of the rest of our Councill there &ca Your Loveing Friends &ca	It was directed that a full account was to be sent of all military stores, including powder, shot, arms, and ammunition of every kind. It was also required that a detailed account was to be provided of all debts owed by the Company to any person for salary, wages, or other matters, and of all sums owed to the Company, specifying from whom and for what purpose such monies were due. In addition, a complete report was to be made of all provisions held in store, including the particular quantities and types. It was stated that all these details were necessary to be reported annually so that more certain direction might be given for the government of the island and the management of the Company's affairs there. It was further ordered that an account was to be sent of all cattle and other stock on the Company's plantation, together with a record of the enslaved persons belonging to the Company who were employed there. It was also acknowledged that, in cases where money was lacking, enslaved persons might be taken in exchange for provisions from ships trading to Madagascar. In such matters, trust was placed in the Governor alone, with the expectation that the plantation would be managed in such a way as to produce profit for the Company in due course. It was also directed that, if any member of the Council was found to be remiss or negligent in assisting the Governor in carrying out the laws or orders of the Company, authority was granted to the Governor to suspend and remove such a person from the Council. This removal was to include the loss of salary or other benefits associated with the position, and was to remain in effect until the individual was restored by the Company's own order. It was further stated that the Governor was authorised to carry out such suspension at his own discretion, whether or not the rest of the Council consented. The letter concluded with a closing expression of regard, signed "Your Loveing Friends &ca". **Interpretations** "Stock" referred to livestock such as cattle and other animals maintained for agricultural or economic purposes. "Sallary or wages" distinguished between fixed payments to officials and compensation for labour, reflecting different forms of employment within the settlement. "Remiss or negligent" denoted failure to perform duties with the required diligence or care, particularly in matters of governance. "Suspension" referred to the temporary removal from office and its associated privileges, pending further decision by the Company. **Speculations** Perhaps the detailed requirement for annual accounts reflected the Company's need to maintain close oversight of a distant possession where direct supervision was limited. It was probably intended that granting the Governor independent authority to suspend councillors strengthened executive control and ensured that administration could continue effectively without obstruction.

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51	40	Our Governour and Council at St Helena. London 1st August 1683 2. Now upon Perusal of our Consultation Books and observation of the Severall causes that do fall under your Decision, and the Interests of your Inhabitants, yet We think such a formall Proceeding and Expence as We have prescribed by aforesaid System of Laws, would rather be a Burthen than a Benefit to our Island at present. And that therefore you may Proceed to Determine Causes in that Method you have begun already, and with which your Inhabitants are not only Acquainted, but very well Satisfied. 3 But in Case of the taking away of Lives, Limb or Lands We would have you Proceed according to that Method by Jurys. 4 That System We sent you was for the most part drawn from the Modell of Laws We Established upon our Island of Bombay where the Number of Inhabitants are Computed at 20000. But upon Recollection finding your whole number of Men, Women, Servants & Children not to Exceed five hundred We think for the Present, the Method you are in may do best for our Service and the good of the Island except in Capitall Causes as aforesaid. 5 The List you have sent us with Severall columns for Men Women	Instructions were issued to the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated at London on 1 August 1683, following a review of their consultation books and consideration of the various causes brought before them, together with the interests of the inhabitants. It was stated that the formal system of legal procedure and the associated expense previously prescribed by the Company's body of laws was considered, at that time, to be more burdensome than beneficial to the island. It was therefore directed that causes might continue to be determined according to the method already in use, which was understood to be familiar to the inhabitants and to have their approval. It was further ordered that, in cases involving the taking away of life, limb, or land, proceedings were to follow the method of trial by jury. It was also explained that the system of laws previously sent had largely been drawn from the model established on the Company's island of Bombay, where the population was estimated at 20000. However, upon reconsideration, and in light of the much smaller population of St Helena, stated not to exceed 500 men, women, servants, and children, it was considered more suitable, for the present, that the existing method of determining causes should continue to be used, except in capital cases as previously specified. It was further noted that a list had been received containing several columns relating to men, women [...], where the surviving text concluded in an incomplete form. **Interpretations** "Consultation books" referred to official records of meetings and decisions taken by the Governor and Council, serving as administrative and legal documentation. "Capitall causes" referred to cases involving offences punishable by death or severe bodily penalty. "Method" in this context referred to the procedural approach used in hearing and deciding legal disputes, rather than a fixed codified system. **Speculations** Perhaps the decision to relax formal legal procedures reflected practical considerations, recognising that a small population could not sustain a complex judicial system. It was probably intended that retaining jury trials for serious offences ensured that fundamental legal protections were preserved even while simplifying general procedures.
52	41	Women, Servants and Children Cattle &c We very well approve of, and do Require you to send us the like every year, and if any Planter or Leaser shall Refuse upon Demand hereafter to give you such an Account or shall give you a false Account We do hereby Impose upon such offender upon every such offence, a Fine of Forty Shillings to be Levyed by Distress for the use of the Company upon such goods and Chattells toties quoties. 6 We find by the List of guns fired sent us by Captain Beale One Thousand Three hundred and and guns, which is so strange a waste that we could not think our governour would have been guilty of; Especially Considering that Island hath Cost us Forty Thousand pounds without one penny Profitt hitherto more than Refreshment to our ships which all Strangers have had as well as ourselves;	It was stated that the list previously sent, containing detailed columns for men, women, servants, children, cattle, and other matters, had been approved, and it was required that a similar return was to be provided annually. It was further ordered that, if any planter or lessee refused, upon demand, to supply such an account, or provided a false account, a fine of forty shillings was to be imposed for each offence. This fine was to be levied by distraint upon the offender's goods and chattels for the use of the Company. It was further observed, from a report submitted by Captain Antony Beale, that one thousand three hundred guns had been fired, which was described as an excessive and wasteful use of resources. It was stated that such conduct was unexpected of the Governor, particularly in view of the considerable expense already incurred by the Company in maintaining the island, amounting to forty thousand pounds, without any profit other than its use for the refreshment of ships, a benefit that had been extended to foreigners as well as to the Company's own vessels. It was further criticised that interloping ships had been saluted, and that it had been highly improper for the minister, Mr Church, if the report was accurate, to have boarded the interloping

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		But most Imprudent it was to Salute Interlopers, and as vile for our Minister Mr Church (if our Information be true) to be first aboard the Interloper Pitts, that came in last Voyage, and to Entertain him at his House; 7 For the future We Require you to Suffer no Person to go on Board any Interloper Ship, except they have a Licence from under the Governours hand Writing, and if any shall Transgress this Order Levy a Fine of Ten Shillings for the Companys use for each offence 8 For Answering Salutes, We do Enjoin for the future that never above the number of three Guns be fired to any of our Ships at Arrivall, nor any Guns fired at feasts, or the Landing or going on Board	ship Pitts upon its arrival and to have entertained its commander at his house. It was therefore directed that, in future, no person was to go aboard any interloping ship unless they had first obtained a licence in writing from the Governor. Any person who contravened this order was to be fined ten shillings for each offence for the use of the Company. It was also ordered that, in responding to salutes, no more than three guns were to be fired to any Company ship upon its arrival. It was further directed that no guns were to be fired at feasts, or upon the landing or embarkation of persons, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Levyed by distress" referred to the legal process of seizing a person's goods to enforce payment of a debt or fine. "Toties quoties" was a legal expression meaning "as often as", indicating that the penalty was to be applied repeatedly for each separate offence. "Interloper" referred to a ship or trader engaging in unauthorised commerce in violation of the Company's chartered monopoly. "Salute" referred to the firing of guns as a ceremonial or honourary gesture, often used to acknowledge the arrival of ships. **Speculations** Perhaps the strong criticism of the firing of guns reflected concern over the unnecessary expenditure of valuable military supplies in a remote and costly settlement. It was probably intended that restricting contact with interloping ships reinforced the Company's monopoly and discouraged informal or unauthorised trade relationships.
53	42	of Commanders, nor ever above the Number of Seven to any French Dutch, or other Europeans, nor any at all upon any occasion to any Interlopers. 9. And We do Require an Account yearly to be sent us under the Gunners of the Forts hand of all Guns fired, and upon what occasion and that none be fired hereafter upon any occasion whatsoever Except by our Governours for the time being his Order. We Observe it comes to every Planters Turn or Twenty Acres of Land to keep Watch and ward every Sixth Night, which is Two Months of the Year, and that such as do hire their duty to be done for them have forty shillings p Annum for it. And therefore We have thought fitt that the said forty shillings p Annum upon every Twenty Acres of Freehold Land, shall hereafter be paid in Money to the Governour yearly, and the Planters discharged of such constant Watching and Warding in Arms. But Notwithstanding all Free Planters, and all Persons living within the said Island that are able to bear Arms except the Blacks shall be duly Quartered as they have been, and instantly upon Alarms appear at their Respective Quarters in Arms, upon the same Penalty upon the Defaulters as	It was ordered that no more than seven guns were to be fired in salute to any French, Dutch, or other European ships, and that no guns were to be fired on any occasion whatsoever in honour of interloping ships. It was further required that an annual account was to be sent, signed by the gunner of the forts, detailing all guns fired and the occasions upon which they were discharged. It was also directed that no guns were thereafter to be fired on any occasion except by the express order of the Governor for the time being. It was observed that, under the existing arrangement, each planter holding twenty acres of land was required to keep watch and ward every sixth night, amounting to approximately two months of service each year, and that those who hired others to perform this duty on their behalf paid forty shillings per annum. It was therefore ordered that, in future, this sum of forty shillings per annum for every twenty acres of freehold land was to be paid directly in money to the Governor each year, and that planters would thereby be discharged from the obligation of constant watch and ward in arms. It was nevertheless required that all free planters and all other inhabitants of the island capable of bearing arms, except enslaved persons, were to continue to be properly mustered as before, and were to appear immediately at their assigned quarters in arms upon any alarm. Failure to do so was to incur the same penalties as had previously been imposed, or such greater penalties as the Governor and Council might determine. It was also directed that they were to attend as trained bands at general musters and exercises of arms as ordered by the Governor and Council. It was further stated that, upon payment of the required sum, the Governor was to provide the payer with a formal discharge under his hand and seal, and

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		hath been formerly used, or such greater Penaltys our Governour & Councill shall think fitt to Impose upon them. And shall Likewise attend as trained Bands at Generall Musters, and Exercise of Arms as our Governour & Councill shall command them to. The Party so paying his full Debt the Governour shall not only give him a Discharge under his hand and Seal, But also a Deed in Point from the Company for the Tenure of his Lands	also to issue a deed from the Company confirming the tenure of the land, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Watch and ward" referred to the obligation of inhabitants to undertake periodic guard duty for the defence of the settlement, particularly during the night. "Freehold land" denoted land held in full ownership, rather than under temporary or conditional tenure, subject to the terms imposed by the Company. "Trained bands" referred to organised local militia units composed of inhabitants who were required to assemble for military training and defence. "Tenure" referred to the legal conditions under which land was held, including rights of possession and obligations owed to the granting authority. **Speculations** Perhaps the commutation of guard duty into a monetary payment reflected an effort to professionalise defence by relying more on paid soldiers rather than part time service by planters. It was probably intended that maintaining the requirement for musters and alarms ensured that, despite this change, the population remained capable of collective defence in emergencies.
54	43	to be holden from the Company according to a form sent our Governour herewith, to which as Witnesses our Governour and Council shall Sign and the Register attest mentioning the Folio of the Register Booke wherein the said Lands is Registered, for which the Fee Planters as also the Leasers shall only pay the Register Two shillings and six pence. And When any Land shall be hereafter Sold or Alienated given or Devised, the same so Bargained given or Devised shall be Null and Void to the Purchaser, Inheritor or Legatee, Except such Bargain, Alienation, gift or Devise shall be Registered in the said Register Booke within a Month next after the date of such Bargain sale, alienation, gift or Devise for the said Fee of Two shillings and six pence only, and Twelve pence p Acre for Registering to the Company as Lords Proprietors of the Island. We do further Order that no Person whatsoever do Presume to cutt any Timber Tree upon the Companys ground, or any Tree of their growing to be Timber, upon the Penelty of Twenty shillings for every offence. We have formerly Prohibited our Free Planters from buying any Negroes upon this Reason Vizt least the numbers of the Negroes upon the Island exceed the Whites should become formidable and Dangerous to the Inhabitants, and the Security of our Island; But upon further thinking of this Matter, considering likewise that there in Barbados usually fifty Thousand Blacks to Six Thousand Whites and yet are kept in Subjection without other Garrison than the Planters themselves and	It was directed that deeds for land were to be held from the Company according to a prescribed form sent to the Governor. These deeds were to be signed by the Governor and Council as witnesses and attested by the Register, who was to record the folio of the register book in which the land had been entered. For this process, both planters and lessees were to pay only a fee of two shillings and six pence to the Register. It was further ordered that, whenever any land was sold, alienated, given, or devised, such transactions would be deemed null and void to the purchaser, inheritor, or legatee unless they were registered in the official register book within one month of the date of the transaction. For such registration, a fee of two shillings and six pence was to be paid, together with an additional twelve pence per acre payable to the Company as the lords proprietors of the island. It was also ordered that no person was to cut any timber tree on the Company's land, or any tree suitable for timber growing there, under a penalty of twenty shillings for each offence. It was recalled that free planters had previously been prohibited from purchasing enslaved persons, on the grounds that an excessive increase in their numbers might render them formidable and dangerous to the inhabitants and threaten the security of the island. However, upon further consideration, and with reference to the example of Barbados, where it was stated that approximately fifty thousand enslaved persons were held in subjection by around six thousand white inhabitants without the support of any garrison beyond the planters themselves, the position was reconsidered, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Alienated" referred to the legal transfer of property rights from one person to another, whether by sale or other means. "Devise" referred to the transfer of land or property by will upon death. "Register booke" denoted the official record in which all land transactions were formally entered to establish legal validity. "Lords Proprietors" referred to the East India Company in its capacity as the legal owner of the island, holding ultimate authority over land tenure. **Speculations** Perhaps the strict requirement for registration within

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			one month was intended to prevent disputes over land ownership and to ensure clear legal title in a developing colony. It was probably intended that the comparison with Barbados was used to justify reconsidering restrictions on the ownership of enslaved persons, suggesting that population imbalance could be managed without immediate danger under certain conditions.
55	44	and considering that the Soil and Climate of that Island is fit for Production of Commoditys of a Milder nature than Cattle, as Potatoes Yams, Plantains &ca: being willing that our Inhabitants and free Planters should not only live but grow Rich, as We know they will if they may have hands to Cultivate their Plantations as they have in Barbados, Jamaica, & other worse Places; We have thought fit to take off that Restraint from our Free Planters of Buying of Negroes only with this Condition that every Free Planter, Leave brother Person that will keep to the Number of Forty Negroes shall besides what he ought to do by former Customes, and our Orders, keep one English Man Extraordinary to attend all Allarms as Every Person ought to do upon Twenty Acres of Land, or pay our Governour for the Companys use Forty Shillings p Annm in Lieu of Watching and Warding, as We have hereby Ordered every Free Planter so to do, and so Proportionably (Vizt) for one Negroe Ten Shillings, for Two Negroes Twenty Shillings, for Three Negroes Thirty Shillings p Annm The Reason of which Order is as the Negroes do Increase upon the Island, it will be Necessary for the Company Proportionably to Increase their Garrison, and Soldiers for the Security of the Island as well as of the Inhabitants. And because no Trade can be maintained regularly without a Register of Accounts Dayly kept, and that whenever Goods or Sale are Transferred, some Duty ought to be paid, We do hereby Establish a small Duty to be levyd upon all the Trade of the Island as We have done at Bombay, Fort St George, and all other Places, where	It was further stated that, in consideration of the soil and climate of the island being suitable for the production of commodities of a milder nature than cattle, including potatoes, yams, plantains, and similar crops, it was desired that the inhabitants and free planters should not merely subsist but should prosper. It was observed that such prosperity would be achieved if sufficient labour were available to cultivate their plantations, as had been the case in Barbados, Jamaica, and other places considered less favourable. It was therefore ordered that the previous restriction upon free planters purchasing enslaved persons was to be removed, subject to conditions. It was directed that any free planter, or other person, who maintained up to forty enslaved persons was, in addition to existing obligations under former customs and orders, to keep one additional Englishman to attend alarms, as was required for every twenty acres of land. Alternatively, payment could be made to the Governor for the Company's use in the sum of forty shillings per annum in lieu of performing watch and ward, as had been previously ordered. A proportional scale was also established, whereby for one enslaved person a payment of ten shillings per annum was required, for two enslaved persons twenty shillings, and for three enslaved persons thirty shillings per annum. It was explained that the reason for this order was that, as the number of enslaved persons increased on the island, it would become necessary for the Company to increase its garrison and number of soldiers in proportion, in order to secure both the island and its inhabitants. It was further stated that, as no trade could be properly maintained without a daily register of accounts, and as duties were considered appropriate upon the transfer or sale of goods, a small duty was to be established and levied upon all trade conducted on the island. This measure was noted to be consistent with practices already in place at Bombay, Fort St George, and other Company settlements, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Commoditys of a milder nature" referred to agricultural produce requiring less intensive conditions than livestock, particularly crops suited to tropical climates. "Hands" was used to denote labourers, particularly enslaved persons employed in plantation agriculture. "In lieu of Watching and Warding" referred to the substitution of a monetary payment in place of performing compulsory guard duty. "Garrison" referred to the body of troops stationed on the island for its defence and security. **Speculations** Perhaps the removal of restrictions on the purchase of enslaved persons was intended to stimulate agricultural expansion and increase the economic productivity of the island. It was probably intended that the introduction of proportional payments linked to the number of enslaved persons functioned both as a means of raising revenue and as a mechanism to fund the increased military presence deemed necessary for maintaining control.

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56	45	We or any other Europeans have made any Settlement Vizt For every Ox or Neat Beast Sold a Sale Book kept and Two pence paid for Selling of such Ox or other Beast. For every Ox or other Beast sold and sent on Board any Ship Six pence. For every hundred weight of Sugars Landed [...] For every Hogshead of Arrack Landed [...] For every Hogshead of Wine [...] For every Piece of Callico [...] For every Piece of Silks [...] And so Proportionable for a lesser or a greater Quantity of Goods For every Madagascar Ship besides the former Duty of Two Shillings and Six pence p Ton and five shillings Anchorage shall Leave with the Governour for the use of the Company One able Negroe a Man or a Woman at the Governours Election; Every one of the Companys Ships or Ship in the Companys Service shall Leave with the Governour besides five shilling Anchorage, One Barrall of Serviceable Gun Powder. We hear very Scandalous Reports of loose Women going on Board our Ships; For the future suffer none to go on Board upon any Pretence without a Licence in Writing from the Governour, and if any Offend herein, Fyne them to a Fine of Two Shillings and Six pence for the first Offence, five Shillings for the Second, and Ten Shillings for the Third Offence, and so doubling till you have broke them from that Wicked and Scandalous practice; And compell all things to be sold in an open and Free Markett on Shore, and nothing	It was stated that, in accordance with practices followed in other European settlements, a system of duties was to be established on trade conducted on the island. It was ordered that, for every ox or other neat beast sold, a sale was to be recorded in a sale book and a duty of two pence was to be paid. For every such beast sold and sent on board a ship, a duty of six pence was to be paid. It was further specified that duties were to be levied upon goods landed, including sugar by the hundredweight, hogsheads of arrack, hogsheads of wine, pieces of calico, and pieces of silk, with proportional charges applied for greater or lesser quantities, although several of these entries were partially unreadable and therefore represented as [...] It was also ordered that every ship trading to Madagascar, in addition to the previously required duties of two shillings and six pence per ton and five shillings anchorage, was to deliver to the Governor, for the use of the Company, one able enslaved person, either a man or a woman, at the Governor's discretion. It was further required that every ship belonging to the Company or employed in its service was to provide, in addition to the anchorage duty of five shillings, one barrel of serviceable gunpowder to the Governor. It was reported that scandalous behaviour had occurred, involving women going aboard ships. It was therefore strictly ordered that no woman was to go aboard any ship under any pretext without first obtaining a written licence from the Governor. It was further directed that any person offending in this matter was to be fined two shillings and six pence for the first offence, five shillings for the second, and ten shillings for the third, with the penalty continuing to double for each subsequent offence until the practice was suppressed. It was also ordered that all goods were to be sold openly in a free market on shore, and not otherwise, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Neat beast" referred to cattle or bovine livestock, commonly used in early modern legal and commercial terminology. "Hogshead" was a large cask used for storing liquids such as wine or spirits, with a standardised capacity varying by commodity. "Callico" referred to a type of cotton cloth imported from India, widely traded in the early modern period. "Sale book" denoted an official record in which transactions were entered to ensure accountability and the proper collection of duties. **Speculations** Perhaps the imposition of detailed duties on goods and livestock was intended to create a structured revenue system similar to those in more established Company settlements. It was probably intended that requiring Madagascar ships to provide an enslaved person and Company ships to provide gunpowder ensured a steady supply of labour and military resources without direct expenditure.
57	46	to be carried on Board our Ships, and if any shall Transgress this Order compell them to pay double Customs, otherwise punish them at your discretion, till you have this matter in good order as it is in other parts of the world in all Places where there is any good Government. For any other Commoditys for which no Rates of Customs is hereby Sett, You are at your discretion to sett such	It was ordered that no goods were to be carried on board Company ships, and that any person who transgressed this order was to be compelled to pay double customs, or otherwise be punished at the discretion of the Governor until proper order was established, consistent with practices in other well governed places. It was further directed that, for any commodities for which no specific rates of customs had been set, the Governor was authorised to establish moderate duties at his discretion, provided that such rates were not

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		Moderate Rates as may not be Burthensome to the Inhabitants, and may bear some proportion to the Rates or Value of the Commoditys as aforesaid. Suffer no Person to Sell Arrack, Brandy, Punch, Wine or any other strong Liquor by Retail without a Licence from our Governour under his hand and Seal, and let no Person have any Licence for above one Year for which Each Person shall pay Ten Shillings p Annum to the Company. Be very Severe against Robbers and Vicious & besides the Punishment appointed by our System of Laws, if any be found guilty of such Misdemeanors the third time, Force the offender to wear about his Neck an Iron Collar Constantly for one whole Year, or an Iron Lock about his Right Leg. We think for the Publike Utility of the Island Every Person as well Free Planters, Shopkeepers, Lessees, Artificers, and all Servants, Labourers and Negroes, shall afford one days Labour in every Year for the Repair & Meliorating of the high ways, when they shall be Summoned thereunto by our said Surveyours of the Highways by warrant Directed to them from our Governour and Council	burdensome to the inhabitants and were proportionate to the value of the goods. It was also ordered that no person was to sell arrack, brandy, punch, wine, or any other strong liquor by retail without first obtaining a licence under the hand and seal of the Governor. Such licences were not to exceed a duration of one year, and each licensee was required to pay ten shillings per annum to the Company. It was further directed that strict measures were to be taken against robbers and other disorderly persons. In addition to the punishments already established under the Company's system of laws, it was ordered that any person found guilty of such offences for a third time was to be compelled to wear an iron collar about the neck for one full year, or alternatively an iron restraint upon the right leg. It was also ordered, for the public utility of the island, that every person, including free planters, shopkeepers, lessees, artificers, servants, labourers, and enslaved persons, was to provide one day of labour each year for the repair and improvement of the highways. This labour was to be performed when summoned by the surveyors of the highways, acting under a warrant issued by the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** "Double Customs" referred to the imposition of twice the standard duty as a penalty for unauthorised trade or breach of regulations. "Licence under his hand and seal" denoted formal written authorisation issued by the Governor, carrying legal force. "Iron collar" or "iron lock" referred to physical restraints used as punitive devices, intended both as punishment and public deterrent. "Surveyours of the Highways" referred to officials responsible for overseeing the maintenance and repair of roads, a role commonly found in early modern administrative systems. **Speculations** Perhaps the requirement for compulsory labour on highways reflected the limited availability of organised labour for public works on a small and remote island. It was probably intended that the severe and visible punishments for repeat offenders served as a deterrent in a community where formal policing structures were limited.
58	47	and Council, in which your Discretion will lead you to Consider how many and from what Quarters to Summon one day and how many upon another Day; But so as in the whole Every Man upon the Island shall do one Days work upon the said Highways in each Year, or pay for a Days work to the Overseer, and no more whatsoever above one days work in one whole Year. If any Ox or other Beast be Sold, and not duly Entered in the Companys Sold Book, the Bargain to be Null and void, and so are Bargains for House or Land if not Registered as aforesaid, and in case of such Omission the Seller shall forfeit Treble Tolls to the Company and the Buyer of any House or Land unregistered shall pay the Company double Fees for Registering an Alienation of any such House or Land so clandestinely sold or Alienated. We do Confirm the Rate of Twenty Shillings p Ton in Money	It was directed that, in arranging the annual labour for the repair of highways, discretion was to be exercised in determining how many persons were to be summoned on particular days and from which parts of the island. It was nevertheless required that every man on the island was to perform one day's work each year on the highways, or alternatively to pay the equivalent value of one day's labour to the overseer, and that no person was to be required to perform more than one day's work within a single year. It was further ordered that, if any ox or other beast was sold and not properly entered in the Company's sale book, the transaction was to be deemed null and void. Likewise, any sale or transfer of a house or land that was not registered as previously directed was to be invalid. In such cases, the seller was to forfeit treble tolls to the Company, and the purchaser of any unregistered house or land was to pay double fees to the Company for the registration of such clandestine transactions. It was also confirmed that a duty of twenty shillings per ton, payable in money or goods, was to be charged to every East India interloping ship arriving at the island before the Governor permitted such a ship, or any person belonging to it, to receive water or other refreshment. It was expressly stated that this provision

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		or goods to be paid by every East India Interloper that comes hither, before our Governour suffer any such Ship, or any Person upon her to have Water or any other Refreshment; By this Paragraph We intend not to give any Allowance for Interlopers to Trade or Traffick at our Island. But in Case to save their Lives there be a necessity of relieving them in such Case only you are to take the rates aforesaid and suffer them to have Refreshment for their Money. And We do hereby Strictly forbid all Persons upon the Island from suffering the Cattle to Stray, or as our Laws saith to be levant and Couchant upon the Companys waste Land, except such only	was not intended to permit interlopers to trade at the island, but that, in cases of necessity where relief was required to preserve life, such ships might be supplied upon payment of the stated rates. It was further strictly forbidden that any person on the island was to allow cattle to stray, or, as described in the laws, to be "levant and couchant" upon the Company's waste land, except in specified cases, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Sold book" referred to an official record in which all sales of goods or livestock were entered to ensure legality and accountability. "Treble tolls" denoted a penalty of three times the normal duty or fee, imposed for failing to comply with registration requirements. "Interloper" referred to unauthorised traders operating in violation of the Company's monopoly under its royal charter. "Levant and couchant" was a legal phrase referring to animals habitually rising and lying down on land, used to describe grazing rights or unauthorised pasturing. **Speculations** Perhaps the strict invalidation of unregistered transactions was intended to enforce transparency and prevent disputes over ownership in a developing colonial settlement. It was probably intended that allowing interlopers to obtain supplies only in cases of necessity balanced humanitarian concerns with the Company's determination to uphold its trading monopoly.
59	48	only as shall be first Marked with the Companys Pitch brand which We send you herewith. The Cattle suffered to feed with the Companys being to be Marked upon May day in every Year, or some other Certain Day, as the Governour shall Direct, and the owners of every beast are to pay the Company Twelve pence p head for being suffered to graze one year upon the Companys waste Lands, as used here in Forests, and other Places where we have Commons, Pescionage, as the Lawyers call it. And tho we shall Esteem (as all Lords of Mannors here do) till fine and Ransom be made at the Lords Pleasure all cattle found upon the Companys wastes to be the Companys own Proper Goods and Chattles that have not the Companys waste Mark or Pitch brand upon them, yet we think it very Requisite that all the Companys Cattle should be marked on each horn with a burnt mark, to the end that if any of them (by ill men) should be killed, or Die the Skin may be known to be the Companys when they are Sold. And in regard in all parts of the known world and amongst all sorts of Religions, the Inhabitants after they are once Settled do pay something towards the Charge of a Minister, We do hereby Order and Direct that every Master or Mistress of a Family of what Condition Soever shall yearly pay unto our	It was directed that no cattle were to be permitted to graze upon the Company's waste lands unless they had first been marked with the Company's pitch brand, which had been provided for that purpose. It was further ordered that cattle allowed to feed alongside those of the Company were to be marked annually on May Day, or on another fixed day as determined by the Governor. For this privilege, the owner of each animal was required to pay the Company a fee of twelve pence per head for one year's grazing upon the Company's waste lands, in accordance with practices similar to those used in forests and other common lands, referred to in legal terms as "pescionage". It was also stated that any cattle found upon the Company's waste lands without the proper mark or pitch brand were to be regarded as the Company's own goods and chattels, in the same manner as lords of manors might claim such animals until a fine or ransom had been paid. It was nevertheless considered necessary that all cattle belonging to the Company were to be marked distinctly upon each horn with a burnt mark, so that, if any were killed unlawfully or died, their skins could be identified as Company property when brought to sale. It was further observed that, in all parts of the known world and among all religions, settled inhabitants contributed towards the support of a minister. It was therefore ordered that every master or mistress of a household, regardless of condition, was to pay annually to the Receiver General a sum of six pence per head for each person within the household above the age of sixteen years, whether male or female, white or black. This payment was to contribute towards the Company's expenses in building a church and maintaining a minister, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Pitch brand" referred to a mark applied using a tar like substance or heated instrument to identify ownership of livestock. "Waste lands" denoted uncultivated or common lands

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		Receiver General Six pence p head for every Person Yearly, Man or Woman, Whites or Blacks above the Age of Sixteen Years for and towards the Companys charge of Building the Church and Maintaining of a Minister, the first Payment whereof to Commence	belonging to the Company, used for grazing under regulated conditions. "Pescionage" was a legal term referring to the right to pasture animals on another's land, often in return for a fee. "Receiver General" referred to the official responsible for collecting revenues and payments due to the Company. **Speculations** Perhaps the strict marking and regulation of cattle grazing was intended to prevent disputes over ownership and to protect Company property from theft or misuse. It was probably intended that the levy for the support of a minister reflected both religious priorities and the desire to impose a structured social and moral order within the settlement.
60	49	commence and be Paid upon the feast of St Michael the Arch angel which shall be in the Year of our Lord god 1684. We do likewise Order that no Blacks do use any Fire Arms for Shooting of Guinea Hens, or upon any other Pretence whatsoever upon the Penalty of the Black being severely whipped, and his service to be for ever forfeited to the Company if it can be proved that his Master did any way Consent or connive thereat. You did well in buying in that Plantation of Mr Smoults that is contiguous to ours, If there be any other that incommode us You will do well to take the first opportunity of buying in for the Company or giving the owners other Lands in Lieu thereof. We would have you Fence in the full and whole Extent of the great wood aforesaid which we understand is near two Miles Square. Your Loving Friends Our Governour & Council at St Helena London 22th August 1683 We think you were not severe enough by much in the Cases of Contemptuous words to the governour, such Insolences have a Tending to Contempt of Authority, Mutiny and Rebellion, And therefore ought to be punished severely both in person and purse;	It was ordered that the payment for the maintenance of a minister was to commence on the feast of St Michael the Archangel, falling in the year 1684. It was further directed that no enslaved person was to use firearms for shooting guinea hens or for any other purpose. If such an offence occurred, the individual was to be severely whipped, and if it could be proven that the master had consented to or permitted such use, the service of that enslaved person was to be forfeited permanently to the Company. It was noted with approval that the plantation belonging to Mr Smoults, which lay contiguous to the Company's lands, had been purchased. It was further advised that, if any other neighbouring plantations caused inconvenience, the Governor was to take the earliest opportunity to acquire them for the Company or to exchange them for other lands. It was also directed that the entirety of the great wood was to be enclosed, being described as extending to approximately two miles square. The correspondence concluded with a closing expression of regard. Further instructions were issued to the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated at London on 22 August 1683. It was stated that insufficient severity had been shown in dealing with cases involving contemptuous words spoken against the Governor. Such conduct was described as tending towards contempt of authority, mutiny, and rebellion. It was therefore directed that such offences were to be punished with greater severity, both in bodily punishment and by financial penalties, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Feast of St Michael the Archangel" referred to 29 September, a traditional quarter day in England commonly used for the commencement of rents and obligations. "Connive" denoted the act of knowingly permitting or overlooking an offence without taking action. "Contiguous" referred to land directly adjoining or touching another property. "Contemptuous words" referred to speech showing disrespect towards authority, which in early modern contexts could be treated as a serious threat to order. **Speculations** Perhaps the strict prohibition on enslaved persons using firearms reflected fears of rebellion and the need to maintain strict control over access to weapons. It was probably intended that the acquisition of adjoining lands formed part of a strategy to consolidate Company control over key areas of the island.

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61	50	We must desire you in all your Consultations not only to Study Regularity, Order, and Plausibility to the People (which are all very good) but likewise the Companys Interest and Profit, or Reimbursment for the Infinite Charge they have been at in that Place which is highly reasonable as hath been discoursed at large before. Your Loving Friends A Clause in the Second Charter of King Charles the 2d Dated August the 9. 1685 in the 35th Year of his Reign. And also that the said Governour & Deputy Gover and Court of the said Company for the time being, or the Major part of them duly Assembled, shall have full Power Licence and Authority to name and appoint Governours and officers from time to time in the said Forts and Factorys and Plantations, which said Governours and officers shall have, and by these Presents We do for us our Heirs and Successors give them full Power and Authority to raise Arms, Train and Muster such military Forces as to them shall Requisite and Necessary, and to Execute and use within the said Plantations, Forts and Places, the Law called Marshall Law, for the defence of the said Forts Places & Plantations against any Foreign Invasion, or Domestick Insurrection or Rebellion or to follow such Orders, directions & Instructions as from time to time shall be given them by the Governour or Deputy Gover and Court of the said Company, or the Major part of them; The Sovereign Right, Power & dominion over all the said Forts, Places and Plantations to be at any time settled in the parts aforesaid.	It was directed that, in all consultations, attention was not only to be given to maintaining regularity, order, and acceptability to the inhabitants, but also to ensuring the Company's interest, profit, and reimbursement for the considerable expense it had incurred in maintaining the island. It was stated that such consideration was reasonable, having been previously discussed at length. The communication concluded with a closing expression of regard. A clause from the second charter of King Charles the Second, dated 9 August 1685 in the thirty fifth year of his reign, was then set out. It was declared that the Governor, Deputy Governor, and the Court of the Company, or the majority of them duly assembled, were to have full power, licence, and authority to appoint governors and officers from time to time for the Company's forts, factories, and plantations. It was further granted that such governors and officers were to have full authority to raise arms, and to train and muster such military forces as were considered necessary. They were also empowered to execute and apply martial law within the said plantations, forts, and places for the defence of those locations against any foreign invasion, or any domestic insurrection or rebellion. It was also directed that such officers were to follow such orders, directions, and instructions as might be issued from time to time by the Governor, Deputy Governor, and the Court of the Company, or the majority of them. It was thereby affirmed that the sovereign right, power, and dominion over all such forts, places, and plantations were vested in the Company. **Interpretations** "Factorys" referred not to manufacturing sites, but to trading establishments operated by the Company, often serving as commercial and administrative centres. "Marshall Law" referred to martial law, being the exercise of military authority in place of civil law during times of emergency or conflict. "Court of the Company" referred to the governing body of the East India Company, responsible for making decisions and issuing directives. "Sovereign Right, Power & dominion" denoted the broad governing authority granted to the Company, including administrative, legal, and military control over its territories. **Speculations** Perhaps the emphasis on profit and reimbursement reflected growing concern within the Company about the financial burden of maintaining St Helena without sufficient return. It was probably intended that the grant of authority to impose martial law reinforced the Company's capacity to respond swiftly to threats in distant and potentially unstable territories.
62	51	Our Govr & Council of St Helena London 3 August 1687 And in the first place we require our Governour to levy by distress, or otherwise those dutys we formerly imposed upon our Inhabitants for their Blacks, and Six pence p head p Annum towards a Maintenance of the Church and Minister, all Excuses sett apart. We dislyford the Interloper from Madagascar when you had him in Suspition, you should have detained his person till he had paid	Instructions were issued to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated at London on 3 August 1687. It was first required that the Governor was to levy, by distraint or other means, the duties previously imposed upon the inhabitants in respect of their enslaved persons, together with the annual payment of six pence per head for the maintenance of the church and minister. It was directed that these payments were to be enforced without accepting any excuses. It was further stated that disapproval was held regarding the handling of an interloping ship from Madagascar. It was noted that, when the commander had been under suspicion, he ought to have been detained until the required duty had been paid, rather than being released. It was therefore ordered that such

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		our Duty, and not parted with him so tamely, which We require our Governour never to do again in the like case, and if he should We shall satisfie ourselves out of his Sallary for the duty of such Madagascar Interlopers that Escape his hands after he hath the Commanded on Shore. You must not hereafter dispence with our Orders, nor suffer the Inhabitants to Disobey yours; But make it your Business to undeceive those Ignorant Inhabitants by Convincing them as the Truth is, That We are Invested by his Majesty with the Exercise of the Soveraign Power in that Island as well Legislative as Executive, and that We will Govern them as well as our Soldiers by Marshall Law as often as We or you find it Necessary, and as the Dutch do their Colonies in India.	leniency was not to be shown in future cases. It was also declared that, if any such interloping ships escaped after being brought under the Governor's control, the Company would recover the unpaid duties from the Governor's salary. It was also directed that the Governor was not to dispense with the Company's orders, nor to allow the inhabitants to disregard his authority. It was emphasised that efforts were to be made to correct the misunderstandings of the inhabitants by making it clear that the Company had been invested by the King with sovereign power over the island, both legislative and executive. It was further stated that governance was to be exercised, when necessary, by the use of martial law over both inhabitants and soldiers, in a manner comparable to that practised by the Dutch in their colonies in India. **Interpretations** "Levy by distress" referred to the legal seizure of goods to enforce payment of debts or duties. "Dispence" in this context referred to the act of waiving or disregarding established orders or regulations. "Soveraign Power" denoted the authority to govern independently, including the power to make laws and enforce them. "Marshall Law" referred to martial law, involving the use of military authority in governing and disciplining a population. **Speculations** Perhaps the insistence on strict enforcement of duties reflected concern within the Company about loss of revenue and declining discipline among the inhabitants. It was probably intended that the threat of deducting unpaid duties from the Governor's salary served as a direct incentive for stricter enforcement of Company regulations.
63	52	We see all our Dutys and all our payments of goods comes in by Cattle, and therefore for the future, We have Ordered all our Ships to Receive their Cattle immediately from the Company whilst you have any of ours fitt for their Service, and none from the Inhabitants, But when you have not sufficient to furnish our Ships with (which is the Dutch way at the Cape, and Necessary to be Observed and imitated by all wise Governments) that we intend to do it with that Moderation that it shall be rather a Benefitt than a hindrance to the Planters, Vizt you shall receive from the Planters in Truck for our Europe commodities at any time after the rate of Sixteen shillings p C for Beef, or as near that rate as you can Reasonably Judge for cattle alive, and you shall deliver such cattle to the Commanders in Truck for Sugar, or other Commodities of India, or Bills of Exchange upon us, at the same rate of Sixteen shillings p hundred for Beef, which Sugar, Arrack or other commodities of India so Received into our Stores, you may Sell again to the Planters or Soldiers when they have occasion for it by Retail at the reasonable Profitt of Twenty p Cent which Reasonable gain upon such wasting	It was observed that all duties and payments received by the Company were being made in cattle. It was therefore ordered that, in future, all Company ships were to receive their cattle directly from the Company's own stock, so long as sufficient cattle fit for service were available, and none were to be taken from the inhabitants. It was further directed that, when the Company's own supply was insufficient, cattle might be obtained from the planters, following a method similar to that used by the Dutch at the Cape. In such cases, it was intended that the arrangement would be conducted with moderation so as to benefit rather than disadvantage the planters. It was ordered that cattle were to be received from the planters in exchange for European goods at a rate of sixteen shillings per hundredweight for beef, or as near to that rate as could reasonably be judged for live cattle. These cattle were then to be supplied to ship commanders in exchange for sugar or other commodities from India, or for bills of exchange, at the same rate of sixteen shillings per hundredweight for beef. It was further directed that such commodities, including sugar and arrack, when brought into the Company's stores, might be sold again to planters or soldiers by retail at a reasonable profit of twenty per cent. It was stated that such a margin on perishable goods could not be considered excessive or oppressive. It was also declared that, in dealing with disorderly or unmanageable persons, the proper remedy was the enforcement of law and the imposition of severe punishment. It was noted that the Governor now possessed the authority to establish and apply such measures at discretion, and it was required that this authority was to be exercised. It was further ordered that all laws previously issued, including those delivered by Sir Thomas Grantham and subsequently, were to be fully enforced, with the exception of the half tax of two

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		commodities no Man in his witts can think hard or oppressive And for Men distracted and Ungovernable, the only Remedy is Law and Severe Punishment, which you have now Power to Provide and Inflict at discretion, and which We require you to use, and to make every Law We gave you by S r Thomas Grantham and since to be Intirely Obeyed except the half Tax that we laid upon the Plantations of Two Shillings p Acre. You	shillings per acre that had been imposed upon plantations. **Interpretations** "Truck" referred to barter or exchange of goods without the use of money, a common practice in early colonial trade. "Bills of Exchange" were financial instruments used to transfer funds between distant locations, functioning as a form of credit or payment. "Sixteen shillings per hundredweight" referred to a standardised rate for valuing beef or cattle based on weight, used for consistent exchange. "Twenty per cent" denoted the permitted profit margin on resale of goods, reflecting controlled pricing practices. **Speculations** Perhaps the requirement to prioritise Company owned cattle was intended to secure a more reliable and controlled supply for Company ships. It was probably intended that the regulated barter system allowed the Company to manage trade flows efficiently while maintaining oversight of both supply and pricing within the island economy.
64	53	You must also wear the Kings Flagg, and force due respect to be paid to it, by all Ships that come into that road. Our Governour is very much to blame in not doing his duty in keeping Mr Smoult from running so much in our Debt, which he might have prevented by the Orders We gave him, as the case stands we require to seize all Mr Smoults Cattle, and sequester them and his Plantation into the Companys hands; and if you should reply to us that he hath made over his Plantation and his Cattle to Mr Eyson or his Son in Law: We must answer you in that Maxim of the Law Nullum tempus occurrit Regi aut Ecclesiae, and we are in that Island with his gracious Permission and so long as his Majesty Pleases in loco Regis, and therefore all Conveyances Assignments, Bargain, Sale or whatever else Mr Smoult hath done of that kind to others, since he Entred into bond with us are of no force or Validity, The Company must always have the Preference in India, as his Majesty justly hath here, which you must ever observe as a Standing Law and Rule in that Island We Require for the future, that all Goods, be they Sugar Arrack, or any other thing received from our Commanders in Truck for Cattle, or otherwise be delivered to our Storekeeper, and that he be our General Accomptant and keep all the Accounts of our Island Whatsoever: Altho our Governour keeps the head duty of Lands, Cattle &c as formerly, a Copy of which Account he is to deliver to our Storekeeper	It was directed that the King's flag was to be displayed, and that all ships entering the road were to be required to show due respect to it. It was further stated that the Governor had been at fault in allowing Mr Smoult to fall deeply into debt to the Company, which might have been prevented by adherence to earlier instructions. It was therefore ordered that all of Mr Smoult's cattle were to be seized, and that both his cattle and plantation were to be sequestered into the Company's possession. It was also declared that, if it were argued that Mr Smoult had transferred his plantation or cattle to Mr Eyson or to his son in law, such conveyances were to be disregarded. Reference was made to the legal maxim "Nullum tempus occurrit Regi aut Ecclesiae", indicating that no lapse of time could bar the rights of the Crown or the Church. It was asserted that, by the King's permission, the Company stood in the place of the King on the island, and therefore any transfers, assignments, bargains, or sales made by Mr Smoult after entering into bond with the Company were to be considered void. It was further emphasised that the Company was to have priority in all such matters within its territories, in the same manner as the Crown held precedence in England, and that this principle was to be observed as a standing rule on the island. It was also required that all goods received from ship commanders in exchange for cattle, or by any other means, including sugar, arrack, or other commodities, were to be delivered to the Company's storekeeper. The storekeeper was to act as the general accountant for the island, maintaining all accounts relating to the Company's affairs. It was further directed that, although the Governor was to continue maintaining the principal accounts relating to duties on land and cattle, a copy of these accounts was to be provided to the storekeeper. **Interpretations** "Road" referred to a roadstead, being an area of sheltered water where ships could anchor near a shore. "Sequester" referred to the legal act of taking possession of property, often for the purpose of securing debts or enforcing authority. "Nullum tempus occurrit Regi aut Ecclesiae" was a legal maxim meaning that time does not run against the King or the Church, indicating that their rights cannot be lost through delay. "In loco Regis" referred to acting in the place or authority of the King. **Speculations** Perhaps the insistence on honouring the King's flag was

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			intended to reinforce both royal authority and the Company's legitimacy in governing the island. It was probably intended that the seizure of Mr Smoult's property served as a warning to others regarding the consequences of indebtedness and non compliance with Company authority.
65	54	Storekeeper and general Accountant, and all our Accounts abstracted into one fair of Books, in which we Require our Governour and Storekeeper that there be a Distinct Account kept of the Forts Expences, a particular Account of Plantation Expences, and a particular Account of the Charges of the Garrison, that we may see at one View what it is that Eats out the Companys Income; and all the Estate they send to the Island, and if Captain Holden can contrive it We would have a Distinct Account kept of the Charges and Expence of our Cattle, which is a fourth General Account: which we would have always fairly kept in our Ledger, and as our Storekeeper Charges himself with all Goods and Money received, So we would have him give us Creditts for all Sugar Arrack &c[.] receive from our Ships and Commanders at the price he takes it, and make the Account of Fort Expence Debtor for all he Delivers to be spent in the Fort, and for all Cattle killed for the use of the Fort, the like Account we Expect he should keep for all Cattle bought or sold or received or any way disposed of, to which Orders We require our Governours immediate Complyance; being resolved we will be obeyed by him, and all others which Eat our bread. We Confirm all our Orders sent you by S[ir] Thomas Granthams Ship, and subsequent Conveyances, requiring you to put all our said Orders with these now sent into Effectuall Execution, and that in Order thereunto you do make an Extract of all our said Orders, except what we have since Remitted, and enter them in a Book to be alwayes lying on your Council Table S[ig]ned Publick to	It was directed that the storekeeper was to act as the general accountant, and that all accounts relating to the island were to be brought together into a single set of clear and orderly books. It was required that distinct accounts were to be maintained for the expenses of the forts, for the plantation expenses, and for the charges of the garrison, so that it might be clearly seen what elements were consuming the Company's income, and how the resources sent to the island were being used. It was further suggested that, if it could be arranged, a separate account was also to be kept of the costs and expenses relating to the Company's cattle, thereby forming a fourth principal account. All such accounts were to be properly maintained within the Company's ledger. It was also directed that, as the storekeeper charged himself with all goods and money received, he was likewise to credit the Company for all sugar, arrack, and similar commodities received from ships and their commanders at the price at which they were taken in. The account of fort expenses was to be charged with all goods issued for use in the fort, including cattle slaughtered for that purpose. Similar accounts were to be kept for all cattle bought, sold, received, or otherwise disposed of. Immediate compliance with these requirements was demanded from the Governor, and it was stated that obedience would be enforced upon him and all others supported by the Company. It was further declared that all previous orders sent by Sir Thomas Grantham's ship, and by subsequent communications, were to be confirmed and fully executed, together with the present instructions. It was required that an extract of all such orders, except those later revoked, was to be made and entered into a book, which was to be kept at all times upon the council table and signed publicly, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Abstracted into one fair of Books" referred to the consolidation of various accounts into a single clear and organised ledger system. "Ledger" denoted the principal accounting book in which all financial transactions were systematically recorded. "Debtor" referred to the accounting practice of recording expenditures or liabilities charged against a particular account. "Extract" referred to a compiled summary or selection of orders drawn from a larger body of instructions for practical reference. **Speculations** Perhaps the insistence on detailed and separated accounts reflected concern over financial mismanagement or lack of transparency in the administration of the island. It was probably intended that maintaining a consolidated and accessible record of orders ensured consistent enforcement and reduced confusion among officials responsible for governance.
66	55	to all the Inhabitants of the Island, such our Orders being to you and all the Inhabitants of that Island (during his Majesty's Pleasure) as good Laws as Magna Charter is to England, and he that thinks it to be otherwise doth but discover his own Ignorance, All	It was directed that the compiled book of orders was to be made publicly available to all inhabitants of the island, and that such orders were to be regarded, during the King's pleasure, as binding laws equivalent in authority to Magna Carta in England. It was further stated that any person who thought otherwise demonstrated ignorance. It was asserted that all foreign

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		forreign Planters being indisputably subject to his Majesty's despotical Power, which whoever doubts may easily be satisfied by looking into our Statute Books, where he will soon observe, that our English Acts of Parliament extend no farther than to the Kingdom of England Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, Neither is the municipall or Common Law of England of any further Extent. We do Injoin you for the future to suffer no Person whatsoever to retail any Liquor or Tobacco without paying the Company four Pounds p[er] Annum Quarterly, which you can't think hard, while there is none at the Cape permitted to use that occupation without paying the Dutch four hundred pounds p[er] Annum. Upon Perusal of your Council Book beginning the 21: June 1680 We approve of the manner of your Trying the Blacks, but think very meanly of you for the matter of the sentence, and wonder the more how you could be Guilty of such Weakness, as to lett those Blacks pass with Whiping, when an English Man would have been Condemned to die here by a Jury, Especially since M[r] Cox was present who knows the English could not help the knife from their throats at Barbados, if they did not Punish their Stubborn Blacks with far greater Severity, Those Blacks which you whipped but once;	planters were subject to the sovereign authority of the King, described as absolute in nature, and that this could be confirmed by reference to statute law, which was said to extend only to the Kingdom of England, the dominion of Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, while the common law of England was also stated not to extend beyond those limits. It was further ordered that no person was to be permitted to retail liquor or tobacco without paying to the Company a fee of four pounds per annum, payable quarterly. It was stated that this charge was not excessive, particularly when compared with the situation at the Cape, where a much higher fee was required by the Dutch. It was also noted, following a review of the council book beginning on 21 June 1680, that the method used in trying enslaved persons had been approved, but that dissatisfaction was expressed regarding the leniency of the sentences imposed. It was remarked that it was surprising that such weakness had been shown, particularly as the offences had resulted only in whipping, whereas an Englishman would have been condemned to death by a jury under similar circumstances. It was further observed that Mr Cox had been present and was aware that, in places such as Barbados, severe punishments were considered necessary to prevent violence against the English population. It was further stated that those enslaved persons who had been punished only once by whipping had not received sufficient punishment, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Magna Charter" referred to Magna Carta, the foundational legal charter of England, used here as a comparison to emphasise the authority of the Company's orders. "Despotical Power" denoted absolute or unrestricted authority, particularly in a colonial context where governance was exercised without the full application of English law. "Retail" referred to the sale of goods directly to consumers in small quantities. "Council Book" referred to the official record of proceedings and decisions taken by the Governor and Council. **Speculations** Perhaps the comparison to Magna Carta was intended to reinforce the legitimacy and binding nature of Company regulations among the inhabitants. It was probably intended that the criticism of lenient punishments reflected broader anxieties about maintaining control in a society with a growing population of enslaved persons.
67	56	if you were minded to save their Lives for their Masters sake (which We vehemently Suspect) you should have rather whiped them Six or Eight times by Intervals, keeping them in the Interim to hard Imprisonment. Your punishment of Thomas Eastings is likewise much still worse piece of Vagranty instead of a Punishment, that we are ashamed our said Governour should be guilty of so great folly We know runnagates Young fellows love to rambling, and believe if the Fellow had Committed no fault deserving Death, or Imprisonment, he would have thank'd the Governour for giving him such an opportunity to satisfie his humour of	It was stated that, if there had been an intention to spare the lives of the enslaved persons for the sake of their masters, which was strongly suspected, it would have been more appropriate to have subjected them to repeated punishments, such as whipping six or eight times at intervals, combined with periods of strict imprisonment. It was further declared that the punishment imposed upon Thomas Eastings had been highly improper and ineffective, being described as a form of vagrancy rather than a true punishment. It was expressed that such conduct on the part of the Governor was a matter of shame. It was observed that young men inclined to wandering would welcome such treatment, and that, if the individual had not committed an offence deserving death or imprisonment, he would have regarded the opportunity to travel as a reward rather than a penalty. It was noted that the Dutch did not banish white men from their territories in India in

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		Rambling Places, The wise Dutch never Banish white Men of out India for to send home such to any part of Europe is rather a Reward than a Punishment. If you had been minded to save that Rogues life, you should rather have kept him with an Iron Collar about his neck, or Chained him, or confined him to hard Imprisonment and Labour, till you had an opportunity to Banish him to the West coast of Sumatra or some place where he might work hard for his a living in India; and be added to the number of English Sailors, which to Preserve the Pepper trade to this Kingdom are Obliged to live in the worst Airs; And therefore we forbid you now and forever hereafter to mock the Justice of your Island with such a sham Banishment, as sending a Delinquent home to his own Country. On Perusal of your Consultation Book beginning the 19 July 1686 We observe you started our Orders of not alienating more	such a manner, as sending offenders back to Europe was considered a reward rather than a punishment. It was therefore directed that, if it had been desired to spare the life of the offender, he should instead have been subjected to harsher measures, such as confinement with an iron collar, chaining, or hard imprisonment combined with labour. It was suggested that, when an opportunity arose, such a person might be banished to places such as the west coast of Sumatra or other locations in India, where he would be compelled to labour and could be added to the number of English sailors required to sustain the pepper trade, despite the unhealthy conditions in those regions. It was further ordered that such ineffective punishments were not to be repeated, and that the administration of justice on the island was not to be undermined by what was described as a sham banishment, particularly by sending offenders back to their own country. It was also noted, upon review of the consultation book beginning on 19 July 1686, that certain orders relating to the alienation of land had been raised for consideration, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Vagranty" referred to behaviour associated with wandering or lack of fixed residence, here used to criticise a punishment that allowed freedom rather than imposing restraint. "Runnagates" referred to runaway or disorderly individuals, often used to describe those prone to wandering or disobedience. "Banishment" referred to the expulsion of an individual from a territory, traditionally used as a severe punishment but here criticised as ineffective in this context. "Pepper trade" referred to the highly valuable trade in pepper from the East Indies, which required a supply of labour and seamen despite harsh conditions. **Speculations** Perhaps the insistence on harsher punishments reflected a broader concern about maintaining strict discipline in a remote colony with limited means of enforcement. It was probably intended that redirecting offenders into labour in distant Company territories served both as punishment and as a means of supplying manpower to difficult environments.
68	57	more of our ground, to the Liberty of changing some of it with John Cannady, which is a Liberty we would not have you take hereafter, Especially when it is no real service to us, which you do not so much as pretend in that Consultation, and since you have left it to us to Impose the cheif rent upon the Land you have Alienated to Cannady in Chappels Valley, We do Assess that at two Dollars p[er] Annum, and Order you to enter it in your rent Roll, and Recover it accordingly. We think the Law you have made concerning Satisfaction to be levied by Poll upon all the owners of Blacks to satisfie other owners, whose Blacks shall be Executed for heinous Offences, is a good Law and which we do therefore hereby Confirm for a standing Law in that Island, But you went beyond your line, when you gave Two pounds five shillings of the Companys Money to	It was observed that permission had been taken to exchange some of the Company's land with John Cannady, a liberty which was disapproved. It was directed that such actions were not to be undertaken in future, particularly where no clear benefit to the Company had been demonstrated. It was further ordered that, since the matter had been referred to the Company, a chief rent was to be imposed upon the land alienated to Cannady in Chappels Valley, which was assessed at two dollars per annum. This rent was to be entered into the rent roll and duly collected. It was further stated that a law previously enacted, whereby compensation was to be raised by a poll upon all owners of enslaved persons in order to compensate those whose enslaved persons had been executed for serious offences, was approved and confirmed as a standing law of the island. However, it was declared that authority had been exceeded in the payment of two pounds five shillings from Company funds to individuals named Sparkling and Howstake, as no permission had been granted to dispose of Company money in such a manner. It was also directed that, if there was a lack of shipping available to transport offenders deserving of death or severe punishment to places such as Bencoolen or other parts of India, such individuals were

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		Sparkling and Howstake We never gave you Authority to dispose of our Charity. If you say you want Shipping to Banish offenders to Bencolen or India from that deserve death or little less, as the Truth you must keep such offenders in Prison, till you have one of our Ships with you for Bombay, or Fort St George, and send the Prisoners by such next Ships to our Governour or President with an Account of his Crime, and your sentence upon it. And that he shall serve the Company three or four years in any place of India where the Generall or Presidents shall think fitt to send him, And that he shall be forever Bannished from St Helena. Your Loving Friends	to be kept in prison until a suitable Company ship became available. Upon the arrival of a ship bound for Bombay or Fort St George, such prisoners were to be sent under custody to the Governor or President there, together with a full account of their crimes and the sentence imposed. It was further ordered that such offenders were to serve the Company for a term of three or four years in India, in such location as the Governor or President determined, and that they were thereafter to be permanently banished from St Helena. The communication concluded with a closing expression of regard. **Interpretations** "Chief rent" referred to a fixed annual payment due from landholders to the superior landlord, in this case the Company, as a condition of tenure. "Rent roll" denoted the official record listing tenants and the rents owed, used for administrative and financial oversight. "Poll" referred to a levy imposed per head, in this case applied collectively among owners of enslaved persons. "Bencoolen" referred to a Company settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, used as a place of labour and punishment within the Company's territories. **Speculations** Perhaps the imposition of a fixed rent on Cannady's land reflected an effort to regularise and monetise land arrangements that had been informally altered. It was probably intended that transporting offenders to distant Company settlements both removed troublesome individuals from the island and supplied labour to other parts of the Company's network.
69	58	Our Gov[er]n[ou]r and Council of St. Helena London 5th December 1688 We likewise Injoin that no Person Inhabiting the Island, not being Officer or Soldier be Permitted to wear any Swords, it being by the Custome of all Nations an unallowable thing in Frontier Garrisons and we think it may not be very Proper for your Private Soldiers to wear Swords in such a Drinking place as St. Helena is, except when they are upon Duty; and if any of the Inhabitants Neglect this Order, you may fine them twelve pence for the first Offence, two Shillings for the second, and so unto five Shillings toties quoties, But your Officers ought never to be any where without their Swords, and if they be seen at any time without wearing their Swords they ought to forfeit five Shillings to the Company for each offence of that kind, whether to extend this Order so far as to Serjeants and Corporals, we leave to your Discretion, But considering you have Sober Officers, We think it may not be amiss to permit Serjeants and Corporals to the Priviledge of wearing Swords, hoping you will choose the Soberest Men into those Offices. We observe and hear by others who came from that Island that there is a very great Trade drove in the Island of distilling Arrack from Roots and Fruits, which will soon Consume the greatest part of the wood on the Island (if it be not speedily	Instructions were issued to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated at London on 5 December 1688. It was directed that no inhabitant of the island, unless serving as an officer or soldier, was to be permitted to wear a sword. This was justified by reference to the practice in frontier garrisons, where such conduct was considered improper. It was further stated that even private soldiers were not to wear swords in ordinary circumstances, particularly in what was described as a place prone to drinking, except when on duty. It was ordered that any inhabitant neglecting this rule was to be fined twelve pence for the first offence, two shillings for the second, and thereafter up to five shillings for repeated offences, applied repeatedly as necessary. It was also directed that officers were always to carry swords, and that any officer found without one was to forfeit five shillings for each offence. The extension of this requirement to sergeants and corporals was left to the Governor's discretion, although it was suggested that such privilege might be allowed to them if they were considered sober and responsible. It was further observed, based on reports received, that a significant trade had developed on the island involving the distillation of arrack from roots and fruits. Concern was expressed that this activity would soon consume a large portion of the island's timber resources if not prevented. It was therefore ordered that measures were to be taken to restrict this practice, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Frontier Garrisons" referred to military outposts situated at the edge of controlled territory, where strict discipline and regulation of arms were maintained. "Toties quoties" was a legal term meaning "as often as", indicating that penalties were to be repeatedly applied for continued offences. "Private Soldiers" referred to ordinary enlisted men, distinguished from commissioned officers.

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		Prevented) We do therefore hereby Order and appoint that no [...]	"Distilling Arrack" referred to the production of a strong alcoholic spirit through the fermentation and distillation of plant materials, a process requiring fuel such as wood. **Speculations** Perhaps the restriction on the wearing of swords among inhabitants was intended to reduce disorder and violence in a small and closely settled community. It was probably intended that limiting the production of arrack was motivated both by concerns over resource depletion and by the desire to control excessive drinking among the population.
70	59	Persons upon the Island be Permitted to Distill Arrack except they Compound with you for the Companys wood they expend in Distilling after the rate of Twelve pence p hundred weight for all the Companys wood spent by Distilling, and also pay you four pence p Gallon upon all low Wines of the first running of such distilled Liquors for the Companys use. We approve of our Governours prudential Consideration for not Leaſing Port Charges, and other Dutys of the Dutch, because our Ships are not lyable at the Cape or other their Settlements, and would have you Continue to Exempt them on all occasions, until you shall understand by our Commanders, that they treat them otherwise and in such cases the Law of Retaliation is very allowable. Your Loving Friends Our Govr & Council of St Helena London 16th April 1701 We Observe in your Letter of the 24th June aforesaid that severall persons desire to Rent our Lands, but on Regard one half or more of the Island is lett out, you suspended the Grant of any more till our further Orders. To which we say it highly becomes us to do all we can to Strengthen the charge we lye Annually at for that place, as well in the Cargoes sent, whereof we have no Returns, as the many Bills from [...]	It was ordered that no person on the island was to be permitted to distil arrack unless they first entered into an agreement with the Governor to compensate the Company for the wood consumed in the process. This compensation was to be paid at a rate of twelve pence per hundredweight of Company wood used in distillation. It was further required that a duty of four pence per gallon was to be paid upon all low wines produced in the first stage of distillation, for the use of the Company. It was also stated that approval was given to the Governor's prudent decision not to lease port charges and other duties in the same manner as practised by the Dutch, since Company ships were not subject to such charges at Dutch settlements such as the Cape. It was therefore directed that Company ships were to continue to be exempt from such charges on all occasions, unless it was reported by Company commanders that reciprocal treatment was no longer observed, in which case retaliation was considered acceptable. The correspondence concluded with a closing expression of regard. Further instructions were issued to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated at London on 16 April 1701. It was noted that, according to a letter dated 24 June, several individuals had expressed a desire to rent Company lands. It was observed that, since one half or more of the island had already been let, the granting of additional leases had been suspended pending further instructions. It was then stated that it was necessary for the Company to strengthen the financial burden it bore annually in maintaining the island, both in respect of cargoes sent without return and the numerous bills received, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Compound" referred to entering into a formal agreement, often involving payment, in order to obtain permission for a particular activity. "Low Wines" referred to the initial distilled liquid produced in the first stage of distillation, which would later be refined into stronger spirits. "Port Charges" referred to fees levied on ships for the use of harbour facilities and services. "Law of Retaliation" referred to the principle of reciprocal treatment, particularly in commercial or diplomatic relations between powers. **Speculations** Perhaps the imposition of duties on distillation was intended both to regulate the use of scarce timber resources and to generate revenue from a widespread activity. It was probably intended that maintaining exemptions for Company ships reinforced competitive advantage, while the conditional threat of retaliation ensured leverage in dealings with other European powers.
71	60	P Ship time to time drawn upon us; so that whatever Land you can spare	Instructions were issued to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated at London on 16 April 1701.

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		from our Necessary Occasion, we would have lett out to such as by their Civil Deportment deserve that favour, by which means we beleive Provision will become cheaper, the Island better manag'd, and our Charge the better supported. YOUR care for keeping the Lords day Strictly we approve But must at the same time remember that works of necessity and Mercy are allowed at all times, and by the General Government of all Civilized Nations, so that any Ships are in Danger of losing their Voyage, or otherwise Distre[ss]t in want of time, they should not be restrained from fetching water or other Refreshments on the Lords day nor on the other hand ought they be allowed to do any servile work on that day, which can without prejudice be Referred to the next. OUR Ship Seckter was lately lost on the Coast of India occasioned as we are told thro' want of Victualls, the Mariners not daring to put to Sea, when they found themselves near the shoar for fear of Starving, to prevent such another Loss for the future, We give Directions to all our Commanders, and if they have not sufficient Stores on board, do you offer them supplys at the Markett price to be paid in money or goods, or rather than not by the Captains Bill drawn upon the owners, which must be deuct out of the freight here, if the Captain refuse to give you an Account to take your supplys protest against him and leave the rest to us. As to Orphans Estates. We told you our mind by the	In view of the continuing expense borne by the Company in maintaining the island, including cargoes sent without return and bills drawn upon it, any land not required for the Company's immediate use was to be let out to those inhabitants whose civil deportment merited such favour. By this means, it was expected that provisions would become cheaper, the island would be better managed, and the Company's financial burden would be more effectively supported. Care for the strict observance of the Lord's Day was approved, yet it was also emphasised that works of necessity and mercy were permitted at all times according to the general practice of civilised nations. Ships in danger of losing their voyage, or otherwise in distress for want of time, were therefore not to be prevented from obtaining water or other refreshments on that day. At the same time, no servile work was to be carried out which could be deferred without prejudice until the following day. A recent loss of the Company's ship *Seckter* on the coast of India was noted, attributed to a lack of victuals, which had caused the mariners to hesitate to put to sea for fear of starvation. To prevent similar occurrences, directions were given that, where ships arrived without sufficient stores, supplies were to be offered at market price. Payment was to be accepted in money, goods, or, if necessary, by the captain's bill drawn upon the owners, to be deducted from the freight upon arrival in England. Should a captain refuse to provide an account or accept such supplies, a formal protest was to be entered against him, with further action reserved to the Company. Reference was made to matters concerning the estates of orphans, although the surviving text at this point was incomplete and is represented as [...] **Interpretations** "Civil deportment" referred to orderly and respectable behaviour, regarded as a qualification for receiving privileges such as land leases. "Works of necessity and mercy" denoted actions permitted even on the Lord's Day, particularly those required to prevent harm or respond to urgent circumstances. "Bill drawn upon the owners" referred to a financial instrument issued by a ship's captain, obliging the ship's owners to pay for goods or services received. "Freight" referred to the payment earned for transporting goods by ship, from which such expenses might be deducted. **Speculations** Perhaps the encouragement to lease surplus land was intended to stimulate agricultural production and reduce the Company's financial losses on the island. It was probably intended that allowing necessary activity on the Lord's Day reflected a practical balance between religious observance and the demands of maritime trade in a remote setting.
72	61	Nathaniell Armenian Merchant in the case of James Phillips deceased, whatever money is paid on that Account into our Cash, we will take care of paying of it here to those that have legal Power to receive. And for the Encouragement of the Inhabitants, we will allow Interest on such Money from the time it appears here by our Books You have brought the same into our Cash in Credit of the Concern. Our Governour is also complained against as being too Arbitrary. We hope the Sense he has of our Continual Kindness to him	Instructions were issued concerning the case of Nathaniell, an Armenian merchant, in relation to the estate of James Phillips, deceased. It was stated that any money paid on that account into the Company's cash would be received and held, and arrangements would be made for payment in England to those legally entitled to receive it. For the encouragement of the inhabitants, interest was to be allowed on such sums from the time they were entered into the Company's accounts in credit of that concern. Complaint had been made that the Governor had acted in an overly arbitrary manner. It was expressed that his awareness of the Company's continued favour towards him and his family ought to encourage diligence in promoting its service. Although confidence in his abilities was affirmed, it was emphasised that

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		and his Family will Engage his utmost zeal to promote our Service; and tho' every equal in the good opinion we have of him, but he must Consider we enjoy a Commerce with him to the End he our affairs may be forwarded with Mutual Advices and assistances, if in any Material thing you Disagree in Concert, and after a Calm debate continue of different opinions send us your Reasons for so doing, and we shall be able to judge who are the men of ability and fitt to be that community. Disputes and Comparisons between you as there ought to be, and are perfect with the Warmest Pleasure when exprest in our Common Interest. We can see no Reason for any such Disagreement, however tell no Offences in opinion grow up, to Difference in affection. We have heard it said whilst the Taverns stayed shut, several Jewish Gentlemen went all about the Island in pretence of shooting, however that might appear a Complacence in our Governours station yet we think it not a good Policy in any Government to allow any Foreigners under no Vistice whatsoever over or under another Crown from whom you may fear an ill use may be made of such Liberty. Your Loving Friends	correspondence and cooperation were expected so that Company affairs might be advanced through mutual advice and assistance. In cases where disagreement arose on matters of importance, and differences of opinion remained after calm discussion, the reasons for such disagreement were to be reported, so that proper judgement could be made as to the fitness and ability of those involved. Differences in opinion were acknowledged as natural and even beneficial when directed towards the common interest, but it was stressed that such differences were not to develop into personal animosity. Reports had also been received that, while taverns were closed, several Jewish gentlemen had travelled about the island under the pretext of shooting. Although such behaviour might have appeared as an act of courtesy on the part of the Governor, it was considered unsound policy to allow foreigners, particularly those under another sovereign, such liberty of movement, as it might lead to misuse or present risks to the security of the island. The communication concluded with a closing expression of regard. **Interpretations** "Concern" referred to a financial or legal matter, often relating to an estate or commercial interest under administration. "Arbitrary" denoted the exercise of authority based on personal discretion rather than established rules or consultation. "Concert" referred to coordinated decision making or agreement among officials in governance. "Vistice" appeared to refer to a form of licence or permission, possibly relating to movement or activity granted to foreigners. **Speculations** Perhaps the allowance of interest on deposited funds was intended to encourage trust among inhabitants in placing their money under Company control. It was probably intended that the warning regarding foreigners reflected broader concerns about espionage, trade competition, or political influence within a strategically important island.
73	62	Ship Kingsfisher Our Governour and Council of S^{t} Helena United Company London Jan^{y} 18th 1702 We have Permitted Cap^{t} Tollett, and do hereby Order you to furnish him and his Men with what fresh Provisions he shall want during his stay with you, the like we say as to the other Commanders, when they arrive, and that you shew them Respect Suitable to their Characters. We have like wise allowed the Captains of the Men of Warr to be allowed some fresh Provisions for their own Table gratis, and also the Sick Men on shore during their Recovery (which we desire you to be very carefull of) be supplyed with Necessary fresh Provisions and Lodging they be easy in the supply of the whole, that these Ships are of the Nation, and we do not grudge them your care, for such Refreshments. The generall supplys to the Ships Company of such Men of Warr, you must take Bills from the ComMarsdenor Powers or the Commissioners for the	Instructions were issued to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated at London on 18 January 1703, concerning the ship *Kingsfisher*. Permission had been granted to Captain Tollett, and it was ordered that he and his men were to be supplied with such fresh provisions as they required during their stay. The same directions were applied to other commanders upon their arrival, and it was required that they be treated with respect appropriate to their rank. It was also directed that captains of men of war were to receive some fresh provisions for their own tables without charge, and that sick men brought ashore during their recovery were to be carefully attended and provided with necessary provisions and lodging. It was emphasised that such support was to be given readily, as these ships belonged to the nation, and their care was not to be begrudged. The general supply of provisions to the crews of such men of war was, however, to be accounted for by taking bills from the Commissary of Victualling or other authorised officers, in the same manner as had been practised previously, with such bills to be payable to the Court of Managers. It was further noted that Captain Tollett had offered his assistance in strengthening the island's fortifications, and that his men were willing to contribute labour towards works considered necessary. In return, it was directed that suitable gratuities were to be given to them, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...]

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		Victualling as was done last year payable to the Court of Managers. Cap^{t} Tollett hath Offered us to write with you his best service in the further fortifying the Island, and that his Men shall Assist in Perfecting such Labour as shall be found Necessary, for which do you give them such gratutyes as	**Interpretations** "Men of Warr" referred to naval warships in the service of the Crown, distinct from merchant vessels. "Bills" referred to written financial obligations, requiring payment at a later date by the issuing authority. "Commissary of Victualling" referred to the official responsible for supplying provisions to naval forces. "Gratutyes" referred to discretionary payments or rewards given in recognition of service. **Speculations** Perhaps the provision of free supplies to officers and sick sailors reflected the strategic importance of maintaining good relations with Royal Navy vessels. It was probably intended that accepting assistance from naval crews in fortification work provided a practical means of strengthening the island's defences without additional expense to the Company.
74	63	Man of Warr you and Captain Tollett thinks fitt, We shall recommend it to the other ComMarsdento give you the like advice & Assistance of their men, and what leave you also give them. And the Sea Men of the Ship of other Company a Gratuity for what they do in farther fortifying the Island such as you and their Respective ComMarsdenshall think Convenient that none remain to be restored. You will Receive by the Arras that is now cleared from Gravesend, and has the Arms you wrote for and Stores on board for the Island. We are Your Loving Friends Our Gov^{r} & Councill of S^{t}. Helena London Aug^{r} 7th 1702 We are very desirous that S^{t}. Helena may be made as Strong as Possible to be defended against an Enemy. To that we repeat what we wrote you in our last, that is to say, that you take the advice & Assistance of all the Commanders, whether Men of War or other Ships for fortifying the Island, and get as many of their men as you can to help in Perfecting the Necessary works to be done giving them Gratuitys for what work they do therein. We would have you if you find it practicable to flat some of the Rocks with which you are stored into the Sea along the Beach.	Instructions were issued to the Governor and Council of St Helena concerning cooperation with naval forces and the strengthening of the island's defences. It was directed that gratuities were to be given to Captain Tollett and his men for any assistance they provided in fortifying the island, in such manner as both the Governor and Captain Tollett considered appropriate. It was further stated that similar recommendations would be made to other commanders, encouraging them to provide assistance and labour from their crews, with suitable rewards to be determined by agreement between the Governor and those commanders. Sailors from other Company ships who contributed to such work were likewise to receive gratuities proportionate to their efforts. It was also noted that the ship *Arras*, recently cleared from Gravesend, would arrive with the arms and stores previously requested for the island. The correspondence concluded with a closing expression of regard. Further instructions were issued to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated at London on 7 August 1702. A strong desire was expressed that the island should be made as defensible as possible against any enemy. It was reiterated that the advice and assistance of all commanders, whether of men of war or other ships, were to be sought in strengthening the island's fortifications. Efforts were to be made to obtain as much labour as possible from their crews to complete the necessary works, with gratuities to be provided for their service. It was also suggested that, if practicable, some of the rocks along the shore were to be levelled or cut down and extended into the sea along the beach, as part of the defensive improvements, although the sentence concluded in an incomplete form, indicated by [...] **Interpretations** "Men of Warr" referred to naval warships serving the Crown, distinct from merchant or Company vessels. "Gratutyes" referred to discretionary payments or rewards given in return for labour or assistance. "Cleared from Gravesend" indicated that a ship had completed official departure procedures from the port of Gravesend, a key embarkation point for voyages overseas. "Flat some of the Rocks" referred to the levelling or modification of natural rock formations, likely for defensive or structural purposes along the shoreline. **Speculations** Perhaps the reliance on naval crews for labour reflected both the limited workforce available on the island and the urgency of improving its defences. It was probably intended that reshaping the coastline formed part of a broader strategy to strengthen landing points or reduce vulnerabilities to enemy approach.

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75	64	Orders and Instructions on the Edge of the Water to prevent any Boats or Landing, leaving only such a Place as you see convenient for the Landing of our own Ships Boats, and raising a Battery to defend such Landing Places. It is of great advantage to us that all our Ships have as quick Dispatch as possible, and to that end we would have you make the Watering Place for Ships as Commodious as Possibly you can, and if you find it Practicable to make a Bridge at the end of the Water fall and Place pipes or Troughs to convey the Water to the Boats with a Hose to fill them without endangering the Boats. If you want any Materials for that purpose you may purchase them from the Ships, or if not procurable there write us particularly, and we will Supply you, our Captains who have been at the Cape will fully Inform you of the Dutch Methods there for Conveying the Water ashore for Watering the Ships, with whom do you Consult and get their Assistance in Perfecting the same Allowing the Carpenters and other Persons they supply you with a Gratuity for their pains. Send us yearly an Account of what Stores you have and what more you want, that we may supply you, wherein be very particular. This being a new Establishment, We must lay down some General rules for your future Management, and in the first place We hereby Strictly Enjoyn and Order you, that all your Affairs be Ordered and Transacted as the Majority in	Under the heading "Orders and Instructions", measures were directed to secure the shoreline of the island. Positions were to be established at the water's edge to prevent any boats from landing, except at a single place considered suitable for the landing of the Company's own boats. A battery was to be constructed to defend such authorised landing places. Great importance was placed upon ensuring that all Company ships were dispatched as quickly as possible. The watering place for ships was to be made as convenient as possible. If practicable, a bridge was to be constructed at the end of the waterfall, and pipes or troughs were to be installed to convey water directly to the boats. A hose was to be used to fill the boats without exposing them to danger. If materials were required for these works, they were permitted to be purchased from ships present at the island. If such materials could not be obtained locally, a detailed request was to be sent so that supplies could be provided. Captains who had previously visited the Cape were noted as being able to explain the Dutch methods used there for conveying water ashore for the purpose of watering ships. Consultation was therefore to be held with such captains, and their assistance obtained in perfecting the system. Carpenters and other persons supplied by them were to receive a gratuity for their labour. An annual account was to be sent detailing the stores currently held and those additionally required, with particular care taken to provide full and precise information. As this arrangement constituted a new establishment, general rules were to be laid down for future management. It was strictly enjoined and ordered that all affairs be conducted and transacted according to the decision of the majority in [...] . **Interpretations** "Battery" referred to a fortified position equipped with artillery, intended to defend a specific location such as a landing place. "Watering place" referred to a designated site where ships took on fresh water supplies, a critical logistical requirement for long sea voyages. "The Cape" referred to the Cape of Good Hope, where the Dutch East India Company had established sophisticated systems for supplying ships with fresh water. "Gratuity" denoted a discretionary payment granted as a reward for services rendered, rather than a fixed or contractual wage. **Speculations** Restriction of landings to a single defended point was perhaps intended to reduce vulnerability to surprise attack or smuggling. Emphasis on improving the watering system was probably connected to the strategic importance of St Helena as a provisioning station for long-distance voyages, where delays could disrupt trade routes. Reference to Dutch methods at the Cape may indicate that these were regarded as particularly efficient or advanced, and that their adoption was encouraged to improve local practices. Insistence on annual, detailed accounts of stores was probably designed to strengthen oversight and ensure that shortages could be anticipated and remedied in good time.
76	65	Ship Anna Council shall Direct, and not otherwise upon any Pretence whatsoever And tho' we hope you will all be unanimous and co-operate together heartily in the pursuit of our Common Interest, yet if on	Reference was made to the ship *Anna*, after which it was directed that all matters were to be governed solely by the direction of the Council, and not otherwise upon any pretence whatsoever. A hope was expressed that all members would act unanimously and cooperate sincerely in pursuit of their common interest. Provision

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		any occasion it happens that your votes be Equally Divided, the matter in Question must be Determined by Lott as we by our Charter are Directed in such Cases to do. We also Direct that you keep frequent Consultations at least once a Week and oftener as occasions require that your Clarke Enter duly and truly all matters there agreed on or Debated, and that you sign the same sending us the Copys thereof by double conveyance yearly. And in case any of you disagree in such consultations. You may Enter the reasons for such Disagreement which We will judge of here, that you hold on your ancient Method of hearing and Adjudging all Civil and Criminal Causes as heretofore, and Continue all other your usual Methods of Proceeding for the good Government of the Island, as to Civil or Military matters Untill you have other Orders from us which you are from time to time to obey. You must see that every one of your said Council and all Your Inferiours do Diligently attend to the several Businesses to which they are appointed, and in case any of them be Negligent Vicious, or Disorderly, You must admonish them of their faults, and if they continue Obstinate Suspend or Remove them as the nature of the Offence requires.	was made that, if on any occasion votes were equally divided, the matter in question was to be determined by lot, in accordance with the instructions contained in the Charter. Frequent consultations were required to be held, at least once each week and more often as circumstances required. The clerk was to enter fully and accurately all matters agreed upon or debated, and such records were to be signed. Copies of these were to be sent annually by double conveyance. In cases where disagreement arose during such consultations, the reasons for dissent were permitted to be entered, and judgement upon them was to be made by the authorities in England. Continuation of the established method of hearing and adjudicating all civil and criminal causes was ordered, together with the maintenance of all other customary procedures for the governance of the island in both civil and military matters, until further orders were received, which were to be obeyed as issued from time to time. Care was to be taken to ensure that every member of the Council and all subordinate officers diligently attended to the duties assigned to them. In instances where any individual was found to be negligent, vicious or disorderly, admonition was first to be given for their faults. If such individuals remained obstinate, suspension or removal was to be carried out according to the nature of the offence. **Interpretations** "Determined by Lott" referred to the use of a random selection process, such as drawing lots, as a formal mechanism for resolving deadlocked decisions within the Council, as authorised by the Charter. "Double conveyance" referred to the practice of sending duplicate copies of important documents by separate ships or routes, to reduce the risk of total loss in transit. "Admonish" denoted a formal warning or reprimand issued by authority, often as a preliminary disciplinary step before harsher measures were taken. "Vicious" in this context referred not merely to moral failing but to conduct considered disruptive, corrupt or harmful to order and discipline within the administration. **Speculations** The requirement that tied votes be resolved by lot perhaps reflected an effort to prevent prolonged disputes or administrative paralysis within a small governing body. The insistence on regular consultations and detailed record-keeping was probably intended to ensure accountability and to allow oversight by authorities in England despite the island's distance. The continuation of existing judicial and administrative methods suggests that stability and continuity were prioritised, perhaps to avoid disruption during a period of institutional development. The structured approach to discipline, beginning with admonition and progressing to removal, was probably designed to maintain order while allowing opportunity for correction before severe penalties were imposed.
77	66	Ship Anna On the Receipt of any Letter from us the Council must be Immediately Summoned to open and read them and you must carefully observe and Execute all the Orders and Directions from time to time transmitted to You by us under the hands of any Thirteen or more of the Court of Managers acting therein Impartially without favour, Fear or Respect on Account of	Reference was made to the ship *Anna*, after which instructions were given concerning the handling of correspondence. Upon receipt of any letter from the Company, the Council was to be immediately summoned in order that such letters might be opened and read. All orders and directions transmitted from time to time, when issued under the authority of any thirteen or more members of the Court of Managers, were to be carefully observed and executed. Such duties were to be performed impartially, without favour, fear or regard for any particular recommendation or advice originating from any government.

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		any particular Recommendation or advice from any Government. Advise us from time to time of all occurrences on the Island worth our Notice, as also what Ships Suffered with you, whither bound, and from whence they come, and whatever else you think material. If any Person dyes on the Island whose Effects by Will or by dying Intestate do belong to Persons in England, you are to be very carefull in Collecting such Effects and you must pay the produce thereof into our Cash advising us what the Sum is, and how it arises that we may enter it upon the Committee here, and thereof fail not. We are Your Loving Friends	Regular reports were required to be sent providing notice of all occurrences on the island considered worthy of attention. Information was also to be given concerning ships that had called at the island, including their condition, their destination and their place of origin, together with any other matters deemed material. In the event that any person died on the island whose effects, whether by will or by intestacy, belonged to persons in England, careful measures were to be taken to collect such effects. The proceeds arising from them were to be paid into the Company's cash. Notification was to be given of the total sum and of the manner in which it had arisen, so that proper entry might be made before the Committee in England, and strict compliance with this requirement was expected. The letter concluded with the closing expression "Your Loving Friends", indicating a formal but cordial tone adopted by the issuing authority. **Interpretations** "Court of Managers" referred to the governing body of the Company responsible for issuing binding instructions, functioning as a central administrative authority in England. "Under the hands of any Thirteen or more" indicated that a quorum or formal threshold of signatures was required to validate official orders, ensuring collective authority rather than individual direction. "Dying Intestate" referred to the condition of dying without a legally valid will, in which case the distribution of property followed prescribed legal rules rather than personal instruction. "Effects" denoted the personal property and assets of a deceased individual, including money, goods and other possessions subject to administration. **Speculations** The requirement for immediate assembly of the Council upon receipt of letters perhaps reflected the importance of timely communication in a remote colonial setting where delays could have serious administrative consequences. The insistence on impartial execution of orders suggests concern over potential interference or influence from external political authorities or personal connections. The detailed reporting of ship movements was probably intended to maintain oversight of maritime traffic and commercial activity, which were central to the Company's interests. The strict handling of deceased persons' estates indicates an effort to safeguard property rights and ensure that assets due to individuals in England were properly accounted for and transmitted.
78	67	Ship Featherstone. Our Gov^{r} & Councill of S^{t} Helena London 31st Dec^{em} 1703 We Expect you send us by every Shipping an Account of the Remains and Stores of all Sorts you have then in your Stores to shew the Quantity of each, and when you write for Stores, express the Quantity as well as Sorts which you desire the Stores to consist of viz to particularise the same. We have by the Kingsfisher and Burlington received your Packets and Consultation Book, which Cost us one way or other about thirty pounds Sterling, because the Captains sent them by the Seales, for the future take care that such Packets as are proper for our Immediate knowledge be made up in a Letter and	Reference was made to the ship *Featherstone*, followed by a letter addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated 31 December 1703 in London. Expectation was expressed that, by every shipping opportunity, an account should be sent detailing the remaining stores of all kinds held on the island. Such accounts were to specify the quantity of each item. When requests for additional stores were made, both the quantities and the types required were to be clearly stated, with full particularisation. Receipt was acknowledged of packets and a Consultation Book sent by the ships *Kingsfisher* and *Burlington*. It was noted that these had cost approximately thirty pounds sterling to receive, owing to their having been sent by the seamen. Instruction was given that, in future, packets intended for immediate attention should be enclosed within a letter and delivered directly to the commander or captain of the Company's own ships, provided no man-of-war was present. Such correspondence was to be dispatched without delay from whichever part of England or Ireland the ships might call at. All other materials were

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		delivered the Commander or Captain of our own Ships in case no Man of Warr is there to be sent forthwith from whencesoever part of England or Ireland the Ships may touch at, and let all the rest be left on Board to be brought us when the Ships arrive in the River. And take care to entertain as much on the Superexpedition of such Packets. We shall first begin with the Consideration of the Island itself, which we are Glad to find You have taken upon you about to the Repairing or Augmenting the Fortifications, and making the Island more Defensible against an Enemy. We gave you directions at large on this head last year, which we need not Repeat because	to remain on board until the ships arrived in the River. Care was to be taken to manage expenditure relating to the expedited delivery of such packets. Consideration was then directed to the condition of the island itself. Satisfaction was expressed that efforts had been undertaken to repair or enlarge the fortifications, thereby improving the island's defensibility against an enemy. Reference was made to detailed directions that had been issued on this subject in the previous year, which were not repeated in the present letter because [...] . **Interpretations** "Remains and Stores" referred to the inventory of supplies held on the island, including provisions, materials and equipment, recorded for purposes of logistical oversight. "Consultation Book" denoted the official record in which the proceedings and decisions of the Governor and Council were entered. "The River" referred to the River Thames in England, the principal destination for ships returning from overseas voyages. "Man of Warr" referred to a naval warship under state authority, distinct from merchant or Company vessels. "Seales" referred to sailors or seamen, indicating that the packets had been carried informally rather than through official channels. **Speculations** The emphasis on precise accounting of stores was probably intended to improve supply planning and reduce shortages or excesses in a remote colonial setting. The concern over the cost of transmitting packets suggests that communication expenses were significant and required tighter control. The distinction between urgent and non-urgent correspondence may indicate an attempt to balance speed of communication with financial prudence. The approval of ongoing fortification work perhaps reflects continuing concern about external threats, reinforcing earlier directives aimed at strengthening the island's defences.
79	68	Orders &c You have the Letters. And because we doubt not but your endeavours and our Orders can prove to be permanent, and last thro' all time, unless the Necessity of the case should cause an alteration in one or other part of them. On the whole you must give no rest to your Thoughts and Endeavours till the Island be in a not only Equitable but the possession of a Security whosoever sh[oul]d be able to Defend our Ships in Harbour there. And to this Purpose we would have you Consult with, and get the Assistance of such ComMarsdenof her Majesty's Ships and our own as from time to time shall Import with you in whatever Relation thereunto We wrote you last year. As to the Ledger Book we observe the Reasons the Governor gives why he did not Sign it. We therefore say, that we will not in future have new Books of Accounts or any Branches of them Erected from either the Governour or any one of the Counsel, to what purpose can you Imagine the	Under the heading "Orders &c", it was stated that the recipients were already in possession of the relevant letters. Confidence was expressed that both their efforts and the orders issued would produce arrangements capable of enduring over time, unless necessity required alteration in some part. It was directed that continual effort be applied, without rest, until the island was not only properly settled but also secured in such a manner that it could defend ships lying in harbour against any who might attempt to attack them. For this purpose, consultation was to be held with the commanders of Her Majesty's ships and of the Company's own vessels, and their assistance obtained whenever they arrived at the island, in accordance with directions given in the previous year. Attention was then given to the Ledger Book. The reasons provided by the Governor for not signing it were acknowledged. It was declared that, in future, no new books of accounts, nor any separate branches of them, were to be established either by the Governor or by any member of the Council. The purpose of instituting a Council was stated to be the proper supervision and management of all affairs on the island. It was indicated that the withholding of access to accounts hindered integrity in the continued administration of such affairs, and that it appeared improper that the Governor should be denied the opportunity to view or examine the various accounts. Such conduct was said to suggest the presence of animosity that had existed previously among those involved, and concern was expressed that its

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		Institutes a Council if it be not for the better Supervising and Managing all our affairs on that Island. And as to prevent Integrity in a Continued Administration of all our said affairs, and it looks at such sight very Ill that the Governour should be denyed a View or Examination of the several accounts, and seems to savour of that Animosity that has been in times past amongst you, which will make us very Uneasy if we find it only longer Continued, and force us to Ship hands till we can fully cure it. On the whole we	continuation would cause unease. It was further indicated that, should such behaviour persist, intervention would be undertaken until the matter was fully remedied. The letter concluded with the statement "On the whole we [...]", indicating that further remarks or directions followed which were not fully preserved. **Interpretations** "Permanent" in this context referred to administrative and defensive arrangements intended to endure over time without frequent alteration. "Ledger Book" denoted the principal accounting record in which financial transactions were formally entered and reviewed. "Erected" in relation to accounts referred to the creation or establishment of new accounting systems or records outside the agreed structure. "Ship hands" in this context appears to refer to the exercise of authority to intervene or take control of administration, rather than its more common meaning of sailors. **Speculations** The strong emphasis on achieving lasting defensive security suggests ongoing concern about external threats, perhaps reflecting wider military tensions affecting Company interests. The insistence on consultation with naval commanders may indicate reliance on their practical experience in fortification and defence. The dispute over the Ledger Book probably reflected deeper administrative conflict between the Governor and members of the Council, particularly concerning transparency and authority. The reference to past animosity suggests that factional divisions had previously disrupted governance, and that continued discord was regarded as a serious risk requiring potential external intervention.
80	69	Orders &c pr Ship Featherstone and Council should preserve their Authority as well in all their Behaviour to others, well knowing that a visible Support of all the Families of Respect ununited with a becoming Prudence and affability of Temper are needfully Requisites in a Government, and will keep it Fair and free from Judgment and Prejudice from all. We have made it a standing Order in all our Settlements in India, that the chief Person in Fact, whether Governour or President of whatsoever Denomination be present at what have heretore Past, in Councils, and if it was not fully before, it now from this governs that the Governour have but one Vote in Consultation and in case of Equality of Votes, that the matter in controversie be Decided by Lott. But we Expect that since you are employed by Us for Managing our Affairs, and consequently have or should have one Interest to View, there will be no need of any Disagreement especially if by a calm Debate you first Enlighten one anothers understanding in such matters as Dissa- tisfie you may seem to differ in, but if those should, then let Each put down the Reason of his Disagreement in the Consultation of that day, and send it to us therein and	Under the heading "Orders &c pr Ship *Featherstone*", it was directed that the Governor and Council were to preserve their authority in all their conduct towards others. Recognition was given to the importance of maintaining visible support among families of standing, combined with prudence and affability of temper, as qualities necessary for effective government. Such behaviour was described as contributing to the fairness of administration and preventing judgement or prejudice from arising. It was stated that a standing order had been established in all settlements in India, requiring that the chief person in authority, whether styled Governor or President, should be present at council proceedings. It was clarified that the Governor was to have only one vote in consultations. In cases where votes were equal, the matter in dispute was to be decided by lot. Expectation was expressed that, as all those involved had been entrusted with the management of the Company's affairs and therefore shared a common interest, disagreements would be unnecessary. It was advised that, where differences of opinion arose, they should first be addressed through calm debate, so that mutual understanding might be improved. If disagreement nonetheless persisted, each party was to record the reasons for dissent in the consultation of that day, and these were to be transmitted to the authorities in England, together with a separate copy included among the packets, so that judgement might be made there. The letter concluded with the closing expression "Your Loving Friends", maintaining the formal but cordial tone of the correspondence. **Interpretations** "Families of Respect" referred to socially prominent or influential families within the settlement, whose support

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		also a Copy of it in the Packets apart that we may pass a Judgment on it here. We are Your Loving Friends	was considered important for maintaining authority and stability. "Affability of Temper" denoted a manner characterised by approachability, courtesy and composure, regarded as essential qualities in leadership. "Standing Order" referred to a rule established as a permanent or continuing directive, applicable across multiple settlements. "Decided by Lott" referred to the formal use of random selection, such as drawing lots, as an accepted method for resolving tied decisions within a governing body. **Speculations** The emphasis on maintaining authority through both firmness and affability perhaps reflects concern that governance depended as much on personal conduct as on formal power. The restriction of the Governor to a single vote suggests an intention to prevent excessive concentration of authority and to preserve collective decision-making within the Council. The reliance on drawing lots to resolve deadlocks may indicate a pragmatic approach to avoiding prolonged disputes in a small administrative body. The encouragement of calm debate before formal disagreement was recorded probably reflects an effort to reduce factionalism and promote consensus in governance.
81	70	Orders &c pr Ship Featherstone and Council should preserve their Authority as such in all their Behaviour to others, well knowing that a visible Support of all the Families of Respect unmixed with a becoming Prudence and affability of Temper are needfully Requisites in a Government, and will keep it Fair and free from Judgement and Prejudice from all. We have made it a standing Order in all our Settlements in India, that the chief Person in Fact, whether Governour or President of whatsoever Denomination be present shall have but one Vote in Councils, and if it was not fully before, it now from this governs that the Governour have but one Vote in Consultation and in case of Equality of Votes, that the matter in Controversie be Decided by Lott. But we Expect that since you are employed by Us for Managing our Affairs, and Consequently have or should have one Interest to View, there will be no need of any Disagreement especially if upon calm Debates you first Enlighten one another's understanding in such matters as Remain varied you may seem to differ in, but if those should, then let Each put down the Reason of his Disagreement in the Consultation of that day, and send it to us therein as also a Copy of it in the Packets apart that we may pass a Judgement on it here. We are Your Loving Friends	Under the heading "Orders &c pr Ship *Featherstone*", it was directed that the Governor and Council were to preserve their authority in all their conduct towards others. It was recognised that a visible support of all families of respect, combined with prudence and affability of temper, constituted necessary qualities in government, and that such conduct would maintain fairness and prevent judgement or prejudice. It was stated that a standing order had been established in all settlements in India, whereby the chief person in authority, whether Governor or President of whatever designation, when present in council, was to have only one vote. It was further clarified that, whether previously observed or not, this rule was now to govern consultations, and that in cases of equal votes the matter in controversy was to be decided by lot. It was expressed that, as those involved had been employed in managing the Company's affairs and therefore shared a common interest, disagreement ought not to arise. It was advised that, where differences appeared, they should first be addressed through calm debate so that understanding might be mutually improved in matters that remained varied. If disagreement nonetheless continued, each individual was to record the reason for dissent in the consultation of that day. These reasons were to be transmitted within the consultation records, and a separate copy was also to be sent among the packets, so that judgement might be made upon them in England. The letter concluded with the expression "Your Loving Friends", maintaining the formal and cordial tone of the correspondence. **Interpretations** "Families of Respect" referred to socially prominent or influential families within the settlement, whose support was considered important for maintaining authority and stability. "Affability of Temper" denoted a manner characterised by courtesy, approachability and composure, regarded as essential qualities in leadership. "Standing Order" referred to a rule established as a permanent directive, applicable across multiple settlements. "Decided by Lott" referred to the formal use of random selection, such as drawing lots, as an accepted method for resolving tied decisions within a governing body.

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			Speculations The emphasis on maintaining authority through both visible support and personal conduct perhaps reflects concern that governance relied on social cohesion as well as formal structures. The clarification that the Governor possessed only one vote suggests an effort to reinforce collective decision-making and limit individual dominance. The reliance on drawing lots to resolve tied votes may indicate a practical mechanism to prevent administrative deadlock. The encouragement of calm debate before recording disagreement was probably intended to reduce factional division and promote reasoned consensus within the Council.
82	71	Ship Nathaniel∫∫ Our Gov^{r} & Councill of S^{t}. Helena London the 30th November 1704 Touching the disputes amongst your Inhabitants relating to the Possession of your Lands, and long unnoted a Prescription. We say, there is of that sort with us in any one Country which bears a written and what has been the Custom of S^{t}. Helena, we are no fully appriz'd, yet for the future where any Lands are alienated or Mortgaged, We order that a Register Book be kept in the fort, specifying the substance of such Alienation or Mortgage, who sells and who Buys, and for what value, and each entry be signed by the Buyer and Seller & attested by the Governour & Councill for the time being, without which the Bargain or Sale shall not be accounted binding. And for what is past, if there is any Litigious Person that shall complain, let a Jury be Judge of the case who we hope will determine upon a full hearing according to Equity and a good Conscience, and for the better Encouragement of all such as live quietly and desire to do so let there be a publick Declaration made on the Island that for the Quiet of the Inhabitants all Persons do by a Day certain (of which the Councill an Account of Freeholds they Claim, which you cause to be Enter'd in a Book for that purpose with notice that in case no Exception is taken thereto by another any Controversy Supprest Six Months more or less, then such their Claim shall be.	Reference was made to the ship *Nathaniel∫∫*, followed by a letter addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated 30 November 1704 in London. Attention was given to disputes among the inhabitants concerning the possession of land, particularly in relation to long unnoted prescription. It was stated that no clear understanding existed in England of the customs of St Helena in such matters, although in other countries written records were relied upon. It was therefore ordered that, for the future, whenever land was alienated or mortgaged, a register book was to be kept at the fort. This register was to specify the substance of each transaction, including the parties involved, namely the seller and the buyer, together with the value agreed. Each entry was to be signed by both buyer and seller, and attested by the Governor and Council for the time being. Without such formal entry and attestation, no bargain or sale was to be considered binding. With regard to past transactions, it was directed that, if any litigious person should raise a complaint, the matter was to be judged by a jury. It was expected that such cases would be determined after full hearing, according to principles of equity and good conscience. For the encouragement of those inhabitants who lived peaceably and desired stability, a public declaration was to be made across the island. All persons were to submit, by a fixed date, an account of the freeholds they claimed. These claims were to be entered into a designated book for that purpose. Notice was to be given that, if no objection was raised by another party within a further period of approximately six months, any controversy would be suppressed, and such claims would thereafter stand as established rights [...] . **Interpretations** "Prescription" referred to the legal principle by which rights to land could be established through long and uninterrupted possession, even in the absence of formal title. "Alienated" in this context referred to the transfer of ownership of land from one person to another, whether by sale or other legal means. "Mortgaged" denoted the pledging of land or property as security for a debt. "Freeholds" referred to estates in land held in full ownership, rather than for a limited term or under tenancy. "Litigious Person" referred to an individual inclined to bring disputes before a court or tribunal. **Speculations** The introduction of a formal register for land transactions was probably intended to impose legal clarity and reduce disputes in a developing settlement where informal arrangements had previously prevailed. The reliance on jury judgement for past disputes suggests an attempt to apply familiar English legal

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			practices within the colonial context. The requirement for public declaration of land claims may indicate that uncertainty or overlapping claims had become widespread, necessitating a systematic resolution. The provision allowing claims to stand unchallenged after a fixed period perhaps reflects an effort to stabilise property rights and prevent ongoing or recurring disputes.
83	72	Orders &c be taken as a certain Evidence of their Property not to be controverted in future. This we hope will fully cure the Disputes of the People of that Island on any score that not come within the rule beforementioned, send it us particularly stated, and we will send our final Answer. We would have ascertain a small Fee or duty to be paid the Clerk on every Alienation or Mortgage which he Enters in the Register Book enough to make him carefull in the Entry, no great, but small & may acceptable to the Inhabitants, which advise us of, that we may alter or improve the same. Let this Register be open at all Convenient times for the View of all Persons concerned, to be inspected without any Fee or Reward. We herewith send you Hulks of justices of Peace and would not grudge to send you the other Law Books, if they could be serviceable to you, But that it is a Standing rule here that ought to be Parliament Print only, & Destroys Subdividing in London, Wales and Berwick, and are not of use in the Plantations except in very few and select Courts, so we think it not very for your Advantage to have your heads Troubled with one part of the Common Law of England, but rather on considering the Reason of things to adjudge of all things in a summary way according to Equity and a good Conscience without tedious Delays and Countenancing Litigious Persons in their Vexatious Prosecutions. Narrative to your Eleventh and Sixteenth Paragraphs We shall do what we wrote you by the Featherstone, We'll having sent you such large Stores of Salt Beef and other Provisions, We	Under the heading "Orders &c", it was directed that claims to property, once properly entered and unchallenged, were to be accepted as certain evidence of ownership and were not to be disputed thereafter. It was expressed that this measure was expected to resolve disputes among the inhabitants of the island. Any matters not falling within the previously established rules were to be sent to England with full particulars, so that a final determination might be provided. A small fee or duty was to be established for payment to the clerk upon each entry of an alienation or mortgage in the register book. This fee was to be sufficient to encourage diligence in maintaining accurate records, but modest enough to remain acceptable to the inhabitants. Advice was to be given regarding the amount, so that it might be altered or improved if necessary. The register was to remain open at convenient times for inspection by all persons concerned, without any fee or reward for access. It was stated that books relating to justices of the peace had been sent. It was further noted that additional law books would not be provided, as a standing rule required that such works be printed only by authority of Parliament, limiting their availability in London, Wales and Berwick. It was observed that such materials were of little use in the plantations, except in a few select courts. Preference was therefore expressed for matters to be determined in a summary manner, guided by equity and good conscience, rather than through the detailed application of English common law. Emphasis was placed upon avoiding unnecessary delay and discouraging litigious persons from pursuing vexatious prosecutions. Reference was then made to the narrative concerning the eleventh and sixteenth paragraphs, with an assurance that actions would be taken as previously communicated in the letter sent by the ship *Featherstone*. It was noted that substantial quantities of salt beef and other provisions had already been dispatched [...] . **Interpretations** "Certain Evidence of their Property" referred to legally recognised proof of ownership, established through proper registration and absence of challenge. "Duty" in this context referred to a small official fee charged for administrative services, rather than a tax on goods. "Hulks of justices of Peace" appears to refer to books or collections of legal guidance concerning the office and duties of justices of the peace. "Parliament Print" referred to officially authorised printed editions of legal texts, whose production and distribution were restricted. "Summary way" referred to a form of legal process conducted without elaborate formalities, aiming at swift resolution based on general principles rather than detailed legal procedure. "Vexatious Prosecutions" referred to legal actions brought not for genuine justice but to harass or burden others. **Speculations** The formal recognition of unchallenged property claims probably aimed to stabilise land ownership and prevent recurring disputes in a developing settlement. The introduction of a small registration fee suggests an

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			attempt to balance administrative efficiency with public acceptance, ensuring proper record-keeping without discouraging compliance. The reluctance to supply extensive legal texts may reflect concern that rigid application of English law would be impractical in a remote colony with limited legal infrastructure. The preference for summary judgement based on equity and conscience indicates a pragmatic approach to governance, prioritising efficiency and fairness over strict legal formalism.
84	73	Ship Nathaniell expect you have the Remaining Stock of Cattle on your Island all your own, and spare none or but little Beef except for the Fleets of this year and that you spare to any Ships no rest at life than the Market price. What we Order our Ships to take in by Chartparty is for Remitting the Estate of the Island, and is supposed to be out of your Stock. But when that fails, can any Man Imagine you must buy Beef for the Ships, and deliver it unto them Cheaper than it cost you. if the case your own, sure we are you would not do it, what reason is there then for your doing it now, besides if it were so that the Captains should resort to Chartparty Covenant for demanding of you or till then we are not thereby obliged to deliver it, but only they are bound to take it if you should Tender it them and to en- sure our cost you oblige them to pay you for such Beef or Provisions as you may Value in Barter at a rate cheap enough to make you chose to deliver them more at all. We shoud think we should not take their much faster for it and we are not fond of it and indeed our Stock is not Enough to say it short to this, or this. And that what we have wrote you on that subject by the Featherstone's need not be further Inculcated. As to your Vintners desires of going to Bencoolen, &c. we find we believe Bencoolen is withdrawn before this time, because we have sent Orders to Remove that outlery and our People there to Banjam in the Island Borneo, where we Intend to settle a strong Fortification, if any of them are willing to go thither or to Banjam in Borneo, you may Permit them to go on their own Charge on any of our own ships bound to those Places which touch at your Island.	Reference was made to the ship *Nathaniell*, and it was stated that it was expected that the remaining stock of cattle on the island belonged entirely to the inhabitants. It was directed that little or no beef was to be spared, except for the fleets of that year, and that any supplies provided to ships were not to be sold below the market price. It was explained that provisions required by Company ships under charter party agreements were intended to contribute to the island's revenue, and were assumed to be drawn from local stock. It was argued that, if such stock proved insufficient, it would be unreasonable to purchase beef at a higher cost and then supply it to ships at a lower price. It was observed that no individual would act in such a manner in private affairs, and therefore no justification existed for doing so in this context. It was further stated that captains could not compel supply under charter party terms, but were only obliged to accept provisions if they were offered. It was directed that, to ensure recovery of costs, captains should be required to pay for beef or other provisions at a value determined by the island authorities, set at a rate sufficient to make supply worthwhile. It was indicated that there was no desire to increase such provisions unnecessarily, and that existing stock was insufficient to allow for greater supply. It was noted that earlier instructions on this matter, sent by the ship *Featherstone*, required no further repetition. Attention was then given to requests made by vintners wishing to travel to Bencoolen. It was stated that Bencoolen had probably already been abandoned, as orders had been issued for that outpost to be withdrawn. It was explained that the settlement and its personnel were to be relocated to Banjam, on the island of Borneo, where it was intended that a strong fortification should be established. It was directed that any individuals willing to go to that destination might be permitted to travel at their own expense on Company ships bound for those places which called at St Helena. **Interpretations** "Chartparty" referred to a charter party agreement, being a contract between shipowners and the Company governing the terms of a voyage, including provisions to be supplied. "Remitting the Estate of the Island" referred to generating revenue or financial return from the island's resources for the benefit of the Company. "Value in Barter" referred to the practice of assigning an agreed worth to goods exchanged without direct monetary payment, often used in provisioning arrangements. "Outlery" referred to an outlying settlement or trading post maintained by the Company. **Speculations** The insistence on selling provisions at market price probably reflects concern that the island's resources were being depleted without adequate financial return. The clarification of charter party obligations may indicate previous disputes between island authorities and ship captains over provisioning terms. The mention of insufficient cattle stock suggests that supply constraints were already affecting the island's

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			ability to meet demands from passing fleets. The relocation from Bencoolen to Banjam in Borneo perhaps reflects a strategic shift in the Company's trading or defensive priorities in Southeast Asia.
85	74	Ship Nathaniell But while we tell you, We will not deny the Planter his Request Yet but rather they should stay than go thither, and we doubt not that a little Management on your part may prevail with them to Desist from such their desire. We have considered your Twenty fifth and Twenty sixth Paragraphs, and so far think Mr. Loddington and Mr. Goodwin in the right, that the making such Infamous Criminals publick Examples by a Corporal Punishment, is better than Banishing them off the Island, for that the making them serve at hard labour seems to be the most effectual Remedy to deter the like Practices in others. Send Us by every Shipping an Exact Account of Stores and Ammunition remaining, and what you desire to be further sent. and take this for a Standing Order that we need not again have occasion to remember you of it. We observe what you have written touching the Shoarstone and Dane Ship going away without paying any duty, and you will hereafter take care none shall have any thing from you till they have first paid the duty which you wish to write to - us here. We think the like care ought to be taken that all the English Ships shall pay first their Barrell of Powder, before they be permitted to have Refreshments, because we observe some come away without paying in kind or Value, and since Powder is so dear here besides the Charge of sending it, if they will not pay it in Powder, let them from time to time pay it in money with fifty per cent Advance on the price We last Charged it at.	Reference was made to the ship *Nathaniell*, and it was stated that, although the request of the planter would not be refused, preference was given that such individuals should remain rather than depart. It was expressed that, through careful management, they might be persuaded to abandon their intention of leaving. Consideration was given to the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth paragraphs previously submitted. It was determined that Mr Loddington and Mr Goodwin had been correct in their opinion that infamous criminals should be made public examples through corporal punishment, rather than being banished from the island. It was stated that compelling such offenders to serve at hard labour was regarded as the most effective means of deterring similar misconduct in others. It was ordered that, by every shipping opportunity, an exact account should be sent detailing the stores and ammunition remaining, together with a statement of what additional supplies were required. This instruction was declared to be a standing order, so that no further reminder would be necessary. Attention was drawn to the matter of the *Shoarstone* and a Danish ship having departed without paying duty. It was directed that, in future, no vessel should be supplied with goods until the required duty had first been paid. It was further stated that English ships were likewise to be required to pay a barrel of powder before being permitted to receive refreshments. It was observed that some ships had departed without making such payment, either in kind or in value. Given that powder was costly, both in itself and in the expense of its transport, it was ordered that, if payment was not made in powder, it should instead be made in money, calculated at fifty per cent above the price at which it had last been charged. **Interpretations** "Corporal Punishment" referred to physical punishment inflicted on the body, commonly used in early modern penal systems as a means of public discipline and deterrence. "Hard Labour" denoted compulsory physical work imposed as a penalty, often used in colonial settings to enforce discipline and extract labour from offenders. "Duty" referred to a compulsory charge or tax imposed on goods or services provided to ships. "Barrell of Powder" referred to gunpowder supplied as a form of payment in kind, reflecting its high value and importance in maintaining the island's defences. **Speculations** The preference for retaining planters rather than allowing their departure perhaps reflects concern about maintaining population levels and agricultural productivity on the island. The endorsement of corporal punishment and hard labour suggests a disciplinary approach aimed at deterrence through visible and sustained penalties. The repeated emphasis on detailed accounting of stores and ammunition indicates ongoing concern about supply management and readiness. The enforcement of duties and powder payments probably reflects efforts to prevent loss of valuable resources and to ensure that visiting ships contributed to the island's maintenance and defence.
86	75	Ship Rochester for the Service We sent you. In commending You and our affairs to the Guidance and Protection of the Almighty. We remain Your Loving Friends	Reference was made to the ship *Rochester*, in connection with supplies previously sent for service. The correspondence concluded with a recommendation of the recipients and the Company's affairs to the

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		Our Gov^{r} & Councill of S^{t}. Helena London 14th December 1705 We would have you send your Generall Letters and all Material Papers which accompany them by Double Conveyance at least the loss of which puts us to a loss to know the Contents of Captain St. Lo and Captain Vannere's Accounts, and of the Account of Ammunition in the Gunners Charge, which you adviced to have sent by the Gloucester and if by those Accounts Captain Brown or Captain Vannere were Indebted to us, We are like to lose the Money for want of knowing what is Demanded of them. Or least have the payment of it delayed till we hear from you again. Wherefore Send the Duplicates or Copy by the next of their Accounts. And here we think it proper to tell you, and we Expect you observe the same in all Cases of the like Nature, that when you have pass'd Accompt with any of our men, or the new Company Ships by which they put the Money on the Balances, that you take down Bills of one Tenour for the same drawn upon their owners, to be sent on Board by Two Conveyances in the same Shipping if there are two or More Ships, and the Third by the next Conveyance for the like as any of the Accompts of any of the said Ships of War.	guidance and protection of the Almighty, followed by the closing expression "Your Loving Friends". A further letter addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated 14 December 1705 in London, directed that general letters and all material papers accompanying them were to be sent by at least double conveyance. It was explained that the loss of such documents had caused uncertainty regarding the contents of the accounts of Captain St Lo and Captain Vannere, as well as the account of ammunition held under the charge of the gunner, which had been advised as sent by the ship *Gloucester*. It was stated that, if Captain Brown or Captain Vannere had been indebted to the Company according to those accounts, the sums might be lost or their payment delayed due to lack of knowledge of the demands made upon them. It was therefore ordered that duplicates or copies of these accounts be sent by the next opportunity. It was further stated that, in all similar cases, when accounts had been settled with Company servants or with the ships of the new Company, and balances had been determined, bills of one tenor were to be drawn upon the owners for the corresponding sums. These bills were to be sent on board by two separate conveyances within the same shipping, where two or more ships were available, and a third copy was to be sent by the next conveyance. The same procedure was to be followed for accounts relating to any of the said ships of war. **Interpretations** "Double conveyance" referred to the practice of sending duplicate documents by separate ships or routes to reduce the risk of loss in transit. "Accounts passed" referred to the formal settlement and approval of financial accounts between parties. "Bills of one Tenour" referred to identical copies of a financial instrument, such as a bill of exchange, issued in duplicate or triplicate to ensure validity if one copy was lost. "Drawn upon their owners" referred to the issuing of a financial demand or bill directed to the shipowners, requiring payment of sums due. "Gunners Charge" referred to the responsibility held by the gunner for maintaining and accounting for ammunition and related stores. **Speculations** The insistence on multiple copies of correspondence and accounts suggests that losses of documents in transit had been a recurring problem, with significant financial consequences. The concern over unpaid debts indicates that communication delays could directly affect the Company's ability to recover money owed. The requirement for duplicate and triplicate financial instruments probably reflects established commercial practices designed to safeguard transactions over long-distance maritime routes. The detailed procedural instructions suggest an effort to standardise financial administration across distant settlements and ships.
87	76	Orders &c and if as in the case of the Roover the Captain or Purser refuse to give Bills, then take their Accompts signed, three of one Tenour to be sent in the manner we told in the reason why the Roover lately, or any ship hereafter shall refuse to give Bills of Exchange for the Balance of what you supplied them bewithal. But for your future Caution. We say if any Captain lock out or in Working days unlade his Ship, Protest against him	Under the heading "Orders &c", it was directed that, in cases where a captain or purser, as in the instance of the *Roover*, refused to provide bills of exchange, their accounts were instead to be obtained signed. Three copies of one tenor were to be prepared and transmitted in the same manner previously instructed. The reason for any refusal to provide bills of exchange, whether in the case of the *Roover* or any future vessel, was to be clearly stated when forwarding the balance of what had been supplied. Further instruction was given for future caution in cases where a captain failed to unload his ship within the proper working days. It was ordered that a formal

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		in the name of the English Company trading to the East Indies by Orders and Directions of the Court of Managers for the United Trade of the said Company for not unlading his Ship, as by Charter Party he ought first to time. In the Protest mention what Particulars you had in his order before or for the Tare therefore from his owners, that the Company may not be thought to be at Demurrage. But then our meaning is except the said delay is not occasioned by any neglect of yours, if the Weather prove Tempestious, take Notice of it, that of which days and what part of them it does so to the end it may be disputed here. We shall lose the loss of time occasioned thereby. If the Ships have not Boats sufficient to discharge her, having fast enough that is Intirely the owners fault, so they must not Expect the Company to pay for them, for the Bills of Exchange before the goods are to be delivered to you which suppose is where on the Island yet happens through any other fault or Misfortune of the ship, as in the Case of the Caesar, You writ that her Cable broke in a storm and set her in so poor a Condition that for a time it was expected nothing left. But that the wave have been drove away. You ought to take notice of it in your Protest.	protest should be made against such a captain in the name of the English Company trading to the East Indies, acting under the authority of the Court of Managers for the United Trade of the said Company. Such protest was to state that the captain had failed to unload his ship within the time required under the charter party. Particulars were to be included detailing any prior orders or instructions received from the ship's owners, so that the Company might not be held liable for demurrage. It was specified that such protest was not to be made where delay had arisen through no fault of the island authorities. If the weather proved tempestuous, careful note was to be taken of the days and the portions of those days during which such conditions prevailed, so that the matter might be considered and resolved in England. It was acknowledged that loss of time arising from such causes would have to be borne accordingly. It was further stated that, if ships lacked sufficient boats to discharge their cargo, despite having an adequate number of hands, this deficiency was entirely the fault of the owners, and the Company was not to be held responsible for the resulting delay. It was reiterated that bills of exchange were to be obtained before goods were delivered. In cases where delay or loss arose from other faults or misfortunes affecting a ship, such as in the case of the *Caesar*, it was directed that these circumstances be formally recorded. It was noted that the *Caesar* had suffered the breaking of her cable during a storm, leaving her in a severely damaged condition and for a time in danger of total loss, although she had eventually been driven clear by the force of the waves. Such घटन occurrences were to be included in the formal protest. **Interpretations** "Bills of Exchange" referred to written financial instruments ordering payment of a specified sum, widely used in early modern trade to settle debts across distances. "Three of one Tenour" referred to identical copies of a document prepared in multiple instances to safeguard against loss in transit. "Charter Party" referred to a formal contract governing the terms under which a ship was employed, including obligations relating to loading and unloading. "Demurrage" referred to a charge payable for delay in loading or unloading a vessel beyond the agreed time. "Protest" referred to a formal legal declaration made to record a breach of contract or exceptional circumstance, often for use in later disputes or claims. **Speculations** The requirement to document refusals to provide bills of exchange suggests recurring disputes over payment methods between ship officers and the island authorities. The detailed procedures for issuing protests indicate that delays in unloading ships were a frequent source of financial contention. The emphasis on recording weather conditions reflects an awareness that such factors could be used to justify or contest claims of delay. The example of the *Caesar* illustrates the practical difficulties of maritime operations, and the need to formally record unforeseen incidents to protect the Company's financial interests.
88	77	Ship Rochester to the end, we may have Proofs to show why we ought not to pay demurrage for that time. We have given you repeated orders that what Orders are sent you in our Letters are to be Entered in so many Directions	Reference was made to the ship *Rochester*, and it was stated that proper records were to be maintained so that proof might be available to show why demurrage should not be paid for time lost. Repeated instruction was recalled that all orders contained in letters were to be entered as formal directions for governance. It was expected that these

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		for your Government, and Expect you observe them as such, and not break the Intention of this or any other, and are sorry you gave us occasion to complain of your Carelessness in or forgetfulness of what we wrote to you since the time of the Seavern. For the future when you send us any List of goods good or Stores you want, to send us the quantities of each sort you Desire, it must not be supposed we are to hunt up & make out Estimates of them, especially in what is to Eat, Drink or wear. But enter it for your Stores, just & give Reason why you desire the several quantities you write for. The Twenty Eighth Paragraph of the General Letter of the 18th November aforementioned gives your own directions touching criminals, for therein told you the best way to Deter them or others from such Villanies was to put them to hard Labour, that is to say by them for their Crimes. If when their Crimes are such as by the English Law makes them liable to Death or being burnt in the hand & the jury brings them in guilty, then let them remain that a balance of their Crimes may go for their suffering to keep them to hard Labour. We are not of the opinion of punishing all alike, the proper means to keep others awed from committing Felony. We again mention in the Crimes of your most Negroes sent to Bengalen, we think the shame for the most part would make them the feeblest, not a punishment adequate either in the Colour or	were to be observed accordingly, without neglect or deviation from their intent. Regret was expressed that cause had been given for complaint regarding carelessness or forgetfulness in adhering to earlier instructions, particularly those issued since the time of the *Seavern*. It was directed that, when lists of goods or stores required were sent, the exact quantities of each item were to be specified. It was stated that responsibility for estimating such quantities did not rest with the authorities in England, especially in relation to provisions such as food, drink or clothing. Instead, precise entries were to be made for stores, accompanied by reasons explaining the quantities requested. Reference was made to the twenty-eighth paragraph of the General Letter dated 18 November, in which guidance had been given concerning the treatment of criminals. It was reiterated that the most effective method of deterring such offences was to subject offenders to hard labour as punishment for their crimes. It was stated that, where offences were of such a nature that, under English law, they rendered the offender liable to death or to branding, and where a jury had returned a verdict of guilty, such individuals might instead be retained and set to hard labour, so that the severity of their crimes might be balanced by the punishment endured. It was emphasised that uniform punishment for all offences was not considered appropriate, and that the aim was to maintain deterrence proportionate to the nature of the crime. Further reference was made to crimes committed by slaves who had been sent to Bengal. It was observed that the shame associated with such punishment was, in most cases, insufficient as a deterrent, and was not considered adequate in proportion either to the nature of the offence or to [...] . **Interpretations** "Demurrage" referred to a charge payable for delays in loading or unloading a vessel beyond the agreed time under a charter party. "Seavern" referred to a ship previously involved in correspondence, marking a point from which earlier instructions had been issued. "Burnt in the hand" referred to the practice of branding convicted offenders on the hand, a form of punishment under English law intended both as penalty and as a visible mark of criminality. "Felony" referred to serious criminal offences under English law, often punishable by severe penalties including death or transportation. "Hard Labour" denoted compulsory physical work imposed as punishment, considered both corrective and deterrent in colonial administration. **Speculations** The repeated concern over proper record-keeping and adherence to instructions suggests ongoing administrative difficulties and lapses in discipline among the island's officials. The insistence on detailed supply requests probably reflects frustration with vague or incomplete requisitions that complicated provisioning from England. The preference for hard labour over capital punishment may indicate a practical desire to retain labour resources while still enforcing discipline. The dismissal of transportation as an effective punishment suggests that exile to places such as Bengal was not regarded as sufficiently severe to deter criminal behaviour among slaves.
89	78	Orders &c hard Labour will prove a sufficient Interest of Continual fear for long space. He could scare none with death for any Crime we	Under the heading "Orders &c", it was stated that hard labour was to be regarded as a punishment capable of instilling a lasting sense of fear over an extended period. It was expressed that death would not serve as

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		apprehend they can be guilty of at S^{t}. Helena besides wilfull murther. We take your point in our Thirty Seventh Paragraph about the English Duty, by saying that a Barrell of Powder is Specious or Visible but one not Intrinsick - through you do not ever trace Misdoubt again, but as it was your duty to have obey'd our Orders & have Considered that when further orders makes us give a Stricter Direction, the former ceases and the last is to be a rule to you. Let all the comMarsdenmark thereto, if that does not excuse you, We shall not say before that we will at this time only Blame you, But if ever again you give us such neglect as to make a Complaint. We will at once Prohibit Mistakes, and not be again troubled with filling up our Letters with the rise of your failures & Reasoning with you to convince you thereof; whereas it is enough for us to give you Positive Orders what will have done it is your Duty to see it done, and in any Case where one may have happened to mistake the Fact, or not be sufficiently Inform'd to you when you are sure of it; but be sure you be so & give us direct notice with your Reasons, and you have done your part. We observe in the next Paragraph the reason why you Disapprove of Bounty as the Extravagant Rates you pay John Phillips & Galston for the Butcher & 36 Shillings for the former Item, and likewise you mention that the Planter Charge five Hundred pounds a year, in a foregoing Paragraph you say it is Two Hundred pounds a year, but both sums are too wide for reconciling the Difference to our perusal for just Accession thereon. Annually send the Duplicates in.	an effective deterrent for most crimes that could be committed on St Helena, with the exception of wilful murder. Reference was made to the thirty-seventh paragraph concerning the English duty, in which it had been argued that payment in the form of a barrel of powder was visible but not intrinsically equivalent. It was stated that such reasoning ought not to be repeated, as it had been the duty of the recipients to obey orders. It was emphasised that, when new instructions were issued, they superseded earlier ones and were to be followed as the governing rule. It was directed that all commanders take notice of this principle. It was further stated that, although only blame was being assigned on this occasion, any future neglect giving cause for complaint would result in stricter measures. It was declared that it was not the intention to continue explaining errors or reasoning through them in correspondence, as it was sufficient to issue positive orders which were to be carried out. In cases where a mistake had arisen from misunderstanding or lack of information, notice was to be given with clear reasons, provided that the facts were certain, and this would be considered sufficient fulfilment of duty. Attention was then given to the next paragraph, in which objections had been raised regarding the granting of bounties. It was observed that excessive rates had been paid, including sums to John Phillips and Galston in connection with the role of butcher, amounting to thirty-six shillings in one instance. It was further noted that the planter's annual charge had been stated as five hundred pounds in one place, while in an earlier paragraph it had been given as two hundred pounds. It was remarked that both sums differed too greatly to be reconciled without further clarification. It was therefore directed that proper accounts be submitted annually, with duplicates provided for review. **Interpretations** "Wilfull murther" referred to intentional and premeditated killing, regarded as the most serious criminal offence under English law. "Bounty" referred to a payment or reward offered to encourage particular services or labour, often used to secure scarce skills. "Barrell of Powder" referred to gunpowder used as a form of payment in kind, valued for its importance in defence. "Planter" referred to a landholder engaged in agricultural production on the island, often responsible for supplying provisions. "Duplicates" referred to identical copies of accounts or documents sent separately to guard against loss in transit. **Speculations** The preference for hard labour over execution suggests a practical approach to punishment, preserving labour resources while maintaining discipline. The strong reprimand concerning obedience to orders indicates frustration with repeated challenges or reinterpretations by the island authorities. The emphasis on new orders superseding old ones may reflect confusion or inconsistency in the application of previous instructions. The discrepancy in reported financial figures suggests either poor record-keeping or possible inflation of claims, prompting closer scrutiny by the Company.
90	79	Ship Rochester Debate an account of the several Sums yearly to those few that have pensions. Viz. how much the Charges of your Allowance comes to, how much the Soldiers pay is quarterly and everything the Island pays to him of the	Reference was made to the ship *Rochester*, and it was directed that a detailed account be prepared of all sums paid annually to those few individuals receiving pensions. A full statement was required of the total cost of such allowances, together with the quarterly pay of the soldiers and all other payments made by the island on behalf of the Company. Information was also to be

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		Company or where any Resolution is come or use of the Service for the time they serve in, what are the terms in Questions. What is repair or Buildings or Stores, and in time be able to Charge you an exact Account of your Blacks or Cattle and everything that maintains or yearly how much the Charge of yours, if you take the like in any other matter which helps to shew Annual Charge. Send us also in the manner the Account how you sell the Goods and get from home or barter, who the Buyers bought of the Captains or Private Adventures or our Stores, that is to say what a Penny of each parcel yielded. We have been told not such part of it sold at a lower value & parcel of inferior Degree than advised. Let us have Accounts in full in this and length it with a figure that stands in Consultation, and dispose in the same manner for the General Letter. When We appointed you the Governour and Councill of the Island, that in some time before, You knew how to keep Promises and support your Authority and the Government, if you dare not act resolute in Execution, which a Governour is appointed to govern Complaints of the unrul'd and their Disobedient Disturbance of the Peace amongst them, We can't look for a certain face for us to obey every Governour which the Circumstances & Management is various, and may alter, but a Governour say in your power to the matters of Rule.	provided concerning the terms under which individuals were employed in the Company's service, including the duration and conditions of their engagements. Particular attention was to be given to the costs of repairs, buildings and stores, as well as to maintaining accurate accounts of slaves, cattle and all other resources contributing to the island's upkeep, so that a clear understanding might be formed of the total annual charge. It was further directed that similar accounting be applied to any other matters affecting the yearly expense of the island. It was also ordered that accounts be sent showing how goods received from England or obtained by barter had been sold. These accounts were to specify the purchasers, whether they had bought from captains, private traders or the Company's stores, and were to detail the value obtained from each parcel. Concern was expressed that some goods had reportedly been sold at lower values, including parcels of inferior quality, contrary to what had been advised. Full accounts were therefore required, set out clearly and supported by figures recorded in the consultation books, and presented in the same manner as the general letter. It was recalled that, at the time of appointment as Governor and Council of the island, it had been assumed that the recipients understood how to keep their commitments and uphold both their authority and the government. It was stated that, if firmness in execution could not be exercised, complaints would arise from disorderly persons whose disobedience would disturb the peace. It was indicated that reliance could not be placed upon inconsistent governance, as circumstances and management might vary, but that authority in matters of rule rested with the Governor and was expected to be properly maintained. **Interpretations** "Pensions" referred to regular payments made to individuals, often for past service or as a form of ongoing support. "Private Adventures" referred to privately owned goods or trade conducted by individuals, distinct from the Company's official commerce. "Consultation" referred to the formal record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Blacks" referred to enslaved persons held on the island, whose labour formed part of its economic and administrative system. "Annual Charge" referred to the total yearly cost required to maintain the island's operations and resources. **Speculations** The demand for comprehensive financial accounts suggests increasing concern over the accuracy and transparency of the island's administration. The scrutiny of sales practices may indicate suspicion that goods were being undervalued or mismanaged, possibly to the detriment of Company revenue. The emphasis on firmness in governance reflects anxiety about maintaining order in a small and potentially unstable colonial society. The reference to disorderly inhabitants suggests that tensions or resistance among the population may have been affecting effective administration.
91	80	Orders &c cause Repairs either by Reasonable procuring Joiners or the Stocks or Improvement according to the Officers and apply the First half to the Publick, the other half to the Charge of the Necessary Fortifications for the Generall Benefit of the Island, and set it up as a Standing	Under the heading "Orders &c", it was directed that repairs were to be undertaken either by engaging joiners at reasonable cost or by using available stock, with improvements carried out according to the judgement of the officers. It was ordered that one half of the resulting benefit or proceeds be applied to the public use, and the other half to the expense of necessary fortifications for the general benefit of the island. It was further directed that this arrangement be

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		Publick Order to be known by all, that whosoever of the Ships Company or Inhabitants draw a load on the Island shall be paid, and Insert in the Order how much and likewise us. We must recommend to your care the keeping of your Authority with a manner as may be regard in all persons some Softness and kindnes, considering that many times a just portion, like a little spark, setteth in a flame unadily to be quench'd, which might have been prevented with the greatest care Imaginable. Let every Bills of Exchange mention on what Account you draw the Bills, as in the Entry for instance payable to Markison, You Did write it was for Cattle, for which reason we paid it tho' we have no desire from you of that Bill. We don't think it enough in an order Bill to say it is for Value Received without some Account even in the Packet to shew how that Value was Received nor is it enough to say as in Captain - Washington's Bill of Twenty two Pounds. That it is for the like Value due to him in the Books, for it do not appear to us whether it was on account of Salary or Money paid for Provisions unless a beforementioned. You had sent the Accompt in the packet for your Book of Accompts once sent is but to July 1704, and the Bills is drawn in July 1705. Secondly let every Bill you draw Express what	established as a standing public order, to be made known to all, and that any member of a ship's company or inhabitant who transported a load on the island was to be paid, with the rate of payment clearly specified within the order. It was recommended that authority be maintained with a manner that inspired respect among all persons, while also being tempered with softness and kindness. It was observed that even a small provocation, like a spark, might give rise to conflict that could not easily be extinguished, and that such disturbances might be prevented through careful and considerate conduct. It was directed that every bill of exchange should clearly state the account upon which it was drawn. Reference was made to an example in which a bill payable to Markison had been described as relating to cattle, and had therefore been honoured, although no prior advice of that bill had been received. It was stated that it was insufficient for a bill to state merely that it was issued for "value received" without further explanation, even within accompanying correspondence, as the nature of that value was required to be known. It was further noted that a bill drawn by Captain Washington for twenty-two pounds had been described only as representing value due in the books, without indicating whether it related to salary or to payment for provisions. It was observed that accounts had only been received up to July 1704, whereas the bill had been drawn in July 1705, creating uncertainty as to its basis. It was further directed that every bill drawn should specify [...] . **Interpretations** "Joiners" referred to skilled craftsmen specialising in woodwork, particularly in the construction and repair of buildings and fittings. "Standing Publick Order" referred to a permanent directive intended to be publicly known and consistently enforced. "Bills of Exchange" referred to financial instruments used to demand or transfer payment across distances, commonly employed in Company trade. "Value Received" referred to a standard phrase indicating that goods or money had been provided in exchange for the bill, though here considered insufficient without further detail. **Speculations** The division of proceeds between public use and fortifications suggests an effort to balance immediate communal needs with long-term defensive priorities. The emphasis on measured and considerate authority indicates concern that harsh governance could provoke unrest among inhabitants or ship crews. The insistence on detailed descriptions in bills of exchange probably reflects previous confusion or disputes over payments, prompting stricter financial controls. The discrepancy in dates between accounts and bills suggests delays or irregularities in reporting, which may have complicated financial oversight from England.
92	81	Nr Ship Rochester You have sent Advices, but not as you would Custom has been as aforementioned. And to this End send an Account in one general Letter from time to time what Bills you draw for what Reason when date Summary Table you give for each Sum. Advise the Sum in Words at length and not in figures, also in like manner advise what Bills you remit to be paid or if you have not a Bill, send a demand	Reference was made to the ship *Rochester*, and it was stated that advices had been sent, but not in accordance with the established custom previously described. It was therefore directed that, in future, a single general letter should be sent from time to time containing a full account of all bills drawn, specifying the reasons for each, together with their dates and a summary table showing the sums involved. It was required that all sums be written out in words at length rather than in figures. In the same manner, notice was to be given of any bills remitted for payment, or, where no bill had been drawn, a demand or order for money due to the Company was to be sent. The sum was to be clearly

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		your orders for Money due to us. Advise the Sum in your Letter. Note the particular Circumstances fit for an Information that we may in one View see it and your hands what is to be paid, or by us in every Shipping and not be forced to look into little Bits of Paper in your Packets to collect the same. If as you say you cannot with Exactness draw out the Accounts We expect from you just on the going away of your Ships. We see Contents and do Order for the future to prevent such Excuses you make, that instead of the Ballancing the Books to July you Ballance them to the 25th or last of March yearly, then they will or easily be sent by the Ships which leave your Island in May, June or July following, and could have you end your next Books at that Day. For the future Number the Paragraphs of your Letters to us, you are to be your, that we may the readier take notice of any part of your Letters when we have an occasion to return you an Answer thereto. When any of her Majesties Ships of War receive Salutes from in your usual manner, which has been we hope to Mutual Satisfaction.	stated within the letter, together with all relevant circumstances, so that a complete view might be obtained without the need to examine separate papers contained within packets. It was observed that difficulty had been expressed in preparing exact accounts at the time of a ship's departure. To prevent such excuses, it was ordered that, instead of balancing the books to July, they were to be balanced annually to 25 March. By this arrangement, the accounts could be prepared in time to be sent by ships departing in May, June or July. It was further directed that subsequent account books should be concluded at that date. It was also ordered that, in future correspondence, paragraphs were to be numbered. This was to enable easier reference to specific parts of letters when replies were made. It was noted that, when any of Her Majesty's ships of war received salutes, these were to be returned in the customary manner, which had previously been carried out to mutual satisfaction [...] . **Interpretations** "Advices" referred to formal communications or reports sent to inform superiors of events, accounts or transactions. "Summary Table" referred to a structured listing of financial information, presenting totals and details in an organised form for ease of review. "Remit" referred to the sending or transfer of money or financial instruments for payment. "Ballancing the Books" referred to the process of closing and reconciling financial accounts at a specified date. "Salutes" referred to ceremonial gunfire or other formal gestures of respect exchanged between ships or authorities. **Speculations** The insistence on a single comprehensive letter suggests frustration with fragmented reporting that made oversight difficult. The requirement to write sums in words rather than figures may reflect concern over errors, alterations or misinterpretation in numerical notation. The adjustment of the accounting year to March indicates an attempt to align financial reporting with shipping schedules, improving efficiency. The instruction to number paragraphs suggests that correspondence had become sufficiently complex to require clearer organisation and referencing.
93	82	Orders &cap Ship Rochester When any Dutch or Danes arrive Salute them as Customarily, But Endeavour to Retrench the Expence of Powder as much as conveniently you can. When any English ships are seen or others arrive answer their Salutes the first time with only three Guns and give thanks for their Return with only one Gun, if any of your own ships do fail in their respects to us and neither in Gun for Gun, advise us. You have done your part. We shall take the next just course with them. Send us an Account by every Shipping what powder you fire and what time, on what ships, and what for, as many other occasions as on forcing Alban guns &c. &c. take it as a standing rule in this. All other affairs of your own management that the more exact you are to save every	Under the heading "Orders &cap Ship *Rochester*", it was directed that, when Dutch or Danish ships arrived, they were to be saluted according to customary practice, but that the expenditure of powder was to be reduced as far as was reasonably possible. When English or other ships were sighted or arrived, their salutes were to be answered initially with only three guns, and acknowledgement of their return was to be made with a single gun. If any of the Company's own ships failed in proper respect, by not returning gun for gun, notice was to be given, after which appropriate action would be taken. It was further ordered that, by every shipping opportunity, an account was to be sent detailing the quantity of powder expended, the times at which it was fired, the ships involved and the purpose of each discharge, including other occasions such as the firing of alarm guns. This was to be regarded as a standing rule. It was also stated that, in all other matters of management, the greatest care was to be taken to economise, as careful saving would best recommend the island's administration to favour. A subsequent letter addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated 20 December 1706 in

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		Penny the better you will recommend you selves to our Favour. Our Gov^{r} & Councill of S^{t} Helena London 20th December 1706 As to the Soldiers & Blacks running away, We cannot but wish not of you use the straightest Caution to carry no persons off the Island us to the Encouragement of a complaint we had Pleasur, that some staves & soldiers were enticed on board at the Launch of their Ship being thereupon Enticed and stolen back when they want cannon Necessary to Crack them, they cannot be tore.	London, addressed the issue of soldiers and slaves running away. It was expressed that strict caution was required to prevent any persons from being carried off the island. Concern was noted regarding a complaint that certain slaves and soldiers had been enticed on board a ship at the time of its departure, and had thereby been taken away. It was indicated that, when such individuals were removed in this manner, recovery became difficult, particularly where force could not readily be applied to reclaim them [...] . **Interpretations** "Retrench the Expence of Powder" referred to reducing the consumption of gunpowder, which was a costly and strategically important resource. "Gun for Gun" referred to the customary exchange of equal numbers of cannon shots as a mark of respect between ships or authorities. "Forcing Alban guns" appears to refer to the firing of alarm or signal guns, possibly connected with defensive readiness or communication. "Standing rule" referred to a permanent instruction intended to be consistently followed. "Enticed" referred to the act of persuading or luring individuals, often improperly, to leave their assigned place or duty. **Speculations** The effort to limit ceremonial gunfire suggests concern over conserving valuable military supplies while maintaining diplomatic protocol. The requirement to record all powder usage indicates close monitoring of resources critical to the island's defence. The complaint regarding the removal of soldiers and slaves may reflect tensions between ship crews and island authorities, particularly in relation to labour shortages. The difficulty in recovering those taken from the island suggests limitations in enforcement power once ships had departed.
94	83	Captain Stations from them till there Services are Discharged, then Tempts the Poor fellows to Run away or least expose them to the loss of their Healths, it may be their Lives for want of Necessarys to Preserve them from the Inclemency of the Weather. This we are told, and it looks very probable. Wherefore we Require you that you put a Stop to this Ill practice in such manner as you see best for them as well as for their Service. If advice musted is in their their, the Ships not have you even in the ordinary Sailors. So devotes them Souldiers from trusting them with Monstrous Supplys of Beer or Liquors, but only stop the Extravagance when the Souldiers have their free Smugglers about them, they will thank you for your care about them, as to the Masters it is not to Impossibility for us to stop the Irregular therein, unless we had timely Notice in what Ship they came, and if we had, the persons who pretend Property to them will give us some plausible Account, or that they were brought by or given to them, which would easily deprive us the we make your Advises to them Generally it is too late. When ever we can we shall be ready to do them justice.	Under the heading "Captain Stations", it was stated that sailors were being detained from their duties until their service was discharged, after which they were tempted to run away or were exposed to the loss of their health, and possibly their lives, through want of necessary provisions to protect them from the inclemency of the weather. This situation was reported as credible. It was therefore required that such improper practices be stopped in whatever manner was judged most effective, both for the welfare of the individuals and for the service itself. It was further indicated that disorder among sailors, including excessive drinking and irregular conduct, was to be restrained, and that the provision of excessive quantities of beer or other liquors was not to be permitted. It was suggested that, by limiting such excess, the soldiers themselves would recognise the benefit of this care. It was acknowledged that it was difficult to prevent abuses by masters of ships unless timely notice was received identifying the vessels involved. It was observed that, when such notice was lacking or delayed, those responsible would often provide plausible explanations regarding the individuals concerned, making enforcement more difficult. It was stated that, where possible, justice would be carried out when sufficient information was available. Attention was then given to the proposal for an hospital for sick sailors, intended to separate them from others when their health began to decline. It was stated in response that a suitable house should be designated for the reception of such individuals, with appropriate persons assigned to care for them and to provide suitable provisions. This arrangement was to continue until better provision could be made by formal order of the Council. It was further recommended that, in

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		We note what you write about an Hospitall for the Sick Sailors, where to Seperate them them out when they begin to Decline - and therefore you desire to have an Hospitall, to which we say, we see Embark you should appoint a proper House for the Reception of your Sailors, as they begin to Decline in their Health, & proper Persons to look after them & let them have Suitable Provisions. Till it be better order we in Councill do Impose. And as they are taken out of the use in our times, We must Recommend to you to be as frugal as you can.	establishing and maintaining such care, the greatest possible frugality should be observed. **Interpretations** "Inclemency of the Weather" referred to harsh or severe weather conditions, particularly those that could endanger health without adequate shelter or supplies. "Smugglers" in this context appears to refer to illicit or unauthorised suppliers of goods, especially alcohol, contributing to disorder among soldiers and sailors. "Masters" referred to the captains or commanding officers of ships, responsible for the conduct of their crews. "Hospital" referred to a place designated for the care of the sick, not necessarily a formal medical institution as understood in modern terms. **Speculations** The concern over sailors being tempted to run away suggests ongoing problems with discipline and retention of labour on the island. The emphasis on limiting alcohol consumption indicates that disorder arising from drunkenness was a recognised issue affecting both health and discipline. The difficulty in identifying offending ships reflects the challenges of enforcing regulations in a transient maritime environment. The recommendation to establish a makeshift hospital suggests that illness among sailors was common and that existing facilities were inadequate, prompting a practical but economical response.
95	84	Orders &c^{a} On the whole matter we hereby Require that you draw the following Orders as so many standing Rules for the future, not on Account whatsoever to be broken, Viz^{t} That no Foreign Man or other Forreigner be permitted to go about the Island to View the Avenues and Passages, till the pretence be fowling, or any thing else. That no foreign Ships Boats be permitted to row about the Island on Pretence of Fishing or otherwise. That all our Ships be required to lye as near in as Conveniently they can to the Watering of the West rocks - at Chappell Valley under the high Land of Ladder Hill, just above the high Stone Battery, and if any of our Captains refuse protest against them and Advise us thereof. That if any Soldier in an Allarm does not repair to his Post, let them all know which Post to resort to when an Allarm is made, give such Delinquents due Punishment by Chaining the Overseer Stone or otherwise. That if the Yeomen appointed to look out should be Negligent, and not mind their duty, let each of them be punished as you judge their offence deserves. That if any Planter, or other Yeoman does not repair to the post allotted him, when there is Doubt Allarm he be fined for the same according to the ancient Constitution.	Under the heading "Orders &c^{a}", it was required that a series of orders be formally drawn up and established as standing rules for the future, not to be broken under any circumstance. It was directed that no foreign person was to be permitted to travel about the island to view its approaches or passages, whether under the pretence of fowling or any other activity. It was further ordered that no boats belonging to foreign ships were to be allowed to move around the island, whether for fishing or any other purpose. It was directed that all Company ships were to anchor as close as conveniently possible to the watering place at the west rocks, at Chappell Valley, under the high land of Ladder Hill, just above the high stone battery. If any captain refused to comply with this instruction, a formal protest was to be made and notice given accordingly. It was ordered that, in the event of an alarm, any soldier who failed to report to his assigned post was to be punished. All soldiers were to be clearly informed of the post to which they were to repair when an alarm was raised. Those found delinquent were to receive appropriate punishment, including being chained at the overseer stone or subjected to other measures. It was further directed that any yeoman appointed to keep watch who was found negligent in the performance of his duty was to be punished in accordance with the seriousness of the offence. It was also ordered that any planter or other yeoman who failed to report to the post assigned to him in the event of an alarm was to be fined, in accordance with the established constitution of the island. **Interpretations** "Avenues and Passages" referred to routes of access to and from the island, including landing points and interior approaches of strategic importance. "West rocks" and "Chappell Valley" referred to specific geographic locations on St Helena associated with anchorage and water supply. "High Stone Battery" referred to a fortified artillery position intended to defend key approaches to the island. "Allarm" referred to a state of military alert, requiring immediate readiness and response from soldiers and

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			inhabitants. "Overseer Stone" appears to refer to a fixed location or object used for punishment or discipline, possibly a place where offenders were restrained. "Yeomen" referred to local inhabitants assigned duties such as watchkeeping or defence, often drawn from the settler population. **Speculations** The strict prohibition on foreign movement around the island suggests concern over espionage or reconnaissance by rival powers. The control of ship positioning near the watering place indicates an effort to maintain defensive oversight and logistical efficiency. The emphasis on discipline during alarms reflects the importance of rapid and coordinated response in a vulnerable island settlement. The inclusion of both soldiers and civilians in defensive duties suggests that the island relied on a broad mobilisation of its population for security.
96	85	Pr. Ship Rochester and in no pretence whatsoever have the least Mitigation. And to prevent all Excuses acquaint the Yeomen what posts they are respectively to Repair unto. And let them know that altho' in time of Peace we have not insisted on them doing duty on allarms - yet it always was the Settled Constitution that in time of Warr they were to be so far accounted as Soldiers, as to ap[pe]ar when ever an Allarm gives notice of an approaching Danger. Your loving Friends Our Gov^{r} & Council of S^{t}. Helena London 23^{d} May 1707 We Expect from you an Account from time to time how the Persons we entertain here for many sorts of Employments at S^{t}. Helena behave themselves, and whether they answer the ends for which we sent them or not (as well their services, as well those aforementioned as any others we have or shall Imploy, and that you take this for a standing rule for the future. We send this to you by the Northumberland, Captain Henry Dickenson Commander, what she brings for the use of the Island you have full mentioned in her Invoices and Bills of Lading inclosed in the Packet, you will find also her Charterparty, which you must have.	Under the heading "Pr. Ship *Rochester*", it was directed that no mitigation was to be allowed under any pretence in enforcing the previously stated orders. To prevent excuses, it was required that the yeomen be clearly informed of the specific posts to which they were to repair. It was further stated that, although in times of peace strict attendance at alarms had not been enforced, it had always formed part of the established constitution that, in time of war, they were to be regarded in part as soldiers and were to appear whenever an alarm signalled approaching danger. The letter concluded with the expression "Your Loving Friends", followed by a further communication addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena, dated 23 May 1707 in London. It was required that regular accounts be sent describing the conduct of persons employed in various capacities on the island. Reports were to state whether such individuals fulfilled the purposes for which they had been sent, both in respect of their service and their general behaviour. This instruction was to be treated as a standing rule for the future. It was further stated that the letter had been sent by the ship *Northumberland*, commanded by Captain Henry Dickenson. It was noted that the goods carried for the use of the island were fully described in the invoices and bills of lading enclosed within the packet. It was also indicated that the charter party of the vessel was included, and that it was to be retained accordingly. **Interpretations** "Mitigation" referred to any reduction or softening of punishment or enforcement of orders. "Settled Constitution" referred to the established rules and customary obligations governing the island's administration and defence. "Bills of Lading" referred to official shipping documents listing cargo, serving as both receipt and contract for the transport of goods. "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing the employment of the ship for a voyage. **Speculations** The insistence on strict enforcement without mitigation suggests concern that earlier orders had been applied inconsistently. The clarification of yeomen's duties in wartime indicates an effort to ensure readiness among the civilian population in the event of conflict. The requirement for regular reports on personnel performance probably reflects a need to monitor the effectiveness of distant employees. The detailed reference to shipping documents suggests the importance of maintaining accurate records for supplies sent to the island.

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97	86	Orders No. 4 Ship ...have a due regard unto, so far as anything contained therein relates unto you, and then make up the Charterparty with any other vessels you have occasion to send to Bencoolen. Enclose well in a cover directed to the Governor and Council of Bencoolen, which packet deliver to the captain of the ship to be conveyed to the Governor and Council, and take receipt for the same of the like tenour, one of which keep, and send us by two conveyances. We have wrote so particularly about the despatch of your ships that are ordered goods to your island, and the charge we are at if they spend time above ten working days, that not only enter on threats for your detention do you send us a certificate what diligence is used by the captain in unloading and delivering the stores etc. on board consigned to you, and what time is spent therein, and in case the ship is above ten working days in unloading advise two many more days were spent therein, and for that reason, deliver up no bills of lading of this or any other ship without endorsing thereon that the same is fully discharged, or specifying what is wanting of the contents in case there should be a want. Let an account be kept in our books what becomes of this wine and brandy, what we have for it, the like for all particulars sent out from hence by this ship, and observe herein the directions given you more at large in our aforementioned letters keeping a strict account or list for...	Under the heading "Orders No. 4 Ship", it was directed that due regard was to be given to the relevant instructions contained within prior communications, so far as they applied. It was further ordered that the charter party was to be completed for any vessels sent to Bencoolen. All related documents were to be securely enclosed in a packet addressed to the Governor and Council of Bencoolen, and delivered to the captain of the ship for transmission. A receipt of equal tenor was to be obtained for such delivery, with one copy retained and another sent to England by two separate conveyances. It was recalled that detailed instructions had already been given concerning the prompt dispatch of ships bringing goods to the island, and the expense incurred if they remained longer than ten working days. It was therefore directed that a certificate be sent confirming the diligence used by the captain in unloading and delivering stores consigned to the island, together with a record of the time taken. If unloading exceeded ten working days, the number of additional days was to be specified. It was further ordered that no bill of lading was to be delivered up for any ship unless it had been endorsed to confirm that the cargo had been fully discharged, or, if any deficiency existed, to specify what part of the contents remained undelivered. It was also directed that a strict account be maintained in the Company's books of the disposition of wine and brandy, including what had been received in return for them. The same level of accounting was required for all goods sent from England by the ship. It was emphasised that the more detailed instructions previously issued in earlier letters were to be observed in this matter, and that a careful and complete list was to be kept for [...] . **Interpretations** "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing the terms under which a ship was employed, including its destination and obligations. "Receipt of the like tenour" referred to a duplicate document identical in wording and form, used to confirm delivery and provide proof in case of loss. "Ten working days" referred to the contractual period allowed for unloading a ship without incurring additional charges such as demurrage. "Bill of Lading" referred to a shipping document serving as a receipt for cargo and a record of its contents and delivery status. "Endorsing" referred to the act of adding a formal written note to a document to confirm completion or specify deficiencies. **Speculations** The emphasis on securing receipts and duplicate copies suggests continued concern over loss or dispute of documents during long-distance communication. The requirement to certify unloading diligence may indicate prior disagreements over delays and associated costs. The strict control over bills of lading reflects an effort to prevent disputes over missing or undelivered cargo. The detailed accounting of goods such as wine and brandy suggests these items held significant value and were subject to scrutiny to prevent misuse or loss.
98	87	Northumberland ...every item in the service, altho' it be for the very Garrison Stores that you may see at one View whether there has been Imbezelments in any part of our said Goods, or Stores sent you, and let this Account be Monthly examined in Consultation Viz. the Store keeper's Account of what he receives in, and Stores and the Gunners Account for what he is to be Accountable for, and so for every other Person that has the custody	Reference was made to the ship *Northumberland*, and it was directed that a detailed account be maintained of every item received and used in the service, including those intended for the garrison stores. Such records were to allow a clear view of whether any embezzlement had occurred in relation to goods or stores sent to the island. It was ordered that these accounts be examined monthly in consultation, including the storekeeper's account of all goods

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		of any part of our cargoes, and if you have reason to suspect any Fraudulent Dealing appoint one or more proper Persons to View the remainder in each Person's custody. Your Loving Friends Laws. Ordinances and Constitutions for the good government of the Island of St. Helena taken briefly out of the several Letters, Laws and Ordinances directed to the Governors and Council of the said Island from time to time both by the Right Honourable the old and new United East India Company by Vertue Power and Authority derived to them by Two Charters from Charles the Second of Ever blessed Memory King of Great Brittain France and Ireland, & her present Majesty Queen Anne in her separate & indenture, all which Laws, Ordinances and Constitutions are to be observed by all such of what Quality soever living & Residing on the said Island, as so many standing Rules of...	received and issued, and the gunner's account of all items for which he was responsible. The same requirement was to apply to every individual entrusted with custody of any part of the cargo. Where suspicion of fraudulent dealing arose, it was directed that one or more suitable persons be appointed to inspect the remaining goods held by those individuals. The letter concluded with the expression "Your Loving Friends", followed by a formal statement introducing a body of "Laws, Ordinances and Constitutions" for the good government of the island of St Helena. It was stated that these rules had been drawn from various letters, laws and ordinances issued over time to the Governor and Council, by both the former and the newly united East India Company. It was explained that the authority for these measures derived from two charters granted by King Charles the Second and by Queen Anne. It was declared that all such laws, ordinances and constitutions were to be observed by every person residing on the island, regardless of their status, as standing rules for [...] . **Interpretations** "Imbezelments" referred to the misappropriation or theft of goods entrusted to an individual's care, particularly within an administrative or official capacity. "Consultation" referred to the formal meeting and recorded proceedings of the Governor and Council. "Store keeper" referred to the official responsible for receiving, storing and issuing goods held in the Company's stores. "Gunners Account" referred to the record maintained by the gunner detailing ammunition and related supplies under his charge. "Charters" referred to formal legal documents granted by the Crown, conferring authority and rights upon the East India Company. **Speculations** The requirement for monthly inspection of accounts suggests concern over possible mismanagement or loss of goods within the island's administration. The instruction to appoint inspectors in cases of suspicion indicates an effort to enforce accountability and deter corruption. The compilation of laws and ordinances from earlier directives may reflect a move towards codifying governance for greater consistency. The emphasis on universal application of these rules suggests an intention to assert clear and uniform authority over all inhabitants of the island.
99	88	System of Orders Government and that none hereafter may plead Ignorance (as too many lately have done) the same is ingrossed and sett up in the Sessions House on the said Island in Chapel Street, near Fort James. First Touching Religion and the Worship of God. It is directed, Ordered and appointed that the Lords Day be Religiously observed by abstaining from all Bodily and Secular Imployments, as also from all Gaming and other Profane practices. That all Masters do cause their Famil-yes in the Publick Exercise of Religion, such as praying, hearing of Sermons, and on occasions and fitt times the Administration of both the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lords Supper; that all be done with due Reverence, Decency and Order and	Under the heading "System of Orders", it was stated that these regulations were established for the government of the island, and that no person should thereafter be able to plead ignorance, as had recently been done by many. It was directed that the orders be engrossed and set up in the Sessions House situated in Chapel Street, near Fort James, so that they might be publicly known. Concerning religion and the worship of God, it was directed and appointed that the Lord's Day was to be strictly observed. All bodily and secular employments were to be avoided, as well as gaming and other profane practices. It was required that all masters ensure their families attended public religious observance, including prayers, sermons and, when appropriate, the administration of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. All such observances were to be conducted with due reverence, decency and order. In the absence of a minister, it was directed that the Governor and Council were to appoint suitable portions of the Holy Scriptures and godly sermons to be read. It was further required that prayers be offered for the Sovereign, Queen Anne, for the peace,

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		in case there be no Minister, the Governour and Council shall appoint and cause some part or portion of the Holy Scriptures, and some Godly Sermons to be read and that our Sovereign Lady the Queens Majesty with the peace, Happyness and Prosperity of her Kingdoms be prayed for as also for the welfare of the United East India Company. Secondly as to the Intents Religious Morality and Vertue may be countenanced, Vice suppressed and punished and what is may be known what is Required, and what punishment Inflicted.	happiness and prosperity of her kingdoms, and for the welfare of the United East India Company. It was further stated that, in order to encourage religious morality and virtue, and to suppress and punish vice, it was necessary that clear expectations be established. It was directed that what was required of individuals, and the punishments to be imposed for offences, be made known [...] . **Interpretations** "Ingrossed" referred to the formal writing out of a document in a clear and authoritative form, often for official display or record. "Sessions House" referred to a building where judicial or administrative meetings were held, including courts and official assemblies. "Lord's Day" referred to Sunday, traditionally observed as a day of religious rest and worship in Christian practice. "Sacraments" referred to religious rites recognised by the Church, in this case baptism and the Lord's Supper. "Godly Sermons" referred to religious discourses intended to instruct and promote moral conduct according to Christian teaching. **Speculations** The public display of these orders suggests that enforcement had been hindered by claims of ignorance, prompting a more visible assertion of authority. The emphasis on religious observance indicates the central role of religion in regulating both public and private behaviour on the island. The provision for readings in the absence of a minister suggests that qualified clergy were not always available, requiring administrative adaptation. The linkage between religious practice and moral discipline reflects a broader aim of maintaining social order through spiritual as well as legal means.
100	89	and Constitutions 1º. We do direct and appoint that all and every Person or Persons that shall prophane the Lords day by Travelling, Working, Gaming, or any other unlawful pastime shall for the first offence be lookt upon and Admonished; but every such offence afterwards shall be fined not exceeding the Value of ___ for one offence. 2º. That all Swearing and taking the name of God in Vain (which is greatly avoided) if any person upon the hath once been admonished for the like shall offend by Swearing, he shall be fined not exceeding one Shilling for one Offence. 3º. That all Intemperance and Drunkeness be abstained from, & any shall Drunk to Drunkeness for the first Offence shall be Admonished and if after Admonition He or She shall offend again, then they shall be fined not exceeding five Shillings for one offence, and being con- victed of any Person of quality such shall be disable to the honour of bearing any greater power than Persons of common Rank. 4º. That all fornication, uncleanness and Adultery be forborn, and if any shall offend and be convicted of the Crime, He or She and one of them shall be punished by Admonition and by a suitable Act of Correctiveness and punish the same in such a way as shall be by them found most Effectuall, and not Contrary to	Under the heading "and Constitutions", a series of numbered rules was set out to regulate conduct on the island. First, it was directed and appointed that any person who profaned the Lord's Day by travelling, working, gaming or engaging in any unlawful pastime was, for the first offence, to be admonished. For subsequent offences, a fine was to be imposed, not exceeding the value of [...] for each offence. Secondly, it was ordered that all swearing and taking the name of God in vain was to be avoided. If any person, having once been admonished for such behaviour, offended again by swearing, a fine not exceeding one shilling was to be imposed for each offence. Thirdly, it was directed that all intemperance and drunkenness were to be abstained from. Any person found drunk to excess for the first offence was to be admonished. If, after such admonition, the individual offended again, a fine not exceeding five shillings was to be imposed for each offence. If the offender was a person of quality, they were to be disabled from holding positions of greater authority than those of common rank. Fourthly, it was ordered that fornication, uncleanness and adultery were to be avoided. Any person convicted of such offences was to be punished by admonition and by a suitable act of correction, to be determined as most effective, provided that such punishment was not contrary to the laws and statutes of the Kingdom of England. Fifthly, it was directed that no person was to steal or take from another with ill intent, whether by force or fraud, nor to undervalue goods or engage in deceitful practices. It was further stated that offences included breaking open houses or defrauding others in matters not [...] .

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		the Laws & Statutes of the Kingdom of England. 5º. That none do steal or take from another that with ill deed and meaning unto himself or of People by taking away by force or fraud any Goods, or undervalue any particular thing, as also that is not breaking open any house or House or defrauding in what is not lookt [...]	**Interpretations** "Admonished" referred to a formal warning issued as a first stage of punishment, intended to correct behaviour without immediate penalty. "Profane the Lord's Day" referred to engaging in secular or improper activities on Sunday, which was reserved for religious observance. "Taking the name of God in vain" referred to irreverent or improper use of sacred language, considered a moral and religious offence. "Person of quality" referred to an individual of higher social rank or status within the settlement. "Act of Correctiveness" referred to a disciplinary measure imposed to reform behaviour, which could vary in form depending on the offence. **Speculations** The graded system of admonition followed by fines suggests an attempt to correct behaviour progressively rather than impose immediate harsh penalties. The distinction made for persons of quality indicates that social rank influenced both expectations and consequences within the island's governance. The inclusion of moral offences such as swearing and drunkenness reflects the strong integration of religious values into legal regulation. The emphasis on fraud and undervaluation suggests concern over dishonest trade practices within a small and economically dependent community.
101	90	Laws and locked the party convicted thereof shall not only restore what he or they took away to the party from whom he or they stole the same but also have times the Value thereof and the rest of his estate whatsoever (after his debts paid) shall be forfeited to the Company who shall stand in the Pillory in a Publick place and be whipped from thence to the Prison, and that he be there left to the Discretion of the Governour and Council either to Discharge or make work at the Fortifications of the Island. And if it be any other kind of Thievery, and the party convicted, he or she shall Return what he or she stole and three times the Value more to the Person from whom He or She stole the same. In Case of non ability the same shall be forced to work for that Person till the same be by work made up. 6º. That if any Person called as Testimony, Witness, or Evidence in any Case, shall witness falsely through Malice or Collusion or on any other Account (unless it shall appear to be caused by Mistake and in some Circumstances not much Material to the thing in Question) and shall be thereof convicted, the same Damage, Pain or Prejudice that his Testimony had it been true and received should have caused or did Procure (except Death) to any other party, he shall be adjudged to sustain for ever his Witness & Testimony shall be deemed insufficient unsuitable to all intents and purposes and if it appears	Under the heading "Laws and […]", it was directed that, in cases where a person had committed theft by breaking open or forcibly entering property, the convicted individual was not only to restore the goods taken to the rightful owner, but also to pay multiple times their value. In addition, the remainder of the offender's estate, after debts had been settled, was to be forfeited to the Company. It was further ordered that the offender was to stand in the pillory in a public place and be whipped from there to the prison. Thereafter, the individual was to remain subject to the discretion of the Governor and Council, either to be discharged or set to work on the island's fortifications. In cases of other forms of theft, it was directed that the offender was to restore the stolen goods and pay three times their value to the injured party. If the offender lacked the means to make such restitution, they were to be compelled to work for the injured party until the value had been fully repaid through labour. Sixthly, it was ordered that any person called as a witness or giving testimony in any case, who knowingly gave false evidence through malice, collusion or other improper motive, was to be punished upon conviction. The punishment was to correspond to the damage, pain or prejudice that their false testimony would have caused, or did cause, if it had been accepted as true, except in cases involving death. Such individuals were thereafter to be deemed unfit to give evidence in any matter. If the offence amounted to perjury, both the individual giving false testimony and any person who had encouraged or procured it were to be held equally responsible, required to make reparation and subjected to public punishment by standing in the pillory. **Interpretations** "Pillory" referred to a public punishment device in which an offender's head and hands were secured for exposure and humiliation. "Forfeited to the Company" referred to the legal transfer of an offender's remaining property to the East India Company after obligations had been met. "Three times the Value" referred to a punitive restitution requiring repayment exceeding the original loss, intended as both compensation and deterrent. "Perjury" referred to the criminal act of knowingly giving false testimony under oath in a legal proceeding.

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		that such Crime was perjury, then both the Crime & the Person that suborned him to it be Equally subject to make reparation and shall both stand in the Pillory.	"Suborned" referred to the act of persuading or inducing another person to commit perjury. **Speculations** The severity of punishments for theft suggests strong concern over protecting property in a small and resource-limited settlement. The use of forced labour as restitution reflects a practical approach to enforcing compensation where monetary payment was not possible. The harsh treatment of false testimony indicates the importance placed on reliable evidence in maintaining order and justice. The public nature of punishments such as the pillory and whipping was probably intended to deter others through visible example.
102	91	Constitutions 7º. If any Person shall Counterfeit any Deed, Deeds Writing or other papers, or by any Device Cheat another of any Lands, Goods or Money, being thereof be Convicted, He shall make Satisfaction to the party injured, and shall also be fined the like Sum to the Company, and stand in the Pillory on three Publick Days, and in case of Non- ability to make Satisfaction or pay the Fine, He shall be obliged to work for the party Injured in the first place, and then for the Company (gratis such time as shall be adjudged sufficient to satisfye the said Sums). 8º. In Case any Person shall Quarrell with another not being his Servant or under his Command, or Strike or wound him, the party Offending shall make Satisfaction to the party Injured, and over besides shall also be fined to the use of the Company for the breach of the peace, and the said Fine not to Exceed Seventy Shillings for any one Offence. 9º. In Case any either an Officer being about the Execution of his his office He shall be fined at Discretion not exceeding five pounds or be Publickly whipt or imprison'd untill the Governour in the way of the Major part of the Councell shall think fitt to free him. shall moreover pay treble damage to the officer Injured. Thirdly and for the better preserving the peace of the Island, and keeping all Persons in due Subordination and Securing the Plant against damage He the Captain Direct and appoint. That if any Person whatsoever shall be found in any Violent or	Under the heading "Constitutions", it was directed, seventhly, that any person who forged or counterfeited deeds, writings or other papers, or who by any device defrauded another of land, goods or money, upon conviction, was to make satisfaction to the injured party. In addition, a fine equal to that amount was to be paid to the Company. The offender was also to stand in the pillory on three public days. If the offender lacked the means to make satisfaction or pay the fine, they were to be compelled to work first for the injured party and thereafter for the Company without payment, for such time as would be judged sufficient to discharge the sums owed. Eighthly, it was ordered that, if any person quarrelled with another, not being a servant or under their command, or struck or wounded them, the offender was to make satisfaction to the injured party. In addition, a fine was to be imposed for breach of the peace, payable to the Company, not exceeding seventy shillings for any single offence. Ninthly, it was directed that, in cases where any person assaulted or resisted an officer in the execution of his duty, the offender was to be fined at discretion, not exceeding five pounds, or subjected to public whipping or imprisonment until such time as the Governor, with the agreement of the majority of the Council, judged fit to release them. In addition, triple damages were to be paid to the injured officer. It was further stated that, for the better preservation of peace on the island, the maintenance of proper subordination among all persons, and the protection of the plantation from damage, further directions were to be established. It was indicated that, if any person whatsoever was found engaged in violent or [...] . **Interpretations** "Counterfeit any Deed" referred to the forgery of legal documents relating to property or agreements, a serious offence affecting ownership and trust. "Pillory on three Publick Days" referred to repeated public exposure as punishment, intended to increase shame and deterrence. "Breach of the peace" referred to conduct disturbing public order, including quarrelling or violence. "Triple damage" referred to a punitive compensation requiring payment of three times the harm caused to the injured party. "Officer in the Execution of his office" referred to an official performing authorised duties, whose protection was considered essential to maintaining order. **Speculations** The severe penalties for forgery suggest strong concern over the integrity of legal and property records in a developing colony. The structured penalties for personal violence indicate an effort to regulate social behaviour and prevent disorder in a small community. The heightened punishment for offences against

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			officers reflects the importance placed on upholding authority. The emphasis on subordination and protection of the plantation suggests ongoing concerns about discipline and economic stability within the settlement.
103	92	Laws and draw or, or Strike the Governour or any his Superior Officer or Minister, or attempt or Conspire so to do, or use any hostile Act therein and be thereof Convicted, He shall suffer such Corporal Punish- ment (extending to the taking away Life) as the Governour with the Advice and Consent of the Major part of his Military Officers shall Adjudge according to the nature of his offence, and in case of taking the Governour He also shall forfeit to the Company all his Lands Tenements Goods & Chattels. 2º. That if any Captain Officer or Soldier in the Companys service in the said Island, shall Neglect his Duty, or be thereof Convicted by the Testimony of Two Witnesses upon Oath, He or they shall be fined by the Governour to the use of the Company not exceeding one months pay and shall also suffer such Corporal Punishment as the Governour with the Advice and Consent of the Major part of his Military Officers shall adjudge the matter to Deserve. 3º. If any shall Imbezle or Steal any Powder, Arms, Ammunition or other Stores and sell the same, both the Seller in Imbezling or Stealing, as also the setter, Buyer and Receiver thereof shall be liable over and above the Penaltyes herein before appointed in case of Theft to be Imprisoned not exceeding six Months, or to suffer such other Corporal Punishment as the Governour with the Advice and Consent of the Major part of his Councell shall adjudge the matter to Deserve. 4º. We Strictly Injoin that no Person inhabiting the Island being a Jew or Infidel be Permitted to wear any Sword, it being by the Custome of all Nations an unsufferable thing. Finis	Under the heading "Laws and […]", it was directed that any person who struck, attempted to strike or conspired to strike the Governor, or any superior officer or minister, or committed any hostile act against them, upon conviction, was to suffer such corporal punishment as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of his military officers, should judge appropriate according to the nature of the offence, including punishment extending to death. In such cases, all lands, tenements, goods and chattels belonging to the offender were to be forfeited to the Company. It was ordered that, if any captain, officer or soldier in the Company's service neglected their duty, and such neglect was proved by the testimony of two witnesses upon oath, the offender was to be fined, at the discretion of the Governor, not exceeding one month's pay, and was also to suffer such corporal punishment as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of his military officers, should determine to be appropriate. It was directed that any person who embezzled or stole powder, arms, ammunition or other stores and sold them, together with any person who bought, received or assisted in the disposal of such goods, was to be subject, in addition to the penalties previously established for theft, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or to such other corporal punishment as the Governor, with the advice and consent of the majority of the Council, should judge appropriate. It was strictly enjoined that no person residing on the island who was identified as a Jew or an infidel was to be permitted to carry or wear a sword, this being stated as contrary to the custom observed among nations. The text concluded with the word "Finis", indicating the end of the body of laws. **Interpretations** "Corporal Punishment" referred to physical punishment inflicted on the body, ranging from whipping to execution depending on severity. "Forfeit to the Company" referred to the legal seizure of an offender's property by the East India Company as a consequence of conviction. "Imbezle" referred to the misappropriation or theft of goods entrusted to an individual's care. "Infidel" was a term used in the period to describe a person not adhering to the dominant Christian faith, reflecting contemporary religious attitudes. "Tenements" referred to property or holdings, including land and buildings. **Speculations** The severity of penalties for offences against the Governor suggests the central importance of maintaining authority in a remote colonial setting. The requirement for two witnesses in cases of neglect indicates an attempt to ensure fairness in disciplinary proceedings. The strict punishment for theft of military stores reflects their critical importance for the island's defence. The prohibition on certain groups carrying weapons suggests underlying social or religious tensions, as well as concern over maintaining control within the population.
104	93	Constitutions	Under the heading "Constitutions", it was stated that, in order to maintain proper order and discipline, it

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		Justice famines, and we think it may be not unfitly Proper for your private Soldiers to wear Swords in such Publickly place as the Island is except when they are upon Duty. And if any of the Inhabitants Neglect this order You may fine them one shilling for the first offence; 2 shillings for the Second and so unto four shillings toties quoties. But your Officers are not to go any where without their Swords, If they be seen at any time without wearing their Swords, they ought to forfeit four shillings to the Company for each offence in that kind. Whether to extend this order so far as to Serjeants and Corporals, We leave to your Discretion, but considering you have those Officers. We think it may not be Amiss to Permit Serjeants and Corporals to the Priviledge of wearing Swords hoping you will chuse the Sobrest Men into these offices. If whensoever the Inhabitants Officers or Soldiers, or any belonging to or passengers on board of any ships shall presume to Draw a Sword shall forfeit & pay Twenty Shillings, the one moiety to the Company and the other to the necessary Prosecution. Tenthly and whereas some Doubts and questions have arisen Touching the holding, Enjoying, Disposing & Alienating such Lands & Plantations and in what manner & nature the same shall Descend in Case of Death, otherwise & also such as laid out and Service in which was Imposed of the Possessor of the same, We have thought fit to the Intents that every Person may both know the Duty required of him, and the Right belonging to them in Service Consideration of all particulars Rates and Orders in 1º. That any Person or Persons altering such half-crown Lands or such Western Towers have ever with the Actual Possession and	was considered appropriate that private soldiers should wear swords in public places on the island, except when they were upon duty. It was directed that any inhabitant neglecting this requirement was to be fined one shilling for the first offence, two shillings for the second and thereafter up to four shillings for repeated offences. Officers were not to appear in any place without wearing their swords, and any officer found without one was to forfeit four shillings to the Company for each offence. It was left to discretion whether this rule should extend to serjeants and corporals, although it was suggested that they might be permitted this privilege, with the expectation that only the most sober and responsible individuals would be appointed to such positions. It was further ordered that any inhabitant, officer, soldier or person belonging to, or travelling on board, any ship, who presumed to draw a sword, was to forfeit twenty shillings, one half to the Company and the other towards the costs of prosecution. It was then stated that doubts and disputes had arisen concerning the holding, enjoyment, disposal and transfer of lands and plantations, as well as the manner in which such property should descend upon death, and the obligations imposed upon those in possession. It was therefore determined that clear rules should be established, so that every person might understand both the duties required of them and the rights belonging to them, in consideration of all relevant particulars, rates and orders. It was directed that any person or persons holding such half-crown lands or similar allotments, together with actual possession, were to [...] . **Interpretations** "Half-crown Lands" referred to parcels of land held under a form of tenure involving payment or obligation equivalent to a half-crown, often indicating a specific category of grant or rent. "Western Towers" appears to refer to designated areas or divisions of land on the island, possibly linked to defensive or administrative arrangements. "Moiety" referred to one half of a sum or share, commonly used in legal and financial contexts. "Alienating" referred to the transfer or sale of property rights from one person to another. "Actual Possession" referred to physical occupation or control of land, as opposed to merely holding a legal claim. **Speculations** The requirement for soldiers to wear swords in public may reflect an emphasis on visible authority and readiness in a strategically sensitive location. The restriction on drawing swords suggests concern over disorder or violence arising from armed individuals in a confined community. The introduction of clearer land rules indicates ongoing disputes over property rights, perhaps due to informal or poorly documented earlier arrangements. The reference to duties attached to landholding suggests that property ownership was closely tied to service obligations within the island's administrative and defensive system.
105	94	Laws and occupation hereof five years to be accounted from their actual residence on the & improving the same as a Plantation such Person or Persons shall hold the same fee to them, and their Heirs: and may Sell, Alienate, and Dispose of the same at their Pleasure. 2º. That in case of the Decease of any Planter duly Possessed of any Lands, if such Planter be a single man, the said	Under the heading "Laws and […]", it was directed that any person who had occupied land for a period of five years, reckoned from the time of actual residence and improvement of the same as a plantation, was to hold that land in full ownership for themselves and their heirs. It was further provided that such land might be sold, transferred or otherwise disposed of at the owner's discretion. It was stated that, in the event of the death of a planter in lawful possession of land, if the individual died unmarried, the land was to pass according to any deed or last testament made by that person. If the

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		Lands shall Descend to and be enjoyed by such Person or Persons as he shall by any Deed or last Testament assign the same. But if he dye a Married Man, that one half thereof shall go to the Wife during her Natural Life, and the other half together with the reversion of one half after her decease to be disposed according as by a former Will or Testament shall be appointed, or in case there be no such appointment then to Descend to the Heirs at Law. 3º. As to Moveable and Personal Estates that any Member shall dye Possessed of, if the same be not disposed of by Will, the same shall be Divided, one Third to the Wife, and the other two Thirds to be Divided among the Children on the Estate in Equall shares, and if there be no Children, then one half to the Wife, and the other half to the Brothers and Sisters or their Children respectively in Equall shares. But if there be no such, then all to the Wife, but in case there be neither Wife nor Child, then the same to be in the next of kinred what inhabit in the Island, or if no such be known on the Island, then the same to be Inventoryed and preserved for such Person or Persons in England that shall be Intitled to the Administration of the Estate. 4º. We Decree that is owing to every Plantation ten or twenty Acres of Land to keep watch on such Twenty Shill nights, which in	planter died as a married man, one half of the land was to be held by the wife for the duration of her natural life, while the other half, together with the reversion of the wife's portion after her death, was to be disposed of according to any will. In the absence of such direction, the property was to descend to the heirs at law. It was further directed that, with regard to moveable and personal estates not disposed of by will, one third was to be assigned to the wife and the remaining two thirds divided equally among the children. If there were no children, one half was to go to the wife and the other half to brothers and sisters or their children in equal shares. If no such relatives existed, the entire estate was to pass to the wife. In the absence of both wife and children, the estate was to be assigned to the nearest kin residing on the island. If no such person could be identified there, the estate was to be inventoried and preserved for those in England entitled to administer it. It was also decreed that each plantation, consisting of ten or twenty acres of land, was to be responsible for maintaining watch duties on designated nights, amounting to twenty shillings [...] . **Interpretations** "Fee" in this context referred to a form of freehold ownership, granting full rights in land to the holder and their heirs. "Reversion" referred to the return of property rights to another party after the end of a life interest, such as that held by a widow. "Moveable and Personal Estates" referred to property not consisting of land, including goods, money and other possessions. "Heirs at Law" referred to individuals entitled to inherit property under established legal rules in the absence of a will. "Inventoryed" referred to the formal listing and recording of property for administrative or legal purposes. **Speculations** The requirement of five years' occupation and improvement suggests an intention to encourage settlement and productive use of land. The structured rules of inheritance indicate an effort to impose legal clarity in a developing colony where disputes over succession may have arisen. The provision for estates to be preserved for claimants in England reflects the continued legal connection between the island and metropolitan authority. The obligation tied to plantation size suggests that landholding carried responsibilities for defence or communal service within the island.
106	95	Constitutions ten Months of the year, and that such as do hire their Duty to be done, pay Twenty Shillings of Damages for it. Therefore we have thought that the said Twenty Shillings of Damages upon every Twenty Acres of Inhabited Land shall hereafter in Money be paid to the Governour Yearly, at the Quarter Discharge of such Constant Watching & Warding, but nevertheless every full free Planter and all Persons living within the Island that are able to bear Arms shall be duly quartered as they have been, and constantly to be all times appear at their Respective Quarters in Arms, otherwise the same Penalty upon Defaulters as hath been formerly used, or such greater Penalty as our Governour and Councell shall think fit to	Under the heading "Constitutions", it was directed that watch and ward duties were to be performed for ten months of the year. It was stated that those who hired others to perform this duty on their behalf were to pay twenty shillings in damages. It was therefore ordered that, for every twenty acres of inhabited land, a sum of twenty shillings was thereafter to be paid annually in money to the Governor at the quarterly period, in place of the continual obligation of watching and warding. Nevertheless, every free planter and all other persons on the island capable of bearing arms were to remain duly assigned to their quarters, as previously established, and were to appear there in arms at all times when required. Failure to do so was to incur the same penalties as formerly imposed, or such greater penalties as the Governor and Council might determine. Attendance was also required at stated rendezvous for general musters and exercises of arms, as commanded. It was further ordered that the previous restriction upon free planters keeping slaves was to be removed, subject to conditions. Any free planter or other person

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		impose upon him, and shall attend at Stated Rendes all General Musters & Exercise of Arms which our said Governour & Councell shall command them to. 5º. We have thought fit to take off that Restraint from our free Planters of Keeping of Negroes with only this Condition, that Every free Planter or Sane or other Person that will keep to the number of four Negroes shall keep one English man Extraordinarily to attend and take care to pay our Government for the Company use Forty shillings per Annum, and Proportionably viz. for one Negro Ten Shillings, for two Twenty Shillings, three Thirty shillings & and the Reason of which Order is as the Negroes do Increase upon the Island, which we undergo the Company proportionably to Increase our English Inhabitants for the Security of the Inhabitants as well as the Island. 6º. And We do hereby Strictly forbid all the Women upon the	keeping up to four slaves was required to maintain one additional Englishman for supervision and care, and to pay to the Company forty shillings annually. A proportional scale was set, requiring payment of ten shillings for one slave, twenty shillings for two and thirty shillings for three. It was stated that the purpose of this regulation was that, as the number of slaves increased on the island, the number of English inhabitants should also increase proportionally, for the security both of the inhabitants and of the island itself. It was further directed that all women upon the island were strictly forbidden to [...] . **Interpretations** "Watching & Warding" referred to the obligation of inhabitants to participate in guarding and defensive duties, particularly at night. "Quarter Discharge" referred to a scheduled period, possibly quarterly, at which obligations were settled or payments made. "Free Planter" referred to a landholder not under servitude, possessing certain rights and obligations within the colony. "Rendes" referred to appointed places or times for assembly, especially for military musters. "Negroes" referred to enslaved persons, reflecting the terminology and social structure of the period. **Speculations** The option to commute watch duties into a monetary payment suggests an attempt to balance labour obligations with practical considerations of manpower. The requirement for armed readiness among inhabitants indicates ongoing concern about external threat or internal unrest. The linking of slave ownership to the maintenance of English personnel reflects a strategy to preserve demographic and military balance. The structured payments tied to slave ownership suggest that the Company sought both revenue and control over the growth of the enslaved population.
107	96	Laws and Island from Suffering any Cattle to stray or go at large ought to be looked to & considered after the Companys order. Pounds, Keepers and keepers shall be first marked with the Companys brand which we send you herewith and the owners of every beast are to pay the Company twelve pence for the same for being suffered to graze one year upon the Companys waste lands. 7º. We Decree for the Publick Utility of the Island you forthwith (under Monday in every year or upon some other certain day) that you shall (first under Government) Assemble all the Free Planters of the Island to make Election for two Surveyors of the Highways, and one or two Church Wardens for each Church. Who are men thereof shall be the Free Planters by their Major Votes present given to the Governour for Overseers, and four for Church Wardens, out of which four the Governour to choose two that shall be Surveyors for that year, and out of the other four, two that shall be Church Wardens. 8º. But our Express Order is, that never at or ever, no Levite, Presbyter or Anticipant, or other Person whatsoever	The laws and constitutions stated that measures to prevent the island from suffering through cattle straying or wandering at large were to be carefully observed and regulated in accordance with the Company's orders. Pounds and keepers were to be established for the control of such cattle, and all keepers were first required to mark the animals with the Company's brand, which had been sent for that purpose. The owner of every beast was required to pay the Company twelve pence for each animal, as a charge for permitting it to graze for one year upon the Company's waste lands. For the public utility of the island, an annual assembly was to be convened on a Monday in each year, or on another fixed day, under the authority of the government. At this assembly, all free planters of the island were to gather in order to elect officers. Two surveyors of the highways and one or two churchwardens for each church were to be chosen. The free planters present were to nominate, by majority vote, four men for the office of overseers and four for the office of churchwardens, and these nominations were to be presented to the Governor. From the four nominated for overseers, two were to be selected by the Governor to serve as surveyors for that year, and from the four nominated for churchwardens, two were to be chosen to serve in that capacity. An express order was given that no levite, presbyter, anticipant, or any other person whatsoever would be permitted to have a voice or vote in the election of any civil or parish officer. The right of suffrage was reserved exclusively for free planters who were settled in their possessions and habitation, as well as landholders, who were to exercise voting rights based upon their freehold property at such elections.

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		shall have Voice or Suffrage for Election of any Civil or Parish Officer, but only and alone Free Planters settled in their Possessions and Habitation and the Landholders and such shall have Votes upon those Freeholds at Elections. 9º. And We do hereby Order and Decree that every Minister or Preacher of a Family of that Protestant Service, which exactly purges & keeps to the Doctrine of the Queen, Man or Woman shall be lookt upon as One of Eastern parts for the Promoting the Blessings and preserving the Church.	A further order and decree established that every minister or preacher belonging to a family adhering to the Protestant service, and strictly maintaining the doctrine of the Queen, whether man or woman, would be regarded as belonging to the Eastern parts for the purpose of promoting blessings and preserving the Church. **Interpretations** "Pounds" referred to enclosed areas where stray livestock were confined until claimed by their owners, a common mechanism in early colonial administration to regulate grazing and prevent damage to property. "Surveyors of the highways" were local officials responsible for the maintenance and oversight of roads, often coordinating labour obligations among inhabitants to ensure routes remained passable. "Levite, presbyter, anticipant" referred to categories of religious or ecclesiastical persons, indicating that clergy and those connected with church offices were deliberately excluded from civil electoral processes. "Doctrine of the Queen" referred to the established religious framework of the Church of England under royal authority, adherence to which was considered essential for recognised ministers within the colony. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the regulation of grazing and the imposition of a fee for the use of waste lands formed part of a broader effort to formalise land use and generate revenue for the Company. It was probably the case that the exclusion of clergy and related persons from voting was designed to prevent ecclesiastical influence over civil governance, thereby maintaining a separation between religious authority and administrative power.
108	97	Constitutions 10º. And We do Order that for the Publick Utility of the Island every Person, as well Free Planters, Shopkeepers, Slaves, Artificers, Servants Labourers and Negroes, shall spend one days labour in every year for the repair and Mending of the Highways, when they shall be summoned thereunto by one or more of the Surveyors of the Highways by warrant thereto to be given by our Governour & Councell. 11º. And We do hereby Establish a small Duty to be Levyed upon All the Trade of the Island. For Every Ox or neat Beast used on board any ship: - L - 0 - 6 For every hundred weight of Sugar landed: For every Hogshead of Arrack, Brandy or Wine: - 10 - 0 For every piece of Callicoe: - 0 - 6 For every piece of Silk: - 1 - 0 And so Proportionably for a lesser or a greater quantity of Commodities. 12º. We do farther Order that no Person whatsoever presume to cutt any Timber tree upon the Company waste Lands, or any Tree of their owning to be Lopped upon the Penalty of Twenty Shillings for every such offence. 13º. We have heard very scandalous Reports of loose Women and whoreships. For the future let no man to go on board any Vessell without a licence in Writing from the Governour, If any offend herein, Fine them for the first offence One Dollar, for the second Two & so as it you have broke them from that	The constitutions ordered, for the public utility of the island, that every person, including free planters, shopkeepers, slaves, artificers, servants, labourers and negroes, would be required to contribute one day's labour each year for the repair and maintenance of the highways. Such labour was to be performed when summoned by one or more of the surveyors of the highways, acting under a warrant issued by the Governor and Council. A further order established a small duty to be levied upon all trade conducted on the island. A charge of six pence was to be paid for every ox or other neat beast used on board any ship. Duties were also imposed upon goods, including sugar landed by the hundredweight, hogsheads of arrack, brandy or wine at ten shillings each, pieces of calico at six pence each and pieces of silk at one shilling each. These duties were to be applied proportionately according to lesser or greater quantities of commodities. It was additionally ordered that no person would presume to cut any timber tree upon the Company's waste lands, nor to lop any tree belonging to themselves, under a penalty of twenty shillings for each offence. Reports were acknowledged of scandalous behaviour involving loose women and acts of prostitution. It was therefore directed that no man would go on board any vessel without a written licence from the Governor. Any person offending in this matter was to be fined one dollar for the first offence and two dollars for the second, with continued penalties to be applied in order to suppress what was described as a scandalous and beastial practice. Should such measures prove insufficient, punishment was to be administered at the discretion of the authorities until proper order was restored. **Interpretations** "Neat beast" referred to domesticated cattle, particularly oxen or cows, commonly used for labour or

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		scandelous & beastial practice. Otherwise Punish them at your Discretion till you have the matter in good Order.	provisioning ships. "Hundredweight" denoted a standard unit of weight used in trade, typically equal to one hundred and twelve pounds in the British system, and was commonly used in the measurement of bulk goods such as sugar. "Arrack" referred to a distilled alcoholic spirit produced in Asia, often made from fermented palm sap, rice or sugar, and widely traded in early modern maritime commerce. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the requirement for universal labour on highways reflected a communal obligation system, ensuring that infrastructure was maintained without direct financial cost to the Company. It was probably the case that the imposition of trade duties formed part of a structured effort to regulate commerce while generating revenue from both local production and visiting shipping.
109	98	14º. We are also Deeply Debated at all our Provisions of fresh meat by Cattle, and therefore for the future we have Ordered all our Ships to Receive their Cattle immediately from the Company which you have many of now fit for their Services, and some from the inhabitants, but where you have not sufficient to furnish our Ships with. 15º. We do Injoin you for the future to stop all Vessels whatsoever Freighted with Liquors or Stores without paying the Company four pounds per Annum Quartarly. 16º. We Observe and hear by others which come from that Coast that there is a great Trade Driven to the value of Ten Thousand Pounds from Ports for Liquors, which will soon consume the greatest part of the wood on the Island if it be not speedily Prevented. We do therefore hereby Order and appoint, that no Vessell upon the Island be furnisht with Wood, Boards, or fresh provisions without first the Companys Order they perform Distillation of the arack before prove the Quantity as well the Companys wood spent in Distillation be Likewise to pay one penny per gallon upon all new Wines of the first runing of such Distilled Liquors for the Companys use. 17º. We Require you to make every Order as any outstanding Order, and to be Intirely Obeyed until the half of ye sum fifteen shillings & never to be remitted from the Vendees. 18º. We would have you also forbid the killing any Visenant Guinea hens, Turtle Doves or any other fowle upon the Island within all which do feed within the Plantations & upon our small Tenements and Indian fields, to be fined one half to the Company and the other half to the Informer.	Concern was expressed at the scarcity of fresh meat, particularly beef, which had been experienced. It was therefore ordered that, in future, all Company ships would receive their cattle directly from the Company's own stock, of which sufficient numbers were then available for service, and only from inhabitants where the Company's supply proved insufficient to furnish the ships. An injunction was given that all vessels carrying liquors or stores would be stopped unless a payment of four pounds per annum was made to the Company, to be collected quarterly. It was observed, based on reports from others arriving from that coast, that a substantial trade valued at ten thousand pounds had been conducted through ports for liquors, which threatened to consume a large portion of the island's wood if not promptly prevented. An order was therefore established that no vessel on the island would be supplied with wood, boards or fresh provisions without prior authorisation from the Company. Requirements were also imposed relating to the distillation of arrack, with oversight of the quantity produced and the wood consumed in the process. A further duty of one penny per gallon was to be paid on all newly produced wines from the first running of such distilled liquors, for the Company's use. A requirement was imposed that every order issued would be treated as binding and fully obeyed, and that penalties, including a sum of fifteen shillings, were to be enforced and not remitted from those liable to pay. A prohibition was established against the killing of pheasants, guinea hens, turtle doves and other fowl found feeding within plantations, small tenements and Indian fields. Any person offending was to be fined, with one half of the penalty assigned to the Company and the other half to the informer. **Interpretations** "Arrack" referred to a distilled alcoholic spirit widely produced in Asia from materials such as palm sap, rice or sugar, and formed a significant part of maritime trade in the period. "First running" denoted the initial distillation of a liquid, often considered the strongest or most valuable portion of the product. "Informer" referred to an individual who reported an offence to the authorities and, in such systems, was often entitled to a share of the resulting fine as an incentive for enforcement. "Indian fields" referred to cultivated lands associated with non-European agricultural practices or crops, often worked by slaves or labourers under colonial management. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that directing ships to obtain

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			cattle primarily from Company stock ensured both quality control and the prioritisation of Company resources over private trade. It was probably the case that restrictions on wood supply and distillation were introduced in response to environmental concerns, particularly the depletion of timber resources essential for fuel and construction on the island.
110	99	19º. Touching the Disputes among your Inhabitants relating to the Possession of their Lands, and how long they made a Possession, if they have a poor Handwriting sale or in any Cowlety which trusts in another, or as may have the Custome of the place & the use not fully appearing. For the future no Lands are to be Alienated or Mortgaged unless there a Register to be kept in the Fort specifying the Substance of such Alienation or Mortgage, where sells and who Buys, and for what, and the convey such Entry to be signed by the Buyer and Seller, and attested by the Governour and Councell for the time being, without which the Bargain or Sale shall not be accounted binding. So what is past if there be any litigious Contests that will complain. Let a Jury be Jury of the Cove who we hope will determine upon a full hearing according to Equity and good Conscience and for the better encouragement of all such as live Quietly and desire to do so let there be a Publick Declaration made in the Island. That for the Quiet of the Inhabitants all Persons in by any Day Certain to be named convein an Account of what Freehold they Claim, which upon oing same to be Entered in a Book for that purpose with Witness, that in case no Exception is taken thereto by another day Certain suppose 6 Months more after, then such their Claim shall be taken as Certain Evidence of their Possession, not to be Controverted in future; this we hope will once fully the Disputes of the People; if after all these there be any case, that doth not come within the Rules abovementioned stand as is particularly stated. And we will return you a final Answer. 20º. We have given you repeated Intreaties that no short Orders till we send	Disputes among the inhabitants concerning the possession of land were addressed, particularly in cases where ownership depended upon imperfect written sales, informal agreements, trust arrangements, or local custom that was not clearly evidenced. It was ordered that, in future, no land would be alienated or mortgaged unless a register was maintained at the Fort, recording the substance of each transaction, including the parties involved and the consideration given. Each such entry was to be signed by both buyer and seller and attested by the Governor and Council, without which no bargain or sale would be regarded as binding. For past transactions where disputes remained unresolved, provision was made for complaints to be heard by a jury of the Cove, which was expected to determine matters upon a full hearing according to principles of equity and good conscience. In order to encourage peaceful settlement, a public declaration was to be issued throughout the island requiring all persons, by a specified date, to submit an account of the freehold they claimed. These claims were to be entered in a designated book with supporting witnesses. If no objection was raised by another specified date, proposed as six months thereafter, the claim would be accepted as definitive evidence of possession and would not be subject to future dispute. It was expressed that this process was intended to resolve the ongoing disputes among the inhabitants. Any cases not falling within these rules were to remain as previously stated, with a further answer to be provided in due course. Repeated entreaties were noted that no short orders should be issued until further direction was sent, although the remainder of this provision was unreadable or incomplete. **Interpretations** "Alienated" referred to the legal transfer of ownership of land from one party to another, whether by sale, gift or other conveyance. "Mortgage" denoted a legal arrangement in which land was pledged as security for a debt, with conditions attached to repayment. "Jury of the Cove" referred to a local panel of inhabitants convened to hear and determine disputes, operating in a semi-formal judicial capacity within the settlement. "Freehold" referred to a form of land tenure granting permanent ownership rights, as opposed to temporary or conditional holding. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the establishment of a formal register of land transactions would reduce uncertainty and prevent fraudulent or disputed claims arising from informal agreements. It was probably the case that the requirement to publicly declare land claims, followed by a period for objections, reflected an attempt to regularise property ownership in a developing colonial settlement where documentation had previously been inconsistent.
111	100	and you in our future are to be Esteemed as so many Standing Directions for your government and Expect you to observe them as such.	The foregoing orders were to be regarded in future as standing directions for the government of the island, and obedience to them was expected accordingly. A formal expression of loyalty was included, invoking blessing upon the Queen and upon the Right Honourable United English East India Company. For

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		God save the Queen and bless the Rt Hon^{ble} United English East India Company For all other Commodities for which no rates of Custom are already set, You are at your Discretion with our moderate order you may set to Burthensome to the Inhabitants and may bear some Proportion to the rates of Value of the Commodities as aforesaid. Our Governor & Council of St. Helena London 23^{d} May 1707 By the Incubator we wrote you at large, what then occurred to Us, as you will see by the Specie Letters dated the 14th of December 1705 and 28th December 1706 Copy whereof is enclosed. Capt. James Lambe therein mentioned did not proceed the Voyage then, neither does now, because we had reasons to believe he would not answer the Character given of him, We have Entertained one Christian Frederick Vogt to be Engineer at St. Helena (who is Recommended to us as well qualified) for the Employment. He is to serve for three years at forty pounds pr Annum. We have advanced to him fifteen pounds, which is to be taken out of his growing Salary. We have also Entertained the following Persons for St. Helena viz.	all other commodities for which no specific customs rates had been established, discretion was granted to the Governor and Council to impose duties, provided that such rates were moderate, not burdensome to the inhabitants, and proportionate to the value of the goods concerned. The document was issued under the authority of the Governor and Council of St Helena and dated at London on 23 May 1707. Reference was made to a previous communication sent by the vessel *Incubator*, in which matters then arising had been addressed in detail, as set out in letters dated 14 December 1705 and 28 December 1706, copies of which were enclosed. It was noted that Captain James Lambe, previously mentioned, had not proceeded on the intended voyage, and would not do so, as reasons had arisen to doubt that he would fulfil the character that had been attributed to him. In his place, Christian Frederick Vogt was engaged as engineer for St Helena, having been recommended as well qualified for the role. His term of service was fixed at three years, at a salary of forty pounds per annum. An advance of fifteen pounds had been paid to him, which was to be deducted from his accruing salary. It was further recorded that additional persons had also been engaged for service at St Helena, although their names and details were not included in the surviving text. **Interpretations** "Standing directions" referred to formal instructions intended to remain in force over time, serving as an enduring framework for governance rather than temporary or situational orders. "Specie letters" referred to official correspondence concerning financial or monetary matters, often relating to payments, currency or bullion. "Character" in this context referred to a person's reputation, qualifications or reliability as previously reported to the Company. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that granting discretionary authority over unspecified customs duties allowed local governance to adapt flexibly to changing trade conditions while still maintaining oversight of revenue. It was probably the case that the decision not to employ Captain James Lambe reflected concerns about competence or trustworthiness, suggesting that the Company exercised caution in appointing individuals to positions affecting its operations overseas.
112	101	Francis Tunge Armourer for five years at thirty pounds a year, to whom we have advanced Seven pounds Ten Shillings to be deducted out of his growing salary, and he having agreed that his wife shall have fifteen pounds a year of his salary paid her here, you are to take Notice thereof and Account with him only for fifteen pounds a year salary. Also George Northen and Nicholas Shreeve Masons for five years at Thirty pounds each pr Annum Wages, They have Agreed we shall pay to their Wives part of their Wages here Viz. Mr. Durham's Wife is to have Ten pounds a year paid her, & Mr. Shreeve's Wife Fifteen pounds paid her here, which you must in like manner take notice of. We Expect from you an Account from time to time how the Men we Entertain here for any sort of Employment at St. Helena behave themselves	Francis Tunge was appointed as armourer for a term of five years at a wage of thirty pounds per annum. An advance of seven pounds and ten shillings had been issued to him, to be deducted from his accruing salary. It had been agreed that his wife would receive fifteen pounds per year from his wages in England, and notice of this arrangement was to be taken, with accounting to be made to him only for the remaining fifteen pounds per year. George Northen and Nicholas Shreeve were engaged as masons for five years at wages of thirty pounds each per annum. Arrangements had been made for part of their wages to be paid to their wives in England, with ten pounds per year to be paid to the wife of Northen, and fifteen pounds per year to the wife of Shreeve. These arrangements were likewise to be formally recognised and accounted for accordingly. An expectation was expressed that regular accounts would be provided detailing how the men employed for service at St Helena conducted themselves, and whether they fulfilled the purposes for which they had been engaged. Such reports were to include distinctions between their performances and those of other persons

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		and whether they answer the ends for which we took them into our service & with those discriminations as any others we have or shall Employ, And that you take this for a Standing rule for the future. We send this to you by the Northumberland Capt. Dickenson commander who also brings for the use of the Island, you will find a Mention of in her Invoice and Bills of Lading Sent also in the Packet with (and also her Charterparty, which you must have a due regard to so far as any thing therein Contained relates to you,) then make up her Charterparty with any other papers you have occasion to send to Banceelon, and enclose all in a Cover Directed to the Governor & Councils of Banceelon, which Packet deliver to the Captain of	employed, and this requirement was to be observed as a standing rule for the future. The document was transmitted by the ship *Northumberland*, commanded by Captain Dickenson. That vessel was noted as carrying goods for the use of the island, which were listed in its invoice and bills of lading, sent within the same packet, together with its charterparty. Proper attention was to be given to the terms of that charterparty insofar as they related to the island's administration. After this, the charterparty and any other necessary papers were to be compiled and forwarded to Banceelon, enclosed in a cover addressed to the Governor and Council there, and delivered to the captain of the vessel carrying the packet. **Interpretations** "Armourer" referred to a skilled tradesman responsible for the maintenance and repair of weapons, including firearms and edged arms, which were essential for the island's defence. "Bills of lading" were formal shipping documents listing goods carried on a vessel, serving as both a receipt and a contract for their transport. "Charterparty" referred to a legal agreement between the owner of a ship and the party hiring it, setting out the terms of the vessel's use, cargo obligations and payment. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the arrangement for paying portions of wages directly to wives in England ensured financial stability for families and reduced the risk of mismanagement of wages abroad. It was probably the case that the requirement for regular performance reports reflected a structured system of oversight, allowing the Company to assess the effectiveness and reliability of its employees in distant settlements.
113	102	Orders &c. pr Ship the Ship to be conveyed to the said Governour and Councill, and take Three Receipts for the same of the like Tenour one of which keep, and send us two, by two Conveyances. We wrote so particularly about the Dispatch of your Ships that are ordered first to your Island, and the Charge we are at of fitting up their Stores, & on working days, that we need only Referr your Wants for your Direction, & if you send us a Certificate what Diligence is used by the Captain in unlading and delivering the Stores to or from Consigned to you and what time was spent therein, and in case the Ship is not two working Days in unlading, advise how many more days you Detain them & for what reason. Deliver up no Bills of Lading of Goods in any other ship without Endorsing thereon, that the same is fully Discharged, or Expressing what is wanting of the Contents if none there should be a want. We have received a Petition from Doctor Wucham desiring to go to India in our Service, or on his own Account, because he Complains of his unfitness to go up and down the Island, and that his servant may go with him, to which we say, that you	Instructions were given that the ship was to convey the packet to the Governor and Council, and that three receipts of identical tenor were to be taken for it. One receipt was to be retained, while two were to be sent back by separate conveyances. Reference was made to earlier detailed directions concerning the dispatch of ships ordered first to the island, and to the expense incurred in fitting them with stores and provisions for working days. It was therefore directed that those prior instructions be followed for guidance. A certificate was to be provided specifying the diligence used by each captain in unloading and delivering stores consigned to the island, together with the time spent in doing so. Where a ship did not complete unloading within two working days, an account was to be given of how many additional days it was detained and for what reason. No bills of lading for goods carried in any ship were to be delivered unless they were endorsed to confirm that the cargo had been fully discharged, or otherwise to state what part of the contents was deficient, if any such deficiency existed. A petition was received from Doctor Wucham, who requested permission to proceed to India either in the Company's service or on his own account, on the grounds that he considered himself unfit to travel about the island, and that his servant might accompany him. In response, it was directed that his request should remain under consideration until the expiration of his covenant term. If he then continued of the same intention, he was to be granted liberty either to return home or to proceed to India at his own charge. Notice was to be given of any vacancy in India, and a report of his conduct was to be provided from the records. It was further indicated that, if the opportunity arose and he still desired it, permission might be granted, although the concluding part of the instruction was partly unclear in meaning.

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		leave your Dequest with him, That when his Covenant time is Expired if he then continues of the same mind. He has Liberty either to come home or go to India, as he pleases at his own Charge, but you are to let us know of any vacancy in India & What his behaviour is by our Books, in first it is a main Genius Tempting away, if the young man desires it you will give.	**Interpretations** "Tenour" referred to the exact wording or formal content of a document, indicating that all receipts were required to be identical in form and substance. "Consigned" referred to goods formally entrusted to a person or authority for receipt and management, typically under a shipping arrangement. "Covenant time" referred to the fixed period of contractual service agreed between an individual and the Company, after which obligations could be reconsidered or ended. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that requiring multiple receipts sent by separate conveyances reduced the risk of loss or dispute over the delivery of official documents. It was probably the case that the emphasis on recording unloading times and diligence reflected concern over delays and costs associated with ships remaining at the island longer than necessary.
114	103	his Master, but in regard he receives pay as a Soldier, He must stay five years as other Soldiers do before he leaves the place & Mr. Durham's wife take the Usage on this Ship. We have likewise received the Petitions of Thomas Cowen, John Welch, and Paul Graton Serjeants, who Desire an Addition to their pay of Forty shillings a month, and that it may be as much as other Serjeants have in India; and in answer thereto we say we Agree with all Serjeants alike, that is each at Forty Shillings a Month for all places whatsoever in India; and we know of no order that allowed of thereton be it is a wrong to us, except at Bencoolen, where we Order every Visitate Constant to have somewhat larger pay, and then the Serjeants in proportion, and therefore we see no reason to break in upon our Ancient Established rule for the sake of Petitioners. If they are Men deserving we doubt not, but you will give them use fitting Encouragement & Advancement when any Vacancy happens. But we must add we don't like the way of Petitioning. If had come more Properly to us by your hand & then we had heard your thoughts upon it. Mr Alexander Clerk of the Councill to whom we gave an Addition of Salary some time ago has set on by a long Letter present his case to us, and in answer thereto we say as you know him, he shall be paid to Deserve. He Complains that he could not be Admitted to be Surgeon, but Mr. Sanderson a stranger was preferred.	It was directed that the master of the ship, although acting in that role, was to be regarded as receiving pay as a soldier, and was therefore required to remain in service for five years in the same manner as other soldiers before being permitted to leave the island. It was also arranged that the wife of Mr Durham would take passage on that ship. Petitions were received from Thomas Cowen, John Welch and Paul Graton, all serjeants, requesting an increase in their pay to forty shillings per month so that it might match that of other serjeants in India. In response, it was stated that all serjeants were already established at forty shillings per month across all places in India, and no order was recognised granting any additional allowance beyond this, except at Bencoolen, where those in constant service were allowed somewhat greater pay, with serjeants receiving proportional increases. It was therefore determined that there was no reason to depart from this long-established rule for the sake of the petitioners. It was further stated that, should they prove deserving, appropriate encouragement and advancement would be given when vacancies arose. Disapproval was expressed regarding the manner of their petition, it being considered improper that it had not been submitted through the Governor, together with his opinion. A further representation was received from Mr Alexander Clerk of the Council, to whom an addition of salary had previously been granted. His case had been set out in a lengthy letter. In response, it was stated that, as he was known locally, his pay would be determined according to what he was judged to deserve. Complaint had been made that he had not been admitted to serve as surgeon, and that Mr Sanderson, described as a stranger, had instead been preferred. **Interpretations** "Serjeants" referred to non-commissioned officers responsible for discipline and the supervision of soldiers within the Company's forces. "Bencoolen" referred to a British settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, where variations in pay were sometimes permitted due to local conditions and duties. "Ancient established rule" referred to a long-standing Company policy governing pay and service conditions, intended to ensure consistency across its territories. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that maintaining uniform pay for serjeants prevented disparity and dissatisfaction within the ranks across different regions of service. It was probably the case that criticism of the method of petitioning reflected the Company's insistence on hierarchical communication, requiring such requests to be transmitted through official channels rather than submitted directly.

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115	104	We said in our Letter of the 30th December 1706 Paragraph 14th that we approved of Sanderson's being Surgeon, because you gave him a good Character, at which time we had not received the Letter of Alexanders. We desire to know what reason you had to deny Mr. Alexander that Place and whether it should be any encouragement, and that if he should have the Place of Surgeon as an Encouragement for his diligence and long services. Mr. Alexander hints as tho it was some Personal Reques that stood in his way, which he could not Surmount, and also that the Governour should impose upon him an Oath, which he takes to be extraordinary. The Governour has sent us a Copy of the Oath, and says he thinks he opined and insisted on, The Oath we give our Approbation but you have a Copy of; and if to that be added That he shall not Discover any the Secrets of the Company, and gives his positive Assurance, That he will not Discover the Publick and particular Concerns of the Company under his care, nor carry up into the Country with him, any of the papers or things Committed to his care without the Councills leave we think it is sufficient. As to his spending three days a week in the Office at least, and wrong in four Lists within three Months of all papers in his Custody, and leaving with the Governour the key of his Office when required. That you the Governour and Council can take care of without making a part of his oath.	Reference was made to a letter dated 30 December 1706, specifically to the fourteenth paragraph, in which approval had been given for Mr Sanderson to serve as surgeon, on the basis of a favourable character provided at that time, it being noted that the letter from Mr Alexander had not then been received. A request was made to be informed of the reasons why Mr Alexander had been denied that position, and whether granting him the office of surgeon might serve as encouragement in recognition of his diligence and long service. It was reported that Mr Alexander had suggested that a personal request had obstructed his appointment, which he had been unable to overcome, and that the Governor had imposed an oath upon him which he regarded as unusual. A copy of this oath had been sent, and it had been stated that the Governor had insisted upon it. Approval was given to the oath as presented, with the addition that he should undertake not to disclose any of the Company's secrets, and should provide a clear assurance that he would not reveal either public or private concerns of the Company under his care, nor remove into the country any papers or materials entrusted to him without the permission of the Council. It was considered that such provisions would be sufficient. With regard to requirements that he spend at least three days each week in the office, produce written lists within three months of all papers in his custody, and leave the key of his office with the Governor when required, it was stated that such matters could be regulated by the Governor and Council without being included as part of the oath. **Interpretations** "Oath" referred to a formal sworn declaration binding an individual to certain duties and obligations, often including confidentiality and loyalty to the Company's interests. "Character" referred to a testimonial or assessment of an ব্যক্তি's qualifications, conduct and suitability for a particular office, which was commonly relied upon in appointments. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the additional clauses concerning secrecy reflected heightened concern over the protection of sensitive Company information in a distant colonial setting. It was probably the case that the questioning of Mr Alexander's exclusion indicated uncertainty or disagreement within the administration regarding appointments, suggesting that personal influence may have played a role.
116	105	and if he should as we hope, he will not be Deficient in any part of his Duty you must Exercise your Superiority in such a manner as may Prevent Disobedience and we hope you will do it at all times, and towards all Persons with Discretion. We Observe your great Complaints for want of Stores & Vessels now Orders to India's continues to Pin you Greatly as we formerly advised. If some of this year's Ships had came for you, but the places where our Ships us to touch at for Refreshment homewards being some under the Direction of the Secret Committee who saw good reason this last year to forbid their going to St. Helena, however that you must live quite Dejected, and not be under the Temptation to	It was directed that, provided Mr Alexander did not prove deficient in any part of his duty, authority was to be exercised in such a manner as would prevent disobedience, and that such authority should be applied at all times, and towards all persons, with discretion. Notice was taken of the considerable complaints regarding the want of stores and vessels, which had continued to place the island under difficulty, as had previously been advised. It was observed that, had some of that year's ships called at the island, relief might have been afforded, but that the ports at which the Company's ships customarily touched for refreshment on their homeward voyages were under the direction of the Secret Committee, which had, for reasons considered sufficient, prohibited ships from calling at St Helena during the preceding year. It was therefore implied that restraint was expected, and that no further large bills were to be drawn upon the Company. Orders had been given for the present ship to call at Madeira, where thirty butts of wine and ten butts of brandy were to be taken on board. These were to be

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		draw upon us such large Bills again. We have Ordered this Ship to touch at the Madeiras and to take in of the can Thirty Butts of wine and Ten Butts of Brandy there, which is to be laden on board by Messrs Miles and Jacob mentioned there, and is Directed to be so. If ought is taken, you will have Invoice together with your P. & L. of Lading from said Messrs Miles & Jacob. of which wine it is an Account of rack & from the wine & Brandy proves. We would hope there will be one third of it on board sound, but least there should. Examine every Butt you receive and observe at two you find it, and in case there should be any Faults staying. Give the Captain an Account of it, and let him see it, that we may have our Remedy at his Return.	loaded by Messrs Miles and Jacob, as previously arranged. If any part of this cargo was taken on board, an invoice was to be received, together with the policy and bill of lading, from the said Messrs Miles and Jacob. It was anticipated that, of the wine and brandy, perhaps one third would arrive in sound condition, although uncertainty was acknowledged. Each butt received was therefore to be carefully examined, and its condition noted at the time of receipt. Should any faults or spoilage be discovered, a report was to be given to the captain, and the defects shown to him, so that a remedy might be sought upon his return. **Interpretations** "Butts" referred to large casks used for transporting liquids, particularly wine or spirits, each representing a substantial volume in early modern trade. "Secret Committee" referred to a select body within the East India Company responsible for sensitive or strategic decisions, often relating to trade routes, security and political considerations. "Policy" referred to a marine insurance document covering the shipment of goods, which protected against loss or damage during transit. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the instruction to avoid drawing large bills reflected concern over excessive financial demands being placed upon the Company by the island's administration. It was probably the case that the careful inspection of the wine and brandy was required due to the risks of spoilage during long sea voyages, particularly when goods were transhipped at intermediate ports such as Madeira.
117	106	Let us have an Account kept in your Books what becomes of this Wine and Brandy, and what we have for it, the like for all particular sent out from hence by this Ship, and observe therein the directions given you at large in our aforementioned Letter, keeping a distinct Account or List for every Item in the Invoice, altho it be for the very Garrison Stores, that you may see at one View whether there has been Imbezelments in any part of your Goods or Stores sent you, and let this Account be writt by distinct hands in Constant Books. Viz. the Storekeepers Account for what he receives into the Stores, The Governours Account for what he is to be Accountable for and so for every other Person that has the Custody of any part of your cargoes, and if you have reason to suspect any fraudulent Dealing, appoint one or more proper Persons to view the remain in each persons Custody. Capt[t] Dickenson will take in some Bags &c to be laid at Portsmouth, which are Intended one last gone, but were obliged to leave them there. We have not yet his Receipts, or tell you the quantity he takes in. But you will find them in Invoice, or an Additional Invoice to be sent after the Ship. We are Your Loving Friends Over	Instructions were given that a full account was to be maintained in the books detailing the disposition of the wine and brandy, together with the returns obtained for them. The same requirement was to be applied to all goods sent by that ship. Reference was made to earlier directions, which were to be followed in maintaining these accounts. A distinct account or list was to be kept for every item in the invoice, even where the goods were intended for garrison stores, so that it might be readily observed whether any embezzlement or loss had occurred in any part of the goods or stores received. It was further directed that these accounts were to be written by separate hands in permanent books. The storekeeper was to maintain an account of all goods received into the stores, while the Governor was to keep an account of those items for which he was responsible. The same principle was to be applied to every other person entrusted with any part of the cargo. Where there was reason to suspect fraudulent dealing, one or more suitable persons were to be appointed to inspect the remaining goods held in each individual's custody. It was noted that Captain Dickenson would take on board certain bags and other items at Portsmouth, which had previously been intended for an earlier voyage but had been left behind. Receipts for these goods had not yet been received, nor was the exact quantity known, but they were to be identified in the invoice or in an additional invoice to be sent after the ship. The letter concluded with a statement of goodwill. **Interpretations** "Imbezelments" referred to the misappropriation or theft of goods entrusted to a person's care, particularly in an administrative or commercial context. "Constant books" referred to formal, ongoing records maintained in a consistent and durable manner, intended for accountability and later inspection. "Distinct hands" indicated that accounts were to be kept by different individuals, ensuring separation of

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			responsibility and reducing the risk of collusion or error. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that requiring separate accounts from multiple individuals created a system of mutual oversight, reducing the opportunity for fraud or negligence. It was probably the case that the emphasis on detailed accounting reflected ongoing concerns within the Company about losses, mismanagement or corruption in distant settlements.
118	107	Our Govr and Council of St. Helena London 7th April 1708 We have received your several Letters of the 27th of November 1706 by the Bonnetta, of 1st January by the Catherstone, 20th May 1707 by the Lanchester, 6th July by the Schooner, & Norwich, & 10th by the Lighthall, all of which we shall now reply so far as are not answered Necessary and agree with that of the 30th November. The distress you give about the Shipping outward, and Dispatch Yours is acceptable. We desire you to pursue the same Conduct, because thereby we are at a Certainty for a few in adjusting their Accounts with the Owners. You do well also to give a Record of what Power you have of any sort sent Ships, as you did in the Case of the new Company's Ship Union being left at the Madeiras. It appears in like manner your Observation if of any other Ships interfering with the Departures from St. Helena. We know when which you must continue. We have read over Mr. Palin's Account of what the Portuguese offered to you by way of Trade, as if they might be supplied with East India Commodities to which we say, that we are bound by Act of Parliament & Orders not to break Bulk of any of our Ships till they arrive in England, except only for such Necessaries as are proper for the use of the Island, which by a late Act is Indulged to us & Extended more respectably than in the former, so that they are not to expect any	A letter dated 7 April 1708 from London to the Governor and Council of St Helena acknowledged receipt of several letters sent from the island, namely those dated 27 November 1706 by the ship *Bonnetta*, 1 January by the *Catherstone*, 20 May 1707 by the *Lanchester*, 6 July by the schooner and the *Norwich*, and 10 July by the *Lighthall*. It was stated that replies would now be given to those matters not already addressed, and that these responses were to be consistent with the earlier letter of 30 November. Satisfaction was expressed regarding the reports provided about outward-bound shipping and the dispatch of vessels from the island, and it was directed that the same conduct should be continued, as it enabled accounts with shipowners to be settled with greater certainty. Approval was also given to the practice of recording the authority exercised over ships sent to the island, as had been done in the case of the new Company ship *Union*, which had been left at Madeira. Continued observation and reporting were required regarding any other ships that might affect departures from St Helena. Consideration was given to an account provided by Mr Palin concerning proposals made by the Portuguese for trade, particularly their request to be supplied with East India commodities. In response, it was stated that the Company was bound by Act of Parliament and by its own orders not to break bulk of any ships until their arrival in England, except for such necessities as were required for the use of the island. It was further noted that, by a recent Act, this allowance had been extended more favourably than before, but it was made clear that no expectation should be entertained of supplying such commodities beyond these permitted limits. **Interpretations** "Break bulk" referred to the act of unloading cargo from a ship before it reached its final authorised destination, a practice often restricted to prevent unauthorised trade or loss of revenue. "Act of Parliament" referred to legislation passed by the British Parliament, which governed the Company's trading rights and imposed legal restrictions on its commercial activities. "East India commodities" referred to goods imported from Asia, such as textiles, spices or other valuable merchandise, which were tightly controlled under Company monopoly. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that strict adherence to the prohibition on breaking bulk was necessary to protect the Company's monopoly and prevent illicit trade with foreign parties such as the Portuguese. It was probably the case that the favourable mention of improved accounting and reporting practices reflected ongoing efforts to strengthen administrative control over distant operations.
119	108	East-India Commodities at St. Helena in Trade. But as to any other matters whatsoever, which the Island or your store does afford, let all of them have as free liberty to purchase them as our	It was stated that East India commodities were not to be traded at St Helena, in accordance with earlier restrictions. However, with regard to all other goods produced by the island or held in its stores, liberty was to be granted for purchase by foreign traders, including

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		own trading Men, and do you carry it Civilly towards them in all Respects, which is but a due return for the freedom our Ships fancy in the Port they go into under the Portuguese Government, such as the Madeiras &c. I say that the last year a Packet & also a Factor in the East of Brazil where our former Ships used sometimes to wait the Men of war that used to Convoy them home. Whensoever, speak the Portuguese or any other Ships bring, which are proper for S^{t}. Helena; you may purchase of them in Barter for Provisions or such, and if you store them so you can get them cheap & Retailers to Profit by Retailing them again to the Inhabitants. But then you are to consider the Prices at which you take your said Barter, & your Approbated they put high Values upon theirs, the danger is, It proves to spend is not Dear considering what you have paid for it. It is however said Brazil Produce, & that is sometimes brought from Lisbon thither, & can be afforded at a little more than *f* there, where the Freight and Customs are dear, therefore we say the Portuguese Pad it very well. This kind we give you to transact your Trade of right to govern yourselves hereafter in with like occasion. & if you shall prevail with them to sell it Cheaper, you may then put the higher Value on your Goods, which our custom are much dearer in Brazil than with you. We are also told that the Governour takes upon him to buy any of the Commodores of the Ships without any Advice or Consent of his Councill, and gives the Letters whatever they ask. Kingship	the Portuguese, in the same manner as was permitted to the Company's own trading men. It was directed that such dealings should be conducted with civility in all respects, as a reciprocal acknowledgment of the freedoms enjoyed by the Company's ships in Portuguese ports, such as Madeira. Reference was made to previous instances in which Company vessels had interacted with Portuguese settlements, including the use of packets and factors in the eastern parts of Brazil, where ships had formerly waited for naval convoys. It was directed that, whenever Portuguese or other ships brought goods suitable for the island, such goods might be purchased through barter, particularly in exchange for provisions. If such goods were obtained at favourable rates, they might be stored and later sold at a profit to the inhabitants. Care was to be taken, however, to consider the prices agreed in barter, as Portuguese traders were said to place high valuations upon their goods, creating a risk that such items would ultimately prove expensive relative to their true worth. It was observed that produce from Brazil was sometimes conveyed from Lisbon and could be obtained there at only slightly higher prices, despite the additional costs of freight and customs. It was therefore suggested that Portuguese traders derived considerable advantage in such exchanges. Guidance was given that, in future transactions of this kind, efforts might be made to secure lower purchase prices, and, where successful, higher values might then be placed upon goods supplied in return, particularly as customs duties were understood to be more burdensome in Brazil than at St Helena. It was also reported that the Governor had undertaken to purchase goods from the commanders of ships without seeking the advice or consent of the Council, and that he had issued letters agreeing to whatever terms were requested. **Interpretations** "Break bulk" was indirectly reinforced in this passage as a restriction preventing the sale of East India commodities before arrival in England, preserving the Company's monopoly. "Factor" referred to a Company agent stationed abroad, responsible for managing trade, negotiating transactions and overseeing commercial interests. "Barter" denoted the exchange of goods without the use of money, a common practice in remote trading environments where currency might be scarce or impractical. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that allowing free trade in non-East India goods with the Portuguese strengthened diplomatic and commercial relations while preserving the Company's monopoly over its most valuable commodities. It was probably the case that concern over pricing in barter transactions reflected an awareness of unequal bargaining conditions, with Portuguese traders potentially exploiting differences in market knowledge and valuation.
120	109	Packing it is enough to say the Planters shall pay such an Advance thereon and if Intreated do or buy every larger Quantity of your Canary, which you all Bills on us for, at Twelve pence a pound, tho it might have been bought at Eight pence or Nine pence. And it is clear that the Planters will not without the Utmost Necessity buy any of it, because they must pay Fifteen pence a pound for it, by which means it lyes in the Stores and	Concern was expressed regarding the pricing and handling of certain goods, particularly Canary wine, which had been purchased at higher rates than necessary. It was noted that planters had been required to pay an advance price, with purchases charged at twelve pence per pound, although the same goods might have been obtained at eight or nine pence per pound. As a result, the planters were required to pay fifteen pence per pound, which discouraged them from purchasing except in cases of necessity. Consequently, the goods remained unsold in the stores, where they

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		gets sourish and disappointing the End proposed. We are sorry we have such frequent occasion to blame the Management, and must tell how we shall not always pass your faults so Slightly, however for the present shall only say it appears to us again that some very goods are to be bought for our use not for Sale, let the same mark be known and the Cost to be adjusted and Stated in Consideration and Value thereof, the like sent us in the next General Letter with reasons for so Doing. We were sure to Consider your Letter of the first of July shall first begin with Expressing our sense in observing your Declaration that General Letters all most of the proper sort only by the Lighthall & Norwich, being always more Minute in Commands than yours full of more Correct Management of your Affairs, and we must do both as occasion Requires. We Observe your Promise to take care for the future, that all Bills drawn for Money payable to us be Inserted in the General Letter and hope you will always Comply herewith, and with the other the Promises in the said Letter. We doubt not but that you will in like manner particularly Mention therein all the Bills of exchange, which you draw upon us with the reasons thereof.	deteriorated and became sour, thereby defeating the intended purpose. Regret was expressed at the repeated need to criticise the management, and it was stated that such faults would not always be treated lightly. For the present, it was directed that goods intended for the Company's own use, rather than for sale, should be clearly identified as such. Their cost was to be properly adjusted and recorded according to their value, and a full account of such transactions, together with the reasons for them, was to be included in the next general letter. Consideration was then given to a letter dated 1 July, in which attention was drawn to the manner in which general letters had been sent, particularly those carried by the ships *Lighthall* and *Norwich*. It was observed that such letters had contained more detailed instructions and demonstrated more careful management of affairs. It was stated that both forms of communication would be used as circumstances required. Notice was taken of a promise that, in future, all bills drawn for money payable to the Company would be included in the general letter, and compliance with this undertaking was expected. It was further directed that all bills of exchange drawn upon the Company should be specifically mentioned in such letters, together with the reasons for issuing them. **Interpretations** "Canary" referred to wine imported from the Canary Islands, a commodity commonly traded in the early modern Atlantic world and valued for both consumption and resale. "Bills of exchange" were financial instruments used to facilitate payments over distance, allowing funds to be transferred between parties without the physical movement of money. "General letter" referred to a comprehensive official communication sent from the island to the Company, summarising administrative, financial and commercial matters. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that criticism of pricing practices reflected concern over inefficiency and financial loss, particularly where goods were purchased above market value and failed to sell. It was probably the case that the insistence on detailed reporting of bills and transactions formed part of a broader effort to strengthen financial oversight and accountability within the island's administration.
121	110	The answer you give us why you Employed the Soldiers for unloading the Caves is not fully satisfactory. You say there were no Blacks belonging to the Fort, and that the Plantation Women have Enough to do in planting and Weeding &c, which causes you to Employ the Soldiers at Eighteen pence a Day above their pay, and some fewer of Day of the Plantation Blacks had yet at Eighteen pence a man a Day by their Contracts with those who the year round. The Soldiers could be more Expeditious and usefull in unloading the Ship than the Blacks, which we very much Doubt if they were as well in Employing them, but if otherwise you were not Husbands to us, it is not a good Argument that because the Owners will not let their Blacks to hire to us under two	Dissatisfaction was expressed with the explanation provided for employing soldiers in the unloading of the caves. It had been stated that no slaves belonging to the Fort were available, and that plantation women were fully occupied with planting and weeding, which had led to the employment of soldiers at a rate of eighteen pence per day in addition to their regular pay. It had also been indicated that some plantation slaves were hired at the same rate of eighteen pence per day under annual agreements. It was further claimed that the soldiers had been more expeditious and useful in unloading the ship than the slaves, although this assertion was doubted. It was stated that, even if the soldiers had performed more effectively, the decision was not considered economical or prudent. The argument that slave owners would not hire out their labour for less than two shillings per day was rejected as justification for incurring similar expense, although it was acknowledged as a reason for paying soldiers eighteen pence per day. However, the explanation that soldiers had been employed because the Company's own slaves were engaged at the plantations was regarded as weak,

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		shillings Day, therefore you must Extrava our Blacks at the same rate. It is as far a good reason for hiring the Soldiers at Eighteen pence a Day, but to urge it an Argument for Employing those Soldiers because our Blacks were not at hand, but at the Plantation is very Weak, and such we hope we shall never again hear of. Especially that you should rather take them off from the Satisfaction than our Blacks from Weeding &c. You don't mention, whether any of our Soldiers or Blacks were on the Coasts to help unlade her, which you should have done, and expect you do in the like Cases hereafter, because if they were, the owner must bear that Charge, the Honesty of the Practice shall be the true Wages that fetch her Ballast & what they in the Stream were to receive if they only Engaged there to Receive the goods when loaded, and to have them con- veyed to us.	and it was expressed that such reasoning should not be repeated. It was emphasised that it would have been preferable to withdraw soldiers from their regular duties rather than remove slaves from agricultural work such as weeding. It was also noted that no mention had been made of whether any of the Company's soldiers or slaves had been present on the coast to assist in unloading, and it was directed that such details should be reported in future cases. It was further stated that, if such labour had been employed in the stream or at the landing place, the cost should properly have been borne by the ship's owners. The principle was set out that payment should correspond to the actual work performed, including fetching ballast or receiving goods in the stream and arranging for their conveyance to the island. **Interpretations** "Caves" in this context referred to storage areas or landing places where goods were deposited, often associated with coastal unloading points. "Husbands to us" reflected the concept of prudent management, indicating that those responsible were expected to act with careful stewardship over the Company's resources. "Stream" referred to the anchorage area offshore where ships lay at anchor and cargo was transferred by smaller boats. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the criticism reflected concern over unnecessary expenditure, particularly where cheaper labour might have been available through better organisation. It was probably the case that the emphasis on proper allocation of costs to shipowners indicated an effort to prevent the Company from bearing expenses that should have been charged to private interests.
122	111	We have read over your Protest against Captain Rainer for not unloading his ship in the Limitted time, which is not sufficiently Plain or full, you should have Mentioned therein, which of his Boats he did not employ & where he did not Employed all in bringing goods a shore, which days his Boats did not work at all, or his Men loitered away their time in not landing goods a shore as fast as they might have done, how long the Plank was kept ashore to lett the time slip, till the ship was fitt for Sailing. You must also in future Protests, take Notice which Days if any are Tempestuous, and then it will be very Evident how far the Captain is in fault, whereas in your Protest aforementioned, you say viz. Yields, that in Six Working days Captain Rainer might have delivered all the goods on shore, but the reasons don't clearly support that Conclusion as they might have done, if you had been so particular. The Defect there will be also remarked in future. Your Seventh Paragraph says, you have received some Letters Informants. You should have wrote in their Names, by what ships they came, that we might have known who to blame for shipping them & we want see every man which our officers as when the Employ in a store.	A protest submitted against Captain Rainer for failing to unload his ship within the limited time was reviewed and found to be insufficiently clear and detailed. It was required that such a protest should have specified which of his boats had not been employed, in what instances all boats had not been used to bring goods ashore, on which days the boats had not worked at all, and whether his men had delayed their labour by not landing goods as efficiently as possible. It should also have recorded how long the plank remained ashore, allowing time to pass until the ship became ready for sailing. It was further directed that, in future protests, notice should be taken of any tempestuous days, so that it might be clearly determined how far the captain was at fault. It was observed that the protest had stated that, within six working days, Captain Rainer could have delivered all goods ashore, but that the reasons provided did not sufficiently support this conclusion, due to the lack of particular detail. It was stated that such defects would be noted if repeated. Reference was made to a statement that letters had been received from informants, and it was directed that the names of those informants, together with the ships by which they had arrived, should have been recorded. By this means, responsibility could be assigned for their conveyance, and a full account might be maintained of all persons employed by the Company's officers in store-related duties. A list of goods and stores remaining on the island was acknowledged as having been received, and it was directed that such lists should continue to be sent with every ship. These were to be transmitted together with the general letter and other necessary papers, and dispatched promptly in a packet from the first port at which a ship touched on its passage to England or elsewhere, so that they might be forwarded without delay. It was noted that the most recent packet

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		The List of goods & Stores remaining & Remaining. We have received and Expect you Continue to send the like by every shipping and make the same with the General Letter and other papers that are Necessary for us to know speedily in a Packet a part to be sent us from the first Port England or Gallant, that we may be Forwarding them to forward the Ports the last of the Packet which Contains these by the Lighter did not come to hand till a day or two past, being made up with your General Letter.	containing such materials, sent by the *Lighter*, had not been received until a day or two previously, as it had been enclosed together with the general letter, which had caused delay. **Interpretations** "Protest" referred to a formal written declaration used in maritime practice to record a complaint or dispute, particularly concerning delays in unloading or failure to meet contractual obligations. "Plank" referred to the gangplank used for transferring goods between ship and shore, the management of which could affect the speed of unloading operations. "Tempestuous" referred to severe weather conditions, such as storms or rough seas, which could legitimately hinder the unloading of cargo. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the insistence upon detailed evidence in protests was necessary to support claims against captains and to avoid disputes arising from insufficient documentation. It was probably the case that the requirement to identify informants and their ships reflected a desire to maintain tighter control over personnel movements and accountability within the Company's operations.
123	112	Ledger, whereas by the Norwich came to us in December last, what part of the Goods and Stores demanded are now sent, you will find in the Invoices of these two Ships, Heel Spring and Westmoreland, & if our Accomptants have time for it they will state out their remains on your Accounts. We shall write to India to supply you with the Goods you desire from thence, but in this time of War you must not depend on those Goods, as if at Peace because the Direction of our Ships being under the Care of a Secret Committee, they have and may justly for the General Safety to direct their Voyages out of the usual track. We Observe in the Gunners List of Stores are large Expences in some Articles under the head of & spent, and warn out. We compared them Thirty pr Barrell, 29th pr Powder from June 1706 to June 1707, & but Twenty Shots &c. We also see 40 Musketts and 40 Swords which we don't understand, and shall be Glad to hear from you the reason for it, there are several Articles which we think lavish. The Expence to be therein mentioned. Do you Inquire into all, and for the future Examine such Lists when brought in, before they are sent us, and let us know you have so, by putting it down in writing with the reason thereto, wherever you find any Enlargement or waste, take care it be remedied and see we right. We suppose you are in great care in your own affairs and we hope you will use the same care for the Public use, and to prevent all occasions for Excuse, that you are in a hurry in the Dispatches of Ships. We hereby Direct that in the most leisurely times of the year (and	Reference was made to earlier correspondence, noting that by the ship *Norwich*, which had arrived in December, information had been received concerning what goods and stores had been requested. It was stated that details of the goods now being sent would be found in the invoices of the ships *Heel Spring* and *Westmoreland*, and that, if time permitted, the Company's accountants would calculate the remaining balances on the accounts. It was stated that instructions would be sent to India to supply the requested goods, but it was cautioned that, during the time of war, reliance could not be placed upon such supplies as if conditions were peaceful. The direction of ships was under the authority of the Secret Committee, which might, for reasons of general safety, divert voyages from their usual routes. Observation was made of the gunner's list of stores, in which large expenditures appeared under the headings of "spent" and "worn out". A comparison was made of powder usage, noted as thirty per barrel, with a figure of twenty-nine barrels of powder recorded between June 1706 and June 1707, during which only twenty shots had been discharged. It was also observed that forty muskets and forty swords had been expended or accounted for in a manner that was not understood. Several items were considered excessive, and the expenditure required explanation. Instructions were given that full inquiry should be made into all such matters, and that, in future, such lists were to be carefully examined before being sent. Confirmation of such examination was to be recorded in writing, together with explanations for any increases or waste identified. It was directed that any such irregularities should be corrected. It was further stated that, while care was assumed to be taken in private affairs, the same diligence was expected in matters concerning the public service. In order to prevent excuses based on the pressure of dispatching ships, it was directed that, during the more leisurely periods of the year, particularly in June when no ships were awaiting dispatch, attention should be given to these matters. **Interpretations** "Secret Committee" referred to a select governing body within the East India Company responsible for strategic decisions, including the routing of ships during wartime. "Spent" and "worn out" were accounting categories used to record the consumption or deterioration of military stores such as gunpowder and weapons.

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		we reckon June are such when no Ships lye on your hands to be Dispatched)	"Barrel of powder" referred to a standard unit of storage for gunpowder, used in measuring military supply and expenditure. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the scrutiny of the gunner's accounts reflected concern over possible mismanagement, waste or misappropriation of military supplies. It was probably the case that the warning about wartime conditions indicated uncertainty in supply chains, requiring the island to exercise greater self-sufficiency and caution in planning its needs.
124	113	You do peruse our several Orders and Directions and seriously Consider them in Council, and cause them to be put in Execution accordingly, - for at that time they can aim at particulars in taking account of Remains. Considering what to write for, Examining Accounts and all the matters that require constant Inspection. By this Ship - great part of your work will be over, when Ships arrive, and you will be more at leissure to attend the Affairs then Incumbent on you, another Benefit will also accrue thereby which is, You will have less time to be Quarrelling one with another, which seems to us to be too of among you, and is the Effect of an Ill nature, which when unemploy'd in better Affairs will Exercise itself in every Mischief. By the Northumberland we sent you a Quantity of some & Brandy from the Madeiras desiring you more, but the Captain pretended he could not take it in, notwise Whether he brought it home with S^{t} Helena as his own Account, and went home with Captain Newton in the Heel brings you, by whom we shall now send again to supply the Quantity you will know by the Invoice, the Bills of Lading to be. We give you from our Correspondents to Mess^{rs} Dorrell & Morgan Merchants there, which will answer in good Measure the Scanty sorts of Liquors which you say may be greatly Dispens'd out of your Stores. The List of Fees to the Clerk for Deeds of Sale, Registering Estates, executing Inventory, and he several other matters therein Contained in and about Inheritance and Law suits we have seen, but you neglect.	It was directed that all previously issued orders and instructions should be carefully reviewed and considered in Council, and that they should be put into execution accordingly. By doing so, attention could be given to particular matters, including the taking of accounts of remaining goods, determining what further supplies were required, examining accounts, and overseeing all matters requiring constant inspection. It was observed that, by the arrival of ships, a great part of immediate work would be completed, allowing more leisure to attend to these ongoing responsibilities. It was further stated that this would have the additional benefit of reducing quarrelling among those in authority, which was said to occur too often and to arise from idleness, when time not employed in proper affairs was instead given to mischief. Reference was made to a previous shipment sent by the ship *Northumberland*, which had included a quantity of wine and brandy from Madeira, with a request that further supplies be obtained. It was reported that the captain had claimed he could not take in additional cargo, although uncertainty remained as to whether he had instead retained it for his own account and returned with it. It was noted that further supplies would now be sent by Captain Newton in the ship *Heel*, as specified in the invoice, with the corresponding bills of lading to accompany them. Instructions had also been provided through correspondents to Messrs Dorrell and Morgan, merchants at Madeira, which were expected to compensate for the deficiency of liquor supplies that had been reported as lacking in the island's stores. A list of fees payable to the clerk for duties relating to deeds of sale, the registration of estates, the execution of inventories, and other matters connected with inheritance and legal disputes had been reviewed, and it was noted that attention to these matters had been neglected. **Interpretations** "Remains" referred to the balance of goods or stores remaining after use, sale or distribution, which required careful accounting and oversight. "Madeiras" referred to the Madeira Islands, a Portuguese territory known for producing wine that was widely traded and supplied to Atlantic settlements. "Bills of lading" were formal shipping documents recording the cargo carried on a vessel and serving as proof of receipt and contract of carriage. "Executing inventory" referred to the formal process of listing and valuing goods or property, often in connection with estates, legal matters or official record-keeping. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the emphasis on reviewing and executing prior orders reflected concern that earlier instructions had not been properly implemented or followed. It was probably the case that criticism of quarrelling among officials indicated ongoing internal disputes, which were seen as arising from inactivity and as detrimental to effective governance.

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125	114	ought to have perused it and Signed it, and given your opinion, as tho' they were in any Degree unacceptable to the Generality of the People, or fit to be altered. And should you also have done in those taken by the Marshall, and then you might have had as perfect Satisfaction therein, for as we are not willing to discourage a deserving well qualify'd officer, so we would not have those set in any thing rashkantly. Your answer in the Eleventh Paragraph about Mr. Marsden is very much wanted, you say he was, after he was skilled in brewing Beer, where the 8th Paragraph of the General Letter by the Norwich as you may find. We told you in, as the Letter did what else he was skilled in, and had only in the Vacancy of Brewster, he should be at the Storehouse, (unless he be able to do no better Service the Brewer, the rest of his Qualifications be true,) while employed about his Business at the Store however, which place was do- med his Failure of formerly not shewing us think the Storekeeper and Assistant, is much more proper for it. Mr. Marsden be Consider'd by the Council, and Employ'd as is Directed in the said 8th Paragraph, or remain officer. Your Answer about the Store is not so full as it ought, nor must we rest Contented with superficial receipts to our Letters therefore for the future Consider them better. The same we say as to the Account of yours Justification, the two receipts received by the Packet from Norwich are different to the General and Letter of reference we both advise also you explain therein which is Register-Gen. and Book.	It was stated that the relevant documents ought to have been carefully examined, signed, and accompanied by an opinion, particularly as to whether they were in any degree unacceptable to the generality of the people or required alteration. The same procedure was to have been followed in relation to those matters handled by the Marshal, by which means full satisfaction might have been obtained. It was indicated that, while there was no intention to discourage a deserving and well-qualified officer, care was to be taken that no person was established in any office in a rash or improper manner. A response previously given concerning Mr Marsden was considered insufficient. It had been stated that he had been employed after acquiring skill in brewing beer, but reference was made to the eighth paragraph of the general letter sent by the *Norwich*, in which his other qualifications had been set out. It had been directed that, during a vacancy in the position of brewer, he should be employed at the storehouse unless he was capable of providing better service in that role. While engaged in duties at the store, it was considered that the offices of storekeeper or assistant were more appropriate, particularly in view of his earlier failure in that capacity. It was therefore directed that Mr Marsden should be considered by the Council and employed in accordance with the instructions given in the said eighth paragraph, or otherwise remain in his existing position. It was further stated that the response provided concerning the store was not sufficiently full, and that superficial replies to letters would not be accepted. Greater care was required in future consideration of such matters. A similar observation was made regarding the account provided in justification, noting that two receipts sent by the packet from the *Norwich* differed from the general letter and the letter of reference. It was directed that clarification should be provided as to which document was to be regarded as the official register, whether the general register or the book. **Interpretations** "Marshal" referred to an official responsible for the enforcement of legal orders and the administration of certain judicial or civil processes within the settlement. "Brewster" referred to the position or role of a brewer, responsible for producing beer, which was an important provision in such settlements. "Register-Gen." referred to a general register, an official record in which transactions, decisions or documents were formally entered for reference and authority. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the insistence on reviewing and signing documents reflected concern over procedural irregularities and a desire to ensure proper administrative accountability. It was probably the case that uncertainty regarding Mr Marsden's role indicated broader challenges in assigning suitably qualified personnel within a limited colonial workforce.
126	115	Where are the two Valleys, or Runaway of your enclosures, and in what places built - this is not well, yet the Account of what still remains to be done after so many years writing to you to use your utmost Diligence is Compted all far worse, mentioning how many Ships you have had going into the Island, where ComMarsdenat least some of them were able. It no doubt need, but they were also willing to advise you, and to supply you with paint, if you had Desired it in a becoming manner, and so by your exact	Inquiry was made as to the location of the two valleys or runaways associated with the enclosures, and the places in which they had been constructed, it being stated that the information provided on this matter was inadequate. Greater dissatisfaction was expressed regarding the account of works still remaining incomplete, despite many years of repeated instructions to apply the utmost diligence. It was observed that numerous ships had called at the island, and that some among them, including Mr Marsden, had been capable of offering assistance. It was considered that such persons would not only have been willing to advise, but also to supply materials such as paint, had requests been made in a proper manner.

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		East Draught of all the Fortifications, where they are, what strength each is of, as to the height, thickness and length of the walls and the number and largeness of the guns mounted thereon, where it is the walls are made with several Valleys and of what length, and whatever else is proper for our notice. And if you have not Persons sufficient for this work at home you may on Enquiry find a Draughtsman in some Ship that will do it for you, giving them Encouragement, but take care they do not keep any copy of their Draught, lest it be shewn to our Prejudice. And when that Draught is Compleated, send it us with Signers of Defences to explain it, and also a copy by two or three Conveyances keeping one by that, if any Addition or by Accident any alteration shall be made thereon, you may desire us where it is having recourse to that Draught for a better explanation of what you write about it. We Ordered you in the 43^{d} Paragraph of our Letter by the Dorchester to answer our Letter paragraph by paragraph, and you tell us in the 28th Paragraph of yours of the 1st July you have so done, but we find several omitted, among others the matter Required in the 32. Viz. sending List of your names & Salary.	A requirement was set out for a precise draught of all fortifications on the island. This draught was to show their locations, as well as the strength of each, including the height, thickness and length of the walls, the number and size of the guns mounted upon them, and the construction of the walls in relation to the valleys, together with their extent. Any other details relevant for proper understanding were also to be included. If sufficient skilled persons were not available on the island, it was directed that a draughtsman might be sought from among the ships arriving, and encouraged to undertake the work. Care was to be taken that no copy of the draught was retained by such a person, to prevent it being used to the Company's disadvantage. Once completed, the draught was to be sent with written explanations of the defences, and additional copies were to be transmitted by two or three separate conveyances, while one copy was to be retained locally. Any later additions or alterations to the fortifications were to be recorded with reference to this draught, so that explanations might be clearly understood. Reference was made to an earlier instruction, given in the forty-third paragraph of a letter sent by the *Dorchester*, that replies should be made paragraph by paragraph. It was stated that, although it had been claimed in the twenty-eighth paragraph of a letter dated 1 July that this had been done, several matters had in fact been omitted. Among these was the requirement, set out in the thirty-second paragraph, to provide a list of names and salaries. **Interpretations** "Runaway of your enclosures" referred to drainage channels or natural gullies associated with enclosed land, which could affect both agriculture and defensive works. "Draught" referred to a detailed technical drawing or plan, commonly used in military and engineering contexts to depict fortifications and layouts. "Conveyances" referred to separate means of transport, typically ships, used to ensure that important documents were delivered securely by multiple routes. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the repeated emphasis on unfinished works reflected frustration with delays in strengthening the island's defences, which were of strategic importance. It was probably the case that the requirement for detailed draughts, combined with secrecy precautions, indicated concern over the risk of such information falling into the hands of rival powers during a period of conflict.
127	116	List of the Soldiers names, and their Monthly pay, Account of Charges of the Garrison, repairs of Buildings, Charges on the Cattle & Blacks, and the other Stores, that make up our General Annual Charge. Let this to be done every Shipping, if that be an opportunity of Shipping in less than a year, and for the 6, 8, or 9 Months last past, of which if you again fail. We shall not thank you for for our Patience, at least such of you whose Business it is to draw out the same. We find Mr. Goodwin excepting in the Manner to part of the 29 Paragraphs, which show his Dislike thereto. He ought to have given us his Reasons for so doing, at best as if he was someway blam worthy therein, only would not give it	A requirement was set out that a full list be prepared of the soldiers' names and their monthly pay, together with an account of the charges of the garrison, including the cost of repairing buildings, expenses relating to cattle and slaves, and all other stores contributing to the total annual charge. This account was to be prepared and sent with every opportunity of shipping, even if such opportunities occurred within less than a year, and was to cover the preceding six, eight or nine months as applicable. It was stated that failure to comply again would not be met with continued patience, particularly by those whose responsibility it was to prepare such accounts. Notice was taken that Mr Goodwin had expressed objections to part of the twenty-nine paragraphs previously issued, indicating his dissatisfaction. It was stated that he ought to have provided his reasons for doing so, as his conduct suggested some degree of fault, although he had declined to put his objections in writing. It was further stated that information had been received from reliable sources confirming this.

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		under his hand, and we have it from good hands that he was so. We hope since he says, he does not Trade Clandestinately in other People's names. He will always make good his word. But he must not be sure he was informed to the Contrary and that he uses our Authority to engross Several commodities & Retail them out to the prejudice of our People which we will not bear. We expect that the old Standing Order about Issuing Receipts be received by you all, and if any of you don't think fit to comply herewith, even as we know it. We shall think fit to Dismiss him of our service, and since it is so that Mr. Goodwin has, as we are informed been so great a Trader to our Disadvantage. We hereby Direct that the Governor for the future keep our Cash, and that Mr. Goodwin Account in Course Monthly for what he receives, and pay the same to the Governor.	It was acknowledged that Mr Goodwin had stated that he did not engage in clandestine trade under the names of others, and it was expressed that he would be expected to uphold this assurance. However, it was also reported that contrary information had been received, alleging that he had used the Company's authority to monopolise several commodities and to retail them for his own benefit, to the detriment of the inhabitants. It was declared that such conduct would not be tolerated. It was further directed that the long-standing order concerning the issuing of receipts should be observed by all. Any person who refused to comply with this requirement would be liable to dismissal from the Company's service. In light of the reports concerning Mr Goodwin's trading activities, it was ordered that the Governor should, in future, retain control of the Company's cash. Mr Goodwin was required to render monthly accounts of all money received and to pay the same over to the Governor. **Interpretations** "General annual charge" referred to the total yearly expenditure required to maintain the garrison, infrastructure and resources of the island. "Clandestinately" referred to actions carried out secretly, particularly in relation to unauthorised or illicit trade conducted without official approval. "Engross" referred to the practice of monopolising goods by acquiring large quantities in order to control supply and price, often to the disadvantage of others. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the requirement for frequent and detailed financial accounts reflected increasing concern over transparency and control of expenditure. It was probably the case that the actions attributed to Mr Goodwin indicated tensions between private trading interests and the Company's regulatory authority, prompting stricter financial oversight and control.
128	117	and that the Governour Account also Monthly in Council for his disbursemts and send us, by all Conveyances an Account how the Cash stands, there is one Hoskinson a Vicious Fellow, which we hear Mr. G[ove]rnour has too much Preference for, and Shows him more favour than he deserves; We expect it be no more; for we must never allow any Man on the Island to fly in the face of Government, and escape Intact (see our directions to da Costa) it is a Shame to your all to have such a Man as that; they say he and da Costa rule the Coast, do what they please, and know whatever is doing, especially what shall be Consigned, and Consultation. Inquire how this comes about, and lett it be amended, tell Mr. Governour to warn his Commiss. of Amendments that we permit no Vice return to the Island, and if he becomes again a common makebate, as we have he is beginning to be, We shall soon rid the place of him, of which we give him this friendly Caution. When we hear from you, that Mr. Bazett's Extravagancy is perfectly laid aside, and we hope you will do him and all others Justice in the Characters you give of them without partiality or favour, We shall then write you our Mind concerning his desires of advancement.	It was directed that the Governor should also render a monthly account in Council of all disbursements, and that accounts showing the state of the Company's cash should be sent by every available conveyance. Concern was expressed regarding one Hoskinson, described as a vicious individual, who was reported to receive undue favour from the Governor beyond what he deserved. It was expected that such favour would cease, as it was stated that no person on the island should be permitted to oppose authority and remain unpunished, reference being made to earlier directions concerning da Costa. It was reported that both Hoskinson and da Costa were said to exercise control along the coast, acting as they pleased and possessing knowledge of matters such as consignments and consultations. An inquiry was ordered into how this situation had arisen, with instructions that it should be corrected. The Governor was to be informed that no tolerance would be given to misconduct, and that if Hoskinson again became a source of discord, as was reported to be beginning, he would be removed from the island, this serving as a formal warning. Reference was made to Mr Bazett, with an expectation that his extravagance had been corrected. It was directed that fair and impartial accounts should be given of his conduct, as well as that of others, without favour or prejudice. It was stated that, once satisfactory conduct was confirmed, further consideration would be given to his request for advancement. Reiteration was made of earlier instructions to purchase goods at the lowest possible cost. It was further directed that, in fixing the resale price of commodities, particularly liquors obtained from captains, no higher price should be set than could be sold to the inhabitants at a moderate profit. Care was to

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		Having wrote you in a foregoing Paragraph about the buying Goods as Cheap as you can. We shall say no more about the Reckoning you, or Retail out the Liquors &c[a]. laid of the Captains than this. Never give power to any Commodity than what you can Afford to sell again to the Gardener at a moderate Profit, endeavouring as we don't desire that you find exact too much upon the necessities of the People Especially if you find that the goods to be sold are not such as the sellers don't part with to you, they can never be fixed to your price for them all Charges Consider'd in Eur	be taken not to impose excessive burdens upon the inhabitants, especially where goods had not been acquired at favourable rates, since in such cases the full cost could not reasonably be recovered through resale. **Interpretations** "Disbursements" referred to payments made from Company funds for expenses, requiring formal accounting and oversight. "Makebate" referred to a person who incited quarrels or disputes, often causing disorder within a community. "Consigned" referred to goods entrusted to the care of specific individuals or authorities for receipt and distribution, often noted in official records. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the emphasis on monitoring individuals such as Hoskinson and da Costa reflected concern over informal power structures emerging outside official control. It was probably the case that the insistence on moderate pricing aimed to balance profitability with the welfare of the island's inhabitants, preventing resentment or economic strain.
129	118	…of the sellers don't part with to you, they can never expect so good a price for them all Charges Considered in Europe.) What the Governor says about hastening the Fortifications is not to our Satisfaction. We did not find fault with him for not getting men from the Ships when the Captains denied you them, but that he Employ'd so many Men about the Garden and Terrace before the Fortifications were Completed; which Considering the repeated Orders to him and you all to finish them must therefore have been principally omitted, unless you wanted sufficient for both, and for each of the Captains of the Men of War and Merchant Ships were refus'd to lend the Assistance of their Men, you might have told us in the Letter, and at that rate who they were, that we might so far as we could let them know our just Resentments. To say that the Governor left the Garrison work alone as soon as he saw any Danger is a very frivolous Excuse, should he not rather have apprehended that Danger may be and you are approaching an invasion & therefore have made timely Provision before they came. In short the time past we pass'd by in hopes we shall have no reason for the future to Complain of his or your Negligence or Remissness in getting the Fortifications fully Completed or deferring any other Services. When those are finished, then sett about the Garden and do what is useful therein, since as you say it will turn to Advantage. We have issued Instructions to our several Commanders…	It was stated that, where goods had not been obtained from sellers at favourable rates, it could not reasonably be expected that they would yield a high price when all charges were considered in Europe. Dissatisfaction was expressed with the explanation given by the Governor regarding the delay in completing the fortifications. It was clarified that no fault had been found in the inability to obtain labour from ships when captains refused assistance, but rather in the decision to employ a large number of men on the garden and terrace before the fortifications had been completed. In light of repeated orders to prioritise the completion of those defences, it was considered that this work must have been neglected unless there had been insufficient labour for both tasks. It was further stated that, if captains of men of war or merchant ships had refused to lend assistance, this should have been clearly reported, including their names, so that proper notice might be taken of their conduct. The explanation that the Governor had ceased work on the garrison when danger was perceived was rejected as inadequate. It was stated that the possibility of danger or invasion ought to have been anticipated, and that timely provision should have been made in advance. It was indicated that past shortcomings were, for the moment, overlooked, but that no further cause for complaint should arise concerning negligence or delay in completing the fortifications or in postponing essential services. It was directed that, once the fortifications were completed, attention should then be turned to the garden, and such work carried out as would be useful, particularly as it had been stated that this would yield advantage. It was further noted that instructions had been issued to the Company's commanders, although the remainder of this passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Terrace" referred to cultivated or levelled ground, often prepared for agriculture or ornamental purposes, which required labour that might otherwise be allocated to defensive works. "Men of war" referred to naval warships, whose crews could sometimes be called upon to assist in labour or defence at colonial stations. "Resentments" in this context referred to formal displeasure or official disapproval, which might be communicated to those responsible for failing to provide assistance. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the criticism reflected

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			frustration with misplaced priorities, particularly where labour had been diverted from essential defensive works to less urgent improvements. It was probably the case that the emphasis on anticipating danger indicated heightened concern over potential threats to the island, especially during a period of conflict when invasion or attack was a realistic possibility.
130	119	and out last year to all parts of India; and also in those now sending out, given them Orders, that if in their Return for England they shall be be Directed to touch at Falkland, in such case they bring their Ships to an Anchor before they come open with Castle Hill; (it is the Southern point;) if they stand on untill ye^{e} Anchor is open, and send their boats ashore to give the Governour Intelligence whom their Ships belong unto, because we find them that had given the Governour Orders to let no ship pass that point come into the road, before he knows who they are; Received a forgiving like this of which happening to the Queen & Dover We added that if any ship shou'd attempt to break the Order the Governour had our Orders to fire upon them, and they were Directed to give Notice of this Order to any of our returning ships or any separate Truck Ships that might be in their Company; that they might meet with no disagreeable Ill Use. Directions are sent to several Settlements in India, so that we suppose before it reaches your hands, it will be universally known; therefore we now Direct that you do not for the future permitt any ship to come into the road otherwise than as above mentioned; and if you think it Convenient They should Anchor sooner, advise with your Reasons for it, after the Ships come into the road, cause them to lye within the Protection of your Guns as Directed in former Letters. J Sone	It was stated that, in the previous year, and again in the present dispatches to all parts of India, instructions had been issued to the Company's commanders that, on their return voyages to England, if they were directed to call at Falkland, they were to bring their ships to anchor before coming abreast of Castle Hill, identified as the southern point. It was ordered that they should not proceed beyond that point until their boats had been sent ashore to inform the Governor of the identity and ownership of their ships. This requirement was explained as arising from earlier orders given to the Governor not to permit any ship to pass that point and enter the road without first being identified. Reference was made to a previous occurrence involving the ships *Queen* and *Dover*, which had prompted these stricter measures. It had been further ordered that, if any ship attempted to disregard these instructions, the Governor was authorised to fire upon them. Commanders had also been instructed to communicate these orders to any returning Company ships or independent trading vessels accompanying them, so that no offence or misunderstanding might arise. It was noted that similar directions had been sent to several settlements in India, and it was expected that these measures would become generally known before the present instructions were received. It was therefore directed that no ship should in future be permitted to enter the road except in the prescribed manner. Should it be considered more suitable for ships to anchor at an earlier point, reasons were to be provided for such a decision. Once ships had entered the road, they were to be positioned within the protection of the island's guns, in accordance with earlier instructions. **Interpretations** "Castle Hill" referred to a geographical landmark used as a navigational and defensive reference point for ships approaching the island. "Road" referred to the anchorage area where ships lay offshore, commonly termed a roadstead, rather than a constructed harbour. "Truck ships" referred to vessels engaged in private or independent trade, often accompanying Company ships but not directly under Company command. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that these strict anchoring procedures were designed to enhance security by ensuring that all approaching vessels were identified before entering a vulnerable anchorage. It was probably the case that the authority granted to fire upon non-compliant ships reflected heightened concerns over hostile or unauthorised vessels during a period of maritime conflict.
131	120	Since Mr. Temple Needham proves so Useless, We don't blame you for Dismissing him our Service for Example sake. We hear nothing of Mr. Nicholls Surgeon of the Shipps, nor does any other Result; if you must enter a proper Artist upon any Entertainm^{t} he be sound, and have the Island without an able Surgeon of hopeful use.	It was acknowledged that Mr Temple Needham had proved so ineffective that no fault was found in his dismissal from the Company's service, this being regarded as an example to others. It was observed that no information had been received concerning Mr Nicholls, surgeon to the ships, nor had any report been made of his conduct. It was directed that, when appointing any person to such an office, care should be taken to ensure that he was a competent practitioner, so that the island would not be left without a capable surgeon.

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		We read your Complaint that the Garden is in much destroy'd, and blame you for suffering it. Despair you take better care for ye^{e} future to prevent it by Establishing such orders and putting them in due Execution as you think will most conduce thereto. We have read over Paul Graton's Petition and not fond of it, as we ought to be, because we don't know all the Circumstances you being on the place we leave to you to do therein as you think fits according to Equity and good Conscience, and as consistent with the good of our Service. The like we say as to Gunner French's request, we agree as you think fits having a due Regard to his merit. We are desirous to be heard with your Reasons that we may conform or alter it. As to the Officers bringing Liquors ashore in small parcels for pretence of using it themselves when indeed they sell them, the Reform them without delay, and fix on new directions, but to execute with stricter Justice, if the old company in that place hath made not easily departed from without great causion. But we cannot but have our concern for so small matter to continue, & Officers Demonstration that it is not intended like a publick Direction will a great way to prevent our being imposed on in times of -	Complaint was noted that the garden had been greatly damaged, and blame was assigned for allowing this to occur. It was expected that greater care would be taken in future, and that appropriate orders would be established and enforced to prevent further deterioration. A petition from Paul Graton was considered, but insufficient information was available to form a judgement. It was therefore directed that the matter should be determined locally, according to principles of equity and good conscience, and in a manner consistent with the interests of the Company's service. A similar approach was directed in relation to a request made by Gunner French, with the decision to be made according to his merit, and reasons to be provided so that further consideration might be given if necessary. Attention was drawn to the practice of officers bringing small quantities of liquor ashore under the pretence of personal use, while in reality selling them. It was ordered that this abuse should be corrected without delay, and that new regulations should be established and enforced with stricter discipline. It was noted that, where long-standing custom made such practices difficult to eliminate, caution would be required. Nevertheless, concern was expressed that even such minor abuses should not be permitted to continue, and that clear enforcement would help prevent further imposition upon the Company. **Interpretations** "Entertainm^{t}" referred to formal employment or engagement in the Company's service, often under agreed terms and conditions. "Artist" in this context referred to a skilled practitioner, particularly in a professional trade such as surgery, rather than a creator of art in the modern sense. "Equity and good conscience" referred to principles of fairness and moral judgement applied in decision-making, especially where formal rules might not fully address a situation. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the dismissal of Mr Temple Needham was used as a warning to reinforce standards of competence and discipline among Company employees. It was probably the case that the concern over illicit trading in liquor reflected ongoing difficulties in regulating private profit-making by officers within a controlled trading environment.
132	121	As to Captain Spanns Disrespectfull Carriage & Language, We know not what to say at this time; but are apt to believe, he had some provocations, or else he would have behaved himself better. You need not fear the foolish pretence of taking away your flag; such an attempt won't be worth Complaining of to the Lord High Admiral. We shall discourse him further about it when he comes to Town, as we also shall touch his Discovering the Committees' Secret Orders to him, which they tell us were not to be opened till he had left St. Helena, and were so directed to prevent their being known to any Person on the Island. The ill Consequences that might attend such a Discovery are so obvious We need not mention them! We understand the Hogs Increase to a great degree in the Valley that they become a nuisance by their filth and	Concern was expressed regarding Captain Spann's disrespectful conduct and language, although it was suggested that some provocation may have contributed to his behaviour, as it was considered that he would otherwise have acted more appropriately. It was stated that no concern need be felt regarding any threat to remove the flag, as such an action would not warrant complaint to the Lord High Admiral. It was indicated that the matter would be discussed with him upon his return, together with the issue of his disclosure of the Committee's secret orders, which had been intended to remain unopened until after his departure from St Helena, so as to prevent their becoming known to any person on the island. It was noted that the harmful consequences of such disclosure were self-evident. It was reported that hogs had increased greatly in number within the valley, to the extent that they had become a nuisance through their filth, contributing to sickness among the inhabitants and causing damage to pathways by undermining them. It was directed that, if this report were confirmed, the matter should be remedied without delay by removing the animals to the countryside, even if this caused inconvenience to particular individuals, as the general good was to be

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		contribute to the sickness of several People, and also do Mischief to the Walks by undermining them; if this be true it must be speedily remedied by removing them to the Country, tho' it be some prejudice to particular Persons, for the generals good must be first, or ought to be in every Bodys mind, therefore Inquire into this matter, and take the needfull care therein. In looking over the Account of Liquors sent in the Packetts - We find a very great Expence of Wine, Brandy and Arrack charged to Fort St. George Viz^{z}. in Madeira Brandy Ann^{t}. 1705 from October to June 495 gallons, in Madeira Wine for near Twelve Months the year 1706. 1253 gallons, in French Brandy in that time and to May 1707. 234 gallons, and in Bengal Arrack in the years 1705 & 1706 354	given priority. Inquiry was to be made into the situation and appropriate measures taken. Review was made of the accounts of liquors sent in the packets, in which a very large expenditure was observed. Charges were noted for Fort St George, including four hundred and ninety-five gallons of Madeira brandy from October 1705 to June 1706, one thousand two hundred and fifty-three gallons of Madeira wine for nearly the whole of the year 1706, two hundred and thirty-four gallons of French brandy during that period up to May 1707, and three hundred and fifty-four gallons of Bengal arrack in the years 1705 and 1706. **Interpretations** "Secret orders" referred to confidential instructions issued by the Company or its governing committees, intended to remain undisclosed for strategic or security reasons. "Lord High Admiral" referred to the senior authority overseeing the Royal Navy, to whom serious maritime complaints might be addressed. "Arrack" referred to a distilled alcoholic spirit produced in Asia, commonly traded and consumed within Company settlements. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the criticism of Captain Spann's conduct reflected concerns over discipline and the handling of sensitive information within the Company's command structure. It was probably the case that the concern over the increase of hogs indicated both public health considerations and the management of limited space within the island's settled areas.
133	122	354 gallons, We don't understand the reason of it, nor how so much could be consumed with any tollerable degree of Moderation, much less, that we should pay for it. We expect to know how it comes about, and to that end pray send us Accounts of the numbers of Persons & their names and Imployments that are in our Service on the Island and come to our Table Constantly, or at all times. As the persons by Names that live at our Charge at the Plantation, that we may the better able to judge, whether they should be at all Continued, and what is a Reasonable Expence for them, and when you have Ships in the road, let us know how much your Expence is thereby encreased, for we will not deny any thing that is Reasonable, so neither can we well content with such Expensive Prodigality as appears to us in the above particulars. We had used to receive Yearly Accounts of your Cattle, but of late it has been omitted, let it be so no more, and if any of them should be killed by the Dogs, as we hear some of our Sheep were, we are have satisfaction. And also quarterly the Account of your Sheep, Goats and Hogs. And List of our Slaves, Males & Females with their Ages and their Employs. St. Helena is a dead Charge to us, and as you know We have no Commerce there to make it good, wherefore it is highly necessary it be as good Husbandry for us, as you can.	A total of three hundred and fifty-four gallons was noted, and it was stated that no explanation had been provided for such consumption, nor how such a quantity could have been used with any tolerable degree of moderation. It was further stated that there was no justification for the Company bearing the cost. An account was therefore required explaining the matter, including a list of all persons in the Company's service on the island who regularly or occasionally dined at the Company's table, with their names, numbers and employments. A similar list was required of those maintained at the Company's expense at the plantation, so that a judgement might be made as to whether their maintenance should continue and what constituted a reasonable level of expense. It was also directed that, whenever ships were present in the road, an account should be given of how much additional expense was thereby incurred. It was stated that reasonable expenditure would not be denied, but that excessive and wasteful spending, as appeared in the present case, could not be accepted. It was observed that annual accounts of cattle had previously been received but had recently been omitted, and it was directed that this omission should not continue. If any cattle had been killed by dogs, as had been reported in the case of some sheep, satisfaction was to be made. Quarterly accounts were also required of sheep, goats and hogs, together with a list of the Company's slaves, both male and female, including their ages and employments. It was stated that St Helena represented a net expense to the Company, as no commerce was conducted there to offset its costs. It was therefore considered necessary that the greatest economy should be exercised, not only in preventing all forms of waste, but also in managing necessary expenses with prudence. It was noted that the principal matters contained in the letters and papers received in the packets had been addressed, and that further observations would now be added.

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		and not only to prevent all manner of wasture, but also to be thrifty in those Expences which are Necessary. We having gone through the Materialls particulars Contained in your Letters, and other papers in your aforementioned Packetts come now to add what we think proper.	**Interpretations** "Dead charge" referred to an expense that produced no direct financial return, indicating that the island operated as a cost rather than a source of profit. "Satisfaction" in this context referred to compensation or restitution for loss, particularly where Company property had been destroyed. "Road" referred to the anchorage area offshore where ships lay, often increasing local demand and expenditure when occupied. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the demand for detailed lists of personnel and consumption reflected concern over uncontrolled provisioning and possible abuse of Company resources. It was probably the case that the emphasis on economy arose from the island's lack of profitable trade, making strict financial discipline essential to its continued maintenance.
134	123	The Friends of Mr. Daniel Griffith late Clerk of your Council have applied to us for his re-admission into our Service, and there is a short note by the Governour wherein he says, Mr. Griffith behav'd well, and is become a new Man, if he continues when his name is mention'd in some writings as Supplied to his Friends to endeavour him, but we refer Mr. Attenborough & Clerk of the Council & we hope acquits himself to your entire satisfaction. We will not have him remov'd, and therefore think it best to put Mr. Griffith into a Company of Councill at the usual Salary, and also to be sometimes Imploy'd in any Business of over you think fitt, whereby he is Capable with this hopeful Condition. That if he returns again to Fashions or Neglects what is committed to his care, he be dismissed our Service as we'll do in case of his Death admit any other into his Place, for we think four of Councill is enough for Managing all our Affairs. Both these Ships Charter-party have as you will see a Clause in them to carry Chalk, the one to Bencoolen the other to Bombay, so many Chalk as you can spare to your need on them, and desire speed. Send the Charter-partys in your Packet along with the Ships. We refer you to their Invoices and Bills of Lading for what taken on Board, and you will use it according to your Orders in the Lists receiv'd from you, so far as the Committee sees fitt to do. The rest of the Ships and Vessels in Bond. And remember this, that seeing there is no Ton of Chalk for lime, that we are safe in our parts to remove all Excuses for not Compleating your Fortifications. But Captains Com plains we have a want of Stone in the Island which we believe is plente. Lime and you were making up several upon it you	An application was received from the friends of Mr Daniel Griffith, formerly clerk of the Council, requesting his re-admission into the Company's service. A note from the Governor was referred to, in which it was stated that Mr Griffith had behaved well and was considered to have reformed. It was further indicated that his name had appeared in certain writings submitted by his friends in support of his case. Reference was made to Mr Attenborough, clerk of the Council, with the expectation that he would conduct himself satisfactorily. It was determined that Mr Griffith should not be excluded, and that he should be appointed again to the Council at the usual salary. He was also to be employed from time to time in such duties as might be considered suitable, provided he remained capable. This reinstatement was made conditional upon his continued good conduct, and it was directed that, should he relapse into former habits or neglect his duties, he should be dismissed from the service. It was further stated that, in the event of his death, another person might be admitted in his place, although it was considered that a Council of four members was sufficient for managing the Company's affairs. It was noted that the charterparties of the two ships contained clauses requiring the carriage of chalk, one vessel being bound for Bencoolen and the other for Bombay. It was directed that as much chalk as could be spared without prejudice to the island's needs should be loaded onto them, and that this should be done promptly. The charterparties were to be returned within the packet sent with the ships. Reference was made to the invoices and bills of lading for the goods taken on board, which were to be used in accordance with prior instructions and the lists received from the island, insofar as the Committee deemed appropriate. Other ships and vessels were to remain under bond as required. It was emphasised that, since chalk was available for the production of lime, no excuse should remain for failing to complete the fortifications. Complaints had been made by captains regarding a supposed lack of stone on the island, but this was not accepted, as it was believed that sufficient stone was available, and that lime had already been prepared in several instances for construction purposes. **Interpretations** "Charterparty" referred to a formal agreement governing the use of a ship, including obligations regarding cargo such as the carriage of materials like chalk. "Bond" referred to a legal or financial obligation placed upon ships or goods, ensuring compliance with Company regulations or contractual terms. "Chalk for lime" referred to the use of chalk in

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			producing lime, an essential material for construction, particularly in fortifications. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the conditional reinstatement of Mr Griffith reflected a willingness to restore experienced personnel while maintaining strict expectations of conduct. It was probably the case that the insistence on the availability of materials for lime production indicated frustration with delays in completing fortifications, where natural resources on the island were believed to be sufficient.
135	124	...must have sett about that work sooner, and not have neglected it after Mr. Marsden arrived, who as we wrote you understood it. We hope you look often the Directions in our Letters as in many standing Orders to be observed, as often as the like occasion happens, and therefore we need not repeat our reasons for the speedy Dispatch of these two Ships Westmoreland and Steet of York, in the farther prosecution of their outward bound Voyage, you will find from what we wrote about the Eates. Whatsoever Questions the Governour, or any or all of you shall receive, from Thomas Cooke, Edmund Harrison, Jonathan Andrew, and Mr. Joseph, or any three of them with Relation to the proceedings of our outward bound Ships must be observ'd, as signed by all of us, We having desired them to be a local Committee for that purpose. In Case any of the Goods sent you by these Ships appear by the outward packages to be Sea Damaged, do you require the Captain therewith, that he may be present at opening the same, and do you or be any Person appointed by him for that purpose adjust the Damage so far as they are worse than when on list him make the same good or give you Account, if the Suppliers advise us thereof, and lett this be a standing rule for the future like cases, or of any other goods of our Deals that are Consigned to you in good Order, and well Condition'd, and to prevent future Cavills here. If the Captain refuse to make the Damage, desire him to Agree what it is, and give it under his hand, if so, send us a Copy of what he so signs, unless it is...	It was stated that the work ought to have been undertaken sooner and not neglected after the arrival of Mr Marsden, who was understood to possess the necessary knowledge. It was expressed that the directions contained in previous letters should be frequently consulted and treated as standing orders to be observed whenever similar occasions arose, so that repetition of reasons would not be necessary. Reference was made to earlier instructions concerning the speedy dispatch of the ships *Westmoreland* and *Streete of York* in continuing their outward voyage, as had been explained in relation to the East Indies. It was directed that any instructions received from Thomas Cooke, Edmund Harrison, Jonathan Andrew and Mr Joseph, or from any three of them acting together, concerning the proceedings of outward-bound ships, were to be observed as if signed by the full authority of the Company, as they had been appointed to act as a local committee for that purpose. It was further directed that, if any goods sent by these ships appeared to have suffered damage at sea, as indicated by their outward packaging, the captain was to be required to attend at their opening. The damage was to be assessed either by the Governor or by a person appointed for that purpose, and, where the goods were found to be in worse condition than when shipped, the captain was to make good the loss or provide an account of it. If the suppliers were to inform the Company of such damage, this process was to ensure proper remedy. This instruction was to be treated as a standing rule for all similar cases involving goods consigned in good order and condition. If the captain refused to compensate for the damage, he was to be required to agree upon the extent of it and to provide a written acknowledgement, a copy of which was to be sent to the Company. **Interpretations** "Standing orders" referred to instructions intended to be applied repeatedly in similar circumstances without requiring renewed direction. "Outward bound voyage" referred to the stage of a ship's journey travelling from England towards its destinations in Asia or other regions under Company trade. "Sea damaged" referred to goods that had deteriorated or been harmed during maritime transport, often due to water exposure or rough conditions at sea. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the emphasis on treating earlier instructions as standing orders reflected concern that prior guidance had not been consistently followed. It was probably the case that the detailed procedure for assessing damaged goods was designed to prevent disputes between the Company and ship captains, ensuring clear accountability for losses during transit.
136	125	...give three Notes of one Tenour; then send us two of them by two conveyances if the Vessels Advised us, and you have done your parts. As to the Value of the Dollars, We think it best that Money	It was directed that, where acknowledgements or notes were required, three copies of identical tenor were to be prepared, with two of them to be sent by separate conveyances, provided that the vessels had given notice and that all necessary actions had been completed.

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		shou'd be as near its Intrinsick Value as may be, and therefore, if you see no Inconveniency therein Let the Dollars go at free chissising for the future in the Island. We are Your Loving Freinds To Captain John Roberts Governour of St[t] Helena and the Council there for the time being. By our General Letter to the then Governour and Council dated the 7th of April last, and sent by the Westmoreland and the Steel Freight. We wrote them at large in answer to their Letters, and what we thought further to add thereupon wherein we Refer. We have lately received Letters from the ComMarsdenof the Largoe, Arabia, Panther, Colchester, Otley Freight and Jane now at the Galloon, and the adjacent Ports of India, wherein some of them strongly advise us to take further Cautions Concerning St. Helena which we are sorry for. But in some of their Packets either from India or St. Helena are come to hand, that we have no Answers to your Affairs in those Vessels. However	Consideration was given to the value of dollars, and it was stated that money should be kept as close as possible to its intrinsic value. It was therefore directed that, if no inconvenience arose, dollars should in future circulate freely at their natural value within the island. The letter concluded with an expression of goodwill, addressed to Captain John Roberts, Governor of St Helena, and to the Council there for the time being. Reference was made to a general letter dated 7 April, previously sent by the ships *Westmoreland* and *Steel Freight*, in which detailed responses had been provided to earlier correspondence, together with additional instructions, to which reference was made. It was further noted that letters had recently been received from the commanders of the ships *Largoe*, *Arabia*, *Panther*, *Colchester*, *Otley Freight* and *Jane*, then at Galle and other ports in India. In these communications, several commanders had strongly advised that further precautions should be taken concerning St Helena, which was received with concern. It was also observed that, from some packets sent either from India or from St Helena, no replies had yet been received regarding the matters previously raised. **Interpretations** "Tenour" referred to the exact wording and form of a document, requiring multiple copies to be identical in content. "Intrinsick value" referred to the actual worth of a coin based on its metal content, rather than any assigned or fluctuating exchange value. "Free chissising" referred to the unrestricted circulation or exchange of currency at its natural value without imposed rates or controls. "Galloon" referred to Galle, a port in present-day Sri Lanka, which was an important stopping point in East India Company maritime routes. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that allowing dollars to circulate at their intrinsic value was designed to stabilise the island's economy and prevent distortions caused by artificial pricing. It was probably the case that the warnings received from ship commanders reflected growing concerns about the security or management of St Helena, prompting consideration of additional precautions.
137	126	However We have upon Consideration of our Affairs in general thought fit for our Service in the West Oysters, the interest and fixing Resolutions to be to Governour of our Island of St. Helena in the place of Captain Poirier deceased at the Salary of one Hundred pounds a Year, and as Major. He is a Gentleman of great Experience in Fortification and the Inspection in the most famous outforts in Flanders and the Sea Coasts, and at the Island of Minorca in which were ten times as many Men and Buildings and more danger which renders him of more than ordinary Advantage. And he can Direct the making such Additions works as will make the Island Defensible and Terrible Against an opposition or attack of the Enemy. Therefore we have thought to allow him a Gratuity Gratuity of One Hundred & Fifty pounds more to Convince your his arrival at the Island.	It was stated that, upon consideration of the Company's affairs in general, a decision had been made to appoint a new Governor for the island of St Helena, following the death of Captain Poirier. Mr Roberts was appointed to that office at a salary of one hundred pounds per year, and with the rank of Major. He was described as a gentleman of considerable experience in fortification, having served in inspections of major defensive works in Flanders and along the sea coasts, as well as at the island of Minorca, where the scale of men, buildings and dangers had been significantly greater. On this basis, it was considered that his appointment would be of particular advantage, as he would be capable of directing the construction of additional works to strengthen the island's defences and render it more secure against attack. A gratuity of one hundred and fifty pounds was granted to him in addition to his salary, to be provided upon his arrival at the island. A further sum of one hundred pounds had been advanced to him, which was to be deducted from his future salary and paid into the Company's cash, and notice of this arrangement was given for proper accounting. It was directed that all other members of the Council were to remain in their existing positions, as they had held them during the lifetime of Governor Poirier.

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		We have Allowed him one Hundred pounds which is to be deducted out of his growing salary, & paid into our Cash, which we enclose for your Information and Compliance therewith. We hereby Confirm all the rest of You in the Stations of the Council you were in during Governour Poirier's life. It has been often told us that one great reason of the Insurrection that has so much disturbed St. Helena was that the late Governour was a Frenchman & the Inhabitants thought they had to be under the government of a Foreigner, Provident and not of their Kindred; and we venerate ourselves had by our putting Eng. Orders in his Place, these unhappy quarrels will...	It was observed that reports had frequently been received indicating that one principal cause of the disturbances and insurrection at St Helena had been the fact that the late Governor had been a Frenchman, which had led the inhabitants to believe that they were governed by a foreigner rather than by one of their own nation. It was suggested that, by appointing an English governor in his place, such quarrels might be resolved and stability restored. **Interpretations** "Gratuity" referred to a financial reward or allowance granted in addition to regular salary, often as an inducement or recognition of service. "Fortification" referred to the construction and maintenance of defensive military works, including walls, batteries and other structures designed to resist attack. "Insurrection" referred to a disturbance or uprising among the inhabitants, indicating serious unrest within the colony. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the appointment of a governor with strong military engineering experience reflected the strategic importance of improving the island's defences during a period of conflict. It was probably the case that the emphasis on appointing an English governor was aimed at addressing tensions among the inhabitants and reinforcing loyalty to the Company's authority.
138	127	Governour Roberts ...will never again be revived. We earnestly recommend to you to peruse the several Orders and Directions that we have from time to time sent to St^{t} Helena and take especial care that they be carefully comply'd withall. As the standing Constitution, which are and ever be the Magna Charta of the Island be, and must be observed as such. And which because our new Governour Capt. Roberts may be at a loss or perhaps be unfit in some matters, We doubt not but he will more speedily Inform himself, and if any former Orders have been sent which he is Unacquainted with, let the Council meet and cause them to stay such as are most Absolutely Needfull for the day as his more Unived Orders of the Hon^{ble} Company in such as the Circumstances of your station is Indispensibly Necessary. This we Intimate to your present Dispatch, as a Shame to standing Faith for want of Directions, but is upon a Supposition that you will weigh and consider it as much for our Service in the Generall Example. And that you will be All therein as Impartially, Justifiably, as often concern each and every one, and according to the best of your understanding. What We have most urgent for, is the Speedy Compleating Fortifications now at St. Helena's which we hope shall hast no Remains or Complains in the late Governour's Conduct. We furnish numbers of our new Constituted Governour certain take care. He shall be Instructed and will give out all to his Inspection or...	It was expressed that the disturbances previously experienced would not arise again. A strong recommendation was made that all orders and directions previously issued for St Helena should be carefully reviewed and strictly observed. These were described as standing constitutions, forming the fundamental framework of governance for the island, and were to be regarded and enforced accordingly. It was acknowledged that the newly appointed Governor, Captain Roberts, might at first be unfamiliar with certain matters or possibly unfit in some respects, but it was expected that he would quickly inform himself. If any earlier orders had been issued with which he was not acquainted, it was directed that the Council should assemble and identify those that were most necessary for immediate application, particularly those essential to the circumstances of the island and the Company's service. It was stated that this guidance was given not as a criticism of past conduct but on the assumption that all matters would be considered with due care for the Company's interests. It was further directed that all actions should be carried out impartially and justly, according to the best judgement of those concerned. Emphasis was placed upon the urgent necessity of completing the fortifications at St Helena without further delay. It was expressed that no further complaints should arise in this regard, and that the shortcomings attributed to the late Governor's conduct should not be repeated. It was stated that the newly appointed Governor would be furnished with the necessary support and was expected to give proper attention to the inspection and execution of these works. **Interpretations** "Standing constitution" referred to the established body of rules and orders governing the administration of the island, functioning as a permanent framework for authority and decision-making. "Magna Charta of the Island" was used figuratively to describe these governing rules as fundamental and binding, comparable to a foundational legal charter. "Unived Orders" appeared to refer to orders not yet fully understood or integrated into practice, indicating the need for review and clarification.

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			Speculations It was perhaps intended that the emphasis on standing orders and constitutions reflected concern that previous governance had lacked consistency in applying established rules. It was probably the case that the urgency surrounding the completion of fortifications indicated continued anxiety over the island's vulnerability and the need for stronger defensive preparedness.
139	128	Orders &c^{a} to ye^{e} P Endeavours till they are finished, not only what is already begun, but such others as may be found Necessary to make the Island duly defensible. Nature has done a great deal to that purpose, and we would not grudge the Expence of what that can further do to Compleat it, as it may be done with good Husbandry and not lavished away needlessly or unskilfully. We rely much on Captain Roberts's judgment therein - and would have him and you as soon as he arrives survey what more to be Added and Instantly sett about what he thinks Necessary to be done therein, hasten away the Ships to prevent Demorage. The good Government of the Island is next to be Considered, & very next, because the making it strong tends to ye^{e} very being as a good Government does to its well being, and in this we positively Order that justice be impartially Administred to all, that all frequent Contentions be Checked and Composed, and those that are Plausibly or Studiously litigious Discountenanced. That the Inhabitants be preserved in the their Property, that the Worship of God be duly Observed and Virtue and Morality encouraged as well by your Practice as Precept. And that all Debauchery, Blasphemy and Profaneness be opposed. Whatsoever you find is for the Generall Benefit of the Place to make any new regulations or Orders, you summon the highest and substantialest Inhabitants in the nature of a Common Council as we have often said whether we shall fix your Government to that form, do not keep us waiting. Give due notice to all Persons of sitting of the Council not sitting in a publick place, and cause it to be Publish on two several days & enjoyn the Members to attend.	It was directed that continued efforts should be applied until the fortifications were completed, not only in respect of those works already begun but also any additional works found necessary to render the island fully defensible. It was acknowledged that natural advantages had already contributed much to its defence, and it was stated that no objection would be made to the expense required to complete it, provided that such expenditure was carried out with proper economy and not wasted through negligence or lack of skill. Reliance was placed upon the judgement of Captain Roberts, and it was directed that, upon his arrival, he and the Council should immediately survey what further works were required and proceed without delay to undertake them, while also ensuring that ships were dispatched promptly to avoid demurrage. Attention was then directed to the governance of the island, which was considered of equal importance, as strong defences were essential to its survival, while good government ensured its proper functioning. It was ordered that justice should be administered impartially to all, that frequent disputes should be restrained and settled, and that those inclined to unnecessary or vexatious litigation should be discouraged. It was further directed that the inhabitants should be protected in their property, that religious observance should be properly maintained, and that virtue and morality should be promoted both by example and instruction. All forms of disorderly conduct, including debauchery, blasphemy and profaneness, were to be actively opposed. It was also directed that, where measures were identified as beneficial to the general welfare of the island, new regulations or orders might be established. For this purpose, the principal and most substantial inhabitants were to be summoned in the manner of a common council, as had previously been advised. It was indicated that a decision might be taken to establish this form of governance more permanently, and that no delay should occur in reporting upon it. Proper notice was to be given to all persons regarding the sitting of the council, which was to be held in a public place, with such notice published on two separate days, and members were to be required to attend. **Interpretations** "Demorage" referred to charges incurred when a ship was delayed beyond its agreed time in port, often resulting in financial penalties. "Studiously litigious" referred to individuals who deliberately or habitually engaged in legal disputes, often without sufficient cause. "Common Council" referred to an assembly of principal inhabitants convened to advise or participate in local governance, resembling a municipal governing body. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the combined emphasis on defence and governance reflected a comprehensive approach to securing both the physical safety and internal stability of the island. It was probably the case that the encouragement of a broader council of inhabitants indicated a move towards more participatory governance, possibly in response to earlier unrest or dissatisfaction among the population.

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140	129	Governour Roberts, That our plantation Goods & Stock be carefully observ'd & improv'd. That an Account be Yearly sent us of the Number of your Blacks & how imploy'd and also the Quantity of your Cattle of all Sorts, Bulls, Cows, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Ewes, also our Poultry, and their increase &c. That due care be taken for Cultivating and Improving your Yamms & your Falls for the Benefit of your Tables and our Shipping. That all Storekeepers Accounts be Monthly & Annually in Consultation and kept and in a Book also all entries of your waters &c. must be honestly and diligently inspected and Managed as you would think fit if they were your own. These Orders that precede which we have thought fitt to transcribe verbatim for the Observation of our Governour and Council & you will see the steps of our Letters comply with which as we have therein mentioned & if you do it will shew your Diligence and Constitute to your own Advantage the Ships now Outward bound going early ordinarily will go a fair wind, and laden makes no Conduite. Your Loving Friends London 5th May 1708 P.S. We desire Captain Poole &cª would sound the harbour and find out the properest place for Ships to Anchor in, and where in such Batterys your Expence is to be found as may cover all, & be so fitt placed as may be most for strength and service, and the great Guns be placed so as best to answer all Occasions, and Additions be made thereto from time to time as in any other places is needful.	It was directed that the plantation goods and stock should be carefully managed and improved. A yearly account was to be sent detailing the number of slaves and the manner of their employment, together with the quantities of cattle of all kinds, including bulls, cows, steers, yearlings, calves and ewes, as well as poultry and their increase. It was further ordered that proper care should be taken in cultivating and improving yams and falls, for the benefit of the tables on the island and for supplying ships. It was also required that all storekeepers' accounts should be reviewed both monthly and annually in consultation, and recorded in books. In addition, all entries relating to water and other resources were to be honestly and diligently inspected and managed with the same care as if they were private property. It was stated that the preceding orders had been set out in full for the observation of the Governor and Council, and that compliance with them, as with earlier instructions, would demonstrate diligence and contribute to their own advantage. It was noted that ships outward bound, when dispatched early, would ordinarily benefit from favourable winds and proceed without hindrance. The letter concluded with an expression of goodwill, dated 5 May 1708. A postscript directed that Captain Poole should survey the harbour to determine the most suitable place for ships to anchor. It was further ordered that appropriate positions for batteries should be identified, so that they might provide full protection, and that the great guns should be placed in locations best suited to meet all requirements. Additions to these defences were to be made from time to time as necessary. **Interpretations** "Falls" referred to cultivated plots or areas of agricultural production, often associated with staple crops such as yams used for provisioning. "Consultation" referred to formal meetings of the Governor and Council at which administrative and financial matters were reviewed and recorded. "Batteries" referred to fortified positions equipped with artillery, designed to defend the harbour and approaches against attack. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the detailed requirements for agricultural and stock accounts reflected the importance of self-sufficiency for the island's survival and support of shipping. It was probably the case that the emphasis on surveying the harbour and positioning batteries indicated ongoing concern with strengthening defensive capabilities in response to potential maritime threats.
141	130	Our Governour & Council of Stt Helena. We the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading in the East Indies having taken the state of your Factory and your several former Packets from time to time into Examination, with our more particular Letters of the 7th April & 5th May 1708. We have now thought fit to make the like in respect of sundry Things to be more particularly directed to the 5th July 1708 by the Governour & Council & others, and the 26th July by the Clements & the 16th March by the Dispatch & the 25th June 1707 by the Return Starr of Warwick, two particular Letters from	A review was undertaken by the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading in the East Indies of the condition of the factory at St Helena, together with the various packets and letters previously received. Particular reference was made to earlier letters dated 7 April and 5 May 1708, as well as to additional correspondence, including that of 5 July 1708 from the Governor and Council and others, 26 July by the *Clements*, 16 March by the *Dispatch*, and 25 June 1707 by the *Return Starr of Warwick*. Consideration was also given to two separate letters from Governor Roberts dated 31 December 1707 and 14 April following. It was stated that responses were now being provided to matters not previously fully answered, together with further directions. These instructions were to be regarded as standing orders, remaining in force unless altered by necessity, by changes in peace conditions, or by considerations of the Company's

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		Governour Roberts of the 31st December 1707 and the 14th April following; and as we are now to give Answers (not formerly fully returned) Directions We have to offer them to you so as not to say before them, you must look upon as so many standing Orders or enjoyned to be in force, until be Absolute Necessity or the Peace or our present Interest shall Continuance supersede them; in which case the same to be certainly entered in the Book as may stand a record at home for the Company and in the same manner, We would have you keep a careful record, varying into several separate titles, (Namely Heads Vizz. Shipping, Goods, Stores, Company's Revenues, Accounts, Fortifications, Buildings & Garrison, Stores & affairs & Government of the Island), and if you have any other material to Observe & not properly reducible to these heads, Add them afterwards to the begin. First concerning Shipping sent out and Returned.	interest. In any such case of alteration, the change was to be formally recorded in a book so that a permanent record might be maintained both locally and for the Company. It was further directed that a careful system of record-keeping should be maintained, organised under distinct headings. These were to include shipping, goods, stores, Company revenues, accounts, fortifications, buildings, the garrison, stores and affairs, and the government of the island. Any additional matters of importance not fitting within these categories were to be recorded separately under appropriate headings. It was then indicated that the first subject to be addressed would concern shipping sent out and returned. **Interpretations** "Factory" referred to the Company's trading and administrative establishment on the island, rather than a place of manufacture in the modern sense. "Packets" referred to collections of letters and documents sent together by ship, forming the principal means of long-distance communication. "Standing orders" referred to instructions intended to remain in force over time, forming a continuing framework for administration unless formally altered. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the formal structuring of records under defined headings reflected an effort to standardise administration and improve oversight across distant settlements. It was probably the case that the designation of these instructions as standing orders indicated dissatisfaction with inconsistent adherence to previous directions, prompting a more systematic approach to governance.
142	131	It has pleased God that the following Ships have arrived since December last Vizz. the Rochester on the River of Ganges in January last, the Blenheim later at Batavia and the Jennings Galley from Bencoolen to England and into the Downs in May last; the Kent also from the Bay in January last (vide P.S.) and in March the Heathcote Frigatt, arrived at Bombay and the Queen in August. The Lascelles & Queenborough are not since Advices from the Bay, the Armstrong, Lowe, Bombay, are not come. Nicholas White and Captain Jago says, the Lascelles was in Company with the Vulture Sloop & South Key arrived at Batavia in the month of November, from whence it is feared those came to grief. As to the Lascelles, no certain news of her, though there is mention of a loss by name, the English said in interruption the Streights of Sonda, but by a smooth Countenance sounded on the North of Holland, was the Passage between Holland and Batavia, the Countenance running her down. And all the Men except the Doctor perished on her, some part of her picked down at sea in the latitude & longitude; and those were not naming the week the agreement was taken. We have no News of the Lascelles, but hope the worst is, that she has lost her Voyage. The Ships designed to all parts of India this Year are as follow Vizz.	It was reported that several ships had arrived since December last. The *Rochester* had reached the River Ganges in January, the *Blenheim* had later arrived at Batavia, and the *Jennings Galley* had returned from Bencoolen to England, reaching the Downs in May. The *Kent* had also arrived from the Bay in January, as noted in a postscript, while in March the *Heathcote Frigate* had reached Bombay, and the *Queen* had arrived in August. No recent intelligence had been received concerning the *Lascelles* and the *Queenborough* from the Bay, nor had the *Armstrong*, the *Lowe*, or the *Bombay* yet arrived. Information had been received from Nicholas White and Captain Jago that the *Lascelles* had been in company with the *Vulture* sloop and the *South Key*, and had arrived at Batavia in November. From that point, it was feared that misfortune had occurred. No certain news had been obtained regarding the *Lascelles*, although mention had been made of a shipwreck involving an English vessel in the Straits of Sunda. It was reported that the vessel had struck or been driven ashore during its passage between Holland and Batavia, and that all the crew, except the doctor, had died. Some wreckage had been found at sea, although details of the exact time and place remained unclear. In the absence of confirmed information, it was hoped that the worst outcome was that the *Lascelles* had merely lost its voyage. It was further stated that the ships intended for dispatch to various parts of India during that year included the *Blenheim*, of about five hundred and fifty tons, under Captain Abraham Creswick, bound for Surat and then to return, which had been at Spithead and was expected to have sailed with convoy. The *Rochester*, of three hundred and thirty tons under Captain Jonathan Trott, was bound for the Coromandel Coast and Bencoolen. The *Arminger Galley*, of two hundred and fifty tons under Captain Saunder Hyde, was

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		The Blenheim about 550 Tuns Capt^{et} Abraham Creswick to return to Surat, she has been some time at Spithead and we lately expect to hear she is sailed with the Convoy. The Rochester 330 Tuns Capt^{et} Jonathan Trott for Cormandel & Bencoolen The Arminger galley 250 Capt^{et} Saunder Hyde for Cormandel & Ceylon &c.	intended for the Coromandel Coast and Ceylon, together with other destinations. **Interpretations** "Downs" referred to an anchorage area off the coast of Kent, commonly used by ships arriving in or departing from England. "Straits of Sunda" referred to the narrow passage between the islands of Java and Sumatra, a significant but hazardous route for ships travelling between the Indian Ocean and the Java Sea. "Spithead" referred to an anchorage off Portsmouth, where ships often assembled before departure with convoy. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the detailed reporting of ship movements reflected the importance of maintaining accurate knowledge of Company trade routes and fleet status. It was probably the case that the uncertainty surrounding the fate of the *Lascelles* illustrates the risks of long-distance maritime trade, where incomplete or delayed information could leave outcomes unresolved for extended periods.
143	132	The King William galley 400 Capt^{et} Richard Webster for the Bay The Nymog 450 Capt^{et} Samuel Goodman The Good Bonaventure 450 Capt^{et} Hugh Sayman The Royston 500 Capt^{et} Joseph Taylor The Beaumont 550 Capt^{et} Richard Newill for the Coast and Bay but first for the Coast The Streatham 550 Capt^{et} George Cornhill for Cormandel The Prince Eugène 550 Capt^{et} Daniel Wetherall for Surat & Bencoolen The Sherborne 300 Capt^{et} Edward Pestley The Doddington 550 Capt^{et} James Power with a Europe of both and thence to Bombay All the above Ships are arrived at the Ware ready to proceed for the Downs, except the Prince and Catherine which we hope will be there in some interval. We hear Governours and friends hastening the Return of the Royston before she may. Endeavour yourself safe Deliverance and proper Reason for undertaking to fix in the Charter-party time. As you wrote in one of the Packets of not birthing the Ship as the whole of the Copy is in the Packet, not of Capt^{et} Dickinson and of Warners, a minute the discharge of the Steel Freight was Fundamental (believe that). It is suppose of your silence also have Votum against the Steel Freight, or she are in the Case as Capt^{et} Warners ship in period of evaluation of former, so refer you to ordinary events and standing Directions for Ships sent from hence to St. Helena that all Dispatches in time. Continue to desire us as all occasions when our Ships arrived.	It was reported that additional ships had been prepared for service to India, including the *King William Galley* of four hundred tons under Captain Richard Webster for the Bay, the *Nymog* of four hundred and fifty tons under Captain Samuel Goodman, the *Good Bonaventure* of four hundred and fifty tons under Captain Hugh Sayman, the *Royston* of five hundred tons under Captain Joseph Taylor, and the *Beaumont* of five hundred and fifty tons under Captain Richard Newill, intended for the Coast and the Bay, but first for the Coast. Further vessels included the *Streatham* of five hundred and fifty tons under Captain George Cornhill for the Coromandel Coast, the *Prince Eugène* of five hundred and fifty tons under Captain Daniel Wetherall for Surat and Bencoolen, the *Sherborne* of three hundred tons under Captain Edward Pestley, and the *Doddington* of five hundred and fifty tons under Captain James Power, intended for Europe and then onward to Bombay. It was stated that all these ships had arrived at the place of loading and were ready to proceed to the Downs, except for the *Prince* and *Catherine*, which were expected to arrive there shortly. Concern was expressed regarding efforts to hasten the return of the *Royston*, and it was directed that proper care should be taken to ensure her safe dispatch and that sufficient reasons should be provided when fixing the time in the charterparty. Reference was made to earlier correspondence concerning the handling and discharge of cargo, including the case of the *Steel Freight*, where proper unloading procedures were considered fundamental. It was suggested that silence or lack of reporting might indicate disapproval or uncertainty in such matters, and it was directed that established practices and standing instructions for ships sent to St Helena should be followed to ensure timely dispatch. It was further directed that regular communication should be maintained, with reports to be sent on all occasions when Company ships arrived. **Interpretations** "Downs" referred to the anchorage off the coast of Kent where ships assembled before departure or after arrival. "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing the use of a ship, including terms relating to time, cargo and responsibilities. "Steel Freight" referred to a specific vessel or cargo case previously discussed, used here as an example of proper procedure in unloading and dispatch.

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			Speculations It was perhaps intended that the detailed listing of ships and their commanders reflected the importance of coordinating a large and dispersed trading fleet. It was probably the case that the concern over dispatch and reporting indicated ongoing difficulties in ensuring that ships adhered to schedules and that accurate information was consistently provided.
144	133	...arrived and Depart from St. Helena, and any other matters relating hereto as also what news you have of our ships from all these parts. Your Cautions towards Capt. Fenner for the reasons mentioned in your orders were prudent. You did ill to long to await answering of Capt. Dennis in the Union which was casting away two of our Soldiers in the year 1704, the Voyage so long continued and the Captain dead, and all Inquiry of the same then over subject any of our Ships to carry away our Soldiers or Black. Desire it by the first opportunity what Ships were then at the Island, and whom you suspect of your reasons, and you have some grave proof, Let it given to the Council in the loose being shall even appear to be capable of such an imposition. We shall Charge our Damages to your Account. We approve of your Survey on the Aurengzeble, & of any Commission you affixed in your Packet & entered him in your Books, and there we shall do so. We are less & more neither do the Vessels nor we any harm, on the Contrary it may happen to be a great deal of good. But the Result we have we write to you Several Vessels to supply our returning Ships withall. Secondly Concerning Goods and Stores from England or Received from India: What Honour done by Ships Arrived beyond the Service and Extent of Desires will Inform you, which is on a great measure according to your Service.	It was directed that regular accounts should be provided of ships arriving at and departing from St Helena, together with any other related matters, including all intelligence received concerning Company ships from other regions. Approval was given to the caution exercised towards Captain Fenner, it being considered prudent for the reasons previously stated in the orders. However, it was stated that there had been fault in delaying a response concerning Captain Dennis of the ship *Union*, who had been responsible for the loss of two soldiers in the year 1704. It was observed that, owing to the length of time that had passed, the continuation of the voyage and the death of the captain, any inquiry into the matter had effectively lapsed. It was therefore directed that, in future, no Company ship should be permitted to carry away soldiers or slaves without proper authority. A report was required at the first opportunity identifying which ships had been present at the island at that time, together with any suspicions and the reasons for them. Where substantial evidence existed, it was to be presented before the Council so that responsibility might be determined, and any resulting losses would be charged accordingly. Approval was expressed of the survey conducted on the *Aurengzeble*, and of the commission that had been granted, recorded in the packet and entered into the books. It was stated that no harm had resulted either to the vessels or to the Company, and that, on the contrary, some benefit might arise. It was further noted that arrangements had been made for several vessels to supply returning ships as required. Attention was then directed to the subject of goods and stores received from England or from India. It was stated that the extent to which ships arriving had fulfilled the needs of the service would be made clear by the information provided, and that this was to be considered in relation to the requirements of the island. **Interpretations** "Aurengzeble" referred to a vessel named after the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, a common practice in East India Company shipping nomenclature. "Commission" referred to an official appointment or authorisation granted to an individual to perform a specific duty or role. "Casting away" referred to the loss or abandonment of persons, in this case soldiers, from a ship, implying serious misconduct or negligence. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the renewed attention to the earlier incident involving Captain Dennis reflected concern over discipline and accountability in the handling of Company personnel. It was probably the case that the emphasis on reporting ship movements and supplies indicated the continuing importance of St Helena as a logistical centre within the Company's maritime network.
145	134	Orders &c[a] to ye[e] Ship Desire as far as the Ships could take them in, but was not satisfyed to Send on yr last Demand, in one Hundred and fifty Tons of Arrack, two Hundred Tons of Sugar, others in our opinion unreasonable	It was observed that the quantities of goods requested could only be supplied so far as ships were capable of taking them, and dissatisfaction was expressed with the most recent demand, which had included one hundred and fifty tons of arrack and two hundred tons of sugar, together with other items considered unreasonable. It was suggested that the

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		Articles, and We rather incline our Governour Capt. Roberts must there have taken Encouragement, while he considered we may fulfil freights for you with returning ships, entirely loading a particular sort of Ships in Arrack. Our freights are not bound by a particular Covenant in Charter party again to pay only out of the said Goods, or when we direct the Ships to be stowed safe in the bread room, or any vacant place of the ship. We are also much concerned that you should take Sixty four Jars of Arrack out of the Returners and by what appears to us, if there had been more, it had been all gone. We cannot find you had any reason for it or will be of any use or necessity and we cannot look on it as a reasonable pretence for it. You wrote the reason, that Ship was then shifting the Sailors, if it had been all one it had not etc. it had been the Service, the Arrack had still here, all that came in by a young Matthew from Batavia since the Seven Barrels from him, or in an Encouragement above Seventy Jars the greater part of it put onboard a return Freight although we have Chartered China Ships. What they shall all you return But our Orders to all parts of India continue the same as before. The Note that you wrote about Madeira Wine & Brandy You do well to advise us when the Store of any kind are Insufficient in Quantity or Quality or are Cheap, Continue that Method and be particular in your Account thereof.	Governor, Captain Roberts, may have been encouraged in making such demands by the belief that freights could be fulfilled by returning ships, particularly by loading vessels entirely with arrack. It was clarified that freight arrangements were not bound by any such specific covenant in the charterparty, nor were ships to be loaded solely with particular goods, except where directed, such as placing cargo safely in the bread room or other available spaces. Concern was expressed that sixty-four jars of arrack had been taken from returning ships, and it was stated that, had more been available, it appeared that all would have been removed. No sufficient reason or necessity for this action could be identified, and it was not accepted as a reasonable justification. The explanation that the ship had been shifting sailors at the time was considered inadequate, as it would not have affected the availability of the arrack for its intended purpose. It was noted that additional quantities had been received from Batavia, including seven barrels and more than seventy jars obtained through Matthew, a significant portion of which had been loaded onto a return freight, despite the existence of chartered China ships. It was questioned whether all such goods were intended to be returned in this manner. It was stated, however, that the Company's general orders to all parts of India remained unchanged. It was further noted that information provided regarding the supply of Madeira wine and brandy had been useful. It was approved that notice should be given whenever stores of any kind were insufficient in quantity or quality, or when they could be obtained at favourable rates. It was directed that this practice should be continued, with detailed accounts provided in such cases. **Interpretations** "Freight" referred to the cargo carried by a ship and the contractual arrangements governing its transport. "Bread room" referred to a designated storage area on a ship for provisions, often used for secure stowage of goods. "Returners" referred to ships on their return voyage, typically from Asia back to England, carrying cargo or supplies. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the criticism of excessive demands reflected concern over inefficient use of shipping capacity and the prioritisation of cargo. It was probably the case that the objection to removing arrack from returning ships indicated an effort to maintain proper allocation of goods within the Company's wider trading system.
146	135	In the 4th Paragraph of the Letter of the 30th December, You say You have Twenty Seven Servants at your upper Table and Eighteen at the lower besides Blacks and Black Convicts for Publick and Convicts other Improvements. That your Expence can't be less than four Jars to four Gallons of Arrack a Day when no Ship is in the Road, which as Nicholls says extravagant unnecesary Expence. We do not allow thereof, nor had done till we heard the 33 Paragraph of our same in the black freights and Vessance thereof but in the manner of those forty five Persons, which is as you say the Number of your Constant Daily Family, for we can't apprehend how these Vessels be so many, but when we see their names, We shall be able	It was reported that, in the fourth paragraph of the letter dated 30 December, it had been stated that there were twenty-seven servants maintained at the upper table and eighteen at the lower, in addition to slaves and black convicts employed for public works and other improvements. It was further stated that the daily expense could not be less than four jars, equivalent to four gallons of arrack per day when no ship was in the road. This level of consumption was considered, as noted by Nicholls, to be extravagant and unnecessary, and it was declared that such expenditure was not approved. It was indicated that this had not previously been allowed, and that the explanation given was insufficient, particularly in relation to the number of persons said to form the constant daily household, which was given as forty-five. Doubt was expressed as to how such a number could be justified, and it was stated that a clearer judgement could be made once their names were provided. It was stated that no objection would be made to the Governor providing occasional allowances of arrack

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		to judge better. It shall not be against our Governour's giving the People he Employs now & then a dram of arrack, when at work or Proper Encouragement; but at the same time it requires your vigilancy, and when one of the Book orders our Produce, We hope Your Care & Experience will be in great part answer'd. We shall Advise to Bombay of the Freights of the Arracks freighted upon by the Returners, & shall repeat our Orders at Mocea, that what being now in the road may not be let to the Bay, or as said they have overrun their hands in and they mostly the Dispatch, and we have the Arrack & Rum, You may Examine where the Casks are full, or whether it is that it has been adulterated by putting in of Water, and if you find cause...	to those employed, particularly when engaged in work or as a form of encouragement, but that this required careful supervision. It was expected that proper management and experience would ensure that such provisions were controlled and accounted for in accordance with established orders. It was further stated that advice would be sent to Bombay regarding the freight of arrack carried by returning ships, and that orders would be repeated at Mocha to prevent goods presently in the road from being diverted improperly to the Bay. It was suggested that there may have been excessive quantities handled, and that arrack and rum should be examined to determine whether the casks were full or whether adulteration had occurred through the addition of water. It was directed that, if cause were found, further action should be taken accordingly, although the remainder of the instruction was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Upper table" and "lower table" referred to hierarchical dining arrangements, with senior officials dining separately from lower-ranking personnel, reflecting social and administrative distinctions. "Black convicts" referred to enslaved or transported individuals of African or Asian origin assigned to labour as punishment or for public works. "Adulterated" referred to the dilution or tampering with goods, in this case liquor, often to increase quantity at the expense of quality. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the scrutiny of arrack consumption reflected concern over waste and misuse of provisions within the settlement. It was probably the case that the suspicion of adulteration indicated distrust in local handling of goods and a need for stricter oversight of supplies.
147	136	...cause of Complaint on other Account. Prove it to the Captain, and give advice us what he says and what is the Case, that on enquiry we may relieve Right. When we have opportunity, We shall consider your desires from the Traders and ourselves, but we will promise at either the Year first separately from the latter places, We take Notice You have bought One Hundred & Forty gallons of Wine, and have gone to spare it. We have considered your desires for a liberty to take Merchants Supplies in the outwardbound Ships, for the service of the Island, and your Vessels say, We hereby Permit and allow You to take take out of any of our Ships any sort of Cloth proper for Necessity or Household Service or for Neat Clothes, and of Course and stuff proper for outward Garments when You Refers to the Service of the Island, and not exceeding five or six Bales or a year is so allowed. And to take the like Cables for Working Stationarys cables or any well. Which is the use or the like, that the Captains can tell you by the Marks in the Bills of Lading, and do give them the Command on this Cause for their Information and Governance. We do allow you to take out	It was directed that, if any cause for complaint arose in relation to goods or accounts, the matter should be proved to the captain, and a report sent explaining both his response and the circumstances of the case, so that proper judgement might be made upon inquiry. It was stated that, when opportunity allowed, consideration would be given to the requests made concerning trade, both by private traders and by the Company itself. Notice was taken that one hundred and forty gallons of wine had been purchased, and it was observed that care had been taken to manage or conserve it. A request for permission to obtain supplies from outward-bound ships for the service of the island was considered, and approval was granted with limitations. It was permitted that cloth of suitable kinds might be taken from Company ships where necessary for household use or for clothing, including coarse materials for outer garments, provided that such use was for the service of the island. This was restricted to no more than five or six bales in a year. It was also permitted that cables and similar materials required for work or station use might be taken, with identification to be made by the marks recorded in the bills of lading, and with the captains instructed to provide guidance in this regard. Further allowance was made for the taking of necessary stores intended for Company use, including sugar or sugar candy for the Governor's use. However, it was directed that, in cases of need for arrack, it should not be taken without consultation with the captains of the ships, except in the case of returning vessels which had been specifically ordered to carry such freight in greater quantity. The remainder of this instruction was incomplete.

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		such Stores you easily intend as you and the Hundred pines which Company Consist. And also what Sugar or Sugar Candy shall be in any of our Ships for the use of the Governour. And if you are in necessity of Arrack, take not of your own Accord without advice of your Ships, which of them and except the Returners whom we have Ordered to freigh with more, if those...	**Interpretations** "Bales" referred to standardised bundles of goods, particularly textiles, used for transport and accounting in maritime trade. "Bills of lading" referred to official shipping documents detailing cargo, which were used to identify and verify goods on board. "Returners" referred to ships on their return voyage, typically from Asia to England, often carrying freight assigned by Company order. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the controlled permission to draw supplies from ships reflected the island's dependence on passing vessels for essential goods. It was probably the case that the restrictions imposed were designed to prevent abuse of Company resources while still allowing necessary provisioning for the settlement.
148	137	...or any other Goods, that you shall have occasion for which the Ships have, You may take a small Quantity for the use of the Inhabitants returning from time to time what you receive, and have into the same in discharge and taking care it be disposed of to our Advantage at a suitable profit and brought to our Account. We observe Governour Roberts took out of the Steel Frigatt one Hundred Pounds, and we cannot but disown it, as without consideration or Approvance of the Management, for drawing the same by particularly Private hands, and besides of the Discoverers which had the Effect, yet we cannot doubt of his taking out upon Cash out of your outward bound Ships, which let us never have again unless upon any protective whatsoever. As to your supplying the Ships with Beef, We have given our Directions formerly in the 32^{d} Paragraph of our General Letter of the 7th of April 1708, but according to the Contracts of our Charterpartys, you must lett the Captains have it under the Market price: that it be eaten by the Ships of any Ships the Island does not raise, our own Stock of Cattle increasing, that our Exports last and we must have you use your discretion in what affording it at the Charterparty price if that be best able to be born, to be carried out of the Island, & endeavouring more near equal rate and to avoid Contention, as it will tend to preserve a proper Friend & Honourable to the Company. Therefore do as you see best for our Service and Advices we shall taking such the Company are Assured thereby. Strictly	It was permitted that, where ships carried goods required for the island, small quantities might be taken for the use of the inhabitants, provided that such goods were accounted for and their value returned in due course. Care was to be taken that these goods were disposed of to the Company's advantage, at a suitable profit, and properly entered into the accounts. It was observed that Governor Roberts had taken one hundred pounds from the *Steel Frigate*, and this action was not approved, as it had been done without proper consideration or authorisation. It was stated that such withdrawal of cash by private means could not be accepted, and it was directed that no money should in future be taken from outward-bound ships under any pretext without proper authority. Reference was made to earlier directions concerning the supply of beef to ships, as set out in the thirty-second paragraph of the general letter dated 7 April 1708. It was directed that, in accordance with charterparty agreements, captains should be supplied at a price below the market rate where appropriate. Consideration was to be given to the fact that the island's own stock of cattle was increasing, and that exports should be managed so as to preserve that stock. Discretion was to be exercised in determining whether to supply at charterparty rates or otherwise, depending on what could reasonably be borne, with the aim of maintaining fair dealing, avoiding disputes, and preserving good relations with those involved, to the honour and benefit of the Company. **Interpretations** "Charterparty price" referred to the agreed rate for goods or services as set out in the contractual terms governing the ship's voyage. "Steel Frigate" referred to a specific Company vessel, from which funds had been improperly taken. "Outward-bound ships" referred to vessels travelling from England to overseas destinations, often carrying goods and funds intended for Company operations. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the prohibition on taking money from ships reflected concern over financial irregularities and the need for stricter control of Company funds. It was probably the case that the guidance on supplying beef aimed to balance economic benefit with sustainability, ensuring that the island's resources were not depleted while maintaining good relations with ship captains.
149	138	Thirdly touching our Servants and Soldiers; and the Accounts of S^{t} Helena in General. Under this head we shall consider our Slaves, Land, Cattle and Provisions and answer those parts of your	Attention was directed to the condition of the Company's servants and soldiers, together with the general accounts of St Helena. Under this consideration, matters relating to slaves, land, cattle and provisions

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		Letters relating to this head in the Date of your three latest. We observe in yours of the 31st October 1707 that Governour Roberts dates the 8th September before and says those References sent all agree with the later and later with the particular Entries made as well, on which we can some approve if any Room hereafter. You must continue to send us quarterly an Account of your Cattle, and all store provisions, and where ship't, to consider and refer to your Vouchers, and sort those Supplies, and let you get out of your Herds, as we were ignorant how that use made of them as you propose, as your Disposal of them to our most advantage. We find great Sums of money paid for the Subsistance of so many English Blacks and our own Servants. We hope you will employ more that are Discharged, so that you take care no more are idle or employed about works of no Significancy than the Tilling of the Island allows. You did well to Punish William Martin's Black Boy for breaking open the Storehouse &c, Sentencing him to work out his Satisfaction for two years at the Tillage and Settles he is too able for furnishing those for Forts or spaces work Daily, so that he is the justest return for a general Offender shall severely Determine, which we observe in Point of Goodfey.	were included, and responses were provided to the relevant parts of the most recent letters. Reference was made to a letter dated 31 October 1707, in which Governor Roberts had referred back to an earlier date of 8 September, stating that the returns sent were consistent with later submissions and with the particular entries recorded. It was indicated that this correspondence could be accepted, provided that future consistency was maintained. It was directed that quarterly accounts should continue to be sent detailing cattle and all provisions held in store, together with information on shipments, so that these might be examined against supporting vouchers. It was expected that proper management of herds would be exercised, as uncertainty had been expressed regarding how they were being used and whether they were disposed of to the Company's best advantage. Concern was expressed at the large sums expended on the subsistence of English personnel, slaves and Company servants. It was expected that those discharged from service should be more usefully employed, and that care should be taken to ensure that no persons remained idle or engaged in work of little importance beyond what was necessary for the cultivation of the island. Approval was given to the punishment inflicted upon William Martin's slave boy for breaking open the storehouse, it having been ordered that he should labour for two years in order to make restitution. It was noted that he was physically capable of performing such labour, whether in agricultural work or in tasks connected with the forts and other works. It was stated that such punishment constituted a just response to a general offence and was consistent with proper discipline. **Interpretations** "Vouchers" referred to supporting documents or records used to verify accounts and transactions, ensuring accuracy in financial reporting. "Tillage" referred to agricultural labour involving the cultivation of land, a key activity for sustaining the island's provisions. "Subsistence" referred to the provision of food, lodging and basic necessities for those maintained at the Company's expense. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the emphasis on quarterly accounting and vouchers reflected a continued effort to improve financial transparency and accountability. It was probably the case that concern over idle labour indicated pressure to maximise productivity on the island, where resources and manpower were limited.
150	139	Abroad Frigatts ...Employ as at the best of yours; but it seems to us absolutely Necessary that they select such of your Custom Room or Magazines and once they have a severe and lasting Corporal Punishment inflicted before that might sufficiently deter others, of which we give out the particulars Determined. The Account given in the 15th Paragraph of your aforenamed Letter is very perplexing to us, nor are we satisfied with the managing of any of the Transactions which are referred to the Commission of the honourable Court of Letters. Contributions thereon, and other publick Registers of the Vessl & to be used distinctly and stamped by Publick	It was directed that discipline should be maintained among those employed, and that, where offences occurred, severe and lasting corporal punishment should be inflicted in order to deter others. It was suggested that such punishment should be applied in a manner that would serve as a clear example, particularly in relation to offences committed in storehouses or magazines. It was stated that the account provided in the fifteenth paragraph of the earlier letter was confusing, and that no satisfaction had been obtained regarding the management of the transactions referred to in connection with the Commission of the Honourable Court of Letters. It was directed that all contributions and records relating to vessels should be properly maintained in distinct public registers, formally recorded and authenticated, and that no deficiencies should be permitted in their use or upkeep. It was noted that the paragraph in question appeared to relate particularly to the conduct of Governor Poirier, although the concern

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		Hand & Not in any of them be us'd wanting. That paragraph by the Intent of the Warrant points particularly at Governour Poirier, but we must not be concerned as your Impressions in your Inquiries have come about, who has the Custody of these Books and Papers, on which we can very justifiably and let us know it with your opinion upon it for the future, and say how the officers maintain all the Registers. Let it be made a Consultation Book and kept shall always be put in movable House, that every one of our Council may have Keys thereto. That all Letters sent by us be fairly Enter'd in a Book to that purpose, and intirely Examined, to be preserved therein in case of any Miscarriage of the Originals, and that the Originals are carefully kept, and if not to peruse them, any of the Council, may so have the Interest in the Originals. In each enter the Event his Clerk to receive the event back and lodge it in the proper Repository.	extended more broadly to the handling of records and inquiries. Information was required as to who held custody of these books and papers, together with an opinion on their management and an explanation of how officers maintained the registers. It was ordered that a consultation book should be established and securely kept in a fixed location, accessible to all members of the Council, each of whom was to hold a key. It was further directed that all letters received from the Company should be carefully entered into a dedicated book, thoroughly examined, and preserved to guard against the loss of originals. The original documents were also to be securely retained, and made available for inspection by any member of the Council as required. Each item was to be properly recorded, returned to the clerk after review, and stored in the appropriate repository. **Interpretations** "Magazines" referred to storage facilities for goods, provisions or military supplies, requiring strict control and security. "Consultation book" referred to an official record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council during formal meetings. "Commission of the Honourable Court of Letters" referred to a body or authority responsible for overseeing correspondence and administrative records within the Company's governance structure. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the emphasis on corporal punishment reflected a belief in strict discipline as a means of maintaining order within a small and controlled settlement. It was probably the case that the concern over record-keeping indicated previous deficiencies or irregularities, prompting stricter requirements to ensure accountability and proper governance.
151	140	That all Leases, Wills, Surveys or Alienation of Land Grants of Land, Consultations and all other Publick Writings or Instruments be fairly enter'd, Each of them in a Parchment bound Register for that purpose, in Three Books carefully prepared, one bound of the Originals as we are to be lodg'd with you to date mayfully by a particular place, so that the Originals belong the Honour Company to have recourse on all just occasions. That you enter in a Book apart where your orders took passage, are Dispatch'd and in the Charterparty to the Merchants for their company, of which as we hear only the Orders exacted also, what his Debt of fourteen pounds, eight Shillings & Eight pence is paid. The Advice of all Bills of Exchange drawn payable to us or by us must be continued as we formerly Directed. We Observe the Hospitalls is finished, and crave every Commissioner in the Island a Concern, and that you had trouble in Supplying some through Mortality of their pay to accommodate them in Purchasing another Table, but left it to Consideration, in which we cannot give certain answer until we do take what you think is right, and advise us therewith with the Reason that we may confirm or alter it. We have paid Mr. Watchorne's Attorney to Mr. Turnbull on	It was directed that all leases, wills, surveys, alienations and grants of land, together with consultations and all other public writings or instruments, should be properly entered into parchment-bound registers prepared for that purpose. Three such books were to be maintained with care, including one containing the original documents, which were to be securely lodged and preserved so that the Honourable Company might have recourse to them on all proper occasions. It was further directed that a separate book should be kept recording the dispatch of orders and their transmission, including entries relating to charterparties made with merchants. It was also required that financial matters be clearly recorded, including the settlement of a debt amounting to fourteen pounds, eight shillings and eight pence. It was reiterated that advice of all bills of exchange, whether drawn by or payable to the Company, must continue to be provided in accordance with earlier instructions. It was noted that the hospital had been completed, and that all commissioners on the island had an interest in it. Difficulty had been experienced in maintaining staff due to mortality and the need to provide for their replacement, including the provision of additional equipment such as a table. The matter had been left for consideration, and it was stated that no final determination could be made until further advice was received, together with the reasons for any proposed course of action. It was reported that a payment of fifty pounds had been made to Mr Turnbull, acting as attorney for Mr Watchorne, in accordance with his request. It was further directed that, so long as Mr Watchorne continued to perform his duties satisfactorily, he should

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		our Enquiry the fifty pounds as he desired, and whilst he does continue in performance of his function as we hope he always - shall do, You allow him the one Eighth part in the Agreement with him Conditional as well for an Encouragement as a Custom. The...	be allowed one-eighth part in accordance with his agreement, this being intended both as encouragement and as established practice. **Interpretations** "Alienation of land" referred to the legal transfer of property ownership, often requiring formal documentation and registration. "Parchment-bound register" referred to a durable official record book, used for preserving important legal and administrative documents. "Bills of exchange" referred to financial instruments used in trade, allowing money to be transferred between parties over distance without the physical movement of coin. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the requirement for multiple registered copies of documents reflected concern over the security and preservation of legal records in a remote colony. It was probably the case that the attention given to financial records and payments indicated ongoing efforts to maintain strict accountability in Company finances.
152	141	The Allowance you have sent being lost, there is no entry for out to pass the old due as 29 in Jackson & Mr. Drapers, nor can we redeem with such Contracts for carrying away our Return for the Freight. The Indian Stores bespake in the Treasury which Governour Roberts took along with her Contents stated be by him, Your said Directions in it, And therefore you must make a full Inquiry, whether she had any Order given in writing, or a fair process in writing of it. We have revised the Account of Garrison and Fortification Charges. During this Year We cannot supply you with Blacks from Madagascar, and we hope you will sparingly furnish all the Fortifications with them who will be most of them. Governour Roberts warranty to Mr. Wingate when he paid him is far from just without the power or Account in his particular Letter. We therefore can Consider it as the Deceit of the Council and whose Management Savours the Degree of a frequent breach over ourselves. We send you a Return We have given Directions at large about our Receiving our Servants to other stations which we in Direction, the same year's Entry to be taken Notice of here, in answer the Letters as before &c, because we find not as before your not be found in depositions, that Whatever Orders we have, formerly it is now - shall be listed upon as so many standing Directions. Fownthly	It was stated that an allowance previously sent had been lost, and that, as a consequence, no entry had been made to clear earlier dues, including those recorded as twenty-nine in relation to Jackson and Mr Draper. It was further indicated that, in the absence of proper records, such accounts could not be settled through contracts relating to freight on returning ships. Reference was made to Indian stores that had been entered in the treasury and taken by Governor Roberts, together with their contents as stated by him. It was directed that a full inquiry should be made to determine whether any written order or proper authority had been given for this action, or whether any formal process had been followed. It was noted that the accounts of garrison and fortification charges had been reviewed. It was further stated that, during the present year, no additional slaves could be supplied from Madagascar, and it was therefore expected that those already on the island should be used sparingly in the work of the fortifications. Objection was raised to a warrant issued by Governor Roberts in favour of Mr Wingate, it being considered unjustified in the absence of proper authority or explanation in his correspondence. It was stated that such conduct might be regarded as a form of mismanagement by the Council and as indicative of repeated breaches of proper procedure. It was further stated that instructions had been issued concerning the reassignment of Company servants to other stations, and that these were to be carefully observed. It was noted that earlier directions had not always been properly recorded or followed, and it was therefore emphasised that all such orders, whether previously issued or newly given, were to be regarded as standing instructions and entered accordingly in the records. **Interpretations** "Allowance" referred to funds or provisions allocated for specific purposes, requiring proper accounting and documentation. "Treasury" referred to the place where Company funds and valuable goods were stored and recorded. "Warrant" referred to a formal authorisation for payment or action, which required proper justification and documentation. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the insistence on written authority reflected concern over unauthorised use of Company resources.

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			It was probably the case that the limitation on supplying slaves from Madagascar placed additional pressure on existing labour resources, necessitating more careful allocation of work.
153	142	Fourthly touching our Fortifications Buildings and Garrison Stores. We observe that our Governour Captain Roberts has allowed us the best and most distinct plans; and that there was above 40 Carriages & not that the same being done more that were expected in the year. He said that there has been a large addition made without being in least suspected the ships Crates & equal, He cannot so distinctly Convince, but with the whole Number and the force of them, it shall not be effected till your watch Captains landing in a letter from [sic] related desired us, our leave to Dispute what was to such a Present, we say the Battery at Banks is very high and therefore not capable of being prejudicial to any ship, but shall either feghting or Anchor of such place. He says the sum of Guns at Chaplain appears to him too long until there were more than to Defend & supply the same here, And send some of them out too remote from. He adds that the Sum of Guns at the Lot or Chaplain Galley are sufficient to Secure as many of the Company's Ships as can conveniently Anchor there, if they are well Placed and staked into the shore as they ought. That He will be placing them well first Anchoring in every direction & in good concert not be omitted. That they may be laid in proper or on any station by slipping their yf Anchors, their inner Anchors away or lye on thence they may immediately by their fasts from the shore pierce close into the place appointed every ship, on and if one may...	Attention was directed to the condition of the fortifications, buildings and garrison stores. It was observed that Governor Captain Roberts had provided plans that were considered clear and detailed, and that more than forty gun carriages had been prepared, exceeding what had been expected for that year. It was also noted that additional works had been undertaken, although these had not been fully explained or clearly demonstrated in relation to the total number and strength of the defences. It was indicated that further clarification would be required, particularly through correspondence from captains visiting the island, in order to assess the effectiveness of these works. Reference was made to the battery at Banks, which was described as being situated at a considerable height, such that it was not capable of causing harm to ships directly, whether in combat or at anchor in that position. It was also stated that the number of guns placed at Chapel appeared excessive for the purpose of defence and supply, and that some of them had been positioned too far from where they were needed. It was further observed that the number of guns at the Lot or Chapel Gully was sufficient to secure as many Company ships as could conveniently anchor there, provided that they were properly positioned and secured. It was recommended that the guns should be carefully arranged and coordinated, ensuring that ships could be anchored effectively in all directions and brought into proper alignment with the defences. It was suggested that, by adjusting anchors and securing ships appropriately to the shore, they could be brought quickly into position to provide effective coverage of the designated area. The remainder of this passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Gun carriages" referred to the wheeled wooden frames used to support and manoeuvre artillery pieces. "Battery at Banks" referred to a fortified position equipped with artillery located at a place known as Banks, likely overlooking an anchorage. "Chapel Gully" referred to a geographical feature, probably a valley or inlet, used as a reference point for positioning defensive works and anchorage. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the concern over the placement and number of guns reflected a focus on improving the practical effectiveness of the island's defences rather than merely increasing their quantity. It was probably the case that the emphasis on coordinating ships with shore defences indicated a defensive strategy in which anchored vessels were integrated into the overall protection of the harbour.
154	143	...part of the Fort Guns, the Guns of the Line, and also be able to do service with their own Guns, and if there were Fixing of Guns let into the proper Places of the Rocks, it must be before the Cable works, so as to be every commandous for the lower Rocks, they are remote part as not full out Convenient for that purpose especially if those stood sufficient to any Number of Shipping. We saw Governour Roberts Proposal to make a Fort cast down the Water at Munden's Point, which he thinks is absolutely necessary because such a Fort would not only Command and	The disposition and employment of the fort guns were considered, including those belonging to ships of the line, which were expected to be able to serve in conjunction with the island's defences by using their own artillery. It was directed that, where guns were to be fixed into the rocks, this should be done before the laying of cables, so that they might command the lower rocks effectively. It was observed that some of these positions were too remote to be fully convenient for such purposes, particularly if they were intended to secure a considerable number of ships, and that their placement did not appear sufficient for the intended defence. Reference was made to Governor Roberts's proposal to construct a fort at Munden's Point, which he considered absolutely necessary. It was explained

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		Defend the Boats that hauled into the Shore, but will also cover and Defend the outward Exports and no Ship can fetch into the Road of Chapel Valley but - must come within half Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there. And if that was added a Battery of four or six Guns of which Calibering of a good length makes one, must even either beat Pistol Shot of Munden's Point which will be practicable when a Fort is there...	that such a fort would command and defend the boats hauling ashore, as well as cover and protect outward-bound goods. It was further stated that no ship could enter the road of Chapel Valley without passing within half pistol-shot of Munden's Point, making the position highly advantageous for defence if fortified. It was repeatedly emphasised that, with a fort established there, ships would be compelled to come within this close range. It was also proposed that, in addition to the fort, a battery of four or six guns should be erected at that point. These guns were to be of sufficient calibre and length to be effective at that range. It was repeatedly indicated that such a battery would ensure that any ship approaching would be brought within effective shot, and that the position would thereby be strengthened. The repeated references in the original text to this same point have been preserved in substance, reflecting the emphasis placed upon it in the manuscript. **Interpretations** "Half pistol-shot" referred to an extremely short distance, indicating that ships would be forced into very close range of defensive fire. "Calibre of a good length" referred to the size and length of artillery pieces, which determined their range and effectiveness. "Munden's Point" referred to a coastal location of strategic importance, controlling access to the anchorage at Chapel Valley. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the repeated emphasis on Munden's Point reflected its perceived critical importance in controlling entry to the island's anchorage. It was probably the case that the concern over the placement of guns indicated that, despite significant effort, the existing defensive arrangements were still considered incomplete or improperly executed.

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155	144	under the Fort, and care ſhould be taken to prevent any Miſchief from thence. We Conclude that he delivers by this time the Fort on Munden Point up, if they can get it without bloodſhed. We hint to you theſe things in ye[e] fear, they may be of guidance to you, if you turn them to good account in your preſent and larger in- quiſitions into all matters there relating to the ſafety & intereſt of ye[e] Engliſh Nation there, and more eſpecially for ſtrengthning said Fort and Settlement, that all our Ships there may be protected from the Attempts of an Enemy, and that the Island may be ſecure from their Inſults. We leave it therefore to our Roberts Prudence to direct the trying of the great Guns condition, ſince as he says you will be ſupplied by the Bowden. We ſhall add no further at preſent, but take leave. Your Loving Friends London the 11[th] January 1709. Orders and Inſtructions given by the the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies. To Capt. Benjamin Boucher Governor of our Island of St Helena, to Mr. George Hutchinson second of Council there, Mr. John Rocke third, Mr. Daniel Griffith fourth and Mr. Matthew Bazett fifth and laſt of the said Council.	It was observed that positions beneath the fort required attention, and that care should be taken to prevent any danger or damage arising from that quarter. It was concluded that the fort at Munden's Point would by this time have been taken or secured, if it could be done without bloodshed. These observations were offered as guidance, to be applied in the course of broader inquiries into all matters affecting the safety and interests of the English nation on the island. Particular emphasis was placed upon strengthening the fort and the settlement, so that all Company ships calling there might be protected from enemy attack, and that the island itself might be secured against any hostile attempts. Responsibility was left to the prudence of Governor Roberts to examine the condition of the great guns, especially in view of the expectation that further supplies would be received by the ship *Bowden*. It was stated that no further remarks would be made at that time, and the letter concluded with an expression of goodwill, dated 11 January 1709. It was further recorded that formal orders and instructions had been issued by the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, addressed to Captain Benjamin Boucher as Governor of St Helena, together with Mr George Hutchinson as second of Council, Mr John Rocke as third, Mr Daniel Griffith as fourth, and Mr Matthew Bazett as fifth and last member of the Council. **Interpretations** "Munden's Point" referred to a strategically important coastal position controlling access to the anchorage and therefore central to the island's defence. "Great guns" referred to the principal artillery pieces mounted for defence, typically large-calibre cannon forming the backbone of fortifications. "Settlement" referred to the organised colony on St Helena, including its population, infrastructure and administrative structure. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the emphasis on avoiding bloodshed reflected a preference for securing defensive positions without provoking unnecessary conflict. It was probably the case that the detailed naming of Council members in the concluding orders indicated a formal transition or reaffirmation of authority within the island's administration.
156	145	We the said Court of Directors having thought fitt to appoint & Establish the Government and Council of St. Helena as abovementioned and having given our sd Governor a Commiſsion under our Seal which he will be publiſhed as usual on his arrival at the Island, placing trust & Confidence in your Fidelity, Zeal and Conduct, & Intuition for performing the several duties committed to your care - in General, on behalf of us, and concern yourselves in particular - we proceed to tell you what we expect from you in the management of our affairs with which you are entrusted. On your arrival at St. Helena and taking upon you the Government & each of your particular and distinct Charges, ye[e] Utmost that you peruse the Letters & Instructions sent by the late & former Governors by the Court of Managers or the Court of Directors and cause an Extract to be taken thereof in Abstract & note the Num[r]	The Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies declared that they had appointed and established the Governor and Council of St Helena as previously named, and that a commission under their seal had been granted to the Governor, to be publicly proclaimed upon his arrival in the customary manner. Trust and confidence were placed in their fidelity, zeal, conduct and judgement in performing the duties entrusted to them, both in general service of the Company and in their respective offices. Upon arrival at St Helena and assumption of their several responsibilities, careful examination was required of all letters and instructions issued by former Governors, as well as those sent by the Court of Managers or the Court of Directors. Extracts were to be prepared in abstract form, with the number and contents of each distinct letter and of each separate paragraph recorded. These extracts were to be entered into the appropriate books according to their subject, following the established arrangement, beginning with the most material and recent dates. By this method, a clear view would be obtained of the succession of orders and any alterations made over time, thereby guiding the proper conduct of the Company's affairs.

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		& Contents of every distinct letter and Distinct Paragraphs in each of your care, and put them each into the proper Book which they belong according to the Specimen form in which they were sent, beginning just with the Dates of the more material & last where one view the Orders from time to time & Alterations will thereby be easily able to know how you must transact our affairs. If such Compilation appear defective, if any others of them have been neglected or mislaid, they are to go no longer sleeping, but the Defects & alterations will require to be Observed. These Orders you must from time to time Observe & take from them as the Law of ye^{e} Place, which whilst upkept &	Where any such compilation appeared incomplete, or where letters had been neglected or mislaid, immediate correction was required. All defects and alterations were to be carefully observed and properly recorded so that no part of the instructions remained unaccounted for. Continual observance of these orders was required, and they were to be treated as the governing rule of the island, serving as its effective law so long as they remained in force. **Interpretations** "Commission under our Seal" referred to a formally authorised document bearing the Company's official seal, which conferred legal authority upon the Governor. "Abstract" referred to a structured summary of documents, allowing complex correspondence to be organised and easily consulted. "Court of Managers" referred to a governing body within the Company responsible for administrative oversight, distinct from but related to the Court of Directors. **Speculations** The requirement to organise past correspondence into structured abstracts was perhaps intended to resolve confusion arising from accumulated and scattered instructions. The insistence that such compiled orders should function as the law of the island was probably designed to ensure consistency in governance despite changes in personnel or circumstances.
157	146	events there must daily beform unto it being a proper badge used in all Scotch Plantations of Foreign Plantations to give Law to the known endeavour dwelling & being within such Colony or Plantation and as you are Called by an order under our Seal to the several of you name, you must each look upon it as a duly assign'd Government on you in the trust reposed by us and the Laws - If at any time hereafter the Court of Directors of the Company shall Establish any new Laws or Rules, they also must be rated to their beforewritten ends in the manner aforesaid. The aforesaid Laws generally was in the late of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, who were the old Proprietors of the Island & who have now conveyed their right to the said Island and all things relating to the same of the Present Company is the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. You must give Mention in name or Description of the Company in all - matters as doth the Laws where the old Company's name was before inserted. If any of the Orders seem only of a temporary Nature only the Change or alteration of Affairs or Circumstances are in your opinion no longer rendring. We give you leave to suspend the - putting them in Execution, till you hear from us or have our further Directions, that we may be able to pronounce therein	It was stated that the established orders and laws were to be observed continually in daily practice, serving as the governing rule of the settlement, in the same manner as was customary in other foreign plantations, where such authority provided the framework for regulating those residing within the colony. Each person named under the Company's commission was to regard their office as a duty formally entrusted to them, carrying responsibility for governance in accordance with these laws. Provision was made that, if the Court of Directors should at any time establish new laws or rules, these were likewise to be entered, recorded and observed in the same manner as those already issued, so that they might form part of the continuing body of governance. Reference was made to the earlier authority under which the island had been governed, namely the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, who had been the former proprietors. It was stated that their rights had since been transferred to the present United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. In consequence, it was directed that, in all official matters, the name or designation of the present Company should be used in place of that of the former Company, wherever it had previously appeared in laws or records. Allowance was made for cases in which certain orders might be considered temporary in nature, or rendered unnecessary by changes in circumstances. In such instances, permission was granted to suspend their execution, but only until further instruction was received. A full account was to be provided explaining the reasons for such suspension, including the considerations that led to the judgement that the order was no longer useful, and any potential harm that might arise from its continued enforcement. **Interpretations** "Foreign plantations" referred to overseas colonies administered by English authorities, where established rules functioned as the primary legal framework. "Commission under our Seal" referred to the formal document granting authority and office, binding the

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		duely & fitly, as you will give us an Account of the Vision which led you to it, what is the reason why you think them no longer of use, and you apprehend evil come in the continuing in of force.	holder to act within the Company's legal and administrative structure. "Proprietors" referred to those who held legal ownership and governing rights over the island prior to its transfer to the United Company. **Speculations** It was perhaps intended that the emphasis on continuity of law between the old and new Company reflected a desire to maintain stability despite institutional change. It was probably the case that allowing temporary suspension of certain orders acknowledged the practical realities of colonial administration, where strict adherence to outdated rules might be harmful or impractical.
158	147	That all people who are to be under the Obligation of & own Law may know what they are, and become thereby plainerly governable, the your late ones they be Collected in due manner; We think proper to have Publick Notice given thereof at times Certain once a fortnight or once at furtheft every 4 years Quarterly in the Church after divine Service & in the most proper manner the Gov. & Councill after every quarter day in the List of Sentences to be read publickly after Divine Service in the Church after Dinner Service is over & before the Sermon begins. The like manner all old matters of weight and respect there Merrill be Published on some day Certain & at quarter'd seſsions as you shall judge fitt giving publick and timely Notice of it. Before we come to Answer the Letters received from St. Helena and our General Letters by the Nassau's Neglect, we think it proper to give you a summary Account of what we Expect from you from time to time in the full practice of the Authority and trust we commit unto you. As to our shipping sent upon our business, that you give them the utmost quick Dispatch from you to their Company & out in India's remembering we pay so much Tonnage for their Detention in St Helena, & also great is the same day there arrives an inward ship, that you instantly on her Dispatches with they have their Dispatches, the Captain will say they were detained by you, therefore we must observe and put in our orders & Directions under yr late understand each ship's business is in days more & resolved, and the Captains are so Diligently spirited against them & threaten in frequently.	It was directed that all persons subject to the laws should be made fully aware of them, so that they might better understand their obligations and be more effectively governed. For this purpose, the laws were to be properly collected and publicly proclaimed at fixed intervals. Notice was to be given regularly, either once every fortnight or at least quarterly, and these proclamations were to take place in the church after divine service. The Governor and Council were to ensure that, after each quarter day, a list of sentences was publicly read in the same setting, following the conclusion of the service and before the sermon. In like manner, all matters of importance and public concern were to be proclaimed on appointed days, including at quarter sessions, with due and timely notice given beforehand. Before addressing the letters received from St Helena, and those contained in the general correspondence sent by the *Nassau*, it was stated that a summary account would be provided outlining what was expected in the regular exercise of the authority entrusted to the Governor and Council. In relation to ships sent on the Company's business, it was required that they should be given the utmost expedition in their dispatch, both from St Helena and onward to India. It was emphasised that the Company incurred expense through the tonnage charged for any delay while ships remained at the island. It was therefore directed that, upon the arrival of inward-bound ships, their dispatch should be completed without delay, and that no unnecessary detention should occur. It was noted that captains might otherwise attribute delays to the actions of the Governor and Council, and that complaints had been made in such cases. It was therefore required that clear procedures be followed, ensuring that each ship's business was completed promptly and efficiently, so that no cause for grievance or dispute might arise. **Interpretations** "Quarter sessions" referred to periodic local judicial or administrative meetings at which public matters and legal cases were addressed. "Divine service" referred to formal religious worship, which served as a central occasion for public announcements in colonial society. "Tonnage" referred to the cost associated with a ship's capacity or delay, often charged when vessels were held beyond their agreed time. **Speculations** The requirement for frequent public reading of laws was perhaps intended to reinforce authority and ensure compliance in a dispersed colonial population. The emphasis on rapid dispatch of ships was probably driven by the financial burden of delays, as well as the importance of maintaining efficient communication and trade routes.
159	148	professing wherein their Dilatoriness or unwillingness consisted in	Care was required to be taken in identifying any delay or unwillingness in the dispatch of ships, with a

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		each ship and what occasions, so that no one else you think unworthy to fix the blame upon the common does on the Ships to prevent our paying Demurage. You must take care to have your Dispatches ready against the very hour they are wont to sail, if they come to the Island, & they must not stay longer for filling or Unloading than ships the same size & lading by it, and their must be constantly known. Such of our Ships as shall touch at St. Helena homeward bound, orders to discharge there (for it is a place much to also hasten'd) sailing for England according to the forward sailings of the late Company, the Traders in the Ships subjected to strictest passages until you have Present Orders from us, which the same Continue, also all Ships are under the directions of particular contracts, which we call the Committees of Secrecy in their several directions. As to goods sent from England towards St. Helena - you the whole council must take care that the Storekeeper who has Charge of them do follow your order in the Disposal of them - with the greatest care & take a list of each parcel, with the Account of its quantity, of the mark of the goods on what [Degree] and what prices and what contents - you must take care to prevent their being embezled or damaged - spoilt while lying in the ware house and by that Act have time to inspect them. As to the Gunners Stores be must Account to you Monthly or oftner for those goods under his Charge, shewn.	clear account to be given of the causes affecting each vessel, so that responsibility might be properly assigned and not attributed generally to the ships themselves, thereby avoiding unnecessary charges of demurrage. It was directed that all dispatches should be prepared in readiness for the exact time of sailing, and that ships should not be detained for loading or unloading beyond the time ordinarily required for vessels of similar size and cargo. A constant record of such matters was to be maintained. Ships touching at St Helena on their homeward voyage were to be treated with particular expedition, so that their departure for England might be hastened in accordance with established practice. Traders aboard such ships were to remain under strict regulation unless specific orders were received to the contrary. It was also noted that all ships operated under particular contractual directions, issued by the Committee of Secrecy, which governed their conduct. With regard to goods sent from England to St Helena, responsibility was placed upon the whole Council to ensure that the storekeeper followed their directions in disposing of them. Detailed lists were to be made of every parcel, including the quantity, identifying marks, condition, prices and contents. Vigilance was required to prevent any embezzlement, damage or spoilage while the goods remained in store, and sufficient time was to be taken to inspect them properly. In respect of the gunner's stores, it was required that regular accounts be rendered to the Council, at least monthly or more frequently if necessary, detailing all goods held under his charge and their condition. **Interpretations** "Demurrage" referred to a charge payable for the detention of a ship beyond the agreed time for loading or unloading. "Committee of Secrecy" referred to a body within the Company responsible for issuing confidential or specialised instructions relating to shipping and trade. "Embezzled" in this context referred to the misappropriation or theft of goods entrusted to Company servants. **Speculations** The insistence on detailed accountability for delays was perhaps intended to protect the Company from financial losses arising from unjustified demurrage claims. The emphasis on strict control over goods and stores was probably a response to prior instances of mismanagement or loss within the island's administration.
160	149	appointed and what remains to follow your Orders as to the disposal of them, wherein no doubt but you will take care to prevent all Superfluity. As to our Servants and Labour and Slaves, You must take the care they each have their Several Employments and places behave themselves with Fidelity and Diligency as if they are all under your Controul, & use them to work upon such Employments as be invented for the decent performance of their respective Business and that none of them be Idle. We leave to your Discretion in what we do not think fit to appoint any Person to a particular or single Business. Our General Accounts must be sent Yearly and require the Summer Ships usually return from India to Helena and since of	It was directed that all appointed persons should act in accordance with orders concerning the disposal of goods, and that care should be taken to prevent any unnecessary excess or waste in their handling. Responsibility was placed upon the Governor and Council to ensure that all servants, labourers and slaves were assigned to proper employments, and that each performed their duties with fidelity and diligence under their supervision. It was required that all such persons be usefully employed in tasks suited to the proper execution of their respective roles, and that none should remain idle. Discretion was allowed in matters where no specific appointment or assignment had been prescribed, so that the Governor and Council might determine the most appropriate allocation of duties according to circumstances. It was required that general accounts be prepared and transmitted annually, timed to coincide with the return of the summer ships from India to St Helena, which usually occurred about the month of May. These accounts were to be balanced to 25 March each year, in

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		Have about the Month of May let them be balanced to the 25th of March yearly, this Direction we become under Obligatory by a By- Law lately made, of which we do enjoy that Large penalty of Omission or the party offending. The finishing and preserving the Fortification & necessary Buildings is another Article that must be also regarded, and must rest with Government of the Island and upkeep of the fortification and placing care the same be duly put in Execution, which we hopefully recommend, Greater promise, Use of it kinds circumstances & respects. We the Orders last year by the Nassau signed that you have all the Letters and Orders to the Government & Council of Helena range under the several heads and recorded and that a new thing.	accordance with a recently established by-law, and failure to comply with this requirement was stated to incur a significant penalty upon those responsible. Attention was again directed to the completion and maintenance of the fortifications and necessary buildings, which were to remain under the oversight of the island's government. It was expected that proper care would be taken to ensure that these works were carried out and preserved effectively, as circumstances and necessity required. Reference was made to earlier orders sent by the *Nassau*, by which it had been directed that all letters and instructions relating to the government and Council of St Helena should be arranged under distinct headings and recorded accordingly, forming a systematic and organised body of records. **Interpretations** "Balanced to 25 March" referred to the practice of closing financial accounts at the end of the legal year, which in this period commonly ended on that date. "By-law" referred to an internal regulation established by the Company, binding upon its officers and servants. "Disposition of goods" referred to the management, allocation or sale of Company property under official supervision. **Speculations** The insistence on annual accounting aligned to 25 March was perhaps intended to standardise financial reporting across the Company's operations. The repeated emphasis on labour discipline was probably a response to ongoing concerns about inefficiency and underutilisation of manpower on the island.
161	150	being proper for your Understanding, but wherein the papers stand, do have books enclosed in larger Letters than the rest of the writing, to range on the whole together. On one side of that letter give a Summary of what the Subject you comply with at all times & what was farther the same Method in giving you an Answer to the Letter of the 16th January paying orders of the Island sent in the packet, the first following after the return to Windsor in the 1st of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight, then to the Inspection - and the producing and of goods Commodities on those, and we expect from you an Answer in the Paragraph of that and any other future Letters, and Observance how you receive the Letters you observe from time to time write in what way they Contain any Promisses of what shall be done or ordered or Resolutions they may not be forgotten. And first Concerning Shipping sent out and returned. Since our said Letter by the Nassau's Freight it has pleased God that the Ships Deptford, Monmouth, Shaftes- bury, Doddington and Windsor parted each. Ship therein mentioned to have been arrived (at least) arrived in the River of Thames the beginning of March, the Heathcote and Kent from the Coast, the Herron and Barkham from the Bay, and the Northumberland from Bencoolen being all of the	Direction was given that the arrangement of records should be clearly understood, and that where papers were organised under distinct headings, the corresponding books should be marked in larger lettering than the rest of the writing, so that they might be easily identified and grouped together. A summary was to be entered alongside each letter, stating the subject and the manner in which it had been complied with, and the same method was to be followed in preparing responses. Particular reference was made to a letter dated 16 January, concerning orders for the island sent in a packet following the return of the *Windsor* on 1 December 1708. These matters were to be carefully examined, especially those relating to the inspection and handling of goods and commodities. It was required that answers be provided paragraph by paragraph to that letter and to all future correspondence, with clear notice taken of all instructions received. Any promises, resolutions or intended actions contained in such letters were to be recorded, so that none might be overlooked or forgotten. Attention was then directed to the subject of shipping sent out and returned. Since the earlier letter conveyed by the *Nassau's Freight*, it was reported that several ships had arrived safely. The *Deptford*, *Monmouth*, *Shaftesbury*, *Doddington* and *Windsor* were stated to have reached the River Thames at the beginning of March. The *Heathcote* and *Kent* had arrived from the Coast, while the *Herron* and *Barkham* had come from the Bay, and the *Northumberland* from Bencoolen. These vessels were described as belonging to the most recent dispatches, having arrived within the expected season, with some reference made to timing at the Cape and departures earlier in the year, including movements noted in August and September. These arrivals were regarded as favourable, contributing to recovery from previous losses and improving the condition of the Company's shipping affairs. **Interpretations** "Packet" referred to a bundle of official correspondence

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		last Dispatches, ready in the Cape time along the month the Dutch had, and you sent them to the beginning of September, and by Windsor in August, the Improvement, being the best in the Recovery from the loss and Saviours.	and documents sent together by ship. "The Coast" referred to the Coromandel Coast of India, a principal region of Company trade. "The Bay" referred to the Bay of Bengal, another major area of Company operations. **Speculations** The detailed instructions on record-keeping were perhaps intended to impose a more systematic administrative structure, reducing confusion in correspondence and accountability. The emphasis on recent ship arrivals was probably meant to reassure the island authorities after earlier losses and disruptions to Company shipping.
162	151	Wentworth from Bombay having met with the Men of War appointed to look out for her was happily arrived at Spithead in September, the Cantho & Leydon having left her on the Coast very after said Ships, for which the Commodore as since put out of their Ships, the Shaftesbury from Bombay, & the Nathaniel from Bencoolen and China, the 26th & 27th of January where they yet are, We hear nothing of the Richmond which makes us in doubt of her safety. The Ships taken up for all parts of India this Season (some were Ships, Succeed, & were supplied there) or the Bay which sail'd from England the 27th of August last, are as follows vizt. The Windsor - 200 Tōns, ordinary Tonny for Mocha who sail'd from Spithead 20th December last. The Snowdan - 100 Tōns, George Cooke for Cordon and the Coast sail'd the 1st of January. The Pelter - 300 Tōns, Charles Keene for Cordon and home sail'd the 1st of January. The Dartmouth - 400 Tōns, Thomas Beekford The Avengeable - 450 Tōns, Edward Stacey for the coast & Bay The Avondale - 500 Tōns, Robert Hurst they sail'd the 27th of Jany. The London - 150 Tōns, Joseph Upton for Mocha & India (his 2d time) The Derby - 150 Tōns, Thomas Walton for the Bay The Jane - 180 Tōns, John Austin for the Fort & Bencoolen The Sedlington - 250 Tōns, James Dine The Richmond - 250 Tōns, Francis Simes for the Fort & Bencoolen.	An account was given of further ships, noting that the *Wentworth*, sailing from Bombay, had encountered the men-of-war appointed to protect her and had safely arrived at Spithead in September. It was reported that the *Cantho* and *Leyden* had parted company with her on the Coast shortly afterwards, and that the commodore had since removed certain commanders from their ships. It was further stated that the *Shaftesbury*, from Bombay, and the *Nathaniel*, from Bencoolen and China, were reported on 26 and 27 January to be still abroad. No news had been received of the *Richmond*, giving rise to concern for her safety. A list was then provided of ships employed for voyages to various parts of India during that season, some of which had been taken up or supplied for those services, including voyages to the Bay. These ships had sailed from England beginning on 27 August of the previous year. The *Windsor*, of 200 tons burden, intended for Mocha, had sailed from Spithead on 20 December. The *Snowdan*, of 100 tons, commanded by George Cooke for Cordon and the Coast, had sailed on 1 January. The *Pelter*, of 300 tons, under Charles Keene for Cordon and homeward service, had also sailed on 1 January. The *Dartmouth*, of 400 tons, commanded by Thomas Beekford, was listed among them. The *Avengeable*, of 450 tons, under Edward Stacey for the Coast and Bay, and the *Avondale*, of 500 tons, under Robert Hurst, had both sailed on 27 January. The *London*, of 150 tons, commanded by Joseph Upton for Mocha and India, on his second voyage, was included. The *Derby*, of 150 tons, under Thomas Walton for the Bay, the *Jane*, of 180 tons, under John Austin for the Fort and Bencoolen, the *Sedlington*, of 250 tons, under James Dine, and the *Richmond*, of 250 tons, under Francis Simes for the Fort and Bencoolen, were likewise recorded. **Interpretations** "Men-of-war" referred to armed naval vessels assigned to escort and protect merchant shipping. "Mocha" referred to the Red Sea port, an important centre in the Company's trade, particularly for coffee. "The Coast" referred to the Coromandel Coast of India, while "the Bay" referred to the Bay of Bengal, both key regions in Company operations. **Speculations** The concern expressed over the *Richmond* was perhaps indicative of the risks faced by Company shipping during wartime or long-distance voyages. The detailed listing of ships and their commanders was probably intended to maintain precise oversight of the Company's maritime operations across multiple trading regions.
163	152	The Shepherd - 400 Tōns, James Peet The Mandequeen - 350 Tōns, James Slade, for Bombay The Heathcote - 400 Tōns, Joseph Watson. The Derby was drove back by a Storm, which did so Damage in her Sails outward with the other Ships, and as now at Spithead	A further list of ships was provided, including the *Shepherd* of 400 tons commanded by James Peet, the *Mandequeen* of 350 tons under James Slade for Bombay, and the *Heathcote* of 400 tons under Joseph Watson. It was reported that the *Derby* had been driven back by a storm, suffering damage to her sails while outward-bound with other ships, and was then lying at Spithead

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		waiting for a Convoy with the Jane, all the other Ships are in the Downs except the Heathcote now loading in the River. Which Number & Quantity of Tonnage upon our own two Ships and the Outfitting outward, with the rest, are in all 8200 Tōns, which together with their Bills of Lading and Charterpartys, if you will find in their Packets, We would have sent you more, if they can have taken them in. We Cannot parting Assure you, that we are to pay for each Demurrage upon their Detention, and also for all the time they are Detained with your keep, an enduring charge, so that your must read all our Orders to execute their Contents precisely, & if possible to Dispatch them in that time without occasioning their Damage by a further Demurrage in the event of Detention. We have given full Directions in that Case, even in our former Letters to you and the Council were fully explain'd as you will see in the Dartmouth their letter of the 29th January by the Heathcote back, the Demurrage of their ship made up - July 1710 by the minute of the Consultation of the 10th May 1710, but upon examining the Protest against the same Scripts, We find the Demurrage justly to be Stated for the time they deliver'd Eighteen days for his Outlanding by reason of the Balls and Winds before the Heathcote received on board the same out of our Factory.	awaiting a convoy together with the *Jane*. All other ships were stated to be in the Downs, except the *Heathcote*, which was still loading in the River. The total number and tonnage of these vessels, together with two Company ships and others fitted out for outward voyages, were stated to amount to 8200 tons. Their bills of lading and charterparties were said to be included within their respective packets. It was noted that additional goods would have been sent had the ships been able to receive them. Attention was again drawn to the expense incurred by the Company through demurrage arising from the detention of ships, as well as the continuing cost of maintaining them while delayed. It was therefore required that all orders previously issued should be strictly observed, and that every effort be made to dispatch ships within the allotted time, avoiding unnecessary delay or damage that might lead to further demurrage charges. Reference was made to earlier detailed instructions on this matter, including those contained in the letter sent by the *Dartmouth* dated 29 January and conveyed back by the *Heathcote*. It was further stated that the demurrage of a particular ship had been calculated and settled in July 1710, based on the minutes of consultation dated 10 May 1710. Upon examination of the protest relating to that case, it was found that the demurrage had been justly assessed for a period of eighteen days required for unloading, the delay having been caused by adverse conditions of surf and wind before the *Heathcote* had taken on board the goods from the Company's factory. **Interpretations** "The Downs" referred to the anchorage off the coast of Kent, commonly used by ships awaiting convoy or favourable conditions. "Demurrage" referred to the charge incurred when a ship was detained beyond the agreed time for loading or unloading. "Factory" referred to a Company trading station or depot where goods were stored and managed. **Speculations** The repeated emphasis on demurrage suggests that delays at St Helena had previously resulted in significant financial loss to the Company. The detailed recording of weather conditions affecting unloading indicates an effort to distinguish unavoidable delays from those caused by mismanagement.
164	153	to get them a Same; they shoud have Considered the Charterpartys Covenant which says that the Ship is to be allowed Demorage for all the time she is detain'd in unlading the Cargo above Ten working days, but this detention must be on the Company Account, for if the Captain either has not the Necessary Boats, or will not use them all, or does not make the best Dispatch he can at night, or lyes by without working any day or hole in Part or any part of a day or in a way of these Cases He ought not to pay Demorage nor ought we to pay for it, for it is Victualing, and putting out a Ship on the account of ye Owners and receive the Goods for their Account, or any other way Imploy him, He ought not to do so on your Account, and that is also wrong, if you must Imploy an average Man, who are Necessary, you shoud have People, because that is a less Charge than Demorage.	Consideration was directed to the terms of the charterparty, by which it was stipulated that a ship should be allowed demurrage only for the time she was detained in unloading beyond ten working days. Such detention was to be charged to the Company only where it properly arose on their account. It was specified that, if the captain failed to provide sufficient boats, neglected to employ all available means, did not proceed with the utmost dispatch including work at night, or allowed any day or part of a day to pass without proper labour, then no demurrage ought to be paid, as the delay would be attributable to his own conduct. It was further observed that victualling, fitting out or employing the ship for the owners' purposes, or for any purpose not directly required by the Company, should not be charged to the Company's account. Where labour was necessary, it was advised that suitable workers should be employed, as this would incur less expense than demurrage. Provision was made for unavoidable interruptions, such as bad weather or other accidents affecting the loading or unloading of ships. In such cases, it was required that a precise account be kept of each day during the period of detention, noting the nature of the delay, its cause, and its duration. Where any fault lay with the captain, this was to be clearly recorded and

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		And because it may happen there may be some Accedents that may attend the Ships Entry interlading as bad weather or the like, if you keep a exact Account of such days proceeding during the Ships detention, if there is any Delay or other fault on the Captain's part, and know what it was and when and how long it lasted, let that be plainly and fully reported in the letter. If the Captain Omits to make excusis of any kind, make a reply shewing the wantoness of plenty of them, but lest you commit to allow more than Ten working Days, unless it is Positively ye fault of the Captain, that the Goods were not delivered a Shore before, because we will judge here, if there is any Guilty for a further demorage when we hear from you the Facts truly & Justly stated. Revise and leave the Directions in form as stated for Simes	reported in full detail in correspondence. If the captain failed to provide adequate explanation for delays, it was directed that this omission should be expressly noted. Care was to be taken not to allow more than ten working days for unloading unless it could be clearly shown that the delay resulted directly from the captain's fault. Final judgement on any claim for additional demurrage was reserved until the facts had been fully and accurately reported. It was directed that these instructions should be reviewed and maintained in proper form for future reference, particularly in relation to Captain Simes. **Interpretations** "Charterparty" referred to the formal contract governing the employment of a ship, including terms for loading, unloading and payment. "Demurrage" referred to compensation payable for delays beyond the agreed time, provided such delay was not caused by the ship's own master or crew. "Victualling" referred to the provision of food and supplies for a ship's crew, ordinarily the responsibility of the ship's owners. **Speculations** The detailed conditions governing demurrage were perhaps intended to prevent captains from profiting through deliberate delay. The insistence on precise daily records was probably designed to ensure that disputes over responsibility for delays could be fairly resolved based on evidence.
165	154	Addressing the all Masters of Ships, not our own and others, and have your have, if either they are not have been when they arrive with out Dispatch from you and all other matters of that nature proper for our Notice. We every year appoint a Committee, as we take upon them the care of giving orders to all captains we imploy, as to all our settlements abroad to write orders for the better directing of your ships, and not to be removed hence, but to continue in for years as a standing rule in all future Transactions, for your settlement may be better governed by them, than by the sudden Orders that may be passed up if begun by the whole Court. You must put in practice the Orders We have given in relation to all the Ports, where the ships must trade, that are speaking (in your end), to prevent all many errors, perhaps occuring in matters Freight (outward or homeward). We have received in the Northumberland Packet an Account of what you suppose the Interlopers, which is an new ships pretending to come into your ports, and indeed a mistaken notion of your former orders, which must now be fixed, and not to be drawn to. All the Goods delivered out of the Northumberland were not loaded the Ship, simply, the Dieting and perhaps the Sick Men amounting to perhaps four and fifteen shillings, which they ought to put for the South Provision of the Captains Table, because we allowed but a Sum of Money, which was but small and within the number of ten pounds one shilling a week, not to be risen, unless Necessary. We had	Direction was given that all masters of ships, whether belonging to the Company or otherwise, were to be properly addressed and managed, and that a full account should be kept of their conduct, particularly where ships were not dispatched promptly upon arrival. All such matters relating to delay or irregularity were to be reported for consideration. It was stated that a committee was appointed annually to oversee the issuing of orders to all captains employed by the Company, as well as to regulate communications with overseas settlements. These orders were to remain in force for several years as standing instructions, so that governance might be conducted with consistency, rather than being subject to frequent alteration by new directions issued by the full Court. It was required that the established orders relating to ports of trade be strictly followed, particularly in matters concerning freight, both outward and homeward, so that errors and disputes might be avoided. Reference was made to information received in the *Northumberland* packet concerning supposed interlopers, described as new ships attempting to enter the island's ports under a mistaken understanding of earlier orders. It was directed that such matters be clarified and regulated, so that no ambiguity should remain. It was further noted that certain goods delivered from the *Northumberland* had not been part of the ship's cargo in the usual sense, but related instead to provisions, including the support of sick men, amounting to approximately four pounds and fifteen shillings. It was indicated that such expenses should properly be accounted as part of the captain's table or provisions, for which only a limited allowance had been authorised, stated as not exceeding ten pounds and one shilling per week unless necessity required otherwise. It was acknowledged that additional expenses might arise, and that allowances could be made where justified, including provision for the maintenance of ships over a period of time, but such matters were to be carefully regulated. **Interpretations** "Interlopers" referred to unauthorised traders or ships

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		perhaps many fees to Discharge, but of the them Government the matter is found Necessary to allow him a month for the ships into no matter what.	operating outside the Company's monopoly, often viewed as a threat to its commercial control. "Captain's table" referred to the provision of food and supplies for officers and distinguished persons aboard a ship, charged as an expense. "Freight" referred to goods transported by ship, as well as the charges associated with their carriage. **Speculations** The concern over interlopers was perhaps indicative of ongoing challenges to the Company's trading monopoly. The detailed regulation of shipboard expenses was probably intended to prevent excessive or unjustified charges being passed onto the Company.
166	155	Give an entire perusal, for your future Government, if any of our own ships shoud touch at St. Helena. Capt. Ap. Rice's stay at St. Helena fell out what we very Displeas'd. He said in the packet in an Account, and what pass'd between him & the Government and Council, He lays the blame on the Govern- ment, that he must reach Bombay, and get out another letter thie- ther. We blame him for so long stay & neglect, which it was use- less, our Goods put up, the failures were without prospect of suc- cess after such the time as ships without having a due protest against him. The Account of five very ill management contained in the packet against him & the Court at Bombay, We take Notice of, and shall give the necessary Orders to Bombay House, far. The complaint of the Captains not passing to and fro the Ganges and the Owners in the packet as mentioned in the St. Snowpacket and the Northumberland is of a grievance & peculiar Exemptions in very Convenient. It had been better to Remedy this. If the Captains of each ship, know it is our better they find their Boat and Cranes a Shore to receive your Packet, at the first known where they will be ready to Deliver it any where. Secondly concerning Goods or Stores sent from England, or Received from India: We have sent on these two ships as much as we thought most Necessary of the Indian stores from you, as they did take in Several casks and more of those had been worn.	Direction was given that all instructions were to be thoroughly reviewed and observed for future governance, particularly in cases where Company ships might call at St Helena. Displeasure was expressed at the conduct of Captain Ap. Rice during his stay at the island. In his account contained in the packet, he had attributed the delay to the actions of the Governor and Council, stating that he was required to proceed to Bombay and send further correspondence there. This explanation was not accepted, and blame was instead placed upon him for remaining so long without sufficient cause, especially as the Company's goods had already been put ashore and no reasonable prospect of further business remained. It was observed that no proper protest had been made against him at the time of his delay. Notice was taken of several instances of poor management reported in the same packet concerning both Captain Rice and the Court at Bombay, and it was stated that appropriate orders would be issued to Bombay in response. Complaint was also made regarding captains failing to pass regularly to and from the Ganges, as mentioned in the packets sent by the *Snow* and the *Northumberland*. This was described as a grievance arising from irregular practice and particular exemptions, and it was suggested that it would have been better had this been remedied earlier. It was indicated that captains should ensure that their boats and cranes were made ready ashore to receive packets, so that correspondence might be promptly delivered wherever required. Attention was then directed to goods and stores sent from England or received from India. It was stated that, by the two ships then under consideration, as much of the necessary Indian stores had been sent as could be accommodated, including several casks, and that more would have been sent had the ships been able to receive them. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Protest" referred to a formal written declaration made to record fault or delay, often used in disputes over shipping conduct. "Cranes" referred to lifting equipment used for loading and unloading goods between ships and shore. "Court at Bombay" referred to the governing authority of the Company's settlement at Bombay, responsible for regional administration. **Speculations** The criticism of Captain Rice was perhaps intended to reinforce accountability among shipmasters, particularly in relation to delays affecting Company trade. The concern over irregular communication routes between ports suggests that efficient exchange of information was considered essential to maintaining control over distant operations.

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167	156	The nature of stores sent outward by the Ward from England and the recovery from India are opposite. In the latter by the interlock it appears the their Council provided in their opinion that it were Necessary to send them One Hundred & fifty tons of Match. One Hundred Tons of Sugar that it much more brazen and have several letters of Goods but they write all as to have in plenty (they say) and the packet do not comply with such Demands. We have of late spent Orders for greater supplies to be returned from India than ever before, and have our own streams of supplies from home, yet we never before did such Demands. On the Necessary supplies of Gunners and Ordinance Stores which are required for the security of the Island take up a great deal of our tonnage in one season, and our example is not always continued for many years. We have raised the provision and of the Ship Packet in the Country longer, high to furnish you with all you want and to hope to effect it. We have wrote to the Court, Bay and Bombay Council to also give the same up to cover on Tonnick, Nagore and other several subjects of the affairs and lands of St. Helena with the Packets, wherein more of the Island and we hope to have a Capitable Account of the twenty Leagues of coast, is must not taken at one time out of the Bº chartism. Before you take care in recovery as that it is Debt to the Stores, either on the Island or sent on a great store Account, if they be well made to spend all they may and even with it, you may Justify fees as government Rockets in all other ports, that they will not be concerned what becomes of the packet.	It was observed that the nature of stores sent outward from England differed from those returned from India, the two being contrasted in both quantity and necessity. In the latter case, it was reported that the Council in India had proposed the sending of large quantities of goods, including one hundred and fifty tons of match and one hundred tons of sugar, together with various other commodities. These demands were described as excessive, especially as the letters from India stated that such goods were already in sufficient supply, and it was noted that the packets did not comply with these requests. It was further stated that, although increased orders had recently been given for supplies to be returned from India, and additional provisions were being sent from England, such extensive demands had not previously been made. Particular attention was drawn to the requirement for gunner's stores and ordnance, which were considered necessary for the security of the island, but which occupied a significant portion of available tonnage in any given season. It was emphasised that such provisioning could not be maintained at that scale over successive years. Efforts had been made to extend the provisioning of ships and to maintain supplies from England for a longer period, in the hope of meeting the island's needs more effectively. Correspondence had been sent to the Courts at the Bay and at Bombay, directing them to provide additional supplies and information relating to the island, including matters concerning its coasts and lands. It was expected that a fuller and more reliable account of the island's coastline, extending to approximately twenty leagues, would be obtained, although it was noted that such information could not be gathered all at once. Care was required to be taken in the management and recovery of stores, whether held on the island or sent on account, ensuring that they were properly accounted for and used to their best advantage. It was indicated that, where goods were well managed and properly expended, justification could be made for associated charges, in accordance with established practices in other ports, and that attention should be given to their proper disposition so that responsibility for their handling was clearly understood. **Interpretations** "Match" referred to slow-burning cord used in firearms and artillery, essential for ignition in early modern weaponry. "Ordnance stores" referred to military supplies, including weapons, ammunition and equipment necessary for defence. "Leagues" referred to a unit of distance, commonly used in maritime contexts, roughly equivalent to three miles. **Speculations** The criticism of large supply requests from India was perhaps intended to curb over-ordering and ensure that shipping capacity was used efficiently. The emphasis on coastal information suggests that improving geographical knowledge of the island was considered important for both defence and administration.
168	157	or at least will not Intertain a Descent at from an Enemy of which none are the Agents of this letter. We have Consider'd the Complaints of Captains making Grievances & Demands for their Wives, & refer you to what orders lately on that head. You will do well to advise the Seamen's wives if they Marry again, they are in a sad quotation, if they go from	It was observed that the island ought to be maintained in such a condition as would prevent or discourage any attempt by an enemy to make a descent upon it, this being understood as a necessary consequence of the measures previously described. Consideration was given to complaints made by captains concerning grievances and demands relating to their wives, and reference was made to recent orders already issued on that subject. It was directed that

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		them where they find a sure a Ship. And when you are to buy them, such Notices will have the same effect as the Court may serve by your Management & Correcting them, or any other Intolerable Actions. We have Consider'd the specimen made by the Captains as to your desire of having outwardly supply'd - you may not disobey our Order by the Ward Joseph. & because there Seccess had something of reason in them, so have put the following Clause into the Quarter part in their Ship Books now fill'd, but to prevent the like quartering, and what is the interest of the City. We have wrote to Summon an account of all those who are not sent with their Pass & offer no excuse & they shall be sent up for the want of proper and sure persons we directed here for they shall have no answer as you believe them with judgment so hard as they never deserv'd and which they shall have their Authority for ComMarsdenin any of our Servants without being confirm'd until it been in this Account. We shall send these Orders in writing up and observe to you in return, if you neglect they have our Caution to discharge at your port, we do not repeat it here, because the opportunity to the Western is a sufficient warrant to Intercept & give against the Bill of Lading again.	seamen's wives should be advised that, if they remarried, they might place themselves in a difficult situation, particularly if they lost the security previously afforded to them. It was further indicated that, where regulation or correction was required in such matters, it should be exercised with care and judgement, so as to prevent disorder or improper conduct. Reference was made to a proposal submitted by captains regarding outward supplies, and it was stated that existing orders, including those issued by the *Ward Joseph*, were not to be disobeyed. It was acknowledged that some reasoning had been offered in support of their request, and a clause had accordingly been inserted into the charterparties of their ships, as recorded in their books, in order to regulate such matters and prevent future disputes. It was further directed that an account should be taken of all persons who had not been properly sent with passes or who had failed to provide sufficient excuse, and that such cases should be reported. It was emphasised that no person should be accepted into service or granted authority without proper confirmation, and that all such matters should be subject to careful examination and record. It was stated that these orders would be transmitted in writing, and that, in the event of neglect, authority existed to discharge ships at the port if necessary. It was noted that this need not be repeated, as existing instructions were considered sufficient to justify such action, including the power to intercept and act upon bills of lading where required. **Interpretations** "Descent" referred to a military landing or invasion attempt by an enemy force. "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing a ship's voyage and obligations. "Passes" referred to official permissions or documents allowing individuals to travel or be transported under Company authority. **Speculations** The attention given to the conduct of seamen's wives suggests that social order within the settlement was considered important to overall stability. The insertion of new clauses into charterparties was probably intended to resolve recurring disputes between captains and the island authorities.
169	158	sign, and your Covenants in Charterparty. So far as this Concerns you, do you observe it in the Damages of our Letter by the Ward Joseph. We limited the quantity of Goods you might take in outward in a year by several Ships. If you send them home in number, if they can be nothing necessarily, but by reason of ships not touching all the ports at one's terminus. You shall find a greater pressing, if absolutely every of our Ships have Outward or Extra Damages, as will Cloth Ordinancy, or such like Goods, you may take in at Batts or even the like to Clothing people in distress, if you might also carry in Drafts, if you have an absolute Necessity for the Preservation of the Ship, or the Inhabitants of the Island etc. Till the return of the Ships who carry this Order, make use of our several Directions by the Ward or any Captain deli- vering several others. On these take up the proper just accounting of our several Stores or the Supplies you	Reference was made to the obligations contained in charterparties, and it was directed that these should be observed in accordance with earlier instructions, particularly those conveyed by the *Ward Joseph*, including those relating to damages. Limits had been set on the quantity of goods that might be taken outward in a year across several ships, and it was required that these limits be followed. It was acknowledged that, where ships did not touch at all ports within a single voyage, some difficulty might arise, and pressure might be created to take in additional goods. However, it was emphasised that, if every ship were to take outward or extra goods beyond what was necessary, this would lead to excessive burden and disorder. Allowance was made that certain goods, such as clothing, ordnance or similar articles, might be taken on board in particular cases, including where people were in distress or where there was an absolute necessity for the preservation of the ship or the inhabitants of the island. In such circumstances, drafts might also be carried where required. These exceptions were to be applied cautiously and only where genuine need existed. Until the return of ships carrying these updated orders, reliance was to be placed upon the existing directions already given by the *Ward* or by other captains. Proper and accurate accounts were to be kept of all stores and supplies taken for repairs or freighted

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		freight for repair, but know it is not with every Ship. The direction in our Consideration that to help you for putting the Goods for the service of the King's Subjects at several ports, if this be discovered, perhaps Demurrage or Charges are till full into the same. Since the residence and fault of their former Cost, it appears, as necessary that a Moderate supply, in ordinary they are to be reduced, and we have laid an absolute order for all the things to be taken from England, but those from India to be reduced in sort, and easily received before with Stores we must last, which...	for use, and it was noted that such arrangements did not apply uniformly to every ship. Attention was drawn to the risk that, if goods were taken or handled improperly at various ports, additional charges such as demurrage might arise. It was therefore directed that only moderate and necessary supplies should be taken in ordinary circumstances. It was further stated that an absolute order had been issued that goods taken from England were to be strictly regulated, while those obtained from India were to be reduced in quantity and more carefully selected, so that existing stores might be preserved and made to last as long as possible. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing the terms of a ship's voyage, including cargo and obligations. "Drafts" referred to written orders for payment used in commercial transactions in place of cash. "Ordnance" referred to military equipment, especially artillery and associated supplies. **Speculations** The repeated emphasis on limiting outward goods suggests concern that ships were being overloaded or misused for private or unnecessary cargo. The stress on moderation and necessity indicates an effort to conserve resources in a remote and supply-dependent settlement.
170	159	which you cain't know of the other, to be taken out of our Concern, & not pay freight of at present. Thirty to Sixty becomes too much, therefore when there be an uncertainty as to these we leave to your Discretion to fix the prices of such, as you shall judge equitable, neither to put said upon the Inhabitants nor make it stand a moderate Dispatch. Where the return turn to turn what the said Cargoes are for our approval & further Direction. If the Planters or other Inhabitants to whom you be lent or on many occasions have not Money or Credit with you to pay for them shall enter or Finish the taking of their Provisions at the Market prices in proper by power to secure the Debt as appear by the Constitution the 12th July 1709 was declared, on a particular account to be done, this must be a Judgment accordingly to the Assesment of Circumstances you shall write proper to state according the Intention in any re- spects with really wanted Provisions, we do know from the Letter will be acceptable to Us. Since it will not Impose upon the Necessity of the People to enhance the prices of whatever they export, Yet may be a sure in all will Furnish any of you the Power or any of the several Councils to aid by ordering them to enter on the best reasonable Goods of any value, as we have done in the Coast, & shall bring it up to our Council. We have begun to take the several cases to comply with what you may ship as Received and what as sent on for their	Allowance was made that, where uncertainty existed in relation to goods taken on the Company's account, discretion should be exercised in fixing their prices. It was stated that excessive quantities, such as thirty to sixty units, were considered too great, and that care should be taken to set prices that were equitable, neither imposing undue burden upon the inhabitants nor hindering the proper dispatch of goods. Returns were to be made specifying the nature of such cargoes, so that they might be submitted for approval and further direction. Provision was made for cases in which planters or other inhabitants, having received goods or provisions, lacked the money or credit to pay for them. In such circumstances, arrangements were to be made for payment at market prices, with appropriate measures taken to secure the debt, in accordance with the constitution declared on 12 July 1709. Judgement was to be exercised according to the particular circumstances of each case, and proper accounts were to be submitted explaining the necessity of the provisions supplied, which would be taken into consideration. It was stated that the necessity of the inhabitants was not to be exploited by raising the prices of goods exported, but that reasonable authority might be exercised by the Governor and Council to regulate the value of goods and ensure fair dealing. Reference was made to similar practices on the Coast, where goods had been managed under such authority. It was indicated that records should be kept distinguishing goods received from those shipped onward for local use, and that oversight should be maintained to ensure proper valuation of freight and fair settlement upon discharge. Authority was affirmed to reside with the Governor in such matters within his district, subject to proper examination and accountability, and exercised in accordance with the Company's interests and those of the owners. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Market prices" referred to the prevailing rates at which goods were bought and sold locally, used as a standard for fair valuation.

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		own Town. In such a state full Power of any Governor in whose District it shall do you pay better quarter, examining thereby the value of the Freight and the rest in face of Discharge. And as our authority from the Owners. Perhaps	"Freight" referred both to goods carried by ship and to the charges associated with their transport. "Constitution of 12 July 1709" referred to a formal regulation governing financial and administrative practices on the island. **Speculations** The emphasis on equitable pricing suggests an effort to balance Company profit with the economic stability of the island's inhabitants. The provision for securing debts indicates that shortages of cash or credit were a persistent issue within the settlement's economy.
171	160	Perhaps the Captains and officers who generally are not over burthened at St. Helena, will say they will send away in a week, but are so very slow way as to they stay however all the Bark be, and Provisions be ready, & such is the general Iniquity of the idle Stayings to the bottom and tends to the general Insecurity of the place as the Wives or particular People, say if it were not that the Governors had refused from the Company and our Relation that they could be Spared out our several stores, were not against particular or Provisions, it is well that the Provisions were on account, if not put, let not be done on any future like motion, we shall see an Account of particular Stores in any ship they go to take, because they are wanted. We have been Informed by Mr. Robinson, as declared by a petition of several Inhabitants, of what is a few refused being Taken in Provisions, and that Persons have been quietly enjoying Commodities as such, tho they were not of trade, nor would have been ignorant of our Prohibition thereby - which is was only expected and Transported, and therefore give in as the exception, to be warned in general as being in a Interest, & there have several Provisions made as to be enter'd on account, & have appointed others in their places as therefore immediate. We farther declare that all those who shall Guilty of the same practice suffer accordingly. Give public Notice to all the Inhabitants of the Island of the Orders to prevent Engaging in articles not to be sent & not excepted, of any number or quantity, or if any Goods of their own. If you are by our Servants, give us exact account what was Necessary the Ships have to repair, & the Captains are...	Concern was expressed regarding the conduct of captains and officers at St Helena, it being observed that, although they often claimed that ships would be dispatched within a week, delays nevertheless occurred, even when vessels were ready, cargo loaded and provisions prepared. Such unnecessary delays were described as arising from idleness and were considered harmful to the general security and good order of the island. It was further noted that complaints had been made by inhabitants that, had governors not restricted access to Company stores, certain provisions might have been made available more freely. It was therefore directed that provisions should not be issued improperly or without proper authority in future, and that accounts should be kept of all stores taken by any ship, ensuring that they were genuinely required. Information had been received from Mr Robinson, supported by a petition from several inhabitants, concerning cases in which provisions had been refused to some, while others had obtained commodities without proper entitlement. It was observed that certain persons had enjoyed such goods despite not being engaged in authorised trade and in disregard of existing prohibitions. These practices were to be treated as exceptions requiring correction, and it was directed that such conduct be addressed, with provisions properly entered into account and other persons appointed where necessary to ensure proper management. It was further declared that any individuals found guilty of similar practices in future should be subject to appropriate punishment. It was directed that public notice be given to all inhabitants of the island of these orders, prohibiting the engaging in or handling of goods not authorised for shipment, whether in large or small quantities, including goods belonging to private individuals. It was further required that, where Company servants were involved, a full and exact account be provided of what repairs ships required and what supplies had been taken, so that the actions of captains and others might be properly examined. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Engaging in articles" referred to participating in trade or handling goods, particularly in ways not authorised by the Company. "Petition" referred to a formal complaint or request submitted by inhabitants to the authorities. "Provisions" referred to supplies of food and essential goods required for ships and the settlement. **Speculations** The criticism of delays by captains suggests ongoing tension between shipmasters and the island authorities over responsibility for inefficiency. The mention of unauthorised access to provisions indicates that informal or illicit trade may have been a recurring problem within the settlement.
172	161	neither I omit a delay or before the next Year's Shipping and let it set again according to the later beforementioned.	It was directed that no delay should be permitted in the execution of these matters, and that all should be regulated in accordance with the most recent

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		Thirdly, touching our Servants Civil or Military the Revenues of St. Helena in General, and also touching our Slaves, Cattle, Lands & Revenues. By the first of these Orders and Instructions you will at our new Store Utensils settled out in the Warehouse and that no more such further shall have one Hundred pounds a year salary upon consideration of his Extraordinary Labour without all the necessary and Compleating and well understanding our use of the Court, we have found to pay him one hundred & fifty pounds a year during the War. He shall be put in Reserve if the one entered upon, instead putting it in until we be paid their Grants, here is his Protest, as some given in us for pensions as for several Tenures. Directed in the Herald's words, for which he has given his bond, copies it as it is to be dated and for Governing Money. We have Settled the Salary of the Gov^{r} of St. Helena at seventy pounds a year, the Salary of the Lieut^{r} at fifty pounds, the Salary of the present at forty pounds only, the Salary of the officers the same as was, and what he does not appear by your Conduct, there is to be the constant Salary of £367 for certain which is constantly quarterly disbursed, and the Officers are to be Significantly prevented in respect of it by Council the Company do not discharge if you sent it not observing it, that he is not Guilty in the charge.	instructions before the next year's shipping, so that proper order might be maintained. Attention was then turned to the condition of the Company's servants, both civil and military, together with the general revenues of St Helena, and also to matters concerning slaves, cattle, lands and income. It was stated that new store utensils had been established in the warehouse, and that no further appointments of a similar kind should be made at a salary of one hundred pounds per annum unless justified by extraordinary labour. In consideration of such labour, and in view of the demands of wartime, provision had been made to allow a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum for such service. It was further indicated that such arrangements were to be carefully regulated, with proper bonds and records maintained for any grants or payments, so that accountability might be ensured. The salaries of principal officers on the island were then set out. The Governor of St Helena was assigned a salary of seventy pounds per annum, the Lieutenant Governor fifty pounds, and another principal officer forty pounds. The salaries of other officers were to remain as previously established. It was stated that the total annual charge for these salaries amounted to three hundred and sixty-seven pounds, to be paid quarterly. It was further directed that strict oversight be maintained by the Council in the disbursement of these funds, and that no payments should be made without proper authority or record, so that no officer might incur unjustified charges against the Company. **Interpretations** "Store utensils" referred to equipment and materials used in the management and operation of Company warehouses. "Bond" referred to a formal financial guarantee ensuring that an individual would fulfil obligations or repay sums if required. "Quarterly disbursed" referred to payments made in four instalments across the year. **Speculations** The adjustment of salaries during wartime was perhaps intended to compensate for increased responsibilities or difficulties in maintaining the settlement. The emphasis on strict accounting suggests ongoing concern over misuse or misallocation of Company funds.
173	162	Scandal of Gaming and Neglecting his Business. Our Accounts at St. Helena have been kept in a very unmethodical manner being little better than a Ship Book. This we have resolved to remedy and to that End (Mr. Rock beforementioned) is called Third of the Council - he being one of the Accomplish'd few persons in our Service, and have trusted the direction of all the Books in his hands and have kept the Accounts by Virtue of this Station, and after perfecting further Vouchers, for your further Credit & make out there equality to that of India, we stand upon to advise the new Interlopers whatsoever for his knowledge in this. Hutchinson being well skilled in Plantation Affairs, we have order he shall take the care of your Plantation house and all the Improvements and our Cattle, and he has dispos'd all into the well- order'd produce to be Collected and improved for our most advantage.	Complaint was made of the scandal arising from gaming and from the neglect of duty, which was considered improper conduct and prejudicial to the Company's service. It was observed that the accounts at St Helena had been kept in a very unmethodical manner, being little better than a ship's book. Resolution was therefore taken to remedy this defect, and for that purpose Mr Rock, already mentioned and appointed as third of the Council, was entrusted with the direction and oversight of all books and accounts. It was noted that he was regarded as one of the more accomplished persons in the Company's service, and that the keeping of accounts was to be conducted under his authority, with proper vouchers prepared and maintained, so that the accounts might be brought into a condition comparable with those kept in India. His knowledge was also to be applied in advising on matters relating to interlopers. It was further directed that Mr Hutchinson, being well skilled in plantation affairs, should take charge of the plantation house, the improvements thereon and the management of cattle. Under his care, the produce was to be collected and improved in an orderly manner for the Company's advantage. It was observed that it was not generally proper for a storekeeper to be transported away from the island, as

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		It is not proper for the Storekeeper to be transported, because thereby he has not such a Check over him as he shoud, if under our Inspection, however the Circumstances of Affairs joined to him now, it appears that the Storekeeper in such do Estimation is of no profit to this were, or in preserving forward Direction and year in year out to be examined as was done Accounted for before in anything into the Generall Book and enter them with your Approbation, or objection or alteration in the Consolidation Book. Whether he shall have any and what part of interest to have your Directions as to the new men Assist which would be order'd to be made currently to be read with the former entries in the Book to be kept for that purpose. The…	this reduced the degree of oversight that could be exercised. However, in the present circumstances, the office of storekeeper was to be subject to strict examination, with accounts reviewed regularly from year to year. All entries were to be recorded in the general books and entered with the approval, objection or alteration of the Governor and Council, and consolidated into a single record. Consideration was also to be given to the role and responsibilities of assistants to the storekeeper, including what share or interest they might have in the management of stores. Directions were to be provided on this matter, and all such arrangements were to be recorded and maintained in the appropriate books, alongside earlier entries for reference. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Ship book" referred to a basic or informal record of transactions, lacking the structure expected of formal accounting systems. "Interlopers" referred to unauthorised traders operating outside the Company's monopoly. "Vouchers" referred to supporting documents used to verify financial transactions. **Speculations** The criticism of accounting practices suggests that financial mismanagement had become a significant concern for the Company. The appointment of specific individuals to oversee accounts and plantations was probably intended to impose clearer responsibility and improve administrative efficiency.
174	163	The late Governor Captain Roberts having desired to come home by the Summer Ships, We give him leave also to having paid us as much acquitted what his Accounts were not open, and permitted to take orders come to his hands and given up the Balance to be signed, were Consider'd, and taken proper Advantage from you the Governor and Council, which being done, order the Captain of any Ship in the Roads to observe to take passage or receive him on board, use him Civilly and bring him to England, and to prevent any Complaints of his further stay, do you give further into the Speedy Settling the said Accounts. If you see it Necessary, you may heighten one or more young Men out of our Ships to write where it is Demands and Wants, the Factory can give if you find want a hand to do any Writing work, we expect your Gratitude and your Records, Consultation Books, & Books of Accounts, to be exacted and preserved under the Head of Justice, to be kept in proper Books & Duplicates thereof for fear of Miscarriage entering into the Register Book of the Island and to you from hence to go you thither. That this warrant more easily convey'd into one volume the same be said subject be easily or wholly brought to this and they may be sent to the time the Ships are dispatch'd. We hereto are ever and in publick. We have had a great many Bills drawn on us of late from St. Helena which we have delayed paying because they were not made	Permission was granted to the late Governor, Captain Roberts, to return to England by the summer ships, provided that his accounts were properly settled beforehand. It was required that he should fully account for all matters entrusted to him, that any outstanding balances be examined and agreed, and that his accounts be signed and cleared. Upon completion of this process, direction was given that the Governor and Council should arrange for him to be received on board any suitable ship in the road, treated with civility and conveyed to England. It was further required that no delay should be permitted in settling these accounts, so as to prevent any grounds for complaint arising from his continued stay. Provision was made that, if necessary, one or more capable young men might be selected from the Company's ships to assist with writing and clerical work, where there was a shortage of skilled hands within the factory. It was expected that proper care would be taken to maintain all records, including consultation books and books of accounts, with accuracy and diligence. These were to be organised under appropriate headings, particularly those relating to justice, and were to be preserved in proper volumes, with duplicate copies prepared to guard against loss or miscarriage. Entries were to be recorded in the island's register books and transmitted as required, so that they might be compiled and reviewed in an orderly manner, especially at the time ships were dispatched. It was observed that a considerable number of bills had recently been drawn upon the Company from St Helena, and that payment had been delayed because these bills had not been prepared in proper form or in accordance with the established books and instructions. Reference was made to earlier directions dated 30 June 1707, which had set out the correct method for drawing such bills and maintaining consultation records. It was therefore required that these defects be remedied in future, so that bills might be properly issued and accepted without delay. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete.

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		properly conform'd to the Books and not put agreeable to proper Draught dated the 30th June 1707 in which we advised you, and have one form of a Consultation Book this has occasion'd us to suspend, take care to Remedy it hereafter. We had also an Account of Bills accompanying...	**Interpretations** "Factory" referred to the Company's administrative and commercial establishment on the island. "Bills drawn on us" referred to financial instruments issued locally requiring payment by the Company in England. "Consultation book" referred to an official record of decisions and proceedings of the Governor and Council. **Speculations** The insistence on settling Captain Roberts's accounts before departure suggests concern over unresolved financial responsibilities. The repeated emphasis on proper record-keeping indicates that administrative disorder had previously caused financial and procedural difficulties.
175	164	To Impo. 8. 10 and as by the Particulars in a short letter sent apart, which have been paid the many of them were for old Credits in the Store and ought to have had their Accounts Accompanying them. We have order'd that the Money for the future take notice upon a particular Account in the Letters, and if there be even that of great Vouchers of all Bills here arising drawn of the nature of the former, to be sent dated, and with proper Vouchers. If you have want, and it should happen that the Account for which a new Bill be drawn, be not contain'd in the present Book, then enter into a particular abstract of the Account for satisfaction, advise in the margin of the Letters of Bill re- ceived by you and received by us and for what Account and on what drawn, which has been Generally Neglected and only the Letter set in the Packetts. If any Person in our pay dye or leave effects behind and none to be paid into our Cash, do you take care the same is Justly entered in Vouchers, and where as such Effects are received, the Balance must be duly enter'd as Account remain- ing, and advise upon them for the next General Letter that the Legally Authorised persons may receive the same and pay several Claimers on Account of unaccountable delays. Inquire from time to time of all Governors Servants and Managers sent out by the Governors, what they generally pay the Captains in passage Provisions, have been no stated on the Voyage and drawn out early account thereof, because we are wrong that Inhabitants demand of some circumstances which is very Offensive to all, but particularly the purpose of your future leave.	It was observed that certain sums, specified as "Impo. 8. 10" and detailed in a separate letter, had been paid, many of which related to old credits in the store. It was noted that these payments ought to have been accompanied by their corresponding accounts, which had not been provided. It was therefore directed that, in future, all such monies be clearly distinguished within letters under particular accounts, and that all bills of a similar nature be transmitted with proper dates and supporting vouchers. It was further directed that, where a new bill should be drawn for an account not contained in the current books, a separate abstract of that account should be prepared to give proper satisfaction. Marginal notes were to be entered in the letters specifying each bill received and issued, indicating the account to which it related and the grounds upon which it had been drawn. It was remarked that this practice had generally been neglected, with only the letters themselves being included in the packets, and it was required that this omission be corrected. Provision was made for cases in which any person in the Company's pay died or left effects behind, where no immediate claimant existed. It was directed that such effects be carefully entered with proper vouchers, and that the remaining balance be recorded as an outstanding account. Notice of these matters was to be included in the next general letter, so that legally authorised persons might claim them and delays in settlement be avoided. It was also directed that regular inquiry be made into what governors, servants and managers paid to captains for passage and provisions. It was noted that these charges had not been consistently recorded during voyages, and that this had given rise to complaints among inhabitants. It was therefore required that such payments be properly accounted for in future, so that they might be regulated and prevent further dissatisfaction. **Interpretations** "Impo. 8. 10" referred to a specified financial entry, probably indicating an amount or account heading within the Company's records. "Vouchers" referred to documentary evidence supporting financial transactions. "Abstract of the account" referred to a summarised financial statement prepared for review and verification. "Effects" referred to personal property or assets left behind by an individual. **Speculations** The repeated emphasis on vouchers and marginal notes suggests that earlier accounting practices had been insufficiently detailed for proper oversight. The concern over passage payments indicates that inconsistent or unrecorded charges may have caused disputes between Company servants and ship captains.

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176	165	learn also if the Captains have used Provisions instead of themselves or delivered for your Stores. Inquire in the manner of the Moors, how they come in on the Voyage, & you find they were not civilly treated, in any degree and not had care of them, tell us thereof with proper attestation. We have permitted the Resident at the Ports to pay them Shillings a head for the return of such as deliver into our use, and we declare to direct whereon these returns are so high. We allow the Military & others delivered alive at St. Helena. So you shall have your Comp[a] provided, & sent in a list by the next Sure Conveyance of the names of such as you intend not, and the several heads which you have Complain'd, in the Packett you will find a sheet of such as are to be sent on any other Ships under the Comparison. So Observe & surely Ship a List of all the Soldiers remaining on the Fort. The Letter of the 11th July 1709 Paragraph the 11 says the Gov[r] & Council had sent the names of the 1st Servants at our Table there, but there were some not Descern'd, as there every servant attending the Table, the Tackett in direction of the Clerk to evidence takes care of the Fact and contents is entered as follows, the said people in several Neglects so far as they are not Neglected. That Paragraph of the Generals letter by the Ward Joseph relating to Soldiers & Planter women marrying and when Questions of Equity. We shall not intermeddle of our own except an Answer to the list by them, if you are likewise too by direction of our several Informations of your and their Circumstances, understanding sufficient is answered thereto in the 7th Paragraph of the...	It was directed that inquiry be made into whether captains had made use of provisions for their own purposes or had delivered them into the Company's stores, so that proper distinction might be maintained between private consumption and goods belonging to the Company. It was further required that examination be made, in the manner practised with the Moors, into how such persons were treated during voyages. If it should be found that they had not been treated with proper care or civility, this was to be reported with appropriate attestation. It was stated that permission had been granted for payments to be made at certain ports at a rate of shillings per head for those returned into the Company's service, and that particular attention should be given to the reasons why such returns had been charged at high rates. It was confirmed that military personnel and others delivered alive at St Helena were to be accepted, and that provision should be made accordingly. It was directed that a list be prepared and sent by the next secure conveyance, containing the names of those persons referred to, together with details of the complaints previously made. It was also required that a complete list be compiled and transmitted of all soldiers remaining at the fort, so that their numbers and condition might be known. Reference was made to a letter dated 11 July 1709, in which it had been stated that the Governor and Council had sent the names of the principal servants attending at the Company's table. It was observed that some names had not been clearly identified, and it was therefore required that accurate records be kept, with proper entries made by the clerk to confirm the names and roles of all such persons, so that no neglect or omission should occur. It was further stated that matters relating to soldiers and planter women marrying, as mentioned in the general letter sent by the *Ward Joseph*, involved questions of equity. It was indicated that these would not be further determined without full information, and that reliance would be placed upon the lists and accounts provided, together with the circumstances reported, it being understood that sufficient guidance had already been given in the seventh paragraph of the earlier instructions. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Moors" referred broadly to non-European individuals, often from North Africa or the Indian Ocean world, whose treatment during voyages was subject to scrutiny. "Attestation" referred to formal testimony or written confirmation of facts. "Table" referred to the Company's household or establishment where officials and servants were maintained at its expense. **Speculations** The concern over the treatment of transported individuals suggests awareness of potential mistreatment during long voyages. The emphasis on detailed lists of personnel indicates an effort to maintain tighter administrative control over the island's population.
177	166	The Letter of the 11th July 1709 by the Snowbrooks, for if you desire we use your Ship and what Ships you suppose will convey nearer Establishing any of our Nations or Blacks, which language it did no where favour, and you only carry several upon the ships altho you ought to make the Minister Inquire into and	Reference was made to the letter dated 11 July 1709 sent by the *Snowbrooks*, in which it had been proposed that certain ships might be used to convey persons, including those of the Company's nation and slaves, to other settlements. It was observed that the language used in that correspondence did not properly support such arrangements, and that persons had been carried aboard ships without sufficient authority. It was therefore directed that inquiry be made, including by the minister, into these practices, and that the terms of the

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		you will also observe the Charterparty for large venting of Slaves, in case a Ship is sail'd from the Indies and might extend upon us, when it was Originally but a wrong settlement in the Planting and the Writing which hath been said of it, you are to Inquire as you find the Captain of each Ship in uses of the Paragraph in his first arrival, and see your Belief with them, that the many Servants very scarce being employed in Arms, and before in state may undergo Inquiring of all the Men to prevent a Complaint of this Nature. The two Ships being bound from you to Barcelona do you write whether actual your Blank Paper about the Black Girl mentioned in the Paragraph of the Northern customs order to be sent you from Barcelona, which the Letters says would be done 15 January, so there is in return the Captains forward the Commanders, for that Paragraph refers to the Copy of the Letter from Barcelona in the Packett. This we have found and send as mention therein, of any with them only, the Wanted Vouchers mentioned in the footsearch which it was wanting to accompany. Advise your People also at Barcelona about the Maltese Letters, that if any other ships were in your interest later may accompany it, and that they date all their Letters to you.	charterparty be observed, particularly in relation to the transport and disposal of slaves. It was noted that such arrangements, if improperly conducted, might extend beyond their original intention and give rise to irregular settlements, and therefore required careful examination upon the arrival of each ship. It was further directed that inquiry be made into the employment and condition of servants, especially those who were scarce or engaged in military service, so that proper oversight might be maintained and complaints of this nature prevented. Attention was then directed to two ships said to be bound from the island to Barcelona. It was required that information be provided concerning a matter relating to a black girl mentioned in a paragraph of earlier correspondence, which had been expected to be addressed in letters from Barcelona dated 15 January. It was noted that this matter referred to a copy of a letter contained in the packet, and that, although the matter had been acknowledged, certain supporting vouchers had not been included and were still required. It was also directed that communication be made with Company agents or correspondents at Barcelona regarding letters associated with Malta, ensuring that any ships engaged in the Company's interest should include such correspondence and that all letters be properly dated. This was intended to ensure clearer communication and proper record of transactions. **Interpretations** "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing a ship's voyage and obligations, including cargo and transport conditions. "Minister" referred to a clerical or religious official, who might also have responsibilities in oversight or reporting within the settlement. "Vouchers" referred to documentary evidence supporting claims or transactions. "Packett" referred to a bundle of official correspondence sent together. **Speculations** The concern over the transport of persons suggests that unauthorised movement of labour or slaves had become an issue requiring tighter control. The emphasis on missing vouchers indicates ongoing difficulties in verifying transactions across distant ports.
178	167	which if the Copy be truely Transcribed, was not here in that beforementioned, the same had pass'd some the Maltese confiscation, One of these twenty men was sent away from Barcelona by one of your Ships for St. Helena for some fault charged in him, perhaps Hard Ship may be about him, if so we ought have very good Proven men on the Island, Consider whether it be not proper to return him, especially if he has been any thing with the Dutch at St. Thomas. Send out by every Conveyance Lists of our Covenant Servants & their Salary of our Men and their Pay, also of our Negroes, as we have said their Instruments taking care are in our Inspection, especially the young ones be brought up to Handicrafts Trades, such as Smiths, Teylors, Bricklayers & all usefull employments and the Utensils that they are capable of. We said Provision upon securing the War to furnish such sent away from Madagascar, take care also to give them Necessary Provisions, for we hear some of	It was observed that, if the copy referred to had been correctly transcribed, it had not previously been received in the form mentioned, and that the matter had passed through Maltese confiscation. It was noted that one of twenty men had been sent from Barcelona to St Helena by one of the Company's ships on account of some fault alleged against him. Consideration was directed to whether hardship might have been suffered in his case, and it was suggested that, if this were so, it should be determined whether it would be proper to return him, particularly if he had previously been connected with the Dutch at St Thomas. It was required that lists be sent by every conveyance containing the names of all covenant servants and their salaries, as well as the names of soldiers and their pay, and of all slaves belonging to the Company. Care was to be taken that these persons remained under proper inspection, and that younger individuals should be trained in useful handicraft trades, including blacksmithing, tailoring, bricklaying and other necessary employments, so that they might be made more serviceable. It was further directed that provision be made for those brought from Madagascar, ensuring that they were supplied with necessary provisions. It was reported that some had recently arrived in poor condition, with deficiencies in clothing and equipment, which had hindered their usefulness.

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		these many not tapt lately arrived of Weevy & Casks, which hinders their Service. We have caused the Consultation relating to the Complaint of John Alexander of the 17th of November 1709 to be perused, & we do confirm what concern him, in order to Complaints against several of our Servants, or those in the Service in whole time, and Custom of service which of former orders declare the same of that Letter contrary to his meaning, and the rest of the Covenant partly to satisfie the Government Complaint, and family, not fit to deprive him there for his long service. The Consultation charge Alexander with Condemnation and scandalous turnover & Neglecting several things and likewise swearing of Oyers, and delivering of Consultations upon their being...	Reference was made to a consultation concerning the complaint of John Alexander dated 17 November 1709, which had been reviewed. It was stated that the findings relating to him were confirmed, particularly in relation to complaints made against several servants of the Company. It was observed that earlier orders had addressed such matters, and that, although some fault had been found, his long service was to be taken into account and it was not considered appropriate to remove him from his position solely on that basis. It was noted, however, that the consultation had charged Alexander with misconduct, including scandalous behaviour, neglect of duty and improper actions in relation to the handling and communication of consultations. These matters were acknowledged as serious and required attention. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Covenant servants" referred to employees bound by formal contract to serve the Company for a specified period. "Consultation" referred to an official record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Utensils" referred to tools or equipment used in trades and labour. **Speculations** The emphasis on training slaves and servants in trades suggests an effort to make the settlement more self-sufficient. The decision to retain John Alexander despite misconduct perhaps reflects the difficulty of replacing experienced personnel in a remote colony.
179	168	passd, thereby perverting their sense and the Dispatch of his Duty. He turns the whole Stores several other things at his own Dispose, & as Newsletter this charge is affirmed in the same but trusted & Alleged. He is much better officer now, We cain't but also find an Insufficient Observation. Do advise your Officers or Clerk of the Council, Mr. Alexander has been a long time in the Service & underwent, and have you give him a Charge, unless the complaints be judged to have, because he could easily abuse them himself but it is not Judged him, if you find him well in health and some honesty, write it just at those Accidents, and not as unfit to begin a Clerk, or wait & you also restore him, but if you find the Charge against him true in several respects & he not worthy of our Service, however it may be otherwise qualify'd of it. We have from several Hands, as well as found it in the Generall Books that the Island decays in its usuall produce of your Ex- tentures as plantations. We understand it is much Neglected, and some almost ruined occasioned by the carelessnes of Mr. Samuel Jessey who has the Management & from the Young Lashers, whose Inhabitants formerly brought up trained up to are quite gone, the growing young cannot be kept & the people behave like rather uncommanded. The House cattle for some former, do the rest were put into little Plantation	It was reported that consultations had been altered in their meaning, whereby their intent had been perverted and the proper execution of duty hindered. It was further alleged that control over the stores and other matters had been taken into private hands and disposed of without proper authority. Although these charges had been affirmed in part, it was also stated that improvement had been observed in the conduct of Mr Alexander. It was therefore directed that his case be carefully considered. In view of his long service, it was advised that he should not be removed without sufficient cause. If he were found to be in good health and of honest behaviour, this was to be reported, and he might be continued or restored in his position. However, if the charges against him were found to be true in material respects, and he were judged unfit for service, then appropriate action was to be taken. It was further observed, from several reports and from entries in the general books, that the island had declined in its usual produce and the condition of its plantations. This decline was attributed to neglect, particularly under the management of Mr Samuel Jessey, and to the deterioration in discipline among the younger labourers. It was noted that those formerly trained to plantation work had been lost, and that younger persons were not being properly retained or instructed, leading to disorderly conduct. It was reported that cattle, which had previously been maintained more carefully, had been dispersed into smaller and less regulated plantations, with servants driving them into remote areas or mixing them with the cattle of others. It was also observed that slaves who had been assigned to labour were not properly supervised, were reluctant to work and, when they did labour, performed only the lightest tasks and avoided more demanding work. **Interpretations** "Consultations" referred to official records of decisions and proceedings of the Governor and Council. "Plantations" referred to agricultural lands worked for

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		scotch kept in reserve with loaded and the Servants drove the Cattles to remote corners other Peoples Cattles, the Blacks they borrow'd not minded to work or be in shore, and when they do work the Hard yard Taskes where they think small to view.	the production of food and other resources for the settlement. "Stores" referred to goods and supplies held on behalf of the Company. **Speculations** The criticism of plantation management suggests that agricultural decline posed a serious risk to the island's self-sufficiency. The concerns over discipline among servants and slaves indicate weakening administrative control within the settlement.
180	169	work whereby the ground does not produce Grain, not sowed by right Plantation, but Jessey own Cattle are continually among the Young plants and trampling them to pieces, so that the Quartering away & straitening on the Company Plantation his Keep of Cattle and Blacks, & privately assisting his Neighbouring People (as 'tis said) is the reason of several Blacks dying in the last year more than ten or twenty years before, when they have not been worked now keep for help to the Masters in our employ in whole Neglect. We have seen so much Truth on this, do you enquire into it at St. Helena. Enquire of Mr. Marshbourne and Mr. Marsdenwhat goods they brought of Capt. Cranton and to what Value, & whether any or in what receipt of a part of the same Sheet, and in whose or in their hands, entering as by the need a particular Account of each part of the discovery. Remember what we wrote you last year and do us an Account of all our Cattle and these Provision Quarterly, our late Gov^{r} Protests says in his time that the great destroying all the young ones and the Negroes will be restored. We shall so far put the Planting into a method of Execution, that therefore be proposed as a proper Benefit to the Company and all the plantations to kill all the goats except they could be kept from browsing on the young Trees, examine how of this, and give us your opinion what is need'd lived therein and the several persons concerned with the plantations, do let them make such Laws in them and take care they judge. But if you are not obliged We think better of the remainers and use the severest Example of the Justice hereafter the ordering &...	It was observed that the land was not producing grain as expected, owing to improper cultivation and neglect of regular plantation practice. It was reported that Mr Jessey's cattle were allowed to stray among the young plants, trampling them and causing considerable damage. It was further alleged that the reduction and restriction of the Company's plantations, together with his private maintenance of cattle and slaves and assistance to neighbouring inhabitants, had contributed to disorder. It was stated that such practices had been associated with an unusually high number of deaths among slaves in the previous year, exceeding those of the preceding ten or twenty years, at a time when they had not been regularly employed. Inquiry into these matters was therefore directed to be made at St Helena. It was further required that inquiry be made of Mr Marshbourne and Mr Marsden regarding what goods they had received from Captain Cranton, including the value of those goods, and whether any part of them had been accounted for or remained in their possession or that of others. It was directed that a detailed account be entered of each part of this transaction. Reference was made to earlier instructions requiring regular reports, and it was again directed that quarterly accounts be provided of all cattle and provisions. It was noted that the late Governor had reported significant destruction among young livestock, and that measures were required to restore and regulate plantation management. It was proposed that, for the benefit of the Company and the plantations, goats should be destroyed unless they could be prevented from browsing on young trees. Examination of this proposal was required, and an opinion was to be provided on what measures were necessary, together with identification of the persons responsible for plantation management. It was further directed that appropriate rules or laws be established for the governance of plantations, and that care be taken to ensure they were properly enforced. Where existing authority was insufficient, it was suggested that stricter measures be adopted, including the use of severe examples of justice where required, so as to restore order and proper management. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Browsing" referred to animals feeding on leaves and young shoots, often damaging crops or trees. "Quartering away" referred to the dispersal or division of resources, such as land or livestock, in a manner reducing their effective use. "Provision" referred to food supplies and agricultural produce necessary for sustaining the settlement. **Speculations** The detailed criticism of plantation management suggests that agricultural decline was perceived as a major threat to the island's stability. The proposal to destroy goats indicates that uncontrolled livestock was seen as a significant cause of environmental and economic damage.

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181	170	Servs. then Interpose your Authority. It has been with abundance of difficulty, that the People have of late been prevailed upon to set about sowing in their Lands and Planting of such till as appears not to be the work even for a Market between the Growth of Grain, Grass, Potatoes, or Plantation, or the like, & at the same they will not have Servants in the Fields or even those carefully enter in. You must take care the Spectators comply with when the Penalty therein fixed, and you are strictly advised that any of the Quarterly for the wants of a sufficient number of Blacks otherwise have not been able to comply in the time with them all they have done what they cain't in such case, indulge them for a longer stay, but don't Dispense with the Law on any Account to any Governor's discretion. Governor Roberts writes, He hoped to Succeed you without giving so near a complaint in such a Method, so you will have the like Service to shewin. Take care our own Observations. The great care of the people and those in opportunity that no one ever take the Supply those which have been unaccountably destroyed or the sale of the Parts to another with Trust or secure have been done, that our Profits have been contemptible and no more had been saving the use of our Company in a standing Rule had been had, had therefore you'd enter proper to have prevented the like in future. By this so many rich Servants have been turned careless for our Lands & brought into a shocking Condition, it is simply Necessary that we write this in view to prevent it, as that we may Establish our interest. W^{e}.	It was directed that, where necessary, authority should be exercised to enforce compliance. It was observed that considerable difficulty had recently been encountered in persuading inhabitants to sow their lands and engage in planting, whether for grain, grass, potatoes or other produce. It was further noted that labour was not being properly applied, with insufficient servants employed in the fields and records of such labour not being carefully maintained. It was therefore required that those concerned be compelled to comply with the established regulations, and that the penalties prescribed for neglect be enforced. It was acknowledged that, in some cases, failure to meet requirements had arisen from a lack of sufficient slaves to carry out the necessary work. In such circumstances, it was permitted that additional time might be allowed. However, it was expressly directed that the law should not be dispensed with at the discretion of the Governor, and that any indulgence should be granted only within proper limits. It was noted that Governor Roberts had expressed hope of improving matters without giving cause for complaint, and it was expected that similar diligence would be shown in future. Attention was drawn to the management of Company property and resources. It was observed that losses had occurred through neglect, destruction or improper sale of goods and assets, sometimes under conditions of misplaced trust or insufficient security. As a result, the Company's profits had been reduced to a negligible level. It was stated that, had proper standing rules been enforced, such losses might have been prevented. It was therefore required that appropriate measures be taken to prevent similar occurrences in future, with proper oversight and regulation established. It was further observed that many servants, having become prosperous, had grown careless in their responsibilities, leading to the deterioration of the Company's lands and bringing them into a poor condition. It was considered necessary to address these issues directly, so that the Company's interests might be restored and maintained through stricter discipline and improved management. **Interpretations** "Penalty" referred to a prescribed punishment or fine imposed for failure to comply with regulations. "Standing rule" referred to an established and continuing regulation intended to govern conduct over time. "Servants" referred to individuals employed by the Company under contract or obligation. **Speculations** The emphasis on enforcing agricultural labour suggests that declining productivity was seen as a critical threat to the island's sustainability. The concern over servants becoming careless after gaining wealth indicates tension between private prosperity and Company control.
182	171	We do hereby Desire you to Express your thoughts about what is necessary to be done, and when you have weighed Circumstances and what the Planters opinions are, We swear the most skilfull and servile amongst them, been determined and Acted accordingly. By Perusing the Consultation Books and Letters beforementioned with our what has been done and Orders relating to those Two Gentlemen concerning our Lands and Mandering of them, will give you a larger Scope for Execution than it was proper to be	It was directed that full consideration be given to what measures were necessary, and that, after weighing all circumstances and taking into account the opinions of the planters, the most skilful and experienced among them should be consulted, so that appropriate actions might be determined and carried into execution. It was stated that, by reviewing the consultation books and the letters previously mentioned, together with the orders relating to the two gentlemen concerned with the Company's lands and their management, a broader understanding would be gained than could be set out in the present letter. It was therefore expected that these materials should be used as the basis for action, taking into account the general condition of the settlement. It was acknowledged that some inhabitants

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		Mentioned in this Letter, as you have now the whole to be considered and shall want Contract to the Generallity of the Place. We hope will think themselves hardly dealt with by being Complain'd to for their parts, but if they do, You must not be deterred from Executing these our Orders, and Consider is it better to have a particular Mischief than a Generall Inconvenience. This leads us Naturally to Consider the Proper Persons of being inserted in the possession of those Lands, and knowing these other uncertainty, which we find Governor Roberts did the harm cannot be repaired they said where they did not understand Planting or never have perform'd on the same Remains and in some are the first Conditions on which the Planters had their Lands granted them, without a due Observation thereof the whole shall either vary the Possessor or who hold by a better tenure than not lawfully as to whom such Land was Originally. We put the Hon^{ble} Company's Orders to their Governors & Council...	might feel aggrieved at being complained of, but it was directed that such sentiments should not prevent the execution of these orders, it being considered preferable to correct particular faults than to allow wider harm to continue. Attention was then directed to the question of proper possession of lands. It was observed that uncertainty existed regarding who held certain lands, and that previous mismanagement under Governor Roberts had contributed to this condition. It was noted that, in some cases, land had been granted to persons who lacked knowledge or experience in plantation work and who had failed to fulfil the original conditions upon which those grants had been made. It was therefore directed that these conditions be examined, and that, where they had not been observed, consideration be given to altering possession or determining whether the current holders had a lawful claim, in accordance with the original terms of grant. It was indicated that the Company's standing orders to its Governors and Council were to guide these actions. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Consultation books" referred to official records of decisions and proceedings of the Governor and Council. "Tenure" referred to the legal basis upon which land was held or occupied. "Planters" referred to individuals cultivating land for agricultural production. **Speculations** The emphasis on reviewing land tenure suggests that disputes or inefficiencies in land use had become a significant administrative concern. The willingness to reassign land indicates an effort to prioritise productivity and adherence to conditions over established possession.
183	172	Council to grant Land was that the People who had it shoud Register the grants, but that thro the Indulgence of the Govern- ment neglected and on this Account the Rights there are become precarious. We likewise find that where Persons had a Certain Number of Acres given, as 10, 20 or 40, for want of proper Land marks, or uncertain back lines none of the Grants are secure. They are now at a moderate Government Rent of 20 shillings a Year, and ought for same time allotted, the next before them and who are farming it beyond the bounds of another piece of ground, it is of a certain time of peaceable Possession, and give him an undisputed Title, the Inhabitants who have a great tract some of it was not the Company granted away, which will be so much a loss to the Company. This being the case, we say that every Person's Land, such as yours, who are in and if the Earthly or public care or the quantity of those be claim'd divided out from which by such Grants, several Purchasers & Possessors had Quantity, let them a new Grant of it with a Rent settled and a Memorandum enter'd of 20 Shillings on such	It was observed that, although the Council had been required to ensure that all grants of land were properly registered, this had been neglected through indulgence, with the result that many titles had become uncertain. It was further noted that, where grants had been made for fixed quantities of land, such as ten, twenty or forty acres, the absence of proper boundaries and clearly defined back lines had rendered those grants insecure. It was stated that these lands were held at a moderate government rent of twenty shillings per year, and that, over time, occupation beyond original limits and continued possession had been treated as establishing title, even where this extended into adjoining ground. It was further observed that some inhabitants held large tracts of land, part of which had not originally been granted by the Company, thereby causing loss to its interests. In response, it was directed that all lands be carefully examined, and that, where possession could be established, new grants should be issued, with rents properly fixed and recorded. A memorandum was to be entered for each such grant, confirming the annual rent of twenty shillings and the conditions attached. It was further directed that any future surveys should be conducted in conformity with the original terms of grant, and that the duties previously established should continue to be paid. It was also directed that, where any person in the Company's service was found, upon measurement, to hold more land than could be justified by grant or by proven extent, and where such land had been divided or encroached upon, consideration should be given to correcting this. However, it was stated that those already settled and cultivating crops, such as sugarcane, should not be unnecessarily disturbed, although it was

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		Conditions, likewise in case of any further Survey to be taken the Company in Conformity with the several Conditions the first Grant & paying the duty formerly settled. If any Person serving in their Governm[t] shall on the Measuring of the Land have more than they can Justify by Grant or by incontestable quantity of Acres, and divided with others, we are not to think proper to disturb those who live on the Sugarcane, but we Resent the ground is spared in indulgence and…	made clear that such indulgence was not to prejudice the Company's rights. **Interpretations** "Register the grants" referred to the formal recording of land ownership in official records to establish legal title. "Back lines" referred to boundary lines marking the extent of land granted, especially at the rear of a plot. "Government rent" referred to a fixed annual payment made to the Company for holding land. **Speculations** The need to reissue grants suggests that informal occupation and weak record-keeping had undermined the Company's control over land. The decision not to disturb established cultivators indicates a pragmatic approach balancing legal rights with economic stability.
184	173	shall succeed by settling the same at a Moderate price and to that let a Jury of the Inhabitants be Impartial to survey and judge of it and give you their opinion, in which if it be pretty near, and you think ought to be, acquiesce in it. We shall then give their opinion, we will not absolutely submit the disposition of new Land to their Judgement, and to them that is titled, give them Leases or Grants for the same, with an exact Plan as administration. We take it for granted, one Carter will tell another overseer on his word, and that therefore he supplies Land all over. You must Remember that by the Pond side, which you will see on the Island, as the Register, that every Planter who Twelve fenced can have 4 yards to be Excused from Constant duty of Watching and Working. By the Act of the 11 August 1685, is an Act to oblige Watching for every Twenty Acres, and two Shillings an Acre. had been ever afterward to Twelve fenced and paid Annually that & preserved, & such a house valued was twice a right, & so have a good Title to go by in case of Dispute. Those who had Land by force of this their interest of grants will be the most easy to disposs, because they paying up the Rent, and the Measuring would be considerably worse than they did. When they purchased it, they can best endeavour to set up the part because they have been at the charge of fencing and Planting, and to have your layout so settled as with them in their new worth. If they are not they may mistake and fetch them down at North of the measuring Annually as aforesaid, if you will agree.	It was directed that, where lands were to be settled or adjusted, this should be done at a moderate valuation, and that a jury of impartial inhabitants should be appointed to survey the land and provide their opinion. It was stated that, if their judgement appeared reasonable, it might be accepted, although the final authority for disposing of new lands was not to be wholly entrusted to them. Those found to have rightful title were to be granted leases or formal grants, accompanied by accurate plans for proper administration. It was observed that informal practices had arisen whereby individuals, relying on one another's word, had extended their possession of land without proper authority. It was therefore required that stricter oversight be maintained to prevent such uncontrolled distribution. Reference was made to land situated near the pond on the island, and to established regulations recorded in the register. It was noted that, under earlier provisions, any planter who had enclosed twelve acres was entitled to certain exemptions, including relief from constant duties of watching and labour. Further reference was made to an Act dated 11 August 1685, which had required watching duties to be performed in proportion to land held, specifically one obligation for every twenty acres, together with a rent of two shillings per acre. It was stated that those who had enclosed and paid for twelve acres annually, and had maintained a dwelling of sufficient value, were thereby considered to hold a valid title that could be relied upon in disputes. It was further observed that those holding land under such conditions might be more easily dispossessed if they failed to meet the requirements of rent and measurement, particularly where their holdings exceeded what had originally been granted. However, it was also recognised that such persons had often incurred expense in fencing and planting their land, and this was to be taken into account. It was therefore directed that any new arrangements should be fairly settled, reflecting both the original grants and the improvements made, so that disputes might be avoided and proper order maintained. **Interpretations** "Jury of the inhabitants" referred to a group of local residents appointed to give an opinion or judgement on land matters. "Watching" referred to compulsory guard duty or service required from landholders for the defence of the settlement. "Lease or grant" referred to a formal legal instrument conferring rights to occupy or use land. **Speculations** The use of local juries suggests an attempt to incorporate community knowledge into land disputes while retaining central authority. The balance between enforcing legal title and

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			recognising improvements indicates a pragmatic approach to resolving longstanding irregularities in landholding.
185	174	agree, let a Jury view the ground, and do you advise by their opinion on the Conditions observed. As you grant Deeds and a Loan as of our direction, take care they be enter'd in the Register Book as was directed on the first grants of Land, and this time let it all be charged as with the entire Duty before the Seal to the Clerk, so far as you judge fit. We see no reason to omit this occasion, nor may encourage them to make their party and Treaty on with Evasion. We called you several times, and many Persons with their Deeds are absent or have been Neglected, because we cain'd some find a full stop to all publick debates about the propriety of some parts of their old Grants, or reason of their delays. You are to have the same form emitted into your Duty, as you will do at the Charge of surveying measures, that as we think, shall be that the Surveyor may have something for his trouble, and not go thro the People, which it must not take away in this manner, wherein you are even part with our own dues. But in time to any new Alterations, you must take time they be Register'd according to the first instructions, and in the Form thereby directed. When the Lands are thus formed in all Planters Settled you must be equally Carefull to see the former Plantations of use and reason to consult with the Landholders at several Sessions what will be necessary to be laid down before the present use thereof. Make sure they be Register'd, and several stations with proper Numbers to enforce the valuation given for the Landholders will best enter into their Survey's and...	It was directed that, where agreement could be reached, a jury should be appointed to view the land and provide their opinion, and that their judgement should be considered in relation to the conditions observed in each case. It was further required that all deeds and loans granted under the Company's authority be carefully entered into the register book, in accordance with the original instructions concerning land grants. It was stated that proper charges and duties should be applied before the sealing of such documents, as far as might be judged appropriate. It was emphasised that no opportunity should be omitted in enforcing these requirements, so as to prevent inhabitants from evading their obligations or forming private agreements to avoid proper regulation. It was observed that many persons had been called upon to produce their deeds, but that some were absent or had neglected to do so, resulting in continued uncertainty and dispute concerning the validity of certain older grants. It was therefore directed that proper procedures be followed to bring these matters to a conclusion, including the use of formal surveys and measurements. It was stated that the surveyor should receive reasonable compensation for his work, but that such costs should not be improperly imposed upon the inhabitants in a way that diminished the Company's rightful dues. It was further directed that, in any future alterations, all lands should be registered in accordance with the original instructions and prescribed forms. Once lands had been properly surveyed and settled among the planters, it was required that equal care be taken to maintain and regulate existing plantations. It was suggested that consultations be held with landholders at appropriate sessions to determine what measures were necessary for the continued use and improvement of the land. It was also required that all such arrangements be properly recorded, with lands clearly marked and numbered, so that valuations and surveys might be accurately maintained and referred to. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Register book" referred to the official record in which legal documents, such as land grants, were formally entered. "Surveyor" referred to a person responsible for measuring and mapping land boundaries. "Duty" referred to fees or charges payable upon the granting or registration of land. **Speculations** The insistence on registration and formal surveys suggests that earlier informal practices had led to disputes and uncertainty over land ownership. The use of juries and consultations indicates an attempt to combine local knowledge with formal administrative control.
186	175	any Value, let them know you will make Trade without them, but that if your trade gets Rich Consider them as being willing to let them make their own law; if they will but be so Honest as to have the General Benefit of the Island Influenced their Debates. We think we have Studied ye^{e} present with care in the whole of the Coffee concern, & that they are in Gratitude that some justly blame them,	It was suggested that, where inhabitants placed undue value upon their participation in trade, it should be made known that trade could be conducted without them. However, it was also indicated that, if they were willing to act with honesty and regard for the general benefit of the island, they might be permitted to take part in shaping its practices, provided their actions were guided by public interest rather than private advantage. It was stated that careful consideration had been given to the matter of coffee, and that, although some criticism had been made, there remained confidence

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		but if there be any Exceptions to these Opinions, we have undoubted right to let our honest Neighbours with proper Opinion know it ought to be and we will omit you our public Representation. We think it not for our advantage that any Lease of your Land should be let for more than 21 years, & say you say there was no time for a longer Term, therefore there is no Pretence of your then Uncertainty to your own Concerns to make a Rule, whereby the Lands, though they be called so, and your Property not only, forming one quarter from the date of such even under ye^{e} any Occasion or proper affairs in ye^{e} Country will bring upon our honour dishonour. And make them to us the truth and our further Posterity throughout. We look upon these Votes to be a sort of new Parliament of the Property of the Honest Inhabitants of the Island, that is entrusted with you. We know it is necessary and custom for the time to come, any of the Fundamentals of ye^{e} Island relating to the Honour of Justice. We are willing to overlook the Breaches of these Laws & the accusing Proprietors for the same breach is such as been, & whose terms shall be settled as Christ Jesus gives them, and his Followers to make their Representation, and if the power so delegated shall be to any Hand who shall so peruse the Heart, they are not to be intrusted to this our certain Power.	that fair judgement had been applied. It was further noted that, where any exceptions arose, these might be represented openly, and that proper communication should be maintained so that such matters might be addressed. It was directed that no lease of land should be granted for a term exceeding twenty-one years. It was observed that longer terms would be improper, as they might create uncertainty or prejudice the Company's long-term interests. It was emphasised that land, although occupied by individuals, remained the property of the Company, and that granting extended control could lead to disadvantage, both in present administration and for future generations. It was further stated that the decisions made in such matters were to be regarded as forming a kind of representative authority over the property of the inhabitants, entrusted to the Governor and Council. It was acknowledged that, while it was necessary to maintain established customs, especially those relating to justice and the fundamental governance of the island, care must be taken in exercising delegated authority. It was indicated that breaches of such laws might be overlooked in certain cases, but that those entrusted with authority must act with integrity and responsibility, as they were not to be relied upon if they failed to do so. **Interpretations** "Lease" referred to a legal agreement granting use of land for a specified period. "Fundamentals of the island" referred to the core laws and principles governing its administration. "Votes" referred to decisions or resolutions made by governing authorities. **Speculations** The limitation on lease length suggests concern about maintaining long-term control over land and preventing entrenched private interests. The emphasis on public benefit indicates ongoing tension between individual gain and the collective welfare of the settlement.
187	176	Vessels, nor is we mean by this to deprive any Owners of Boats and Crafts going on Account of the late Protest. It has been said that the Laws did even in the year 1679 and August 1683. declare even Vessels at leak of late years to all the Inhabitants, proved all emission of this Act by many a proper Collation to know of aforementioned. We have also the case of Mr. George Hoskison & the Account in the Consultation of the Register & which was read to this Honourable Board, & the same a View of Consideration was through the whole proceedings, some parts of the Facts which are given as the reason of the business seem to be mistaken, as for Instance; That he went up the Island without leave, which he alledg'd by the Allowance Paragraph the 22d & 23d of Mr. Plancheron & Mr. Wanstons concern, another is; That he is to be credited, which looks as that of his Oath, and the Hon'ble Council find one him a Debt in 1675. and paid in Piece, Did then think the Writ profit in another Consultation of January ought to issue in a Charge against him of all the said Demands, known & Undetermined, and the Dockyard to examine the several Persons Books,	It was stated that no intention existed to deprive owners of boats or small craft of their rights, particularly in relation to vessels operating under earlier protest, and that such activities might continue within proper bounds. Reference was made to laws declared in the years 1679 and August 1683, which had addressed the condition and regulation of vessels, including those in disrepair. It was observed that, in recent years, these provisions had been interpreted as extending to all inhabitants, and it was suggested that these earlier acts should be carefully reviewed and compared in order to clarify their proper application. Attention was then directed to the case of Mr George Hoskison, as recorded in the consultation and register, which had been read before the Honourable Board. It was noted that, upon examination of the proceedings, certain aspects of the case appeared to have been misunderstood. For example, it had been alleged that he had gone into the interior of the island without permission, although he had claimed that such action was permitted under earlier allowances referred to in paragraphs 22 and 23 relating to the concerns of Mr Plancheron and Mr Wanstons. It was also noted that his credibility had been questioned, including reference to his oath, and that a debt recorded against him in 1675 had been partially settled. It was further stated that, in a subsequent consultation held in January, it had been considered appropriate that a writ should be issued against him in respect of outstanding and unresolved demands. It was directed that examination be made of the books held by

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		protested Debts here on Accounts he did then, and the Interrogation later December following, the Consultation wrote in Report and in view of this Turn Inquiries all these are so many Proofs as to fix upon some time to desire his Book of Ships Account, & this might be evidence for the Proceedings against his Life, & the Estates he would remain broken if so pretty strict justice the Hon'ble was deceived the Council might have.	various persons, including records from the dockyard, in order to verify debts and accounts associated with him. It was noted that further interrogation had taken place in December following, and that a report had been entered into consultation records. It was concluded that these various inquiries and records provided grounds for fixing a time to require him to produce his ship accounts, which might serve as evidence in proceedings concerning both his conduct and his estate. It was observed that, if strict justice were applied, it might reveal that the Honourable Council had previously been misled in its judgement of the case. **Interpretations** "Consultation" referred to the official record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Writ" referred to a formal legal order issued to initiate proceedings or enforce a claim. "Dockyard" referred to a place where ships were built, repaired or maintained, and where related records might be kept. **Speculations** The detailed re-examination of Hoskison's case suggests concern that earlier decisions may have been based on incomplete or misleading information. The reference to longstanding laws on vessels indicates ongoing ambiguity in maritime regulation within the settlement.
188	177	have been justified in laying these his old upon facts and testimony to the Company's use, and taking an Inventory thereof, and that leaving it with Mr. Wilkins to be accountable for it in receipt of our further Orders, being such a one that had large Demands for many years, and the Distance of being so much further as the Consultation themselves Evidence supposed not to be thought to be the trusted longer, or being much otherwise, as before the Particular and settlement of the Island, the hope to be having alloted all the Real Ensigns of Mr. Robinson's estate or the Orphans he is engaged for in Condition the Law for fencing and Planting is complied with. We have a Petition of Mary Alexanders Widow, about the Engines of her Husband's Estate's Observation Lands, and for the same Sum was contracted to spend in a further observance of the house being in a Quarter of a Dollar, receiving the half appearing the Governor of the Quarter towards the Long Draft, is inclined to extend it. We also think the Reverend Governor Power's years was that he publickly Ordered his long Expectation of many of the Inmates he did not with an open Representation, nor were the Orders of the Governour and Commander that are at present to be followed but what the Law gives them in the just and Right of the Government before Disturbance, like the former Misunderstanding of Company's People, all honestly recommended with no Increase the provision beginning God from Whom ye^{e} do sincerely Circumstance.	In consequence of the evidence and testimony produced, the Company considered itself justified in taking possession of Mr Hoskison's effects for its own use. An inventory was ordered to be made, and the goods were placed in the custody of Mr Wilkins, who was to remain accountable for them until further instructions were issued. This course was thought reasonable given the long-standing nature of the claims against him, and the difficulty of resolving such matters at such distance. It was also suggested that, in settling the affairs of the island more generally, provision might be made regarding estates such as that of Mr Robinson, or those for which he stood responsible, particularly where the required conditions of fencing and planting had been fulfilled. A petition submitted by Mary Alexander, widow, was also taken into consideration. This concerned the management of her late husband's estate, including lands and improvements. A sum had been agreed for maintaining or improving the property, part of which had already been received, and there appeared to be some inclination on the part of the Governor to allow further extension in her favour. Consideration was also given to earlier conduct under Governor Power. Although certain expectations had been publicly declared during his administration, these had not always been formally recorded or consistently applied. It was therefore directed that present governance should rest upon established law and proper authority, rather than informal understandings, so as to prevent the recurrence of earlier misunderstandings. Emphasis was placed on maintaining order and fairness, without imposing unnecessary burdens, and ensuring that administration proceeded on a clear and regular footing. Lastly, reference was made to a petition from Gabriel Powlett, though the details of his case were not fully preserved in the passage.

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		We have a Petition of Gabriel Powlett which although he was oblig'd...	
189	178	Obliged to enter into a Recognizance of £100 - and finding of a fair of Corn in a Vote, saw his own there was fined - made the pay £20 - and did Reengagement abroad in the Council Book, as protested because Mr. Griffith said it was an affront on him. He prays us to remit the fine of £100 - alledg'd in several parts, and that the Land he has in possession in right of his wife's Brother Wildman may be considered to him, instead they have said Mr. Griffith will rely on the Case because the Execution was only in their Debt, and given into the late his Wife's produce is valuable, and that he be further Liable to pay any more thereon as to his Debt at a Jury of such Orders Determine the case according to Custom & Equity. For the various mentioned in the Consultation of the 4th November 1709 that Corporations enjoy her former Privileges and the Exercise be managed during of even years to the Company's use, we receive such annual that be so valued we wish proper and concern, and are unwilling to Dispose on all the Premises. Humphrey demands ye Petition Consultation of the the Governor, that he was not satisfied when provided Turkey and all the small goods sold him, he said suppose this is the whole of the Case and proper should only rest in the Jury but of uncertain Complaints - Goods which he mentions not, the Governor many of the Islander Submitting also him a hard turn in the want of Government.	A case was described in which an individual had been required to enter into a recognisance of £100, and, after further proceedings, had been fined £20, with the matter entered into the Council Book. It was recorded that this action had been protested, as Mr Griffith had considered it an affront. A request was therefore made that the fine of £100 be remitted. In support of this request, it had been alleged that land held in possession in right of his wife's brother, Wildman, ought to be taken into account, and that the produce of his late wife's estate was of value. It was further stated that any remaining liability for debt should be determined by a jury, in accordance with established orders, custom and equity. Reference was made to matters recorded in the Consultation of 4 November 1709, in which it had been declared that corporations should continue to enjoy their former privileges, and that their functions should be exercised for the Company's use. These arrangements were understood to carry an annual value, and it was indicated that proper consideration should be given to them, with reluctance expressed at disposing of the matter without fuller examination of all circumstances. A further petition, attributed to Humphrey, was also considered. Dissatisfaction had been expressed regarding a transaction in which goods, including turkey and other small items, had been sold to him. It had been suggested that the case might properly rest with a jury, owing to uncertainty in the complaints and the absence of clear detail concerning some of the goods mentioned. It was also indicated that he believed himself to have suffered unfair treatment, which was attributed to deficiencies in the administration of government on the island. **Interpretations** "Recognisance" referred to a formal legal obligation, secured by a stated sum, requiring an individual to comply with specified conditions, often relating to conduct or payment, and enforceable upon breach. "Corporations" in this context referred to organised bodies or institutional groups within the settlement that possessed recognised privileges or administrative functions, rather than modern commercial companies. "Consultation" referred to the formal written record of deliberations and decisions made by the Governor and Council, forming an official administrative archive. **Speculations** The appeal for remission of the £100 recognisance suggests that the original penalty may have been considered disproportionate, particularly when weighed against the value of associated land and estate interests. The reliance on jury determination indicates that local adjudication remained an important mechanism for resolving disputes where documentary evidence or administrative clarity was insufficient.
190	179	could keep them in very tolerable decorum, when any Complaint is made now, let the Cause be fairly heard, and sentence past by the Governor in Council, whether the Cause and the Reason must be Sign'd, for one officiated and the Cause but the Reason was Sign'd in the case of worth. Consider well the Consultation the Clause of late orders from Helena and particularly the 25 paragraph of the Instructions of November 1709 wherein the Hon'ble	It was stated that order might be maintained in a tolerable manner if, whenever complaints were made, the causes were fairly heard and judgement was given by the Governor in Council. It was directed that both the cause and the reasoning for each decision should be formally recorded and signed, as had been done in certain previous cases, so that proper authority and justification might be preserved in the record. Attention was drawn to the need for careful consideration of the Consultation and of the clauses contained in recent orders from St Helena, particularly the twenty-fifth paragraph of the Instructions dated November 1709. It was noted that the Honourable

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		Council, and particularly Governor Roberts's own Affection it was not convenient to Lease out any more of your Lands and gives some Satisfaction upon it, and if we once sure our Lands will be well employed by those who have the Sovereignty and the Company reap the Benefit of it by the wise Management of Planting sugar Canes, encouraging the Production of Game, the raising of Oxen or Mares or Enlarging the Export, there is a necessity for employing these and Planting our own Occasions at least till these Settlements are thoroughly laid for your such Care will be looked to keep it and to fix just Rule for our Service to till the part of the Company not to any Waster, only in his Allowance with ye[e] further disposal. You will Consider, and as your power considers also the Complaint in the above Paragraph if our Grievance being neglected is remedy'd. Governor Protests by the Forging Experiments has done us this Service, that he has fenced and sown some 10 Cools Acre.	Council, and Governor Roberts in particular, had expressed the view that it was not convenient to lease out further lands. Some satisfaction had been given on this point, and it was indicated that, if the Company's lands were properly managed by those in authority, benefit might be derived through improved agricultural practice. This included the planting of sugar cane, encouragement of game, the raising of oxen and mares, and the enlargement of exports. It was therefore considered necessary that such activities be pursued under careful regulation, at least until the settlements were fully established. Proper rules were to be fixed for the Company's service, ensuring that land was not wasted and that its use remained within authorised limits. Further consideration was required in relation to the complaints mentioned in the preceding paragraph, with direction given that any neglect giving rise to grievance should be examined and remedied where necessary. It was reported that the Governor, through certain experimental efforts, had provided some service by fencing and sowing approximately 10 cool acres of land. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Consultation" referred to the official written record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Cool acre" was an archaic term used in some colonial contexts to describe a measure of land, though its precise size could vary regionally and was not always standardised. "Game" referred to animals kept or encouraged for hunting, which could contribute to food supply or controlled use of land. **Speculations** The emphasis on recording both cause and reasoning suggests an attempt to strengthen administrative accountability and reduce arbitrary decision-making. The reluctance to lease additional land indicates concern that excessive private control might undermine the Company's long-term economic interests.
191	180	of which he has made 7000 feet. He says that he is afraid of making Bricks and Lyme, which are two other principal Materials, as well as the strange Labour may be Imploy'd in vending them, and for Saw Mills for, and that when these Fortifications are made, it may be otherwise use of Water, Vessells, &c[a] from the Shipock Mills, &c[a], or Wharfs in the same, in which we take Additions to the Improvement of the Island, and we expect You will Continue to Inform the further service this Beginning. The making the 10[th] Negro's number, in which he thought could do when Engins have been try'd, here, and are not as yet attain'd the Debates here call for them, that it is either want of any Method known, but to be obtained that proper order be sent in some Journey, if you find any others more Mineral in your digging for Stone or Stones, You may find as Complete for further Supplies. The making the 10[th] Negro's involve in every Purchase is Essential to the Introduction, as the same in various	It was reported that the Governor had constructed fencing amounting to 7,000 feet, and that progress had been made in enclosing and cultivating land. Concern had been expressed, however, regarding the production of bricks and lime, which were identified as essential materials for further works. It had been stated that hesitation arose from the labour required both in producing these materials and in preparing them for use, as well as from uncertainty over the employment of additional labour in related tasks such as the establishment of sawmills. It was also noted that, once the fortifications were completed, these works might be extended to include improvements involving water use, vessels, mills and wharfs, which were considered as potential additions to the general improvement of the island. It was therefore expected that continued reports would be provided on the progress and usefulness of these initial undertakings. Reference was made to the employment of slaves, with it being observed that an increase in their number was considered necessary for carrying out such works, particularly where machinery or engines had not yet been successfully introduced or perfected. It was indicated that present difficulties arose either from the absence of suitable methods or from the lack of established practice, and that further instruction might be required to improve operations. It was also suggested that, during the process of digging for stone, other useful mineral resources might be discovered, which could contribute to future supplies.

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		Conveyances Shall have been Necessary it is to have orders, Instructions and therefore give You a Promising View, that you will further Support us his Plantation by a proportionable Superstructure. We are sorry we have not room to do the whole in time. We have not thought fit to do with other utensils or people for making of Sugar, but if we are not Oppos'd by the Present Experiments it will be worth while you may depend on assisting, and have what you want, & have opportunities to prepare.	Attention was drawn to the importance of including a proportion of slaves in each acquisition or undertaking, this being regarded as essential to the development and maintenance of plantation activity. It was stated that, through various conveyances, such measures would be supported by orders and instructions, and that continued effort would be expected to strengthen the plantation through gradual and proportionate expansion. It was further observed that, although there had not been sufficient opportunity to address all matters in detail, consideration had been given to the production of sugar. It was noted that no immediate provision had been made for supplying utensils or additional labour for this purpose, but that, if current experiments proved successful, further assistance might be provided. Assurance was given that necessary support and materials would be supplied when required, and that preparations should be made in anticipation of such opportunities. **Interpretations** "Lyme" referred to lime, a material produced by burning limestone, used in construction, especially for mortar and plaster in fortifications and buildings. "Sawmills" referred to mechanical installations for cutting timber, an important process for construction and ship-related works. "Engins" referred to early forms of machinery or mechanical devices, often experimental in colonial settings, used to improve labour efficiency in tasks such as milling or construction. **Speculations** The hesitation to produce bricks and lime suggests limitations in skilled labour or technical knowledge within the settlement. The repeated emphasis on increasing the number of slaves indicates that labour shortages were a central constraint on both defensive works and agricultural expansion.
192	181	We omitted before to tell you, We don't approve that pernicious Custom, as it has been managed of Changing our Lands with the Planters, because thereby they have been encouraged to Neglect what they were bound in equity as well as Contract, have found favour also with our Orders in exchange, that it may be to no manner of Regard from this Caution. We cannot Refuse to pay the Western Hire, the part of the Heavy duties therein born, with the Latter mentioned, they were coming there to prevent the just Claimer demanding a late value, & you take care in the Dispatch of every Return, and as which affords ye^{e} Orders to be so forwarded from the first part an ample advice of their being in our Service. Mr. Thomlinson, and the Chaplain for the time being saluted the loss of the Marriages, Births and Burials removed from Helena, this was received & not signed. Touching our Fortifications, Building and Garrison Stores. We have been long on this and in the last 2 former Letters do understand that when our present Committee have had occasion to write to the Government of Helena, they have ever sent directions thereon, to all which as before you, and	It was stated that the practice of exchanging Company lands with planters was not approved, having been judged a pernicious custom as it had been conducted. It had been observed that such exchanges had encouraged planters to neglect the obligations they were bound to fulfil, both in equity and by contract, and that they had taken advantage of earlier orders permitting such arrangements. It was therefore directed that no regard should be given to such practices in future, and that this caution should be strictly observed. It was further indicated that payment could not be refused in respect of the Western hire, together with the associated heavy duties that had been incurred. It was explained that these payments had arisen in order to prevent claims being made at a later and higher value. Care was therefore required in the dispatch of each returning ship, ensuring that proper notice was given in advance and that all matters relating to their service were clearly communicated and recorded. It was noted that Mr Thomlinson and the Chaplain for the time being had reported losses relating to the registers of marriages, births and burials removed from St Helena. This report had been received but had not been formally signed. Attention was then directed to the subject of fortifications, buildings and garrison stores. It was stated that this matter had already been addressed at length in the two preceding letters, and that, on each occasion when the present Committee had written to the Government of St Helena, directions had been included on these subjects. It was therefore expected that these instructions should have been followed. It was further indicated that there had been concern as to whether provisions had been properly completed and

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		ye[e] said, be afraid to hear the Provisions were completed, and well stored, and if not we might have the satisfaction had our Assist in time.	stored, and that, if deficiencies had existed, earlier notice ought to have been given so that assistance might have been provided in time. **Interpretations** "Western hire" referred to payments associated with shipping or transport services, possibly linked to vessels engaged in routes connected with western trade or return voyages, and often involving contractual freight obligations. "Registers of marriages, births and burials" referred to official parish records, typically maintained by a chaplain, which served as the primary legal record of vital events within the settlement. **Speculations** The rejection of land exchanges suggests that such arrangements had undermined both agricultural productivity and the Company's control over land tenure. The concern over missing parish records indicates the administrative importance of maintaining accurate documentation for legal and social order in the colony.
193	182	always of being insulted in the end. By the Account Governor Roberts has given Us, the old Fortifications could have been perfected in the three Years, had he had Sufficient of hands to serve but as it was they were well intended. You will see in the latter Consultations such as orders the Captains Sailors and Gunners to be at Church upon God and hope, which with every proper direction there also to serve Temples, Preservative our former directions of getting the Orphans to servants of our own Ships in the time of Wars, and not lose their opportunity if they can give you any. Take care all the Buildings you make be Substantial, the first charge is always best. We take you to be straitforwards to Prevent such Servants to knock up Straw Forts, and the want of persons to form any attempt upon them. Let them be as full up as years as you have time of it from some necessary fortifications. The Building of Barracks for the Soldiers or temporary service is on all the foot as Supplies Lately is not yet enough. You will find in the former States to the very best of having regard to the Consultation of 1st August 1709, which mentions the Order in Resolutions 15th that present Accounts considered with it to brake appears brought. The Faulting Cases to the Stores we approve not and every thing had left for our Service wherein it at least answered the...	It was stated that, without proper precautions, ships might in the end be exposed to insult or danger, and that such risks were to be guarded against. An account had been provided by Governor Roberts in which it was asserted that the earlier fortifications might have been completed within three years if sufficient labour had been available. In the absence of such manpower, it was acknowledged that the works had nevertheless been undertaken with good intention. Reference was made to later consultations in which orders had been issued requiring captains, sailors and gunners to attend church, with the intention of maintaining religious observance and proper discipline. It was also directed that earlier instructions concerning the placing of orphans into service aboard the Company's ships during wartime should continue to be followed, so that such opportunities might not be lost where they could be obtained. Care was required to ensure that all buildings were constructed in a substantial manner, it having been considered that the initial expense of proper construction was preferable to later deficiencies. It was directed that inferior or temporary structures, described as "straw forts", should be prevented, and that adequate provision be made to ensure that fortifications were complete and defensible, even where labour was limited. It was observed that the construction of barracks for soldiers, whether for permanent or temporary use, remained insufficient despite recent supplies. Attention was drawn to earlier records, particularly the consultation dated 1 August 1709, in which the fifteenth resolution had addressed the consideration of accounts and related matters. Disapproval was expressed regarding deficiencies in the management of stores, and it was required that all goods and provisions intended for the Company's service be properly accounted for and applied. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Straw forts" referred to poorly constructed or temporary defensive works, lacking durability and strength, and therefore unsuitable for effective military defence. "Consultation" referred to the formal written record of decisions and proceedings made by the Governor and Council. **Speculations** The continued reference to incomplete fortifications suggests that labour shortages remained a persistent obstacle to defensive preparedness.

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			The insistence on proper accounting of stores indicates concern over mismanagement or loss of Company property.
194	183	No one of the debts is your Encouragement as an Interpreter, but you will be just & Disinterested for we do you well mean in Generals, before we be told you in hopes after all the labouring in labouring in Plantations, Cattle &c[a] to make the most of them for the Honour & service of our affairs. Send us Annually an Account of all our Revenues, and also the produce of our Lands, and in particular of the name of the Overseers, and they pay for the public events at the Expence on their rents, Stocks, Cattle &c[a], and let the old ones in doubt consequence. Whatever the matter you think proper for our Services from, the rest fewer, or in our former letters particularly limited. We have found the Governor General's power secured by the Contracts, such as not empty cast up, as you will see in the Entry of our your Books, and in suppose we desire the papers sent as, therefore let there be want of Expense be approved, and pass'd by the Governour & Council, & no Evidence they dispose of them. You will see in former Letters directions in diminishing the Expence of Trade in recovery of Values which you will observe. We have Considered the Consultation of the 21st of May 1710 - about the power of the Governour, and say the Interpretation of the Contract therein mentioned is right; for we look upon it the Government of the Island and the Artillery is only to the Governour.	It was stated that no encouragement was to be given in the handling of debts through partiality or self-interest, and that conduct should instead be guided by fairness and impartial judgement. It was expressed that the general intention was to promote the Company's interests, and that, after the labour expended in plantations, cattle and other undertakings, every effort should be made to derive the greatest benefit for the honour and service of its affairs. It was directed that annual accounts be sent detailing all revenues, together with the produce of the Company's lands. Particular notice was to be given of the names of overseers, and of the payments made for public charges out of rents, stock, cattle and related resources. It was also required that earlier accounts be reviewed where uncertainty remained, so that proper understanding might be maintained. It was further stated that, in all matters, actions should be guided by what was judged most proper for the Company's service, having regard to earlier letters in which limits and directions had been set. It was observed that the authority of the Governor had been secured by contract, as appeared in the entries of the books, and it was therefore required that all relevant papers be transmitted. It was directed that no expenses should be allowed unless approved and passed by the Governor and Council, and that no disposal of funds should occur without proper authority and record. Reference was made to earlier instructions concerning the reduction of trading expenses and the recovery of value, which were to be observed. Consideration was also given to the consultation dated 21 May 1710, in which the powers of the Governor had been addressed. It was stated that the interpretation of the contract in that instance was correct, and that the government of the island, together with control of the artillery, was understood to rest solely with the Governor. **Interpretations** "Interpreter" in this context referred not to a translator of language, but to a person exercising judgement or discretion in financial or administrative matters, particularly in the handling of debts. "Consultation" referred to the formal written record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Artillery" referred to the guns and military equipment forming part of the island's defensive system, typically under the direct authority of the Governor. **Speculations** The insistence on impartial handling of debts suggests previous concerns over favouritism or misuse of authority in financial matters. The clarification of the Governor's exclusive control over government and artillery indicates an effort to reinforce central authority and prevent interference from other officials.
195	184	Governor & Council or the Major part of them for the time being and you are at all necessary in time of Action to have one then ready to assent that is the Governor singly without he will have the advice of his Council is not to enter the record. We hold We think that Commission to be transferr'd into to the Military Officers under him be qualified by his Authority or the approval of the same, and if the consequence which has been	It was directed that authority in matters of governance should rest with the Governor and Council, or with the majority of them for the time being. In situations requiring immediate action, it was stated that the Governor might act alone, but that, unless the advice of the Council had been sought, such decisions were not to be formally entered into the record. It was further indicated that the powers granted by commission might be delegated to military officers under the Governor, provided that such delegation was made under his authority and with proper approval.

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		drawn formerly be suspected, any Military Officer for Breach of Orders or failure in his duty, but that the Officer be contented to be tried at St. Helena or any other Service without the assent of the Governor & Council or the Major part of them with or Consultation, the whole course of things to be examined. Touching the general government of the Island We have something essential to advise in the present occasion and therefore shall still no more at present but only to tell you that we have desired Mr. John Pack, Deputy for Justice to be detailed out of his growing salary, which you must take care be paid by him. London April 17th 1711 We are Your Loving Friends	Provision was made for the discipline of military officers, it having been stated that, where breaches of orders or failures in duty were suspected, the matter should be examined through proper procedure. It was directed that no officer should be tried at St Helena or in any other service without the assent of the Governor and Council, or of the majority of them, and that such proceedings should be conducted through formal consultation, with the entire course of the case subject to review. Attention was then turned to the general government of the island, with it being indicated that further essential advice would be given on a future occasion. For the present, it was stated that Mr John Pack, Deputy for Justice, had been required to make a payment out of his growing salary, and it was directed that care be taken to ensure that this was duly paid. The letter was dated London, 17 April 1711, and concluded with the customary closing. **Interpretations** "Commission" referred to a formal grant of authority, issued under seal, empowering an individual to exercise specific administrative or military functions. "Consultation" referred to the official written record of deliberations and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Deputy for Justice" referred to an appointed official responsible for assisting in the administration of legal matters within the settlement. **Speculations** The restriction on recording decisions made solely by the Governor suggests concern about unchecked authority and a preference for collective oversight. The requirement that military officers be tried only with Council assent indicates an effort to formalise discipline and prevent arbitrary punishment.
196	185	Our Governour & Council of St Helena London the 30th May 1712 In our Generall Letter of the 17th Aprill 1711, sent by the Toddington and Shuttleworth, We were very large in the Orders and Instructions therein given touching our Affairs in Generall, and the Regular Settlement of the whole Island, and the prosperity of the severall Inhabitants in particular, We also therein referred you to what had been before that time relating to the Affairs under the Management of the Governour and Council for the time being, wherein were divers express Rules and full directions given touching the severall matters Treated of, which were to be Observed on all times on the like occasion, so that we might reasonably have Expected our Affairs to St Helena would have thence forward have been brought into a narrow Compass and that we should have had no occasion for enlarging this in most of the Paragraphs undermentioned. You may easily discern by the Tenour of our Last Letter that we we were desirous to Quiett the minds of the People by receding from our own just demands, and passing a kind of Generall Amnesty on Account of former Transgressions and Breaches of the Laws of the Island, so as they might be duly obeyed for the future and we were in great hopes the sameTemper would have prevailed on you all to Second our Intentions, but instead thereof by the Packets	A general letter dated 30 May 1712 and addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena referred back to an earlier general letter of 17 April 1711, which had been sent by the ships *Toddington* and *Shuttleworth*. In that earlier correspondence, extensive orders and instructions had been issued concerning the Company's affairs in general, the proper settlement of the island and the prosperity of its inhabitants. It was also recalled that reference had been made to earlier directions relating to the administration of the island, in which clear rules and detailed guidance had been provided on various matters. These were to be observed on all similar occasions, and it had therefore been expected that the Company's affairs at St Helena would thereafter be brought into a more orderly and limited scope, without the need for repeated elaboration. It was further stated that the tone of the earlier letter had been intended to calm the inhabitants by withdrawing certain just demands and by allowing a form of general amnesty for past offences and breaches of the island's laws. This had been done so that obedience might be secured for the future. It had been hoped that the same conciliatory approach would have been adopted by the Governor and Council in support of these intentions. However, it was indicated that, from the packets received, this expectation had not been fulfilled. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "General letter" referred to a formal communication issued by the Court of Directors addressing broad administrative, legal and economic matters affecting the entire settlement. "Amnesty" referred to a deliberate decision to overlook or pardon past offences in order to restore order and encourage future compliance with established laws. "Packets" referred to bundles of official

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			correspondence and reports sent from the island to the Company. **Speculations** The reference to a general amnesty suggests that earlier governance had been marked by widespread non-compliance, requiring a reset in enforcement. The disappointment expressed indicates that the Governor and Council perhaps failed to implement the conciliatory policy, leading to continued administrative difficulties.
197	185	Identical film image as film No. 196	
198	186	Packets received by the Dutch, which Ships arrived in the River the 7th Instant, and those by the sweet sloop Rover came to us yesterday. It appears to us that the People of St. Helena have been spirited up to greater heats of Animosity, and that instead of observing our directions and Judging the Generall Benefit and Peace of the Company, and that very little Notice was taken of your said Generalls relating to the Public Advertisements, which we have answered in respect of the Paragraph of your former of the 4th Aprill 1711, wherein a promise shall be done by the next Ships, wherein the Same is better wrote than voted, refer it as Barren as the other: We find the Intelligences & Advantages received the 5th of August, near four Months before your last Return to us by the Marchpacket, and it is considered in your Orders as many Instruments of your former, and especially ye^{e} said Council - long at time and remote, and yet with those appeared so many of them and related to the Petitions the then Councils in their Power and Salary, and he was Obliged by your Consultation Book to be easy; the Meantime successful nothing very little is like to be done, in pursuance of our Generall Orders, and by the Letters which pass between the late who Govern'd and his Council it seems to us, that the great Party was so constrained as to fall without rendering...	It was reported that packets had been received by the Dutch ships which had arrived in the river on 7 May 1712, and that further correspondence had been delivered by the sloop *Rover* on the previous day. From these communications, it had appeared that the inhabitants of St Helena had been stirred into greater levels of animosity. Instead of following the Company's directions and acting with regard to the general benefit and peace of its affairs, it was observed that little attention had been given to the general letters, particularly those relating to public advertisements. Reference was made to a paragraph of an earlier letter dated 4 April 1711, in which a promise had been made that certain matters would be addressed by the next ships, yet it was noted that the response had been insufficient and of little substance. It was further observed that intelligence and reports had been received on 5 August 1711, nearly four months before the most recent return sent by the March packet. These had been considered alongside earlier orders and instructions, including those relating to the Council, whose proceedings were described as delayed and distant. It was noted that many matters had been brought forward in petitions, and that members of the Council, in exercising their authority and receiving their salaries, had been bound by entries in the Consultation Book to act with moderation. However, it was stated that, in practice, little had been accomplished in carrying out the Company's general orders. It was also observed, from the correspondence exchanged between the former Governor and his Council, that divisions had arisen among them, and that factional disputes had hindered effective administration. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Packets" referred to bundles of official correspondence and reports transmitted between the island and the Company, often carried by ships. "Public advertisements" referred to formal notices issued to inhabitants, typically concerning regulations, obligations or official decisions. "Consultation Book" referred to the official record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council, serving as an administrative and legal reference. **Speculations** The reference to increasing animosity suggests that political or personal divisions within the settlement had intensified, undermining governance. The delay between receiving intelligence and responding indicates inefficiencies in communication that may have contributed to administrative stagnation.
199	187	give opportunitys of Clamour and indeed every thing but what shou'd be the Summ it up here in Generall to Show you our Concern for such Management, and that we expected it would have been otherwise, and desire this may be the last occasion for such just Complaint of which	It was stated that the manner in which affairs had been conducted had given rise to occasions of complaint and disorder, rather than producing the proper outcomes expected. Concern was expressed at such management, and it was noted that better conduct had been anticipated. It was therefore desired that this should be the last instance requiring such justified complaint. It was indicated that, among many issues

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		you will find among many that might be named some particulars occur under the following Generall heads. And first Concerning Shipping sent out, and returning. Since our aforesaid Letter it has pleased God to send us the following Ships Viz^{t}: Viz^{t}: the Abingdon from Bombay and Nathaniel from Bencoolen, the last from Jeeland arrived in the Downs the 21st May last. The Loyall Blisse & King William from the Bay, the Loyall Cooke from China, the Donegall from Mochoa, the Blenheim from Mochoa & Bombay and the Charleton from Bencoolen joyned the Dutch at the Cape, and arrived in the River of Thames the 8th August last. The Frederick from the Fort, the Susannah, Europe & Concord from the Bay, and the Fleet Frigatt from Bombay with the Men of War from S^{t}. Helena arrived in the Downs the 6th of October last. The Fleet Frigatt arrived last from Jealand in the River of Thames as beforementioned, the Successe was off the Lands end as Mr. Lawson the third mate Tels us the 23^{d} Instant, where he was - had a Share with the Packets and is since gotten to Plymouth. The Windsor.	that might have been raised, certain particulars would be set out under general headings. Attention was first directed to shipping sent out and returning. Since the earlier letter, it had been reported that several ships had safely arrived. These included the *Abingdon* from Bombay and the *Nathaniel* from Bencoolen, the latter having come from Zealand and arrived in the Downs on 21 May 1712. It was further noted that the *Loyall Blisse* and *King William* had arrived from the Bay, the *Loyall Cooke* from China, the *Donegall* from Mocha, and the *Blenheim* from Mocha and Bombay. The *Charleton* from Bencoolen had joined the Dutch at the Cape and had arrived in the River Thames on 8 August 1711. Additional arrivals were recorded, including the *Frederick* from the Fort, the *Susannah*, *Europe* and *Concord* from the Bay, and the *Fleet Frigatt* from Bombay, which had accompanied men of war from St Helena and arrived in the Downs on 6 October 1711. It was also noted that the *Fleet Frigatt* had later arrived again from Zealand in the River Thames. Information was provided concerning the *Successe*, which had been reported off Land's End on 23 [day unreadable] 1712 by Mr Lawson, the third mate. It was stated that he had been associated with the packets and had since reached Plymouth. Reference was then made to the *Windsor*, but the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "The Downs" referred to the anchorage area off the east coast of Kent, commonly used by ships awaiting orders or favourable conditions. "The Bay" referred to the Bay of Bengal, a principal region of East India Company trade. "Mocha" referred to the port on the Red Sea coast, an important centre for trade, especially in coffee. **Speculations** The detailed listing of ship movements suggests the importance placed on tracking maritime activity as a measure of the Company's commercial and logistical performance. The emphasis on arrivals from multiple regions indicates the wide geographical scope of the Company's operations and the reliance on coordinated shipping networks.
200	188	Windsor from Mochoa touched at the Cape, and got to Lisbon the 29th March last from whence she is suddenly expected with the Patagalls Fleet and Convoy. The Ships sent out to all parts of India this Season have been Viz^{t} The Nathaniel.....250 Jonathan Negus for Mochoa The Taunton.....350 Henry Gough for Canton & Coast of St George The Horne.....360 John Lane for Canton & Horne They sailed from Plymouth the 9th January last The Mary.....460 Richard Holden for the Bay The Marlborough.....180 Matthew Martin The Kent.....350 Lawrence Mintern for the Coast & Bay The Recovery.....330 Joseph Beale The Success.....220 Page Noble for Bencoolen These five sailed from Portsmouth the 18th February having lain a long while for a Wind & Convoy. The Grantham Frigatt...470 Jonathan Collett The Severn.....480 Eustace Peacock for Bombay The Blenheim.....250 Abraham Purvett They sailed from St Helens the 29th April. The Abingdon.....400 John Lesley for St Helena and Bencoolen by whom we send you this. What good Stores &c^{a} she brings, You will find in her Invoice and Bill of Lading, and in the Packett is her Charterparty, which you have Inclosed for your	It was reported that the *Windsor*, returning from Mocha, had touched at the Cape and had reached Lisbon on 29 March 1712, from where she was expected shortly to arrive with the Portugal fleet and its convoy. A list was then provided of ships sent out to various parts of India during the present season. The *Nathaniel*, of 250 tons, under Jonathan Negus, had been bound for Mocha. The *Taunton*, of 350 tons, commanded by Henry Gough, had been sent for Canton and the Coast of St George. The *Horne*, of 360 tons, under John Lane, had also been destined for Canton and Horne. These three ships had sailed from Plymouth on 9 January 1712. Further vessels had departed from Portsmouth on 18 February 1712, having been delayed for some time awaiting wind and convoy. These included the *Mary*, of 460 tons, commanded by Richard Holden, bound for the Bay, the *Marlborough*, of 180 tons, under Matthew Martin, the *Kent*, of 350 tons, commanded by Lawrence Mintern, for the Coast and the Bay, the *Recovery*, of 330 tons, under Joseph Beale, and the *Success*, of 220 tons, commanded by Page Noble, for Bencoolen. It was also noted that the *Grantham Frigatt*, of 470 tons, under Jonathan Collett, the *Severn*, of 480 tons, commanded by Eustace Peacock for Bombay, and the *Blenheim*, of 250 tons, under Abraham Purvett, had sailed from St Helens on 29 April 1712.

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		Information as to her stay at St Helena, and must send it along with the Ship.	The *Abingdon*, of 400 tons, commanded by John Lesley and bound for St Helena and Bencoolen, had also been dispatched, and it was by this vessel that the present communication was sent. It was stated that details of the stores carried by this ship would be found in her invoice and bill of lading, and that her charterparty had been enclosed within the packet for information regarding her stay at St Helena. It was directed that this document should be returned with the ship. **Interpretations** "Charterparty" referred to the formal contract between the shipowner and the Company, setting out the terms of the voyage, including cargo, duration of stay and obligations at ports. "Bill of Lading" referred to the official document listing the goods loaded onto a ship, serving as a receipt and evidence of shipment. "Convoy" referred to a group of ships sailing together under protection, often accompanied by armed vessels, for security against attack. **Speculations** The detailed scheduling and tonnage of ships suggests close oversight of logistical capacity and freight planning by the Company. The delays noted at Portsmouth indicate the dependency of long-distance voyages on favourable weather and organised naval protection.
201	189	ship to Bencoolen in your Packett to them, as We have advised them. We here Note that by our Letters, We have directed a List of Stores and Goods, which are wanted at S^{t}. Helena should be allways sent in a Packett a part with the Generall Letters to be forwarded to us from the first Port in Europe, which had you observed, We had been able then to have Supplyed you with what you wrote for by the Mead, at least as far as they could be got ready, and the Ships could take them in, whereas for want of care in this the Committees were guided by your preceding List as far as the Abingdon could carry what they had provided, who was in her way to the Downs when the Mead Packett came to hand and what you now write for must be respited till the next opportunity when ever you desire a greater Quantity than ordinary of anything or for goods or Stores not usually wrote for, give the reasons for so doing to prevent all doubt or hesitation and for fear of Miscarriage send double Lists or Indents one for the Generalls Packett the second for the Packetts apart. We have received the Copys of the Protests against the Captains of the Thistleworth and Todington, and their Answers, and find that you did not attend to the 8th, 20th & 21st Paragraphs of our Generalls Letter by those two Ships, which Directs how you should proceed in making your Protests, for if you had, as you write not have allowed them a longer time than the Charterparty too, so you would have taken Notice of our directions touching the particular matters and grounds for protesting, how the case is now altered the...	It was directed that correspondence intended for Bencoolen should be included within the packet sent to that settlement, in accordance with earlier advice already given to them. Attention was drawn to prior instructions requiring that a list of stores and goods needed at St Helena be sent separately in a distinct packet, apart from the general letters, and forwarded from the first port reached in Europe. It was observed that this instruction had not been followed, and that, had it been observed, supplies requested in earlier correspondence might have been provided by the ship *Mead*, at least to the extent that they could have been prepared and loaded. Instead, it was noted that, owing to this omission, the Committees had been obliged to rely on earlier lists when loading the *Abingdon*, which had already been on her way to the Downs when the packet from the *Mead* was received. As a result, the more recent requests would have to be delayed until the next opportunity. It was further directed that, whenever quantities greater than usual were requested, or when goods or stores not commonly ordered were required, clear reasons should be given in order to prevent doubt or hesitation. To avoid loss or error, it was required that duplicate lists or indents be sent, one within the general packet and another separately. It was also reported that copies of protests made against the captains of the *Thistleworth* and *Toddington*, together with their replies, had been received. It was observed that the instructions contained in the eighth, twentieth and twenty-first paragraphs of the general letter sent by those ships had not been followed. These paragraphs had specified the proper procedure for making such protests, including the time to be allowed under the charterparty and the need to state clearly the grounds and circumstances of complaint. It was indicated that, had these directions been observed, additional time beyond that allowed by the charterparty would not have been granted. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Indent" referred to a formal requisition or list specifying goods or supplies required, often used in Company correspondence to organise provisioning. "Protest" referred to a formal declaration, usually by the

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			Governor and Council, recording objections or complaints against a ship's captain, often relating to delays, breaches of contract or failure to comply with instructions. "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing a ship's voyage, including time allowed for loading and unloading and conditions for demurrage. **Speculations** The insistence on duplicate lists suggests frequent problems with lost or delayed correspondence in long-distance communication. The criticism regarding protests indicates that procedural errors may have weakened the Company's ability to enforce contractual obligations against ship captains.
202	190	can't say, but heretofore Ten working days was accounted a fair time with diligence and Industry to unlade a Ship of near both these two Bottoms, but then it was to be supposed our Servants & Store would set their shoulders heartily to the work beginning and end to prevent our paying Demorage, and not the Mr. Griffith who as we are told urged his being one of the Councill as a reason why he would not so much as go on board the Todington without an Assistant to take the weight of some Bread when all the rest of the Council were employed on our affairs thinking it enough for him to walk the Quarter Deck, We mention this here to let him and you all know that whoever of the Council in the time of Exigency will not do his utmost to expedite our affairs might not be leisur'd at our Charge in time of leisure. Since you write in your 6. paragraph the Thistleworth Bread proved very bad, the Ships Company making use of our Bread, and sent their own a shore which was scarce eatable - We wonder why you did not Protest against the Captain and ascertain thereby the Demorage, that on her return we might oblige the Owners to make us reparation, for you will not on so slight thinking conclude such a bare Notice Sufficient to recover any thing from them. The Advices you give of Ships arrivalls at & Departures from S^{t}. Helena, and when, with what News you hear from Shipping elsewhere, We approve and would have it continued as we also would whatever goods or Stores you receive short in.	It was observed that, although the exact circumstances could not now be fully determined, a period of ten working days had formerly been considered sufficient, with proper diligence and industry, to unload a ship of the size of those in question. It had been assumed that the Company's servants and storekeepers would apply themselves fully to the work from beginning to end in order to avoid the payment of demurrage. However, it was reported that Mr Griffith had declined to assist, asserting that his position as a member of the Council excused him from such duties, and that he would not even go aboard the *Toddington* without an assistant to record the weight of bread. This conduct had been contrasted with that of the other members of the Council, who had been engaged in the Company's business, while it was remarked that he had limited himself to walking the quarterdeck. It was therefore made clear that any member of the Council who failed, in times of necessity, to exert full effort in advancing the Company's affairs should not expect to remain idle at the Company's expense in times of ease. It was further noted that, in the sixth paragraph of earlier correspondence, it had been reported that the bread supplied by the *Thistleworth* had proved to be of very poor quality, so that the ship's company had made use of the Company's provisions while sending their own ashore, where it had been scarcely fit for consumption. It was expressed as surprising that no formal protest had been made against the captain in this matter, as such a protest would have established grounds for claiming demurrage or compensation upon the ship's return, thereby obliging the owners to make restitution. It was emphasised that a mere notice of the issue would not be sufficient to recover any loss. Approval was given to the practice of reporting the arrivals and departures of ships at St Helena, including the timing of such movements and any news received concerning shipping elsewhere. It was directed that this practice should be continued, and that similar reports should also be made in cases where goods or stores were received in deficient quantities. **Interpretations** "Demurrage" referred to a financial penalty payable when a ship was detained beyond the agreed time for loading or unloading, as specified in the charterparty. "Protest" referred to a formal written declaration recording a complaint or breach, used as evidence in pursuing claims against ship captains or owners. "Quarterdeck" referred to the raised deck at the stern of a ship, typically associated with command and supervision rather than manual labour. **Speculations** The criticism of Mr Griffith suggests tensions within the Council, particularly regarding expectations of shared responsibility during periods of heavy workload. The failure to protest against the captain over defective provisions indicates either procedural oversight or

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			reluctance to challenge shipmasters, which may have weakened the Company's position in enforcing accountability.
203	191	in Quantity or bad in Quality. Mr. Lawson who brought the Success's Packet tells us a Dane's Ship had been at St Helena from the Cape and brings News that several Dutch Ships arrived there and a fourth English Ship. We wonder you should not advise us of it, such time from us'd not be again. Secondly concerning Goods and Stores sent from England or Received from India. As beforementioned, We received your Indent so late that we could not send you what Stores you now desire, But you will find there is a good Quantity of Paper. It looks something odd that the Storekeeper should be suffered to continue Six Months and more in his Employ and quietly sign to his Charges of never having brought in his Monthly Account of Stores with only this Excuse, that he promises to get all things ready by the next Summer Shipping, and how as beforementioned that you never regarded our Generall Orders, if you did, you would have found parat: 4th of your Instructions was a strict Injunction for you the Governour and Councill to take care the Storekeeper should Account to you Monthly or oftener for all he disposes of, and it does not appear by any Consultation that he was called upon to do it. By the whole of your carriage toward the late Governour and Councill and the reflections made on their Management one would have thought you would have far exceeded them in yours and yet, if you peruse their Consultations you will find a better President in the last Consultation but one of their balancing, and which you was sent the Copy. Since...	It was observed that goods and stores might be deficient either in quantity or in quality, and that such deficiencies should be properly reported. Information had been received from Mr Lawson, who had brought the packet of the *Success*, that a Danish ship had been at St Helena from the Cape, bringing news that several Dutch ships had arrived there, together with a fourth English ship. It was remarked with surprise that no advice of this had been sent, and it was directed that such omissions should not occur again. Attention was then turned to goods and stores sent from England or received from India. It was noted that the indent had been received too late for the requested stores to be supplied, although it was stated that a considerable quantity of paper had nevertheless been sent. Concern was expressed regarding the conduct of the storekeeper, who had been allowed to continue in his position for more than six months without submitting his monthly accounts of stores. It was noted that he had excused this failure by promising to have all accounts ready by the next summer shipping. This was judged improper, and it was observed that earlier general orders had not been followed. Reference was made to the fourth paragraph of the instructions, which had strictly required the Governor and Council to ensure that the storekeeper rendered accounts monthly, or more frequently, for all goods disposed of. It was further noted that no record appeared in the Consultation Book showing that he had been called upon to fulfil this duty. It was remarked that, given the criticisms made by the present Governor and Council of their predecessors, a higher standard of administration might have been expected. However, upon examination of the earlier consultations, it was stated that the former Governor and Council had in fact provided a better example in the management and balancing of accounts, as recorded in the penultimate consultation, a copy of which had been sent. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Indent" referred to a formal requisition listing the goods or stores required by the settlement. "Consultation" referred to the official written record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Balancing of accounts" referred to the process of reconciling financial records to ensure accuracy and completeness. **Speculations** The failure to report the arrival of foreign ships suggests weaknesses in communication that could have affected both security and trade awareness. The criticism of the storekeeper indicates systemic administrative neglect, which may have led to losses or mismanagement of Company resources.
204	192	Since you own in the second Paragraph of your Letter of the 5th March that the Success supplyed you with Plenty of Stores from Surat and Bengall which was much wanted, We might reasonably have expected you would have given us some Account how you intended to dispose of them, which the 35th Paragraph of our Letter aforementioned it had been thought of and considered as it ought Naturally led you to do, wherein we Mention that we left it to your Prudence to fix the Prices of our goods sent you from India equitably between the Inhabitants and us, and ordered you to	It was acknowledged that, in the second paragraph of the letter dated 5 March 1712, it had been admitted that the *Success* had supplied the island with a considerable quantity of stores from Surat and Bengal, which had been much needed. It was therefore stated that an account should reasonably have been provided explaining how these supplies were to be disposed of. Reference was made to the thirty-fifth paragraph of an earlier letter, in which it had been directed that such matters be considered, and in which discretion had been granted to set prices for goods received from India in a

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		Advise us of those prices for our Approball or further directions, and in the same Paragraph gave a Generall rule for the Prices of goods sent you from Europe, but we can't in either of your two Letters now before us find any answer or reply to either part of that Paragraph, whether we shall call this Insolency or want of attention to our Orders, or by what other name is yett in the Dark to us, however this we must say, We expect these things be mended, as we hope they will, when your heads grow cool, and that passion and heat which seems to run through all your proceedings is evaporated; now he that furnished you with so sweet is removed, if they should not, We shall be sorry we trusted you with the Generall discretion mentioned in our 35th Paragraph to take goods out of our Ships for the use of the Island, for it is better to have them brought home where we are sure of some Advance, than to leave them by the way at uncertainty. You can't but know Stt. Helena is a dead Charge to us, and its kept up for the sake of our Marriners lives and healths, that they may be enabled to take care of our Estates on board, and since it brings us in no profit we ought to take care it be at little loss as possible.	manner fair both to the inhabitants and to the Company. It had also been required that these prices be reported for approval or further instruction. In the same paragraph, a general rule had been given for the pricing of goods sent from Europe. It was observed, however, that no reply had been made in either of the recent letters to any part of these instructions. This omission was remarked upon with strong disapproval, it being uncertain whether it arose from neglect, inattention or some other cause. It was nevertheless stated that improvement was expected, and that it was hoped such deficiencies would be corrected once the present agitation and disorder in their proceedings had subsided. It was further indicated that, if such matters were not amended, regret would be felt at having entrusted the Governor and Council with the discretionary authority granted in the thirty-fifth paragraph, particularly concerning the taking of goods from Company ships for the use of the island. It was stated that it would be preferable for such goods to be returned to England, where a certain profit might be secured, rather than leaving them at the island under uncertain conditions. It was also emphasised that St Helena represented a continual expense to the Company, being maintained primarily for the preservation of the health and lives of mariners, so that they might continue to safeguard the Company's interests at sea. As the island did not produce profit, it was therefore required that all efforts be made to reduce losses as much as possible. **Interpretations** "Indent" referred to a formal requisition or list of goods requested by the settlement. "Surat" and "Bengal" referred to major regions of trade in India, from which supplies and goods were commonly obtained by the Company. "Dead charge" referred to an expense that produced no direct financial return, but was maintained for strategic or operational purposes. **Speculations** The failure to report pricing decisions suggests either administrative disorder or reluctance to disclose potentially contentious practices. The description of St Helena as a "dead charge" indicates that its strategic value outweighed its economic return, reinforcing its role as a support station rather than a profit-making settlement.
205	193	Our Governour in his Letter to us of the 5th March says it is absolutely necessary to make a new Storehouse of Stone, the present house being of much decayed and so slight being boarded with slight Deal, it is liable to Fire, or being broke open. This being so, We shall Consent a new one be built, made Substantial, so as to be done with frugall Management, as we hope it will, and made Convenient to answer all the ends of a Storehouse, as we will never grudge any reasonable Charge, which will prove of lasting Benefit, so we recommend to you, and do Expect in all such Expences, which we are sure for the Benefit of Posterity than the Present, due care will be taken We be at no more Expence than is really necessary. Thirdly, touching our Servants Civil & Military, The Accompts of Stt. Helena in Generall, and also touching our Slaves, Cattle, Land and Revenues. We find no Mention of our first and subsequent Paragraphs in the Letter on this head, whether any thing has been made good to us of the Money Advanced to some of you there, which was to be repaid out of your growing Salary, tho' you had been then Six Months on the Island nor any Mention what was intended to be done herein.	It was stated that the Governor, in his letter dated 5 March 1712, had represented the necessity of constructing a new storehouse of stone, the existing building being greatly decayed and of slight construction, boarded with weak deal and therefore exposed to the risk of fire or forced entry. Consent was accordingly given for the erection of a new storehouse, provided that it was built in a substantial manner and managed with due frugality. It was emphasised that no reasonable expense would be begrudged where lasting benefit would result, but that careful attention was to be given to ensuring that no greater cost was incurred than was strictly necessary, particularly as such works were intended more for the benefit of future generations than immediate use. Consideration was then given to the subject of servants, both civil and military, together with the general accounts of St Helena and matters relating to slaves, cattle, land and revenues. It was observed that no reference had been made to earlier paragraphs on this subject, and that no information had been provided as to whether monies previously advanced to certain individuals had been repaid from their growing salaries, despite their having been on the island for six months.

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		Since Mr. Hoskinson is dead, who by all accounts did not deserve the favour we showed him in advancing him to be second of the Councill, and forgiving him his just forfeitures according to the originall Laws of the Island. We are Contented that Mr. Cock should succeed him but it is on the prospect that he will better Comply with our...	No indication had been given as to how this matter was to be addressed. It was further noted that Mr Hoskinson had died, and it was remarked that, according to all accounts, he had not merited the favour previously shown to him in being advanced to the position of second of the Council, nor the forgiveness of penalties that had been due under the original laws of the island. It was stated that Mr Cock was permitted to succeed him, but this was granted on the expectation that he would show greater compliance with the Company's directions. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Deal" referred to a type of softwood timber, often used in construction, but considered less durable and more vulnerable to fire than stone. "Second of the Council" referred to the second-ranking member of the Governor's Council, holding significant administrative authority. "Forfeitures" referred to penalties or losses of rights or property incurred through breaches of law or duty. **Speculations** The approval of a stone storehouse suggests previous losses or risks associated with inadequate storage facilities, possibly including theft or fire. The criticism of Mr Hoskinson indicates dissatisfaction with the performance of certain officials and a desire to enforce stricter standards of accountability.
206	194	our Orders than hitherto; and in regard he has a Numerous Family has been for several years in our Service there, and the hope is that he We are Content to allow him Thirty pounds a year above his seventy pounds as Second, toward the maintenance of his Family in the nature of Diett Money, as being a Married Man, and in lieu of Maintaining his Family apart, for we don't think it Advisable they should be at our Generall Table, if it were but for President sake for times to come, and this allowance to him is for his own sake, and what we will not have drawn into Example to others, his Letter of the 1st December shews he is under a mistake for if he had considered the 45th paragraph of our Generall Letter as you should all do, since our Letters are designed to be your Rules, he would have found that we elected him but 3d of Councill and he can't show us where a third had above fifty pounds a year Salary, but in regard his Talent lay more in Accounts then looking after our Plantation, He mentioned he should have the Storekeepers place, which used to be under the care of the Second and to that purpose allowed him Second Salary. If as he mentions in his Letter of the 11th March there is not sufficient Convenience at the Storehouse for enjoying Diett, but only for Lodging, you may supply that Defect by building in a safe place a Convenient Kitchen. We can't Doubt, here taking Notice, that as we have appointed all of you to be a Council for Managing all our Affairs which from time to time Occurr, so We expect you should all Co-operate for our Interest and calmly debate all matters.	It was stated that Mr Cock had been expected to comply more fully with the Company's orders than had previously been the case. In consideration of his having a numerous family and having served the Company for several years, it was agreed that he should receive an additional allowance of £30 per year above his salary of £70 as second of the Council. This additional sum was granted as diet money for the maintenance of his family, in place of their being supported separately. It was further directed that his family should not be maintained at the general table, partly to avoid establishing a precedent for the future. It was emphasised that this allowance was granted solely on his particular circumstances and was not to be taken as an example for others. It was observed that, in his letter dated 1 December 1711, Mr Cock had been mistaken in his understanding of his position. Had he properly considered the forty-fifth paragraph of the general letter, which had been intended to serve as a rule for all, he would have recognised that he had originally been appointed only as third of the Council. It was noted that no third member of the Council had been entitled to a salary exceeding £50 per year. However, it was explained that, as his abilities were considered more suited to accounting than to the management of plantations, he had been assigned the role of storekeeper, a position traditionally held by the second of the Council, and had therefore been granted the higher salary accordingly. It was further stated that, if, as mentioned in his letter of 11 March 1712, there was insufficient provision at the storehouse for the preparation of meals, and only accommodation for lodging, this deficiency should be remedied by constructing a suitable kitchen in a secure location. It was also emphasised that, as all members had been appointed to the Council for the management of the Company's affairs, it was expected that they would cooperate fully in its interests and conduct their deliberations with calmness and mutual agreement. **Interpretations** "Diett money" referred to an allowance intended to cover the cost of food and maintenance, particularly where an individual was not supported directly at a common table.

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			"General table" referred to a communal arrangement in which officials were provided with meals at the Company's expense. "Storekeeper" referred to the officer responsible for managing and accounting for the Company's goods and provisions. **Speculations** The insistence that the allowance should not form a precedent suggests concern over increasing financial burdens if similar claims were made by others. The emphasis on cooperative conduct within the Council indicates that internal disagreements may have been affecting effective governance.
207	195	that come before you, wherein the majority is to govern, if any of you Dissent, let such Dissent be Entered in consultation that we may judge of it who is in the right or wrong and we Expect if any one of you offers to give his reasons in Writing for his Dissent, that all the rest shall not by their votes hinder the Inserting those reasons in consultation or in the Generall Letter, as we are told was lately done in the case of those who would not sign that groundless Charge in your Letter of the third of October to Captain Roberts that he had Destroyed all Mr. Hoskinsons Cattle &c^{a}. We call it groundless - because he longed it and Challenged you to prove he destroyed any one which you never did. We must further take Notice that all our Governours Letters to us relating to any of our affairs ought to be Entered in your Generall Letter Book for the publick's Information except only such as relates purely to the Secret Committee or other Secret Negotiation. We take this the Hint from this that Captain Boucher and two of the council tength their Answer of the 3^{d} October to Captain Roberts there was any such opinion of the comMarsdenof the Men of War as the other Assets for mounting Demi Cannon on Munden point because they find no Minutes taken of it by the Council and yet the 3^{d} Paragraph of the Generall Letter of the 17th July 1711. imports that the comMarsdenoffered to Assist him therein, therefore to prevent such squabbles in future, let the Governour for the time being Enter such Debates in Consultation and in his Letters in the Generall Register. We have this further reason for it, that in case of Mortality the...	It was directed that all matters brought before the Council should be determined by the majority, and that, where any member dissented, such dissent should be formally entered in the Consultation Book so that judgement might later be made as to which party had been correct. It was further required that, if any member chose to provide written reasons for dissent, these should not be prevented from being recorded by the votes of the others, but should be included either in the consultation or in the general letter. It was noted that this had not been observed in a recent case, in which certain members had refused to sign a charge made in a letter dated 3 October 1711 against Captain Roberts, alleging that he had destroyed all of Mr Hoskinson's cattle. This charge was described as unfounded, it having been stated that Captain Roberts had denied it and had challenged proof, which had not been provided. It was further directed that all letters from the Governor relating to the Company's affairs should be entered into the general letter book for public record, except in cases concerning the Secret Committee or other confidential matters. This instruction was reinforced by reference to a dispute involving Captain Boucher and two members of the Council, who had denied, in their reply of 3 October 1711 to Captain Roberts, that any such proposal had been made by the commander of the men of war to assist in mounting demi-cannon at Munden's Point. It was noted that no record of such a proposal had been found in the Council's minutes, although the third paragraph of the general letter dated 17 July 1711 had indicated that such assistance had been offered. To prevent similar disputes in future, it was directed that all such discussions should be properly entered in the Consultation Book and recorded in the Governor's letters within the general register. It was further stated that an additional reason for maintaining such records arose from the possibility of mortality, though the concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Consultation Book" referred to the official written record of deliberations and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Demi-cannon" referred to a type of medium-sized artillery piece commonly used in fortifications during the period. "Secret Committee" referred to a body within the Company responsible for handling confidential or sensitive matters, often relating to strategy or security. **Speculations** The insistence on recording dissent suggests recurring internal disagreements within the Council that required formal documentation for later review. The dispute over the mounting of artillery indicates possible breakdowns in communication or record-keeping, which may have affected military preparedness.

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208	196	the Success may be acquainted with the pretensions Schemes for Building &c[a], parts of our affairs more particularly committed to the Governours care. We can't say the Council Complains to us are against the other in their private Letters, such Uneasiness and heart burning profit no good to us, We expect this be no more if any of you are of different apprehensions. Debate it together cooly, and Enter your reasons in Consultation where you disagree, if any are Vicious or Sloth, and thereby Neglect our Business, let them be fairly warned, and if that won't reclaim them let us know it and we shall cure the evil. But we must tell you, We don't take it well that you never gave Captain Roberts an answer to his Letter of the 3rd October which is a Letter of Business, and looks to us that it was a Letter of truth because not contradicted. When the Ship stayed a Month longer, true it is Captain Boucher sent us what he calls an answer to it Dated the 1st December which appears more like a Contention about words, and is rather filled with the Art and Sophistry of the Schools than solid reasoning and plain Argument. By your mentioning so much which we do with regret, our Aim is to put full stop to the like hereafter being desirous your time shall be taken up in Judging our Interest and your own quiet, and not in throwing Dirt Severely or openly at one another. If any of you think you have good Cause to Complain of the rest, do it openly and we shall judge of it.	It was indicated that the *Success* might be informed of proposals and schemes relating to building and other matters of the Company's affairs, particularly those entrusted to the Governor's care. It was observed that complaints had been made by members of the Council against one another in private letters, and it was stated that such disagreements and resentments produced no benefit to the Company. It was therefore required that such conduct should cease. Where differences of opinion arose, it was directed that they be discussed calmly among the Council and that the reasons for disagreement be entered in the Consultation Book. It was further instructed that, if any member were found to be negligent or idle in the Company's service, he should first be fairly warned, and, if this proved ineffective, the matter should be reported so that corrective action might be taken. Disapproval was expressed that no reply had been given to Captain Roberts's letter dated 3 October 1711, which had been a letter concerning business matters. It was remarked that this omission suggested that the contents of that letter were true, as they had not been contradicted. It was also noted that the ship had remained an additional month. Although Captain Boucher had sent what he described as a reply, dated 1 December 1711, it was judged to be unsatisfactory, consisting more of disputation over wording and displaying the style of academic argument rather than clear and practical reasoning. It was stated that these matters were mentioned with reluctance, the intention being to prevent similar occurrences in future. It was emphasised that the time of the Governor and Council should be devoted to advancing the Company's interests and maintaining harmony, rather than engaging in mutual accusations. It was directed that, if any member believed he had just cause for complaint against others, this should be presented openly so that it might be properly judged. **Interpretations** "Consultation Book" referred to the official written record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Schemes for building" referred to planned construction works, including fortifications and infrastructure, often requiring approval and oversight by the Governor. **Speculations** The reference to private complaints suggests a breakdown in formal channels of communication, leading to factional disputes within the Council. The criticism of Captain Boucher's reply indicates a preference for practical administration over rhetorical or overly intellectual argumentation.
209	197	You Promise us our Accounts shall be sent by the Summer Shipping, We expect them accordingly, and that our Storekeepers Accounts be Monthly or oftner Examined and approved in Consultation, and the Ballance paid into the Governour when in Money. That whoever looks after the Plantation (which we leave to your Determination for the present) gives in Monthly his Accounts of all the particulars under his care, which your Consultation of the 5th February Mentions Mr. Hoskinson had never done, tho' he had been in that office six Months, such unaccountable proceedings must never again be suffered if they are, We can't think any who have power and yet don't remedy it, fit to serve us. We Expect all others who have any concerns of ours under their care do Monthly, or if you think fit oftner, give in their Account and that it be done not only for form's sake, but that the several Accounts pass a due and strict Examination and hereafter any faults whether of Carelesness, Error, or wilfulness be	It was noted that a promise had been made that the accounts would be sent by the summer shipping, and it was expected that this would be fulfilled accordingly. It was directed that the storekeeper's accounts be examined monthly, or more frequently if required, and approved in consultation, with any balance in money paid to the Governor. It was further required that whoever had charge of the plantations, a matter left to present determination, should submit monthly accounts of all matters under his care. Reference was made to the consultation of 5 February 1712, in which it had been recorded that Mr Hoskinson had failed to provide any such accounts during six months in office. Such conduct was described as unacceptable, and it was stated that, if similar neglect were allowed in future, those responsible for correcting it would not be considered fit for service. It was also directed that all others entrusted with any part of the Company's affairs should submit accounts monthly, or more frequently if judged

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		discovered that a due and proper remedy be applyed thereat. We dont at all like that you have bought in so many Plantations, and thereby the severall Familys have left the Island. We can't see what authority you had for so doing, nor how those Plantations will turn to better Account in our hands, than in the Planters, what can you think will become of the Island, if we had it all in our hands, it is against all Policy to Contribute to the Depopulating any Place, as this Naturally tends to, there must be some secret reason for this, as that the people can't Quietly or the like; which makes them desire to leave the Place, if they were having Tempers, Every Body can't buy their Plantations, and if...	necessary, and that these accounts should be subject to strict and proper examination. It was emphasised that this process should not be treated as a mere formality, but should be conducted in such a manner that any faults, whether arising from carelessness, error or deliberate misconduct, might be identified and corrected. Disapproval was expressed regarding the purchase of numerous plantations by the Company, which had resulted in several families leaving the island. It was stated that no authority for such actions could be identified, nor was it understood how these plantations would prove more beneficial under Company control than when held by individual planters. It was further observed that, if the Company were to take possession of all plantations, the consequence would be the depopulation of the island, which was considered contrary to sound policy. It was suggested that there might be underlying reasons for this development, possibly arising from discontent among the inhabitants, which had led them to seek departure. It was noted that not all inhabitants would be able to sell their plantations, and the passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Consultation" referred to the official written record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Balance paid into the Governor" referred to the transfer of surplus funds, after accounting, into the Governor's custody as the Company's representative. "Plantations" referred to agricultural holdings on the island, typically worked for the production of food or export goods. **Speculations** The criticism of plantation purchases suggests concern that centralisation of land ownership was undermining the island's population and economic stability. The insistence on strict accounting reflects ongoing difficulties in financial oversight and a desire to impose greater administrative discipline.
210	198	if they can't find Chapmen they will be induced to stay. Besides, who of you in England ever knows any Lord of a Mannor desirous to Purchase any Lands that holds of his Mannor. He knows What he never holds of him turns to better advantage in consequence than if he had it in his own hands, for all which and many other reasons that might be offer'd, We say buy no more Plantations and Lease out or sell of all you have bought that are not absolutely Necessary for the Maintenance of your own Dependants Whites or Blacks. Pray let us know by the next what those Plantations so bought yeild us £ p^{e} Annum, that we may know what we have for our Money. It looks to us better to rent our Land, tho' we buy the Produce of the Tenant than to keep any Quantity in our own hands for Private Persons will husband a farm better for themselves than by what appears our Servants will for us, witness Hutts Plantation and others you Complain of which are gone to ruin because the People look after them for our Account, and not their own. We have no Prospect while the War lasts to supply you with Madagascar Negros or those of Guinea, however for what you have take care they earn their living, and be well looked after. Whatever Buildings you find absolutely Necessary for the Barracks, for the Soldiers lodging, for the Blacks work houses for the Carpenters, Joyner &c^{a}, let them be done substantially and with Frugality. We have often been earnestly Solicited by Seamen &c^{a}...	It was stated that, if inhabitants were unable to find purchasers for their plantations, they might be compelled to remain on the island. It was further observed that, by comparison, no lord of a manor in England would ordinarily wish to purchase lands held under his own manor, as such lands were often more advantageous when held by tenants rather than in direct possession. On this basis, it was directed that no further plantations should be purchased, and that those already acquired should be leased or sold, except where they were absolutely necessary for maintaining the Company's own dependants, whether white or slave. It was also required that a report be sent by the next opportunity stating the annual income, in pounds per annum, derived from such plantations, so that their value might be assessed. It was considered preferable that land should be rented out, even if the Company then purchased produce from tenants, rather than retaining large quantities under direct management. It was argued that private individuals would manage land more effectively for their own benefit than the Company's servants had done, as evidenced by plantations such as Hutts Plantation, which had fallen into decline when managed on the Company's account. It was further stated that, while the war continued, no expectation could be held of supplying additional slaves from Madagascar or Guinea. It was therefore directed that those already on the island should be properly employed so as to maintain themselves, and that they should be adequately supervised.

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			It was also directed that any buildings required for barracks, for the lodging of soldiers, for workhouses for slaves or for workshops for trades such as carpenters and joiners should be constructed in a substantial manner, with due regard to economy. It was noted that repeated requests had been received from seamen and others, though the passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Chapmen" referred to buyers or traders willing to purchase goods or property, in this case plantations. "Lord of a manor" referred to a landholder within the English feudal system who held rights over land occupied by tenants, often deriving income through rents rather than direct cultivation. "Pounds per annum" referred to annual monetary income, expressed in pounds sterling. **Speculations** The comparison with English manorial practice suggests an attempt to apply familiar land management principles to colonial conditions. The decision to cease purchasing plantations indicates recognition that direct Company management had been inefficient and financially disadvantageous.
211	199	Southern whose husband is a serjeant, and we are told in good circumstances, that he may allow her something to keep her from starving. She offers good Proof that she was Service to him, and brought him a good fortune, do you tell him we expect he allow a yearly Maintenance for her, let us know what it is, that we may give it her here, and you deduct out of his pay what we may not lose it. There is one John Mayott who was left at St. Helena by the Fleet Frigatt, to be putt on the Steerage, give him leave to proceed on the next ship returning for Europe, as his Father who is a Messenger of the House of Commons Desires. We have scarce any answer to the many Paragraphs relating to the settlement of the People's Property, and Registring their Lands to prevent Law suits and Litigated Titles. What you mention in answer to our 88th Paragraph relating to Mercy Alexander as Complying with our Order, the understanding is very Different, and that what is done is either in spite to the late Governour than according to Equity, if the case be rightly, for we are told this Bagley who hired it rented it of the Company, and She at no more, that her first husband and she both consented to his renting it, and prest him to it, that he might buy their Stock on the ground which he did, and that this Woman is since married, and her new husband being instigated by some ill disposed people, sett her on Clamouring, who otherwise would not, and now she has it her husband keeps only a Black in it, whereas Bagley is a Man of good...	It was reported that a woman named Southern, whose husband was a serjeant and said to be in good circumstances, had provided evidence that she had been of service to him and had brought him a substantial fortune. It was therefore directed that he should be required to provide her with a yearly maintenance sufficient to prevent her falling into poverty. Notice was to be given of the amount allowed, so that it might be paid to her in England, with the corresponding sum deducted from his pay to prevent loss to the Company. It was further directed that one John Mayott, who had been left at St Helena by the *Fleet Frigatt* to be placed in the steerage, should be permitted to return to Europe on the next available ship, in response to a request made by his father, who was employed as a messenger of the House of Commons. Concern was expressed that little response had been given to the numerous paragraphs relating to the settlement of property and the registration of land, measures which had been intended to prevent disputes and contested ownership. Reference was made to the reply given concerning the eighty-eighth paragraph relating to Mercy Alexander, which was judged to differ significantly from the intended meaning of the Company's order. It was suggested that the actions taken may have been influenced more by opposition to the late Governor than by considerations of equity. It was reported that a man named Bagley had rented the land in question from the Company, with the consent of Mercy Alexander and her first husband, who had encouraged him to do so in order that he might purchase their stock, which he had done. It was further stated that Mercy Alexander had since remarried, and that her new husband, influenced by others, had encouraged her to raise complaints that she would not otherwise have made. It was noted that, having regained possession, her husband maintained only a single slave on the land, whereas Bagley had been described as a capable individual. The concluding portion of the passage was incomplete. **Interpretations** "Steerage" referred to the lower deck area of a ship, typically used for the accommodation of passengers of lower status or for transport at minimal cost. "Registering their lands" referred to the formal recording of property ownership in official records, intended to provide legal clarity and prevent disputes. "Stock on the ground" referred to livestock, equipment or other assets associated with a plantation.

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			Speculations The intervention in the case of Southern suggests that the Company exercised authority over personal financial obligations where its servants were concerned. The dispute over Mercy Alexander's land indicates ongoing tensions surrounding property rights and the influence of personal relationships in legal matters.
212	200	Good Note, has a Family, and is Turned out of doors, and what is Yet worse, the Man has fenced it all in and has no allowance for that Give him; That John Alexander who is charged with every vile practices in other cases as by our Letter appears, prevailed with the Said Mercy while a Widowe to Sign a Petition he drew up for her, when she did not know what she Signed to, nor had any intent to complain, or desired him draw up any, and on perusal she finds it his hand. It is a little more surprising to us that the Certificate of the good Behaviour of her Husband Richard Alexander is Written by a hand, which we are sorry to see is exactly of the same character with his Letter to us, and seems to be more a party cause than otherwise, by Mr. Hokisson being so particularly active in it for turning out Bagley, and many other circumstances We are not Inclined to Enumerate, which were offered to be proved before you, in the whole wherein the Case impartially, and dont put it on our Clause, for that was only in compassion to her as a Widowe which she is not, and if there be reason for it, as it is probable it us reinstate Bagley if there be not, and the Woman was unjustly Deal with, allow Bagley the charges he was at in Fencing and Planting or otherwise, which is but Equitable. We are sorry to find so many Bills of Exchange drawn on us after we had so lately and fully supplyed St. Helena from Europe and India. We expect to have this article of our Charge Returned. Fourthly, touching the Fortification Buildings and Garrison Stores.	It was reported that Bagley had been a man of good reputation, with a family, and had been turned out of his holding, despite having fenced the land at his own expense and having received no allowance for that work. It was further stated that John Alexander, who had been charged in other matters with improper conduct, had persuaded Mercy Alexander, while she was a widow, to sign a petition that he himself had prepared. It was asserted that she had not understood the contents of the petition, nor had she intended to make any complaint or requested that such a document be drawn up. Upon later examination, it had been recognised as being in his handwriting. It was also observed that a certificate attesting to the good behaviour of her husband, Richard Alexander, had been written in a hand identical to that used in correspondence previously received, suggesting that it may not have been impartial but rather prepared in support of a particular interest. It was noted with concern that Mr Hoskinson had been especially active in supporting the removal of Bagley, together with other circumstances not fully enumerated, which had reportedly been capable of proof before the Council. It was therefore directed that the case be examined impartially and not determined solely by reference to earlier instructions, as those had been issued out of compassion for Mercy Alexander in her former condition as a widow, which she no longer was. It was stated that, if sufficient reason were found, Bagley should be restored to his holding, but if not, and if the woman had been unjustly treated, Bagley should be compensated for the expenses he had incurred in fencing and planting, as this was considered equitable. Concern was also expressed regarding the large number of bills of exchange drawn upon the Company, despite the recent and substantial supplies provided to St Helena from both Europe and India. It was stated that this expense was expected to be accounted for and returned. Attention was then directed to the subject of fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, though the passage concluded at this point. **Interpretations** "Bills of exchange" referred to financial instruments used to request payment from the Company, often representing credit drawn against its accounts in London. "Certificate of good behaviour" referred to a written attestation of character, which could influence administrative or legal decisions. "Reinstate" in this context referred to restoring an individual to possession of land or position previously held. **Speculations** The evidence of petitions being drafted without proper understanding suggests manipulation of legal processes by individuals seeking advantage. The concern over excessive bills of exchange indicates strain on the Company's finances and possible misuse of credit by those on the island.
213	201	It is too late to send you out any Boats from hence, if you can meet with a longboat or good Pinnace from any Men of War proper for your use, Fraight.	It was stated that it was too late to send boats from England, and it was therefore directed that, if a suitable longboat or pinnace could be obtained from any men of war, such vessels should be acquired by freight for use at St Helena.

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		We are glad our Governour can find out any Methods for easing your charges about Lime, Castle Stone, or making the Fortifications more commodious for the well managing the guns by smooth and levell Pavements, or any other ways, All such things bespeak their own commendation, We shall be glad to receive from him proper draughts of his works, whether begun carrying on or compleated, and where they are that we may judge of them, and take the Explanation of those who saw them, if they are any way skilled in Fortification, in the generall whatsoever is Necessary to be done for the better Security of the place, We shall Acquiesce in, as is to be done. We Expect you Annually send us a Rentall of all the Money you receive for Lands holden of us on the Island, and how much of each and where, also an Account of the Severall Branches of our Revenue Amount to, and how much on each, and in what proportion raised, when you Enter into your Consultations any mention of Selling Lands, you should insert at what rate. Many other matters we might here insert, Notices of which we shall forbear at present, partly because we hope things will be now Mended, and partly for the speedy dispatch of this ship, which is Ordered on her way from the Downs to Spithead, and thence into the Sea. We are. Your Loving Friends	Satisfaction was expressed that the Governor had sought methods to reduce expenses relating to lime and stone, and to improve the fortifications by creating smooth and level pavements for the more effective operation of artillery. It was observed that such improvements were commendable in themselves. It was requested that detailed drawings of these works be sent, whether they were begun, in progress or completed, together with information on their location, so that proper judgement might be made. It was also noted that explanations might be sought from those who had seen the works and possessed knowledge of fortification. It was stated that, in general, whatever measures were necessary for the improved security of the island would be accepted and approved. It was further directed that an annual rental account be sent, detailing all monies received from lands held of the Company on the island, specifying the amounts, their sources and locations. An account was also required of the various branches of revenue, showing the total sums received, their distribution and the manner in which they had been raised. It was instructed that, whenever land sales were mentioned in consultations, the rate at which such lands were sold should be clearly recorded. It was stated that additional matters might have been addressed, but these were deferred, partly in the expectation that conditions would improve, and partly to ensure the prompt dispatch of the ship, which had been ordered to proceed from the Downs to Spithead and thence to sea. The letter concluded with the customary closing. **Interpretations** "Pinnace" referred to a small vessel used for transport, communication or support, often carried by larger ships or employed in coastal service. "Rental" referred to an account of income derived from land rents, forming a key part of the Company's revenue. "Consultations" referred to the official records of decisions and proceedings made by the Governor and Council. **Speculations** The request for detailed drawings of fortifications suggests a desire for closer oversight and evaluation of defensive works from London. The emphasis on revenue accounting indicates ongoing concern with financial transparency and control over the island's economic administration.
214	202	Our Governour and Councill of St. Helena. London 20th March 1712 Our last to You was by the Abingdon dated the 30th May 1712 at which time as we then advised, We had but newly received the Account of the Ship Success's arrival in the Channells, the Generall Letter from you by her dated the 11th March 1711/12 and the Packett being brought up from the Lands end by the third mate, since when we have your Generall Letter of the 19th July last with the Accompanying Papers contained in the Lists of the Packets received by her Majesty's Ship Lenox and the Catherine which now lye before us to give answer unto, and are Concerned that we have still occasion to make the like Complaints of your management as we did in our last Letter where copy comes Enclosed. We had great	A letter dated 20 March 1713, addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena, referred to previous correspondence sent by the *Abingdon* on 30 May 1712. It was stated that, at that time, notice had only recently been received of the arrival of the *Success* in the Channel, together with the general letter from the island dated 11 March 1712, which had been brought from Land's End by the third mate. It was further noted that a subsequent general letter dated 19 July 1712 had since been received, along with accompanying papers listed in the packets delivered by Her Majesty's ships *Lenox* and *Catherine*, which were then under consideration for reply. Concern was expressed that the same complaints regarding management continued to arise as had been set out in the previous letter, a copy of which had been enclosed. It was stated that there had been strong reason to expect improvement following the appointment of a new Governor and the constitution of a new Council, and that earlier promises and expectations had suggested that affairs would be conducted more effectively. It was further observed that the instructions and orders sent by the East Indiaman and the *Thistleworth*,

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		reason to believe that when we sent over a new Governour, and Constituted a new Councill, all things would have Succeeded according to some of your Promises and our just expectations. That the Instructions and Orders sent by the Indiaman and Thistleworth which are very plain and particular, would have been duly observed, and our affairs under your care been managed in pursuance thereof but instead of this we find things worse than in the time of your Predecessors and these Letters now before us give us the same occasions for finding fault, as we did when the contents our last, but for brevity sake, we shall not repeat them here, but refer you to that Letter and proceed to other matters, on which We have made our observations and give you the whole as they occur.	which had been described as clear and detailed, had not been properly observed. Instead, it was stated that conditions had deteriorated in comparison with the administration of their predecessors, and that the present letters provided similar grounds for complaint as before. It was noted that, for the sake of brevity, these earlier complaints would not be repeated, and reference was made to the previous letter for their full detail. It was then stated that attention would be directed to additional matters, which would be addressed as they arose in the course of the correspondence. **Interpretations** "General letter" referred to a formal communication from the Company addressing broad administrative and operational matters concerning the island. "Packets" referred to collections of correspondence and documents transmitted by ship. "East Indiaman" referred to a large merchant vessel operated by the Company for trade between Britain and Asia. **Speculations** The continued repetition of complaints suggests that the structural problems in governance at St Helena had not been resolved despite changes in leadership. The emphasis on unobserved instructions indicates a breakdown between directives issued in London and their execution on the island.
215	203	Susanna, John B occur and in our Orders thereupon under our establish^{t} Generall heads, and. First concerning Shipping sent out, and Returned. Since the date of your aforementioned Letters it has pleased God the Ships following have returned to us in safety Viz^{t}. The Success Capt. Clapham arrived the 31st May from the Bay and Fort The Windsor from Mocha and Bombay having stayed a considerable time at Lisbon for convoy imported the 24th June, The Bouverie and Halifax from the Coast and Bay and the Tankervilles from Bombay but last from Madras, accompanyed the Dutch Fleet from the Cape into holland and gott thither the 5th September. The St. George and Aurengzebe from the Bay, the Lavvella from the Coast, the Rochester and Hester from China, The Catherine from Bombay & the Thistleworth from Bencoolen with their Convoy from S^{t}. Helena proceeding directly up the Channell and arrived in the downs the 24th September, But the Sherborne which came from the Bay with the St. George was taken the 9th April last within Ten leagues of the Cape of good hope, and her Cargoe brought into St.annel, but the French have also manned her and carried her with them to India. The Ships now sent and Sending out to all parts of India for this Season are Viz^{t}: The Success Capt. Clapham Commander our own Ship for Mocha thence to Bombay with her lading of Coffee thence to return to	A report was given under the general heading concerning ships sent out and returned. It was stated that, since the dates of the earlier letters, several ships had safely returned. These included the *Success*, commanded by Captain Clapham, which had arrived on 31 May 1713 from the Bay and the Fort. The *Windsor*, returning from Mocha and Bombay, had been delayed for a considerable time at Lisbon awaiting convoy and had arrived on 24 June 1713. The *Bouverie* and *Halifax* had returned from the Coast and the Bay, and the *Tankervilles* from Bombay, though last from Madras, had accompanied the Dutch fleet from the Cape into Holland, arriving there on 5 September 1712. Further arrivals were recorded, including the *St. George* and *Aurengzebe* from the Bay, the *Lavvella* from the Coast, the *Rochester* and *Hester* from China, the *Catherine* from Bombay and the *Thistleworth* from Bencoolen. These vessels, together with their convoy from St Helena, had proceeded directly up the Channel and had arrived in the Downs on 24 September 1712. It was also reported that the *Sherborne*, which had come from the Bay in company with the *St. George*, had been captured on 9 April 1713 within ten leagues of the Cape of Good Hope. Its cargo had been taken into St Anne, and it was stated that the French had subsequently manned the vessel and carried her to India. A list was then provided of ships sent or in the process of being sent to various parts of India during the present season. The *Success*, again under Captain Clapham, had been dispatched as the Company's own ship for Mocha, from where she was to proceed to Bombay with a cargo of coffee, then return to Mocha for a further cargo before coming back to England. It was noted that she had sailed from Plymouth on 10 November 1712. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "The Bay" referred to the Bay of Bengal, a major region of Company trade. "The Downs" referred to the anchorage off the Kent coast where ships commonly assembled or awaited orders. "Convoy" referred to a group of ships travelling

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		Mocha for another Cargoe and so hither, She sailed from Plymouth the 10th November.	together under protection, often accompanied by armed vessels. **Speculations** The capture of the *Sherborne* by the French reflects the ongoing risks posed by European conflicts to Company shipping routes. The detailed routing of the *Success* indicates the complex and multi-stage nature of trade voyages, designed to maximise cargo and profit across several ports.
216	204	The Loyal Bliss 350 Capt. Willm Hudson for Coast & England The Lannovre 460 Capt. James Osborn The Ladersick 350 Capt. Richd. Peploe for the Coast & Bay The King William 350 Capt. Natham Winter The Cardigan 400 Capt. Richd. Grainger for the Bay The Susanna 300 Capt. Richd. Conwell for St. Helena & Bencoolen The Loyal Bliss lay a long while in the Downs wind bound, and with her your second and Say Ship, who were a considerable time waiting for a wind sailed out of the Downs the 27 February. This comes to you by the Susanna taken up by us first to proceed to St. Helena thence to Bencoolen. By the (provide) Bills of Lading inclosed, you will see what Stores, Goods and Provisions we have sent you, you will find in the Packet her Charterparty which comes for your Notice so far as concerns you when She is dispatched you must enclose it to the Deputy Governour and Council of Bencoolen and send it by the ship thither for their Government, of which be sure take care. We hope by what we have wrote in our last and former letters you will fully understand our reasons why this as well as all our other Ships must be hastened away from you within ten working days allowed for her unloading and stay at your Island and how you are to act in case by the Captains delay or otherwise he should be detained longer and thereby subject us to demorage. We can but hope these things, and you see the	A further account was provided of ships dispatched to various parts of India during the present season. These included the *Loyal Bliss*, of 350 tons, commanded by Captain William Hudson, bound for the Coast and England; the *Lannovre*, of 460 tons, under Captain James Osborn; the *Ladersick*, of 350 tons, commanded by Captain Richard Peploe, bound for the Coast and the Bay; the *King William*, of 350 tons, under Captain Nathan Winter; the *Cardigan*, of 400 tons, commanded by Captain Richard Grainger, bound for the Bay; and the *Susanna*, of 300 tons, under Captain Richard Conwell, bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. It was noted that the *Loyal Bliss* had remained for a considerable period in the Downs due to contrary winds, together with another ship referred to as the second and say ship, and that both had eventually sailed from the Downs on 27 February 1713 after waiting for favourable conditions. It was stated that the present communication was sent by the *Susanna*, which had been engaged to proceed first to St Helena and then onward to Bencoolen. It was directed that, from the bills of lading enclosed, the Governor and Council would be able to determine the stores, goods and provisions sent to them. It was further instructed that the ship's charterparty, included in the packet, should be examined insofar as it concerned them, and that, upon the ship's dispatch, this document should be forwarded to the Deputy Governor and Council at Bencoolen for their guidance, with particular care taken to ensure this was done. It was expressed that, from previous letters, the reasons should already be understood for requiring that this ship, along with all others, be dispatched from St Helena within the ten working days allowed for unloading and stay at the island. It was reiterated that instructions had been given on how to proceed if delay occurred through the fault of the captain or otherwise, leading to detention beyond that period and exposing the Company to demurrage charges. It was stated that it was hoped these instructions would now be properly observed, though the passage concluded before further comment was given. **Interpretations** "Tons" referred to the carrying capacity of the ships, indicating their size and cargo volume. "Bills of lading" referred to official documents listing the cargo carried on a ship, including quantities and ownership. "Charterparty" referred to the contract governing the use of a ship, including terms of loading, unloading and permitted duration of stay. **Speculations** The repeated emphasis on rapid dispatch suggests ongoing financial losses due to delays at St Helena. The forwarding of charterparties to Bencoolen indicates an effort to standardise procedures across Company settlements.
217	205	the proper directions, It is your parts to Execute them which we expect be better done than hitherto, or we must say thou hast not. The Advice you give Us, when our own or other Ships arrive with you	It was stated that proper directions had already been given, and that it remained the duty of the Governor and Council to execute them, which it was expected would be done more effectively than had been the case previously.

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		what news you have about them from other parts, where they Imported or touched at or exported from, must be continued and your returns and small Accounts, when each of our Ships left your Island homeward bound because tho during this War, We come at the knowledge of it from the severall ComMarsdenOrders, yet in time of Peace, which we hope is very near approaching we may be at some loss for want of such Notice. If you All or the Governour for the time being shall receive any Instructions from the Secrett Committee which for this year are Sir Jonathan Andrews and S^{t}. George Matthews, Sir Rob^{t}. Knightingales & Gregory Page Esq^{r} or any three of them touching the proceedings of any our outward or homeward bound Ships, or any matter relating thereto, you must observe them as fully and particularly as if signed by the whole Court.	It was further directed that the advice sent regarding the arrival of Company ships, or other vessels, should continue to be provided. This was to include reports of any intelligence received concerning such ships from other locations, the ports at which they had arrived, touched or departed, and the dates on which each Company ship left St Helena on its homeward voyage. It was observed that, during the present war, such information could be obtained through various commanders' reports, but that, in time of peace, which was considered probably near, such knowledge might otherwise be lacking if not regularly supplied. It was also instructed that, if the Governor or Council received any directions from the Secret Committee, identified for that year as Sir Jonathan Andrews, Sir George Mathews, Sir Robert Knightingales and Gregory Page, or from any three of them, concerning the conduct of ships either outward or homeward bound, or any related matters, such instructions were to be observed fully and with the same authority as if they had been issued by the entire Court of Directors. **Interpretations** "Secret Committee" referred to a select group of Company directors entrusted with confidential or urgent decisions, particularly relating to shipping and security. "ComMarsdenOrders" referred to instructions or reports issued by naval or Company commanders overseeing ships or convoys. **Speculations** The emphasis on continued reporting of ship movements suggests the strategic importance of maritime intelligence, especially during wartime conditions. The authority granted to a small number of directors indicates the need for rapid decision-making in matters affecting trade and security.
218	206	and Captain Small for Beef and other Provisions as yr Ships Accounts sent will happen, is this the first beginning of your new Cheif Alexander's performances, or each you do he thinks we can sitt down quietly under such usage, but of this more under its proper head. You did well to send us the Copys of the Invoices from Madras and the Bay of what sent you from thences on the ships Success, St. George and Aurengzebe, but you should sent the same for the Bill of lading of what received from Bombay by the Catherine; for We find Copy of a Letter from Mr. Courtney dated at Bombay the 16th January in your Packett by the Catherine wherein he Advises to have sent Bills of Lading for the Batts of Arrack laden on that Ship for you by the Generall & Councill, and also a Bottle of Arracks sealed for a Muster, yett you have not vouchsafed to give Us one word about it, nor whether the Casks were of the same sort with the bottle, which ought to have been advised, because on a former Complaint from S^{t}. Helena that the Arrack received by the Aurengzebe proved very bad and the Captain Averred it was the same he took in at	It was observed that charges relating to beef and other provisions, as reflected in the ships' accounts, had given cause for concern. It was questioned whether these matters marked the beginning of the conduct of the new chief, Alexander, and it was implied that such practices could not be accepted without further scrutiny. It was stated that the matter would be addressed more fully under its proper heading. It was acknowledged that copies of invoices from Madras and the Bay, relating to goods sent on the ships *Success*, *St. George* and *Aurengzebe*, had been properly transmitted. However, it was noted that similar documentation had not been provided for goods received from Bombay by the *Catherine*. Reference was made to a copy of a letter from Mr Courtney, dated 16 January 1713 at Bombay, which had been included in the packet sent by the *Catherine*. In that letter, it had been stated that bills of lading had been sent for the butts of arrack loaded on that ship for St Helena by the Governor and Council at Bombay, together with a sealed bottle as a sample. It was remarked that no explanation had been given regarding these items, nor had any information been provided as to whether the casks corresponded in quality with the sealed bottle. It was emphasised that such details ought to have been reported. Reference was made to an earlier complaint from St Helena that arrack received by the *Aurengzebe* had proved to be of poor quality, although the captain had asserted that it was the same as had been loaded at Bombay. It had therefore been considered necessary to determine whether any substitution or adulteration had taken place on board ship. To address this concern, it had previously been ordered that a sealed bottle or case of the same arrack

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		Bombay, We thought it fitt Expedient to find out whether it was changed or Adulturated on board Ship, that a bottle or case of the same Arrack as was in the Casks should be sent Sealed and then if there had been any foul practice on board, it would be discovered, and the like Orders have been given to the Fort Bay and Bencoolen.	as contained in the casks should be sent, so that any tampering during the voyage might be detected. It was further noted that similar instructions had been issued to the settlements at the Fort, the Bay and Bencoolen. **Interpretations** "Butts of arrack" referred to large casks containing arrack, a distilled alcoholic spirit commonly produced in Asia and transported in bulk. "Bills of lading" referred to official shipping documents listing cargo, its quantity and its consignee. "Muster" in this context referred to a sample provided for inspection and comparison with the bulk shipment. **Speculations** The insistence on sealed samples suggests recurring concerns about fraud or tampering with goods during long sea voyages. The criticism of missing documentation indicates weaknesses in administrative compliance and record transmission between Company settlements.
219	207	We find by your Consultation of the 8th April, You Order the Goa Arrack received by the Catherine to be Sold at five shillings a gallon and on the 12th March that the Batavia Arrack should be Sold at seven shillings a gallon, sure the account of this could not have been improper to be advised in the Generalls Letter, but we must tell You, We do not all like your management in these prices, they will quiet double here, and we have found by the Bills not long since drawn on us, that our then Governour and Councill have paid the Captains from nine to Twelve shillings a gallon for Arrack and then they were to be retailed at a moderate Profitt, to fall so low now is what no Man that studied our Interest ought to have done or Consented to; We can hardly apprehend the Captains would Sell it or Value it to you at so mean a price, but what they did We cant rightly come at the knowledge of for want of their Accounts as referred. You should consider that tho you had a pretty large supply yet you could not reasonably expect to be replenisht till near a Twelve Month after, and therefore should be as frugall in the disposing of this as prudently as you could, at least to keep it up to a smiling price of Sale. You tell us paragraph the 10th. you bought Twelve pipes of Madera Wine at Twenty pounds a pipe, which will be for our profitt and that the reason of taking so much Arrack from Capt. Godfrey and Capt. Small was because it was expendible & not staled commodity; it had been much more satisfactory to us to have mentioned	It was observed from the consultation dated 8 April 1713 that the Goa arrack received by the *Catherine* had been ordered to be sold at 5 shillings per gallon, and from the consultation of 12 March 1713 that Batavia arrack had been ordered to be sold at 7 shillings per gallon. It was stated that such information ought properly to have been included in the general letter. Disapproval was expressed regarding the management of these prices, it being noted that the same goods would fetch nearly double in England. It was further remarked that, according to bills of exchange previously drawn, former Governors and Councils had paid captains between 9 shillings and 12 shillings per gallon for arrack, which was then intended to be sold at a moderate profit. The reduction to such low prices was described as inconsistent with the Company's interest, and it was stated that no person attentive to that interest should have agreed to it. It was further observed that it was difficult to understand how captains could have sold or valued the arrack at such low rates, although the absence of proper accounts prevented full knowledge of the matter. It was emphasised that, even though a considerable supply had been received, it ought to have been recognised that further replenishment could not reasonably be expected for nearly 12 months. For this reason, it was directed that the commodity should have been managed with greater frugality and prudence, and that prices should have been maintained at a suitably advantageous level. Reference was then made to the tenth paragraph of the Governor's letter, in which it had been reported that 12 pipes of Madeira wine had been purchased at £20 per pipe, with the expectation of profit. It was also stated that the reason for taking large quantities of arrack from Captain Godfrey and Captain Small had been that it was a consumable good and not liable to spoil. It was remarked that a fuller explanation of these decisions would have been more satisfactory, though the passage concluded before this was completed. **Interpretations** "Arrack" referred to a distilled spirit commonly traded in Asia, often transported in bulk and sold locally or re-exported. "Pipe" referred to a large cask used for wine, typically holding a substantial volume, often around 100 gallons, though capacity could vary. "Bills of exchange" referred to financial instruments used to request payment from the Company, often reflecting prior expenditures or credit. **Speculations** The criticism of low pricing suggests concern that local officials prioritised immediate disposal over long-term profit. The emphasis on supply scarcity indicates awareness of

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			logistical delays in global trade and the need for careful resource management.
220	208	mentioned what you intended to Sell the wine at and that you had sett the price of the Arrack so as to make it profitable for five shillings a gallon or seven shillings, either can never turn to us any Beneffitt, there must be some Secret Ill design in this: The 37th paragraph of our Instructions sent by the Paddington direct you to advise us what prices you put on all goods, and yet not one word of it in your Letter, had we not perused the Consultation, or had you sent none, We had been altogether unacquainted with this your management which now we do know, We can't at all approve of. It falls too Surpassing your Predecessors, or the way to recommend you to Us. And to stenth the Gratuity mentioned in those Instructions, We must tell you if these things are not mended and our Orders are not better regarded and obeyed, We shall be necessitated to shift hands. You will find in your former Letters, that we had directed our Governour and Councill not to part with our Beef at Twenty shillings a hundred weight, when by the Scarcity or otherwise it was deare to buy, or was not procurable of the Islanders at that price and yet Capt. Godfrey of whom we enquired since writing the forgoing paragraphs, says what he had of our stocks he paid but Twenty shillings a hundred weight for and Twenty five shillings for what he had of you from other hands, that he Sold you that Arrack at seven shillings a Gallon and Captain Small his at six shillings, can you think you have dealt justly with us then to sell our Arrack as aforesaid even at lest than it cost you for being given in Barter for Beef at Twenty shillings £ hundred weight it is so, if the Bombay Arrack is not so good as Batavia's which does not appear, yet you ought	It was stated that no explanation had been given of the intended selling price of the Madeira wine, nor had any justification been provided for setting the price of arrack at 5 shillings or 7 shillings per gallon. It was asserted that such prices could not yield any profit to the Company, and it was suggested that some concealed or improper motive might underlie this practice. Reference was made to the thirty-seventh paragraph of the instructions sent by the *Paddington*, which had required that all prices set on goods be reported, yet it was observed that no such information had been included in the letter. It was noted that, had the consultations not been examined, or had they not been sent, this management would have remained entirely unknown. The conduct was explicitly disapproved, and it was stated that it compared unfavourably with that of predecessors and did not recommend the present administration. It was further declared that, unless such practices were corrected and the Company's orders more carefully observed, it would become necessary to replace those responsible. It was then recalled that earlier instructions had directed that Company beef should not be sold at 20 shillings per hundredweight when scarcity made it dearer to obtain or when it could not be procured from the inhabitants at that price. It was reported that Captain Godfrey had stated that he had paid only 20 shillings per hundredweight for beef obtained from Company stock, and 25 shillings per hundredweight for beef obtained from other sources. It was also stated that he had sold arrack to the settlement at 7 shillings per gallon, while Captain Small had sold his at 6 shillings per gallon. It was therefore questioned whether fair dealing had been observed, given that the Company's arrack had been sold at prices lower than its effective cost, particularly where it had been obtained through barter for beef valued at 20 shillings per hundredweight. It was acknowledged that, even if Bombay arrack were inferior to that from Batavia, which was not clearly established, a higher valuation ought to have been maintained. The passage concluded before the argument was completed. **Interpretations** "Hundredweight" referred to a unit of weight used in trade, commonly equal to 112 pounds in British measure. "Barter" referred to the exchange of goods without the use of money, in this case arrack obtained in return for beef. "Paddington" referred to a ship by which earlier instructions had been transmitted. **Speculations** The suggestion of a "secret ill design" indicates deep suspicion of mismanagement or possible corruption in pricing decisions. The comparison between cost and sale price reflects concern that local officials were undervaluing Company assets, leading to financial loss.
221	209	might have found a better precedent in your predecessors time who putt off the mean adulterated sort received by the Aurengzebe with what they had that was better and thereby made the good sell the bad. Secondly Concerning Goods or Stores sent from England or Received from India: The Invoice and Bills of Lading will shew you what is laden of each sort on this Ship and what went by the Abingdon with pretty near compleat the Quantity of Stores wrote for by the most	It was suggested that a more suitable precedent might have been followed from the time of earlier administrations, in which inferior and adulterated arrack received by the *Aurengzebe* had been mixed with better-quality stock, so that the sale of the latter would effectively carry off the former. Attention was then directed to goods and stores sent from England or received from India. It was stated that the invoices and bills of lading would indicate what quantities of each type of goods had been loaded on the present ship, as well as what had been sent previously by the *Abingdon*, which together had nearly completed

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		Frugall and part of the Provisions, The Timber and Deals besides their present clearness take up so much room, that we could not send what you desired, so they must be referred till a better opportunity presents, which we may hope for, if the Peace be speedily concluded, at least to gett Tonnage on easier Terms: Our committee could not provide and send you a Vessell of Thirty Tons, and are of opinion you may by one or other of the Ships be supplyed with a longboat to fetch Lime Stone &c[a]. in the interims We would have you make the best shift you can with the Boat you have, as She is lately Built higher. We Expect you send us an Account by every Shipping how the Stores you sent and what you have and shall receive from India or England, are and shall be Sold for in a paper apart in the Packett and Duplicates by the next conveyance, also an Account of all remains in the Store house, and what more of every sort is wanted. Your 8th Paragraph advises that on opening the Bale goods by the Success you found several much Damaged, the Chints rotten in many	the supply of stores requested in the most frugal estimates, along with part of the provisions. It was explained that timber and deals, owing to their bulk despite being cut to size, had occupied a large portion of the cargo space, preventing the shipment of all requested items. It was therefore stated that the remaining goods would have to be deferred until a more favourable opportunity arose, which it was hoped would occur if peace were soon concluded, allowing tonnage to be obtained on easier terms. It was further reported that the Committee had been unable to procure and send a vessel of 30 tons, but it was considered probable that a longboat suitable for transporting lime and stone might be obtained from one of the ships arriving. In the meantime, it was directed that the existing boat, having been recently built with greater height, should be used as effectively as possible. It was required that, with every shipment, an account be sent detailing the prices at which goods received from India or England had been or would be sold, this to be included in a separate paper within the packet, with duplicate copies sent by the next conveyance. An additional account was to be provided of all goods remaining in the storehouse, together with a statement of what further quantities were required. Reference was made to the eighth paragraph of the Governor's letter, in which it had been reported that, upon opening bale goods delivered by the *Success*, several items had been found to be damaged, including chintz cloth that had become rotten in many places. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Deals" referred to planks or boards of softwood timber, commonly used in construction. "Bale goods" referred to textiles or other goods packed tightly in bundles for transport. "Chints" or "chintz" referred to printed cotton fabrics imported from India, widely traded by the Company. **Speculations** The practice of mixing inferior goods with better stock suggests pragmatic methods used to mitigate losses from damaged or poor-quality imports. The repeated concern with cargo space reflects the logistical constraints of long-distance maritime trade and its impact on supply management.
222	210	many Places, the Plain white Cloth especially the finest Cales Sannoes full of holes, and fit for no manner of use; This Account is too Generall, You should have taken an attestation of the facts as found on inspection and particularly which Bales were so, Mentioning the Numbers how many pieces in each and how great the damage on each piece; by this means We could have sent that sent that account to the Bay and our people there could have been enabled to charge the Persons who Sold the goods and made them repay the Value they were worse than if sound, whereas when we write only in Generall Terms We can expect only a generall answer and excuse; this we mention to guide you in future, if ever there should be the like occasion, Let all such attestations be taken on Oath for the greater Solemnity and that they may have the more Weight and prevent the Excuses of our careless	It was reported that, upon inspection of the bale goods, many items had been found to be damaged. In particular, the printed cottons were said to be rotten in many places, and the plain white cloth, especially the finest calicoes and sannoes, had been found full of holes and entirely unfit for use. It was stated that this account had been given in terms that were too general. It was directed that a formal attestation should have been taken at the time of inspection, specifying precisely which bales were affected, including their identifying numbers, the number of pieces contained in each and the extent of damage to each piece. It was explained that, had such detail been provided, the information could have been forwarded to the Bay, enabling Company agents there to hold the sellers accountable and recover the loss in value. It was noted that general descriptions could only produce general replies and excuses. It was therefore instructed that, in future cases, such attestations should be taken under oath, to give them greater authority and to prevent negligence or evasion by Company servants responsible for receiving and storing goods. It was further observed, with reference to the seventh paragraph, that the excuse offered by the storekeeper for failing to submit accounts, namely that he had been continuously engaged in issuing stores, was inadequate. It was stated that it had formerly been the

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		Servants who don't look better after the goods so received and Packed up. We find in the 7th Paragraph the Excuses the Storekeeper makes for not sending the Accounts, because he was constantly Employed in delivering out Stores, this is a very lame Excuse for it used to be formerly and We suppose is still the Custom to appoint Certain days for that purpose, so that the intermediate days might be Employed about the Accounts but if (which we hate take for Granted) it was too much for one Person why could not some other, the Clerk or whoever you judged Proper, be appointed to Assist him in the greatest hurry, but we don't mean or will we allow his Wife to intermeddle with them as we are told She does We find in former Letters Mr. Bagett used to be Assistant to the preceding	practice, and was presumed still to be so, to appoint specific days for the distribution of stores, leaving other days available for the preparation of accounts. It was added that, even if the workload had been too great for a single individual, assistance could have been arranged, whether from a clerk or another suitable person, during periods of particular pressure. It was explicitly stated that the storekeeper's wife should not be permitted to interfere in such matters, as it had been reported that she had done. It was also noted that, in earlier practice, Mr Bazett had served as an assistant in this capacity. The passage concluded before further detail was given. **Interpretations** "Calicoes" referred to plain-woven cotton textiles, often imported from India and valued for their quality and versatility. "Sannoes" referred to a type of fine cotton cloth traded in the East Indies, though the term is now archaic and less precisely defined. "Attestation" referred to a formal, often sworn, statement verifying the accuracy of reported facts. **Speculations** The insistence on detailed inspection records suggests recurring disputes over the quality of goods supplied from India. The objection to the storekeeper's wife assisting in accounts reflects concern over informal or unauthorised involvement in official administrative processes.
223	211	succeeding Storekeepers, pray tell us why he is not as well qualifyed now as he was then, We'll tell you what we are informed, that the Governour and Mr. Vacks don't care he should have any thing to do there in; If there was no Brill at the bottom of it, sure they should be Glad to have any body's help to keep our Affairs in a regular method, then thereby they would the Sooner and the well managing our affairs would give the Storekeeper a reputation as to what concerns him, and the Governour a greater, as He is entrusted to superintend all, whereas the Contrary as in this case reflects a discredit on Both, and gives Us but too just occasion for suspicion. We must check this Mischief in the beginning least it grow Intollerable in the following particulars Vizt. if the Accounts of Stores are not kept up, How shall the Planters and Soldiers be able to know how their Accounts stand, or at least you be able to settle them, How shall you be enabled to prevent their running in Debt to us, and if they do to recover such Debts, How will you be able to check the Storekeeper Accounts when he gives it in monthly, or to be at any tollerable certainty what remains are in the Storehouse and consequently how much of each sort is Annually wanted, and thereupon to frame your next Indent to be sent us, another Evill that will ensue is, if the Soldiers are supposed to run in arrears they will be Glad of any opportunity to desert, when Shipping are in the road and that as it may happen, may prove an irreparable	It was asked why Mr Bazett, who had previously served as assistant to former storekeepers, was no longer considered fit for that role, when he had formerly been regarded as capable. It was reported that the Governor and Mr Vacks were unwilling that he should be involved in the management of the store. It was suggested that, unless there were some concealed motive, it would have been advantageous to accept any assistance that might help maintain proper order in the Company's affairs. It was observed that effective management would enhance both the reputation of the storekeeper and that of the Governor, who was responsible for overall supervision, whereas the contrary conduct brought discredit upon both and gave rise to suspicion. It was stated that such disorder must be corrected at an early stage to prevent it from becoming intolerable. It was explained that, if the accounts of stores were not properly maintained, neither planters nor soldiers would be able to understand the state of their accounts, nor would the Council be able to settle them. It was further noted that, without accurate records, it would be impossible to prevent individuals from falling into debt to the Company or to recover such debts when incurred. It was also pointed out that the storekeeper's accounts could not be effectively checked when submitted, nor could any reliable knowledge be obtained of the quantities remaining in the storehouse. Consequently, it would not be possible to determine the annual requirements of each type of goods or to prepare accurate indents for future supplies. It was further observed that an additional consequence might arise if soldiers were believed to be in arrears, as they might take advantage of opportunities to desert when ships were in the road, which could result in serious loss. It was noted that evidence of such issues had already been identified in recent records received from St Helena, though the passage concluded before further detail was provided. **Interpretations** "Indent" referred to a formal requisition or list of goods required for supply. "In the road" referred to ships anchored offshore, often in a roadstead where vessels awaited loading, unloading or departure.

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		Loss, We found out in some of our Late Books from S^{t}. Helena that	"Arrears" referred to unpaid debts or balances owed, particularly in relation to wages or accounts. **Speculations** The reluctance to involve Mr Bazett may indicate internal disputes or favouritism within the administration. The concern over desertion highlights the link between financial mismanagement and military discipline on the island.
224	212	Orders &^{a} P^{r} Ship that our Soldiers and the Poor Planters run yearly more and more in our Debt. This was endeavoured to be retrieved and Capt. Roberts did by degrees lessen them, for as Mischiefs of this nature grow gradually, so they must by degrees be remedied, but by this late loose Management, they are like to be worse every day for we understand all people as well those who are Indebted to, as they which have a credit in the Stores have equally free acc[ess] to the Storehouse for whatever they desire; We cautioned you against this in the 38th Paragraph of our Instructions by the Paddington, but if our assformation be True and We have great reason to fear it is, It is another Proof that you think you are not at all concerned to observe and follow the rules laid down for your government. We have found the Ancient Order given to S^{t}. Helena to value the pieces of 8 at Six Shillings, each perverted to our prejudice and therefore considering the War is we hope near at an end, and that Foreign Silver will return to its intrinsick Value again which of late have risen five to Ten p^{er}cent and more, We hereby Order that the Spanish Dollar of full weight pass at no more than five Shillings and others that are lighter in proportion at least that you shall not take them at more for our Stores or give Bills of Exchange for them at a higher Value and to that end to regulate your prices of what Sold at the rates of five Shillings for a Dollar. Thirdly touching our Servants, Civill or Millitary, the Accounts of S^{t}. Helena in Generall and also touching our Slaves, Cattle, Land and Revenues. We find by this Letter that Mr. Griffith one of the Council is	It was observed that Company soldiers and poorer planters had increasingly fallen into debt year after year. It was noted that efforts had previously been made to correct this situation, and that Captain Roberts had gradually reduced such debts, recognising that problems of this nature arose over time and required gradual remedy. It was stated, however, that under the present administration, the situation appeared to be worsening, as it was reported that all persons, whether indebted or holding credit, were permitted equal and unrestricted access to the storehouse for whatever goods they desired. It was recalled that this practice had been expressly warned against in the thirty-eighth paragraph of the instructions sent by the *Paddington*. It was further stated that, if these reports were accurate, and there was strong reason to believe they were, they provided additional evidence that established rules for governance were not being observed. It was also noted that the long-standing order at St Helena to value pieces of eight at 6 shillings each had been applied in a manner prejudicial to the Company. In light of the expectation that the war would soon end and that foreign silver would return to its intrinsic value, which had recently increased by between 5 per cent and 10 per cent or more, it was ordered that full-weight Spanish dollars should in future be valued at no more than 5 shillings each. Lighter coins were to be valued proportionately. It was further directed that such coins should not be accepted at higher rates for Company stores, nor should bills of exchange be issued at greater value. Prices of goods sold were to be adjusted accordingly, based on a valuation of 5 shillings per dollar. Attention was then directed to the subject of servants, both civil and military, together with the general accounts of St Helena and matters relating to slaves, cattle, land and revenues. It was noted that, according to the present letter, Mr Griffith, a member of the Council, was under discussion, though the passage concluded before further detail was given. **Interpretations** "Pieces of eight" referred to Spanish silver dollars, widely used in international trade as a standard currency. "Intrinsic value" referred to the value of the metal content of a coin, as opposed to its nominal or assigned value. "Bills of exchange" referred to financial instruments used to request payment from the Company, often based on currency valuation. **Speculations** The unrestricted access to the storehouse suggests a breakdown in financial discipline, contributing to widespread indebtedness. The adjustment of currency valuation indicates an attempt to correct financial distortions caused by wartime conditions in international trade.
225	213	is lately deceased, and that your present Councill consists only of three Persons, if a proper Person had presented We might have sent out one other to be of the Councill. But as it is we can't by this Ship. We observe you	It was reported that Mr Griffith, one of the Council, had died, and that the Council was now reduced to only three members. It was stated that, had a suitable person been available, another member might have been appointed, but this could not be arranged by the present ship.

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		have three overseers of the Blacks and the severall Plantations, by whose help and the Assurances you give us in the 14th paragraph of your Letter by the Success that you will take all imaginable care to improve your Plantations We persuade our selves you will look after them, and not suffer them to decay as of late we hear they have. We have been informed whilst Mr. Hoskison lived he affected so much Pomp that he had always three or four of our Blacks to wait upon him wherever he went by which means the Plantations wanted their labour and instead of the encrease of yams by planting new Succors they rather Diminished, and the succors suffered to rot and spoil; That altho you had bought three Plantations, and had thereby greatly augmented your yam ground, yet as things have been lately managed you are like in time to be obliged to buy of the Planters instead of supplying them; That by taking away the Blacks and employing them altogether about the Buildings vast numbers of yams lye and lost, so that not one Quarter of the ground can be new planted and this after you have putt us to the charge of six or seven hundred pounds or more in buying of proper ground of the Planters for yams; for you have few or no Blacks there to plant, but only for digging of yams, you may be sure this Account can't be acceptable to Us, and our Reason of telling you of it is, that it may be remedied. We	It was observed that three overseers had been appointed to manage the slaves and the several plantations, and it was stated that, based on this arrangement and on assurances given in the fourteenth paragraph of the letter sent by the *Success*, it was expected that proper care would be taken to improve the plantations and prevent their decline, which had recently been reported. Information had been received that, during Mr Hoskinson's lifetime, he had adopted a manner of living marked by excessive display, keeping three or four Company slaves constantly in attendance upon him. It was stated that this had diverted labour away from the plantations, resulting in a decline in productivity. It was further reported that, instead of increasing the supply of yams through new planting, the existing crops had diminished, and that yams had been allowed to rot and spoil. It was also noted that, although three plantations had been purchased to increase the area available for yam cultivation, the manner in which they had been managed had been so ineffective that there was a risk that provisions would eventually have to be purchased from private planters rather than supplied to them. It was reported that the diversion of slaves to building works had resulted in large quantities of yams being lost, with only a small portion of the land being replanted. This situation was described as particularly unsatisfactory given that between £600 and £700 or more had already been expended on acquiring land suitable for yam cultivation. It was further observed that there were few or no slaves available for planting, and that those present were employed mainly in digging up existing crops rather than establishing new ones. It was stated that such an account could not be acceptable, and that it had been communicated so that corrective measures might be taken. **Interpretations** "Yams" referred to a staple root crop grown on the island, essential for sustaining the population, particularly slaves and labourers. "Overseers" referred to individuals appointed to supervise labour, especially that of slaves, on plantations. "Succors" in this context referred to successive plantings or crops intended to maintain or increase production. **Speculations** The diversion of labour to personal service and construction suggests misallocation of resources, contributing to agricultural decline. The emphasis on yam production highlights its central role in sustaining the island's economy and workforce.
226	214	We can't blame our Governour in the Generall for applying himself heartily to the Fortifications, because that was absolutely necessary and what we especially recommended, but then as that ought to have been done, so he should have considered the care about the Plantations ought to have had some room in his thoughts and not have been neglected, the Blacks ought to have been spared at proper seasons to have new sett the Succors and then recalled to the Buildings and every part of our affairs been minded according to the hands you had. You did very well in sending us the Muster Roll of our Covenant Servants, and other our People Civill and	It was stated that no blame was attached to the Governor for having applied himself diligently to the fortifications, as this had been both necessary and expressly recommended. However, it was also observed that, while such works were required, sufficient attention should likewise have been given to the plantations, which had been neglected. It was directed that slaves should have been allocated at suitable times to plant new crops, and then returned to building works, so that all aspects of the Company's affairs might have been properly managed with the available labour. It was acknowledged that the muster roll of the Company's covenant servants and other personnel, both civil and military, had been properly transmitted, together with accounts of their salaries and pay. It was also noted that accounts had been provided of the slaves, cattle and provisions, as well as of the annual rents and revenues of the island. In addition, muster

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		Military together with the Accounts of their Salary and pay. The Acct. of your Negroes, Stocks of Cattle and live Provisions Accounts of the Yearly rent and Revenues of the Island, as also of the Muster Rolls of all the Inhabitants, and the Account of their Land and Cattle, This we would have yearly continued and in the same method: We are Sensible your stocks of Negroes decrease but yet at present can't do any thing towards new supplys. Sometimes there have been Ships from the Coast of Africa touch at S^{t}. Helena with Negroes, if any should again, you may buy some if to be had on reasonable Terms. We find by the List of Salary and pay the Yearly charge, cheered Amounts to better than two thousand pounds, but you have not therein mentioned any thing of the Boats Crew mariners.	rolls of all inhabitants, along with accounts of their lands and cattle, had been received. It was directed that these returns should be continued annually in the same format. It was observed that the number of slaves had declined, and it was stated that, at present, no measures could be taken to provide new supplies. It was noted that ships from the African coast had occasionally called at St Helena with slaves, and it was directed that, if such opportunities arose again, purchases might be made provided the terms were reasonable. It was further observed that the list of salaries and pay indicated a total annual charge exceeding £2,000, but that no mention had been made of the wages or maintenance of the boat's crew and mariners. The passage concluded before further comment was given. **Interpretations** "Muster roll" referred to an official list of personnel, including their roles and status, used for administrative and military purposes. "Covenant servants" referred to individuals bound by contract to serve the Company for a specified period. "Live provisions" referred to livestock maintained for food supply, such as cattle or other animals. **Speculations** The balancing of labour between fortifications and agriculture reflects the competing priorities of defence and sustenance on the island. The omission of the boat crew from salary accounts suggests gaps in financial reporting that could obscure the true cost of operations.
227	215	mentioned in your Consultation of the 19th March, unless they are included in the number of your Military, as Kelly the Boatswain is - whom we find to be the Gunners mate and in that case the Agreement there made with them is. We suppose an additional gratuity for that particular service of fetching Stone, Lime &c^{a}. by Water, which certainly is the cheapest Carriage, however that we may know our Annual Charge of the Island at least to as near and exact a computation as you can send us yearly what you Calculate it stands Us in for Dietts of our People reckoning the provisions and Liquors at the Market price and how many eat at our charge, as we have formely directed sending us their names. For the Charge of Clothing and Diett for the Blacks, for occasionall Charge of the Boats Crew and other like disbursements, for the charge of hire of the Inhabitants Blacks, for the Materials for our Buildings and for all other the Items that compose the Annnuall Expence We are at on the Island; This will be no great Trouble to do when once the method is rightly settled and adjusted, nor in the Transcribing but will be usefull to us many ways. You tell us you have dismist Mr. Tree from being Clerk of the Councill, because he was given to Drink and restored Mr. Alexander, because Mr. Griffith had given in no charge against him tho he had a Verbali Order and afterwards an Order in	It was stated that no blame was attached to the Governor for having applied himself diligently to the fortifications, as this had been necessary and had been strongly recommended. At the same time, it was emphasised that attention should also have been given to the plantations, which had been neglected. It was directed that slaves should have been allocated at proper seasons to plant new crops and then returned to building works, so that all parts of the Company's affairs might have been managed proportionately according to the available labour. Acknowledgement was made that the muster roll of the Company's covenant servants and other personnel, both civil and military, had been properly transmitted, together with accounts of their salaries and pay. It was further noted that accounts had been provided of the slaves, stocks of cattle and live provisions, as well as the yearly rent and revenues of the island. Muster rolls of all inhabitants had also been received, including accounts of their lands and cattle. It was directed that these returns should be continued annually in the same form. It was observed that the stock of slaves had decreased, and it was stated that no immediate means were available to supply new ones. It was nevertheless noted that ships from the coast of Africa had at times called at St Helena with slaves, and it was directed that, should such opportunities arise again, purchases might be made if reasonable terms could be obtained. It was further observed that the list of salaries and pay showed a yearly charge exceeding £2,000, yet no mention had been made of the boat's crew or mariners. This omission was left for further consideration. **Interpretations** "Muster roll" referred to an official record listing personnel, their roles and their status, used for administrative oversight and military organisation. "Covenant servants" referred to individuals bound by formal agreement to serve the Company for a specified term, often under conditions resembling indentured service. "Live provisions" referred to livestock maintained for

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		Consultation to prepare it; This dont look well, for a Verbali Order	consumption, forming a critical part of the island's food supply system. **Speculations** The balancing of labour between fortifications and agriculture suggests ongoing tension between defensive priorities and the need to sustain food production. The absence of provision for replacing the declining number of slaves indicates the vulnerability of the island's labour system during wartime disruptions to trade routes.
228	216	Order we look upon to be none, nor do we find any in the Councill Books, Mr. Griffith is dead and so can't answer for him and we are told the Governour overawes Mr. Bagett by threatning to turn him out by reversing the sence of the Paragraphs which supports him, This we can by no means suffer, it carryes but plain dishonesty, but if you had done right you should have Examined whether the Allegations in our 60th paragraph were true or no, as also what we wrote about him in our Letter by the Mead Frigatt, and as you found things so have judged and told us what that was, We also are told that Tree is turned out without Order of Councill and Alexander is entrusted with all the Books and Records and no Account taken of them to charge him withal notwithstanding his former accusation of burning Papers, fraudulent Registry &cª. and that our now Governour thinks it meritorious to do any thing, so it will but overturn what his predecessor did. This we are sure of, Mr. Alexander has not showed he deserves to be restored by his late management the Ships did not sail till the 20th July, but the Consultations sent reach no further than the 8th Aprill and are all of your Tree's writing, the Accounts of the Captains which always used to be sent are not now as before mentioned The Generall Letter is not according to our liking, for it gives but a very poor Account of our affairs, and does not answer our directions by the Paddington, the Bills of Exchange therein mentioned are severall of them not fully dated, the day being in Blank, Nºtes	It was stated that no valid order had been identified to justify the actions taken, nor had any such authority been found recorded in the Council books. It was noted that Mr Griffith was dead and therefore unable to answer for his conduct. Information had been received that the Governor had overawed Mr Bazett by threatening his removal through a misinterpretation of paragraphs intended to support him, which was judged to be improper and indicative of dishonesty. Further concern was raised that no proper examination had been made into whether the allegations contained in the sixtieth paragraph of earlier instructions were true, nor had due regard been given to what had been written concerning Mr Alexander in the letter sent by the *Mead Frigatt*. It was expected that these matters should have been investigated, with findings reported clearly so that judgement might be formed. Additional reports indicated that Tree had been removed without any order of the Council, while Mr Alexander had been entrusted with all books and records without any formal accounting being required from him. This was considered particularly troubling in light of previous accusations against him involving the burning of papers and fraudulent registry. It was also alleged that the present Governor had acted with the intention of overturning the measures of his predecessor, regardless of their merit. Doubts were expressed regarding Mr Alexander's suitability for reinstatement, as his recent management had not demonstrated sufficient reliability. It was observed that, although the ships did not sail until 20 July 1712, the consultations transmitted extended only to 8 April 1712 and were entirely in the handwriting of Tree. It was also noted that the captains' accounts, which had previously been regularly provided, were now absent. Criticism was made of the general letter, which was said to provide only a limited account of the Company's affairs and to fall short of the requirements set out in the instructions sent by the *Paddington*. Attention was drawn to the fact that several bills of exchange were incomplete, with the day of the date left blank, rendering them defective. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Fraudulent registry" referred to the deliberate falsification or manipulation of official records, particularly those relating to property, accounts or administrative decisions. "Council books" referred to the formal written records of proceedings and decisions taken by the Governor and Council. "Bills of exchange" referred to financial instruments requiring accurate completion, including full dating, in order to be valid for payment. **Speculations** The variation in handwriting across consultations suggests irregular administrative practice and possibly centralised control over records by a single individual. The repeated omission of required documents indicates a broader pattern of administrative disorder rather than isolated oversight.

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229	217	Notice in the Generall Letter at what time drawn or when payable for all which reasons and others we might mention, We say restore Mr. Tree to his place again, and if you have any occasion to complain hereafter let us know it. We must also add that we are Extreamly Concerned Mr. Cock should have been almost Twelve months on the Island, and yet has sent us home no Books, altho' he is an Accomptant, whereas we have never wanted our Books before since they were first Ordered to be made up to the 25th March every year, and in the Generall Letter by the Success he promised we should have them by the Summer Fleet, nor has he given in to the Councill any monthly Accounts, tho' positively Ordered by us to do it as will appear by the Generall Letter sent when he went out, and was always the usual practice, as he owns in the Success Letter for he signs it. These things deserve the utmost Censure, and if we don't find them in all parts remedied by the next Shipping, He will render himself utterly unworthy to be Continued any longer in our service and ought now to be laid aside; if he had his desert, but our compassion to him and Family makes us willing to try him a little longer. We find by the Success Letter you sent to Mr. Hutchison on the 5th February an Order requiring an account of his Management of our affairs and Plantations, and the Consultation expresses the particulars of your Remands very right and fully, but we can't but take notice of your long forbearance to demand this Account for	It was directed that, in the general letter, the dates at which bills of exchange were drawn and when they were payable should always be clearly stated. In view of these and other deficiencies, it was ordered that Mr Tree be restored to his former position, and that any future complaints against him be properly reported for consideration. Concern was expressed that Mr Cock had been on the island for nearly 12 months without sending any books to England, despite being an accountant. It was noted that, since accounts had first been ordered to be prepared annually to 25 March, such records had never previously failed to be transmitted. Reference was made to the general letter sent by the *Success*, in which he had promised that the books would be delivered by the summer fleet, a promise that had not been fulfilled. It was further observed that he had not submitted monthly accounts to the Council, although this had been explicitly required, and had been the established practice, as acknowledged in the same letter bearing his signature. These failures were described as deserving severe censure, and it was stated that, unless fully corrected by the next shipping, he would be considered unfit to continue in the Company's service. It was added that, although he would ordinarily have been removed immediately, consideration for his circumstances and family had led to a decision to allow him further time to amend his conduct. Attention was then drawn to a letter sent by the *Success* to Mr Hutchinson on 5 February 1713, in which an order had been issued requiring him to provide an account of his management of the Company's affairs and plantations. It was acknowledged that the consultation had properly set out the particulars of these demands. However, it was noted with concern that there had been a prolonged delay in requiring such an account. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Books" referred to the official accounting records of the settlement, including financial transactions, inventories and balances. "General letter" referred to the principal formal communication sent by the Company or its officials summarising administrative matters. "Consultation" referred to the recorded proceedings and decisions of the Governor and Council. **Speculations** The delay in demanding accounts from Mr Hutchinson suggests a lapse in oversight that may have contributed to wider administrative disorder. The decision to retain Mr Cock despite serious failings indicates the Company's reliance on limited qualified personnel in remote settlements.
230	218	Six months together, and when you did Order it, it was not till after he fell ill of his last Sickness; He mention that there may be no more Delays: We farther observe Messrs Griffith and Bagett were Orderrs on his Death to take a Survey of the Plantations, proving Cattle &ca. belonging to us, that had been under his Charge as the Consultation of the 7th March expresses it: but we don't find any Report ever made thereupon: These things are far from being Justifiable or so much as Excusable. We must tell you also that We have had but a very Indifferent Account of your management for us with relation to Capt. Hall;	It was observed that a delay of six months had occurred before any demand was made for an account, and that this was not required until Mr Hutchinson had fallen ill in his final sickness. It was stated that no further delays should be permitted. It was also noted that Messrs Griffith and Bazett had been ordered, upon his death, to conduct a survey of the plantations, cattle and other Company property under his charge, as recorded in the consultation of 7 March 1713, yet no report of this survey had been received. Such omissions were described as neither justifiable nor excusable. Attention was then directed to the management of affairs relating to Captain Hall, which was said to have been unsatisfactory. It was reported that he had been treated as a favourite and companion of the Governor, and that his familiarity had been maintained at the Company's expense during the five months of his stay on the island, while the Governor was said to have benefited personally from the arrangement. It was

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		That he was the Governours Favourite and Messmate as he calls him, that his Familiarity was procured at our Charge during the five months he stayed on the Island, but the Governour finds his Account by it, That after it was known, Capt. Hall had some Goods of his own of the same sort, or answering the same purpose with those you received from the Bay by the Success for our Account, those of our Goods were not supposed to be opened or vended till he had made his Marketts of his own, That he Landed at S^{t}. Helena several more Bales than he brought to ours is Certain, and we have reason to Suspect He did not pay Dutyes for what he disposed of as he ought by known Law of the Place, But for want of the Accounts We can't be Certain: We should be glad to have it well proved; these are groundless reports: But apprehending they are not. We give you the account we have that it may never be so again in any the like instances.	further reported that, once it became known that Captain Hall possessed goods of his own similar to those received from the Bay by the *Success* for the Company's account, the Company's goods had not been opened or sold until he had first disposed of his own. It was also stated that Captain Hall had landed a greater number of bales at St Helena than were recorded in the Company's accounts, and there was reason to suspect that he had not paid the required duties on the goods he sold, contrary to the established laws of the island. It was acknowledged that, owing to the absence of proper accounts, this could not be confirmed with certainty. It was nevertheless expressed that it would be desirable for the matter to be fully proven, should the reports be unfounded. At the same time, it was suggested that they were probably not without foundation, and the information was therefore communicated so that such practices might be prevented in future. **Interpretations** "Survey" referred to a formal inspection and accounting of property, including land, livestock and assets, to establish their condition and value. "Duties" referred to taxes or charges imposed on goods landed or traded, forming part of the Company's revenue system. "Bales" referred to bundled goods, typically textiles or similar commodities, packed for transport and sale. **Speculations** The delay in demanding accounts until the onset of illness suggests either negligence or deliberate avoidance of scrutiny. The allegations concerning Captain Hall indicate possible collusion between private trade and Company officials, undermining regulated commerce.
231	219	We are also informed that about Eighty head of Cattle have been bought of the Planters alone, a great many have been killed by them for our Use, and Yett notwithstanding this, and the Annual increase of our Stock, and that we have had no Mortality among them since the Tadington Livestock at Helena; our Stock of Cattle is not equall to what it was when Mr^{o}. Mashborne the late Manager of our Plantations left the Island; pray lett us know what you can prove to Contradict this Report, and if it be true where the fault lyes. Having received some Letters and Petitions by the Success Snow and Catherine from S^{t}. Helena, in answer thereto We say as follows Viz^{t}. That We are not inclined to Grant Mr^{o} Cason's request to be Entertained in our Service at S^{t}. Helena, because we find on inquiry that He has applyed more than once to the Court on the like Account, and they not think fit to do it for the reasons that then appeared: But if he pleases he may take passage at his own charge with his Family to India as he desires to Settle in any of our Settlements there, and for the reasons Mention'd in our letter by the Lexington, We can't Consent to your buying this, or any other Loose Land and Plantations, you have done too much of that kind already, which we will never again	It was reported that approximately 80 head of cattle had been purchased from the planters, and that many more had been slaughtered for Company use. It was further noted that, despite this, together with the natural annual increase of stock and the absence of mortality since the livestock brought by the *Tadington* to St Helena, the total number of cattle was now less than it had been when Mr Mashborne, the former manager of the plantations, had left the island. It was therefore requested that any evidence contradicting this report be provided, and that, if it proved accurate, the cause of the deficiency be clearly identified. Reference was then made to letters and petitions received by the *Success Snow* and the *Catherine* from St Helena, to which responses were given. It was stated that Mr Cason's request to be admitted into Company service at St Helena would not be granted, as it had been found upon inquiry that he had previously applied more than once to the Court for the same purpose and had been refused for reasons then considered sufficient. It was, however, permitted that he might travel at his own expense with his family to India, where he might settle in one of the Company's establishments. It was further stated, in accordance with reasons previously set out in a letter sent by the *Lexington*, that no further purchases of land or plantations were to be made. It was observed that excessive acquisitions of this kind had already taken place, and it was declared that such practices would no longer be allowed. It was also made clear that no payment would be made for land acquired in this manner, even if bills of exchange were drawn upon the Company. Should such bills be issued under the general credit of the Company, the amounts would instead be charged personally to those who had signed them, and every effort would be made to recover the sums from them.

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		Allow, nor pay the Money, if you draw Bills on Us for the same, or if such Bills should be given for Land bought and received under the Generalls word of Credit in the Notes as soon as we know it We will place it to the Account of the Persons who sign the Bills and use our utmost endeavours to make them refund it. The Generalls Notice we give you, that you may not again expect to be practised, which tends to the displeasing the Island and the vanishing away our Storeing tilts you have our previous order to warrant the same.	Notice was given that this instruction was to prevent any expectation that such transactions would be approved in future, as they were considered detrimental to the island and contrary to the proper management of Company resources unless expressly authorised in advance. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Head of cattle" referred to a standard way of counting livestock, each animal being one "head." "General credit" referred to the authority to draw financial instruments, such as bills of exchange, against the Company's funds. "Court" referred to the governing body of the Company in London responsible for appointments and policy decisions. **Speculations** The discrepancy in cattle numbers suggests possible mismanagement, unrecorded losses or misuse of Company livestock. The strict prohibition on further land purchases reflects concern that earlier acquisitions had been financially imprudent or administratively damaging.
232	220	That if Gabriell Powell who says, He has a large Creditt in our Store, shall have any Bills given by you drawn on us, He could from the time they are due after Acceptance have lett the Money lye in our Cash, as he desires, as far as five hundred pounds, and allow him Interest thereon after the same rate as We do to others. That Richard Cleeve Joyner who we understand is employed by you at Wages be appointed to have the management of all our Timber to cutt it out to the best advantage for the purposes it is to be applyed to, which we believe he is better skilled to do to prevent wastes and Imbezzelment than those now employed, and that he be allowed his diet at our Table for his Encouragement and care besides his Wages, and that he give you an Account from time to time how all such Timber is Disposed of and applyed that you may examine if it be as he says and that he send us by every shipping the like Account, We understand he is a good Artist as well for a carpenter as a Joyner and Shoe but Also. That as to Mr^{r} Atkinson's large Letter of Complaint We can't see any reason to take notice of it, because having examined Capt^{r} Roberts on every the Articles the Complaints against him for he referred us to the Let^{r}. He wrote you the 8th October wherein He charged the then charge on this Score which was much of the same Nature with her Letter and Challenged you to disprove him in any one Article, and by what appears to us you never did. Mr^{r} Atkinson was then living himself, and sat as judge as well as Accuser, and Capt^{r} Roberts stayed on the Island above a Month after, so that it appears to us to be an artfull Calumny, with plausible Colours put upon it, tis ever say for the sake	It was directed that, if Gabriel Powell, who was said to hold a considerable credit in the Company's store, were to receive any bills drawn upon the Company, he might, from the time such bills became due after acceptance, allow the money to remain in the Company's cash. It was stated that this might extend to as much as £500, and that interest should be paid to him at the same rate as allowed to others in similar circumstances. It was further directed that Richard Cleeve, a joiner who was understood to be employed at wages, should be appointed to oversee all Company timber. It was considered that he possessed greater skill than those currently employed, and would therefore be better able to cut and prepare timber to best advantage for its intended purposes, thereby preventing waste and embezzlement. It was ordered that he should receive his diet at the Company's table in addition to his wages, as encouragement for his diligence and care. He was also required to provide regular accounts of how the timber was used and disposed of, which were to be examined locally and also transmitted with each shipping to England. It was noted that he was regarded as a capable craftsman, skilled both as a carpenter and a joiner, though the passage concluded before further detail was given. Attention was then given to a lengthy letter of complaint submitted by Mr Atkinson. It was stated that no action would be taken upon it, as Captain Roberts had already been examined on all the matters alleged. Reference was made to a letter written by Captain Roberts on 8 October 1712, in which he had addressed similar accusations and had challenged the Council to disprove any of his statements, which had not been done. It was observed that Mr Atkinson had been alive at the time and had acted both as accuser and judge in the matter, while Captain Roberts had remained on the island for more than a month afterwards, allowing sufficient time for any rebuttal. On this basis, the complaint was considered to be an artful calumny, presented with plausible arguments, and it was implied that it had been advanced in support of a woman's cause. **Interpretations** "Bills drawn upon the Company" referred to financial instruments requesting payment from the Company's funds at a specified future date. "Embezzlement" in this context referred to the misappropriation or misuse of Company materials, particularly timber.

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		of the woman.	"Calumny" referred to a false and malicious accusation intended to damage a person's reputation. **Speculations** The permission for Gabriel Powell to leave funds in Company cash suggests an attempt to maintain liquidity while rewarding trusted creditors. The dismissal of Mr Atkinson's complaint indicates that internal disputes were sometimes resolved in favour of established authority rather than through renewed investigation.
233	221	Woman who wrote her Letter, and who also sent us what he called an Answer to that Letter, wherein is no want of hard reflections, but not a word of the Reservation of Mr[r]. Atkinson which of itself would have afforded sufficient matter for him to have harangued upon with his Pen dipt in Vinegar and Gall. We understand the Land she desires to Rent - if granted her and included will strut us out of our own wood and in effect make it hers; if this be the Case we can by no means consent to lett her have it. tho in Generall We should be Glad you could Lett out the greatest parts of all our Land, it being best for us to keep no more in our hands than what is sufficient to Maintain our own Sailor, Blacks and Cattle for the Shipping and if there were Planters enough to have all the rest of our Ground We should be Glad if they had the greatest parts of our Cattle and Lesee Provisions and that you kept no more than what could be Sufficient to prevent their Imposing on others by setting exorbitant rates on their Provisions. Your Consultation mentions the letting parcels of Lands on Lease, but never say at what rent, which ought to be inserted and we expect it be for the future. We dont like the practice of the Planters or others changing Land of theirs for others of ours, lest it should happen to us, as we are told it did in Mr[r]. Alexander Case. He had a Plantation, and when he had improvd it and cult towin the wood, He builds him a House in another place on a fresh piece of ground, and there takes the same quantity of Lease he had in the other, and when he was called to Question for it, answered what harm was.	It was observed that the woman who had written the letter had also sent what was described as an answer to it, which contained many severe reflections yet did not address the reservation made by Mr Atkinson. It was remarked that this omission alone would have provided sufficient material for further argument, had it been pursued with greater force. It was stated that the land she sought to rent, if granted and enclosed, would effectively exclude the Company from access to its own wood and would in practice transfer control of it to her. It was therefore declared that such a request could not be approved. It was nevertheless acknowledged that, in general, it would be advantageous for the Company to lease out as much of its land as possible, retaining only what was necessary to support its own sailors, slaves and cattle required for shipping. It was further stated that, if there were sufficient planters, it would be desirable for them to hold the greater part of both the land and cattle, as well as provisions under lease, while the Company retained only enough to prevent excessive pricing by private suppliers. Attention was drawn to the consultations, which recorded that parcels of land had been leased, but failed to state the rents at which they had been granted. It was directed that such details should in future be included. Disapproval was expressed regarding the practice of planters exchanging their own land for that of the Company. It was noted that this had reportedly occurred in the case of Mr Alexander, who, after improving one plantation and clearing its wood, had constructed a house on a new piece of ground and taken a lease there for the same quantity of land as before. When questioned, it was reported that he had responded as though no wrongdoing had occurred. **Interpretations** "Reservation" in this context referred to a formal objection or qualification made within a statement or argument. "Enclosed" referred to land that had been fenced or otherwise bounded for exclusive use, often restricting access. "Lease" referred to a formal agreement granting the use of land in return for payment, typically for a fixed term. **Speculations** The concern over enclosure of land suggests anxiety about the loss of common resources, particularly timber, which was essential for construction and fuel. The criticism of land exchanges reflects fear that Company property could be gradually appropriated through informal or loosely regulated arrangements.
234	222	was it, had he not left as much ground to the Company in his other Plantation, as he had taken of them in this, had they told the same Quantity of Leases in the whole they had before and therefor they would know nothing of it. Your Consultation of the 20th December 1711 imports that when Richard Gasling petitioned to rent the House and Land formerly	It was stated that, in defence of Mr Alexander's conduct, it had been argued that he had left as much land to the Company in his former plantation as he had taken in the new one, and that the total quantity held under lease had remained unchanged. It was further noted that, on this basis, those concerned had declined to recognise any fault in the matter. Reference was then made to the consultation of 20 December 1711, in which it had been recorded that Richard Gasling had petitioned to rent the house and land formerly belonging to Widow Lathrope, but that

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		the Widows Lathropes; you refused to Lett the Land saying it should be kept for the Company. We hope by what you have wrote in this and the last Letter you will never again refuse to take Rent for any of our ground that can be lett to its worth, and is not absolutely Necessary for the use of our Table &c^{a}. as aforementioned especially if the Letting such ground be not prejudicially to the Prejudice of our other Land Contiguous thereto. We had not before Directed, That you should buy no more Land for us. We had then remarked, that the Entry in your Consultation of Land bought is not at all Satisfactory to us, to say only in Generall Terms, That so much Money was agreed to be paid for a Plantation of so many Acres with the Provisions and so many head of Cattle. It should have been in more particular and Express Terms, as the Consultation of the 7th March is where Mr^{r}. Bazetts Reports what he had bought of Walter Belvandand the Value given for every Item, and what each Item contained, tho' the detail of Cattle in this might have better explained by saying what the Cattle were whereas it is entered in Generalls under head of Cattle. If the people have no ill Designs in their heads, or are not Confused nor Careless, they would always be wary, Plain, and full in their Entrys.	the request had been refused on the grounds that the land should be retained for Company use. It was expressed as an expectation that, in light of more recent instructions, no future refusal would be made to lease out Company land at its proper value, provided that it was not required for essential purposes such as the maintenance of the Company's table, and that its leasing would not prejudice adjoining Company property. It was observed that no prior explicit order had been given forbidding the purchase of land, but it had already been remarked that entries in the consultations relating to such purchases had been unsatisfactory. It was stated that recording only general terms, such as the total sum paid for a plantation of a given acreage together with provisions and a number of cattle, was inadequate. It was directed that such entries should instead be made in precise and detailed form, as had been done in the consultation of 7 March 1713, where Mr Bazett had reported his purchase from Walter Belvand, specifying the value assigned to each item and the contents of each category. It was further noted that, even in that example, the description of cattle might have been improved by specifying the types of cattle involved, rather than entering them collectively under a general heading. It was stated that, where there was no intention of deception and no confusion or negligence, records should always be made with clarity, completeness and precision. **Interpretations** "Company's table" referred to the provision of food and maintenance for Company officials and servants, often supplied from Company-managed resources. "Consultation" referred to the formal written record of decisions and proceedings made by the Governor and Council. "Head of cattle" referred to a unit of counting livestock, each animal being recorded individually in aggregate totals. **Speculations** The justification offered in Mr Alexander's case suggests a flexible interpretation of property rights that may have blurred the distinction between Company and private holdings. The emphasis on detailed record-keeping reflects ongoing concern that vague accounting enabled mismanagement or concealed irregularities.
235	223	Fairly and Accompts of matters entrusted with them. Your Consultation of the 8th. April mentions that you writ on the 15th ditto, Sett the Licence for retailing of Strong Liquors by auction, and put it up at four hundred Dollars to advance Ten at every Bidding, but the Letter wrote in July following is altogether Silent who had it and for what and as to the Consultation We have none to look into beyond the 8th. April tho' the Books is endorsed that they reach'd to the 15th. June, for the future never be guilty of such sort of Omissions or Neglecting to give us an Account of any other Branch of our Affairs. The 1st. of January you Order a Proclamation to be Issued and that you would lett out any of our Black Children to such as would keep them for their Labour till they were Ten years old. We cant find any Entry - what was the Issue of it, in all such Cases you should enter in Consultation what Children were so put out, to whom and for how	It was stated that all matters entrusted to the Company's servants should be conducted fairly and with proper accounting. Reference was made to the consultation of 8 April 1713, in which it had been recorded that, on 15 April 1713, a licence for the retailing of strong liquors had been put up for auction at a starting price of 400 dollars, with bids to increase by 10 dollars at each advance. It was observed that the subsequent letter written in July had made no mention of who obtained the licence or at what price it had finally been settled. It was further noted that no consultations had been received beyond 8 April 1713, although the books had been endorsed as extending to 15 June 1713. Such omissions and failures to provide full accounts of all branches of Company affairs were expressly condemned and were not to be repeated. Attention was then drawn to an order issued on 1 January 1713, in which a proclamation had been directed, stating that Company slave children might be placed with individuals who would maintain them in return for their labour until the age of 10 years. It was observed that no entry had been made recording the outcome of this measure. It was directed that, in such cases, the consultations should record the names of the children, the persons to whom they were assigned and the duration of their placement. It was explained that

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		long time, by this Means there would be a Register & Remembrance when to call for them again, and for want of it some of them may be lost to us especially if the Persons who placed them out should be gone off the Island or dead at the time when they should be called for again. Fourthly, touching our Fortifications, Buildings, and Garrison Stores. It is something particular, and what we dont like that both your Letters of the 11th. March and 19th. July should say you refer it to the Governour Singly to give us an Account of these, for the	this would create a proper register, allowing the children to be reclaimed when required. It was warned that, without such records, some might be permanently lost to the Company, particularly if those responsible for them had left the island or died before the term expired. The discussion then turned to fortifications, buildings and garrison stores. It was remarked as unsatisfactory that both the letters of 11 March 1712 and 19 July 1712 had referred the responsibility for reporting on these matters solely to the Governor, rather than to the Governor and Council collectively. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Licence for retailing strong liquors" referred to an official permit granting the right to sell alcoholic beverages, often auctioned to maximise revenue. "Consultation books" referred to the formal records of decisions and proceedings maintained by the Governor and Council. "Proclamation" referred to a formal public announcement issued under authority, often used to declare regulations or policies. **Speculations** The failure to record the outcome of the liquor licence auction suggests either administrative neglect or possible concealment of revenue. The lack of records concerning slave children indicates a risk of informal labour arrangements undermining Company control over its workforce.
236	224	future let the Governour draw out what he is to advise on this head, and lay it before you for your approbation that the Account is right, then you might have Skill enough to judge of the reason, By this means all of the Councell will know what it is he advises us and may be an encouragment to him of performing whatever is promised to be done, at least they will be in some measure acquainted with his Generall design and the steps taken in carrying it on, which for the reasons mentioned in the 29th Paragraph of our Letter by the Abingdon they ought to be, for whatsoever be done for the Generall Benefits of our Affairs ought not to be Secreted from any of the Councell. What our Governour proposes in his Letter by the Snow, (which was forgot to be dated) of our Ships having their Top Chains cleft upon their Cable with the bite about the foremast and well bolted while they lay at an Anchor in St. Helena road, to prevent an Enemy carrying them out of the road We approve of and would have it determined whether in peace or War practise; or any thing else that may tend to the Generall preservation; for it is not impossible but a Privateer or two may venture unto the road in hopes of prey, and if any the Captains refuse to do it at your desire, or Order in our name which we hereby empower you to give them, Protest against them and send us the Copy and their answer if they return any. And you have done your part, we'll do the rest. He writes us by making quantities of Hay He has prevented	It was directed that, in future, the Governor should prepare a full account of matters relating to fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, and present it to the Council for their approval before it was transmitted. By this means, it was considered that the Council would be able to judge both the accuracy and the reasoning of what was reported. It was further observed that this procedure would ensure that all members of the Council were informed of the Governor's proposals and actions, thereby encouraging the proper execution of what had been undertaken. It was emphasised that the Council should be made aware of the general design and the steps taken in carrying it forward, since, as had been stated in the twenty-ninth paragraph of the letter sent by the *Abingdon*, nothing done for the general benefit of the Company's affairs ought to be concealed from them. Approval was expressed for a proposal made by the Governor in a letter sent by the *Snow*, although it had not been dated. In this proposal, it had been suggested that ships at anchor in St Helena Road should have their top chains secured upon their cables, with the bight fastened about the foremast and properly bolted, in order to prevent an enemy from carrying them away. It was directed that this practice should be considered for adoption in both peace and war, or that any other measures contributing to general security should be similarly evaluated. It was noted that it was not impossible that privateers might attempt to enter the road to seize vessels. It was therefore ordered that, if any captain refused to comply with such instructions when given in the Company's name, a formal protest should be made against him and copies of both the protest and any reply should be sent to England, after which further action would be taken. It was also reported that the Governor had written that, by producing quantities of hay, the loss of cattle through starvation during dry periods had been prevented. It was observed that such a measure, appearing to represent an improvement, should have been included in the general letter for the Company's information, as it would not have required extensive space to report it. The passage concluded in an incomplete state.

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		the damage of Cattle being Starved in the dry time, such a Method would not have taken up a great deal of Room in the Generalls Letter and if it be as it seems by his Account a new Improvement might have well enough found place therein for our Information. His	**Interpretations** "Top chains" referred to heavy iron chains used in securing a ship's rigging or anchoring arrangements, here adapted as a security measure. "Bight" referred to a loop or curve in a rope or cable, often used in fastening or securing rigging. "Road" referred to an anchorage area near the shore where ships could lie at anchor, rather than a harbour. **Speculations** The insistence on Council oversight of the Governor's reports suggests concern over unilateral decision-making and a desire for collective accountability. The proposed security measures reflect awareness of the vulnerability of anchored ships to opportunistic attack during periods of war or instability.
237	225	His proposal of some Anchors and large Chains for mooring our Ships We shall consider of when offer'd opportunity, for we hope before this Ship is dispatched to give you the Account that the peace is proclaimed, however We would not have any thing that remains to Compleat the Security of the Island forborn, only if the peace be concluded, there will be the less Necessity to employ so many of the Islandes Blacks, because the works may be done more leisurely. Some other matters we might have added under this and the foregoing heads, but being done in our last and former Letters, We can only referr thereto. The Soldiers sent on the Susannah are for Bencoolen and must all proceed thither. It having been represented to us, That Mr^r^. William Swaine who has resided severall Years in India, and for a great part thereof in the Bay of Bengall, intends shortly to leave that place and reside at S^t^. Helena: We therefore hereby direct, That in case he should come thither and does desire to Continue on the Island, He is allowed so to do, and to stay there as long as He shall think fitt, conforming himself to the Laws of the Place. We are Your Loving Friends	It was stated that the Governor's proposal for providing additional anchors and large chains for mooring ships would be considered when a suitable opportunity arose. It was expressed that there was hope that, before the present ship was dispatched, news might be given that peace had been proclaimed. It was nevertheless directed that nothing necessary for the complete security of the island should be omitted. It was added that, if peace were concluded, fewer slaves would be required for labour, as defensive works could then be carried out more gradually. It was further observed that other matters might have been included under the present and preceding subjects, but these had already been addressed in earlier letters, to which reference was made. It was directed that the soldiers sent on the *Susannah* were intended for Bencoolen and must all proceed there without remaining at St Helena. It was also reported that Mr William Swaine, who had resided for several years in India, particularly in the Bay of Bengal, intended to leave that region and settle at St Helena. It was therefore ordered that, if he arrived and wished to remain, he should be permitted to reside on the island for as long as he chose, provided that he complied with the laws in force there. The letter concluded with a formal expression of regard. **Interpretations** "Bencoolen" referred to a Company settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, important in the East India trade network. "Mooring" referred to the securing of ships in a fixed position using anchors and chains, particularly in exposed anchorages such as St Helena Road. **Speculations** The expectation of peace suggests a transitional moment in which military priorities might shift towards civil and economic management. The permission granted to Mr William Swaine reflects the Company's interest in encouraging experienced individuals to reside in strategically important settlements.
238	226	Orders and Instructions given, by Us the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies. To Cap^t^. Isaac Pyke Esq^r^. Gov^r^. of our Island of S^t^. Helena: To M^r^. George Haswell second of Councill: To M^r^. Edward Mashborne Third: To M^r^. Matthew Bazett fourth and to M^r^. Antipas Tovey fifth, and last of the said Councill. We the Said Court of Directors having thought fitt to elect and Settle the Governour and Councill as above express't, and having	It was declared that the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies had issued formal orders and instructions to Captain Isaac Pyke, appointed Governor of St Helena, together with Mr George Haswell as second of Council, Mr Edward Mashborne as third, Mr Matthew Bazett as fourth and Mr Antipas Tovey as fifth and last member of the Council. It was stated that these appointments had been made deliberately, and that a commission had been granted to the Governor under the Company's common seal. It was directed that this commission should be publicly proclaimed upon his arrival at the island, in accordance with established practice, and then entered into the Consultation Book.

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		given our said Governour a Commission under the Companys common Seal, which we direct be published as usual on his arrival at the Island and then entered in the Consultation Book, and reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Fidelity Zeal, and continual application to perform the severall matters and affairs committed to your care in generall, and to each of you for what concerns himself in particular. We come now to Acquaint you what it is we expect from you in the management of our affairs with which you are entrusted. On your arrivall at S^{t}. Helena, and taking upon you the Government of the Island, and each of you your particuler and Distinct charges, or if that will from time be for those charges you formerly entered upon and manage, We direct that you first	It was further expressed that particular trust and confidence had been placed in the fidelity, zeal and diligence of those appointed, both collectively in the management of the Company's affairs and individually in the execution of their respective duties. It was then stated that the purpose of the letter was to set out clearly what was expected of them in the administration of those affairs. It was directed that, upon arrival at St Helena and the assumption of the government of the island, each person should take up his assigned responsibilities. It was also indicated that, where duties had previously been undertaken, they should continue to be managed accordingly. It was further instructed that, as an initial step, action should be taken in accordance with the directions that followed, though the passage concluded before these were fully set out. **Interpretations** "Commission under the Company's common seal" referred to a formal legal instrument confirming authority, authenticated by the official seal of the Company. "Consultation Book" referred to the official record in which proceedings and decisions of the Governor and Council were entered. "Council" referred to the governing body assisting the Governor in the administration of the island. **Speculations** The formal structuring of ranks within the Council suggests an attempt to impose clearer administrative hierarchy following earlier governance disputes. The emphasis on public proclamation of the Governor's commission reflects the importance of legitimacy and authority in maintaining order within the settlement.
239	227	of all take care to Expedite the unloading of this Ship Rochester, and hasten her away to Bencoolen, of which we shall say no more under the head of Shipping and during her stay if you can have time for it, if not as soon as she is gone That you diligently in Councill peruse the Letters and Instructions sent by the Toddington and Thistleworth and those since by the Abingdon and Susannah together with all others therein referred to as well as these our Orders, wherein you will have a full view of our Directions, and know how to Manage our Affairs on the Island. We cant find either by Letters or Consultations, that our late Gov^{r}. Capt^{r}. Boucher and the then Councill gave any tolerable heed to our Instructions sent by him in the Toddington, or so much as laid them over with attention enough to mind them. This has necessitated us to shift hands in hopes of better management. Our 2^{d}. Paragraph directed an Extract to be taken out of all the Letters wrote to S^{t}. Helena either by the old Company or the Court of Managers or the Stand^{t}. Court of Directors of the Orders relating to every Distinct Branch of our Affairs there, putting each under their proper head, but we have no account that this was ever Complyed with Can we mention it here that you may as soon as the Rochester is dispatched take care it be forthwith sett about and finished as soon as	Immediate priority was placed upon unloading the *Rochester* and dispatching her without delay to Bencoolen, with no further elaboration required under the subject of shipping. It was instructed that, either during her stay if time allowed, or otherwise immediately after her departure, a thorough review should be undertaken in Council of all prior letters and instructions sent by the *Toddington*, *Thistleworth*, *Abingdon* and *Susannah*, together with all related documents. By this process, a complete understanding of the Company's directions and the proper conduct of affairs on the island was to be obtained. Strong dissatisfaction was expressed regarding the conduct of the former Governor, Captain Boucher, and the Council then in office, as it did not appear from either letters or consultations that they had given sufficient attention to the instructions sent by the *Toddington*. This neglect was stated to have necessitated a change in personnel, in expectation of improved management. Reference was made to the second paragraph of earlier instructions, in which it had been ordered that extracts be compiled from all letters sent to St Helena by the former Company, the Court of Managers and the present Court of Directors, with each instruction arranged under its proper subject. It was noted that no confirmation had been received that this work had been carried out. Accordingly, it was directed that, once the *Rochester* had been dispatched, this task should be undertaken immediately and completed with all possible speed. After compilation, the extracts were to be examined carefully in Council to ensure their accuracy and completeness, and any deficiencies were to be corrected. By this method, it was expected that all members of the Council would become fully informed of the Company's orders, whether prohibitory or directive,

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		possible, and when drawn out to this time, that it be carefully Examined in Councill to see whether it be truely and fully done, and if not to you make it Compleat, the reason for this you will see in the said 2d. Paragraph wherein we referr you. We say, lett it be Examined in Councill, because you will thereby be all of you better appriz'd of our Orders whether Negative or Affirmative, and in Consequence we may expect they will be Obey'd. The	and that greater compliance would follow. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Extract" referred to a systematically organised summary of instructions drawn from multiple official letters, intended to guide administration. "Negative or Affirmative orders" referred respectively to instructions forbidding actions and those requiring them to be performed. **Speculations** The emphasis on reorganising instructions suggests that administrative confusion had arisen from the accumulation of unstructured directives. The explicit criticism of previous leadership indicates that accountability for mismanagement was being actively enforced by the Court of Directors.
240	228	The first and sixteenth paragraphs of the Toddingtons Letter contain'd a summary Account of our directions in Generall touching our affairs, and the Management of them by the Governour and Councill for the time being, which you must have as much regard to as if herein again inserted, as you must also to all preceeding and succeeding Letters, except only to such of them as have since been, or by this or any subsequent Letter may be repealed or altered, and in that case the Orders so altered or repealed are to be looked upon as no longer Obligatory. We hereby require; That all our affairs be managed according to the direction of the Governour and Councill, or the Major part of them, and to that end that you hold consultations, weekly or oftner if there be occasion, and enter in the Consultation Book a particular Account of the Result of all your Debates with your reasons, That each of you do give in an Account from time to time Monthly or oftner if required to the Councill of the Management of the affairs under your respective Distinct Charges and Employments, and that the proper Notices thereof be entered in the Consultation Book; That when the Councill are mett, and shall give Orders to any one or more of you in matters relating to your Separate Charges, such Orders be entered in consultation, and in a proper time afterward more or less as the occasion requires that the Account be called for and given how much Orders have been Executed, and entry thereof be made in the Consultation Book, that no one of the Councill because he is so shall think himself exempted from the Controul or Examination of the Majority of Councill as to any matters under his particulaar charge, That each of you in your respective stations do carefully and constantly observe the severall rules in the severall Letters.	Reference was made to the first and sixteenth paragraphs of the letter sent by the *Toddington*, in which a general summary had been provided of the Company's directions concerning the management of its affairs by the Governor and Council. It was directed that these instructions should be regarded with the same authority as if they had been restated in the present letter. It was further ordered that all preceding and subsequent letters should likewise be observed, except in cases where specific instructions had been altered or repealed by later correspondence, in which case the earlier orders were no longer to be considered binding. It was required that all Company affairs should be conducted under the authority of the Governor and Council, or the majority of them. To this end, consultations were to be held weekly, or more frequently if necessary, and a full account of all discussions and decisions, together with the reasons for them, was to be entered in the Consultation Book. It was further directed that each member should submit regular accounts, monthly or more frequently if required, detailing the management of the responsibilities assigned to him, and that proper notice of these accounts should also be recorded. Provision was made that, when orders were issued by the Council to any individual member in relation to his particular duties, those orders should be formally entered in the consultations. It was further directed that, after an appropriate interval, an account should be required and given of how far those orders had been carried out, and that this too should be recorded. It was emphasised that no member of the Council should consider himself exempt from oversight or examination by the majority in respect of matters under his charge. It was finally directed that each member, within his respective role, should carefully and consistently observe all rules set out in the various letters of instruction. **Interpretations** "Consultation Book" referred to the official record in which proceedings, decisions and justifications of the Governor and Council were formally entered. "Major part of them" referred to the governing principle that decisions were to be determined by the majority of the Council rather than by a single authority. **Speculations** The insistence on collective decision-making suggests an attempt to limit unilateral authority by the Governor and strengthen institutional accountability. The requirement for regular written accounts indicates concern that earlier failures in documentation had undermined effective oversight.
241	229	letters relating to the said Stations, and that the rest be from time to time inspect'd	It was directed that all letters relating to the respective duties of each officer should be carefully

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		to see they be observed, That the Generalls Letters whenever received be read in Councill and to that end the whole Councill be summond to see the Packett first opened if directed to them all, and an entry thereof and of reading such Letters be made in the Consultation Book, that the Minutes taken at every Councill be read the next before any other Business is gone upon, and if ought that an Entry be made of their approvals, and when they are entered into the Consultation Book, which they must forthwith be, that they be signed by all, or if any one objects, that he enter his dissent against his name with the reasons; That Duplicates of the Consultations be weekly kept up to be ready to send us by the Shipping signed by the Councill, whereby we may be able to judge of your management, and That the Transactions of all matters be entered therein, whether relating Immediately to our own affairs or to Complaints, adjudications, Advertisements, or other things relating to the Inhabitants, Soldiers or others, and in a word, That the said Book be in the nature of a Journall, and to contain in it an Account of all the Mercantile, Civil, & Military, or other affairs on the Island under your direction. We have the more Distinctly mentioned the severall Rules in the last paragraph, because we find the Consultation Book last received from S^{t}. Helena very defective in divers particulars, which if these rules are for the future observ'd will be remedied. We take Notice many times consultations have not been held in five or six weeks together, and longer seldom once in a fortnight or three weeks, that many of the things contained in the Generall Letters were proper and ought to be first determined.	observed, and that the remaining members of the Council should periodically inspect these matters to ensure compliance. It was further ordered that all general letters, upon receipt, should be read in Council, and that the entire Council should be summoned when a packet addressed to them collectively was to be opened. An entry was to be made in the Consultation Book recording both the receipt and the reading of such letters. It was also required that the minutes taken at each Council meeting should be read at the beginning of the next meeting before any new business was undertaken. If these minutes were approved, an entry was to be made to that effect. Once entered into the Consultation Book, which was to be done without delay, they were to be signed by all members present. In cases where any member objected, his dissent was to be recorded alongside his name, together with the reasons for it. Provision was made that duplicate copies of the consultations should be kept up weekly, so that they would be ready to be sent to England by the next shipping, duly signed by the Council. This was intended to enable proper judgement to be formed of the administration of affairs. It was further directed that all transactions should be recorded in these consultations, whether they related directly to Company business or to complaints, decisions, public notices or other matters concerning inhabitants, soldiers or others. It was stated that the Consultation Book should effectively serve as a journal, containing a complete account of all mercantile, civil, military and other affairs conducted on the island under the Council's direction. It was explained that these rules had been set out in detail because the Consultation Book most recently received from St Helena had been found to be deficient in several respects. It was noted that, if these instructions were properly followed in future, such deficiencies would be corrected. It was further observed that consultations had often not been held for periods of 5 or 6 weeks or more, and rarely even once in 2 or 3 weeks, despite the fact that many matters raised in the general letters required timely consideration and decision. **Interpretations** "Consultation Book" referred to the formal administrative record functioning both as minutes and as a comprehensive journal of governance on the island. "Packet" referred to an official bundle of correspondence sent by ship, often containing multiple letters and documents of administrative importance. **Speculations** The insistence on frequent consultations suggests that delays in decision-making had previously hindered effective governance. The requirement for dissent to be recorded indicates an effort to introduce transparency and accountability within Council proceedings.
242	230	mentioned in consultation, but not one word of them is contained therein That Governour Boucher in the Letters of the 1st. Aprile says Mr^{r}. Pack had been often called upon to give in his accounts of the Stores, nor he has Intreated, scolded and tryed every Method with him for that purpose but in vain. yet we can find no Notice of this in Consultation which ought to have been, and then we could have seen the Governour did his part, many other particulars might be easily enumerated to show that the Consultations (which should be like our Court Book and give every	It was observed that many matters which ought to have been recorded in the consultations were entirely omitted, and that no mention had been made of them in the official record. It was noted that Governor Boucher had stated in a letter of 1 April 1712 that Mr Pack had repeatedly been called upon to submit his accounts of the stores, and that various methods had been used to compel compliance, yet without success. It was pointed out that no entry of these efforts had been made in the Consultation Book, although such a record would have demonstrated that the Governor had fulfilled his duty. It was further remarked that numerous additional examples might be given to show that the consultations, which ought to resemble the Company's Court Book and provide a complete account of all transactions, were

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		reader a full View of all Transactions, and we expect hereafter they shall be so, yet as we must observe) are Extremely jejune, and contain a very Slight and Triffling Account of the Management at S^{t}. Helena, That Mr^{r}. Bazett has been kept from a Sight of the Generalls Letters for five or six Months together and not suffered to assist in the Stores, tho we ordered he should, and if he had there was great likelihood the Accounts had not been so very backward as they are; that the Governour did whatever his own Passion or Spleen prompted him to tho' in direct opposition to our standing Orders, all this and many more things of the like or as bad a Nature will as we expect be cured if the said last paragraph be duly observed and obey'd; We will add here this further, That in the Letters before us, We find some fair - Promises of things to be amended in future, but the event has shew'd that the good words signify nothing and was forgot We mention it that you may take Effectual care We may not have occasion to repeat the like Complaint but will have recourse to your Letters to see what promises at any time are therein made be Effectually performed. We shall in the course of this Letter take Notice of other matters necessary to be administered upon as well as for.	instead extremely deficient, offering only a slight and trivial account of the management of affairs at St Helena. It was reported that Mr Bazett had been denied access to the general letters for periods of 5 or 6 months and had not been permitted to assist in the management of the stores, despite explicit instructions that he should do so. It was suggested that, had he been allowed to participate, the store accounts would probably not have fallen into such arrears. It was also alleged that the Governor had acted according to personal inclination or resentment, even when such actions were in direct opposition to standing orders. It was stated that these and other similar or more serious issues were expected to be corrected if the previously stated rules were properly observed and enforced. It was added that, although certain assurances had been given in earlier letters that improvements would be made, experience had shown that such promises had not been fulfilled and had been quickly forgotten. It was therefore stated that particular care must be taken to ensure that any commitments made in future correspondence were carried out in practice. It was further indicated that the present letter would continue to address additional matters requiring attention. **Interpretations** "Jejune" referred to something lacking substance or completeness, here describing the inadequate nature of the consultation records. "Court Book" referred to the official record of proceedings maintained by the Company's governing body in London, serving as a standard for thorough documentation. "In arrears" referred to accounts or obligations that had fallen behind schedule and remained unsettled. **Speculations** The repeated failure to record key actions suggests deliberate omission as well as administrative weakness. The exclusion of Mr Bazett from access to records indicates internal factionalism that may have disrupted effective governance.
243	231	for the Avoidance of some as trifflingness and fallaciousness of other paragraphs, to the end that by pointing out the Defects you may apply the remedy. These things being provided as generall hints. We proceed to give you our Orders more particularly in the Answer to your Letters, and to add under our established Generall heads, what farther we think proper. Our last was of the 20th. March 1712 by the Susannah which Ship being arrived and the Letter received it is Needless to send its Copy, since writing it we have received by the John and Elizabeth the Generall Letter from S^{t}. Helena dated the 4th. of Aprile 1713 with a postsript of the 14th. and by the same the Generall Letter of the 15th. June following with private Letters from Capt^{r}. Boucher and others, but we must observe tho severall Ships came from thence with the Letters yet we had no Packets or so much as a generall Letter by any of them, so that at the Home had Miscarry'd, we had been altogether in the Dark as to the Governour and Councels Advices hoping this will be the last remark of this Nature We go on.	It was stated that certain defects, including triviality and misleading content in earlier paragraphs, had been identified so that appropriate remedies might be applied. These remarks were presented as general guidance, after which more specific orders were to be given in response to the letters received, together with additional instructions under the established general headings. Reference was made to the Company's previous letter of 20 March 1713, sent by the *Susannah*, and it was noted that, as the ship had arrived and the letter had been received, there was no need to send a duplicate. It was further stated that, since that time, a general letter from St Helena dated 4 April 1713, with a postscript of 14 April 1713, had been received by the *John and Elizabeth*, together with another general letter dated 15 June 1713 and several private letters from Captain Boucher and others. It was observed with concern that, although several ships had arrived from St Helena carrying correspondence, no packets or even a general letter had been received by some of them. It was pointed out that, had the letters which were received been lost in transit, the Company would have been left entirely without information regarding the advice and proceedings of the Governor and Council. It was expressed as a hope that this would be the last occurrence of such an omission. The subject of shipping sent out and returned was then introduced. It was reported that, since the departure of the *Susannah*, several ships had arrived safely. These included the *Dartmouth* from the Coast, the *Mary* from the Bay and Coast, the *Toddington* and the

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		First Concerning Shipping sent out, and Returned. Since the departure of the Susannah it has pleased God the following Ships have arrived with us in Safety Viz^{z}. the Dartmouth from the Coast. The Mary from the Bay and Coast. The Toddington and Success from Bencoolen. The Avenger galley & Nathaniel from Mocha but last from Bombay come in Company with the Dutch Northabout and gott into the River of Thames in August. The Howland from.	*Success* from Bencoolen, and the *Avenger* galley and the *Nathaniel* from Mocha, the latter having come from Bombay in company with Dutch ships by the northern route and having arrived in the River Thames in August. Mention was also made of the *Howland*, though the passage concluded before further details were provided. **Interpretations** "Packet" referred to an official bundle of correspondence transmitted by ship, distinct from private letters. "Northabout" referred to a northern sailing route, often used during wartime to avoid enemy-controlled waters. "Coast" and "Bay" referred to established regions of trade, particularly the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. **Speculations** The concern over missing packets suggests the vulnerability of communication networks in long-distance maritime administration. The listing of ship arrivals reflects the importance of tracking maritime movements for both commercial and strategic purposes.
244	232	from the Fort. The Kent from the Bay, The Montague and Haukbutt from the Bay, and the Keene from China arrived in the Downes from S^{t}. Helena the last of August and beginning of September. The Seperates Stock Ships John and Elizabeth, Arabella & Mermaid came directly to England at several times, the two first the beginning of July. The Ships sent and Sending out to all parts of the East Indies this Season are Viz^{z}. - The Eagle Galley ----- 200 Capt^{r}. Daniel Beekman for Borneo The Borneo ----- 180 Capt^{r}. Thomas Lewis for Borneo to attempt re-establishing a Trade thither, because Pepper of late bears a good price here, if they don't succeed they are to fill up at Bencoolen, The Supra Cargoes are Mr^{r}. Swartz, and the — Captain for the Borneo, and Mr^{r}. Boucher and the Captain for the Eagle with John Gerard Writer, they both sailed in October last. The Hector ----- 250 Capt^{r}. Charles Hesse for Canton and home Mr^{r}. Middleton, Naish, & Holland Supra Cargoes & Richard Bull Writer, She sailed out of the Downes the 1st. January. The Deborough ----- 150 Capt^{r}. Thomas Walton - The Roaringgee ----- 125 Capt^{r}. Nich. Lathorne - 3 for the Coast & Bay The George ----- 150 Capt^{r}. Samuel Goodman for the Bay The Grantham ----- 250 Capt^{r}. Robert Hurst for Bencoolen The Rochester ----- 350 Capt^{r}. William Browne for S^{t}. Helena & Bencoolen The Catherine ----- 150 Capt^{r}. Edmund Godfrey - The Thistleworth ----- 250 Capt^{r}. Daniel Smalle - 3 for Bombay The Arabella ----- 140 Capt^{r}. Alexander Read for Madagascar And Bencoolen &c^{a}. The	It was reported that further ships had arrived safely, including the *Howland* from the Fort, the *Kent* from the Bay, the *Montague* and the *Haukbutt* from the Bay, and the *Keene* from China, all reaching the Downs from St Helena at the end of August and the beginning of September. It was also noted that the separate stock ships *John and Elizabeth*, *Arabella* and *Mermaid* had arrived directly in England at different times, the first two having come in at the beginning of July. Attention was then turned to the ships that had been sent out, or were in the process of being sent, to various parts of the East Indies during that season. It was stated that the *Eagle* galley of 200 tons, commanded by Captain Daniel Beekman, and the *Borneo* of 180 tons, commanded by Captain Thomas Lewis, had been dispatched to Borneo with the intention of attempting to re-establish trade there, as pepper had recently commanded a good price in England. It was directed that, if this attempt failed, both ships should proceed to Bencoolen to complete their cargoes. It was further recorded that the supercargoes were Mr Swartz and the captain for the *Borneo*, and Mr Boucher together with the captain for the *Eagle*, accompanied by John Gerard as writer, and that both vessels had sailed in October 1712. It was then stated that the *Hector*, of 250 tons, commanded by Captain Charles Hesse, had been sent to Canton and was to return home, with Mr Middleton, Mr Naish and Mr Holland serving as supercargoes, and Richard Bull as writer. It was noted that this ship had sailed from the Downs on 1 January 1713. Further vessels were listed as follows: the *Deborough* of 150 tons under Captain Thomas Walton, the *Roaringgee* of 125 tons under Captain Nicholas Lathorne, and the *George* of 150 tons under Captain Samuel Goodman, all intended for the Coast and Bay; the *Grantham* of 250 tons under Captain Robert Hurst for Bencoolen; the *Rochester* of 350 tons under Captain William Browne for St Helena and Bencoolen; the *Catherine* of 150 tons under Captain Edmund Godfrey and the *Thistleworth* of 250 tons under Captain Daniel Smalle for Bombay; and the *Arabella* of 140 tons under Captain Alexander Read for Madagascar and Bencoolen. The passage concluded before further details were provided. **Interpretations** "Separate stock ships" referred to vessels trading on a system distinct from the joint stock, often involving individual or limited investment arrangements within the Company.

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			"Supercargo" referred to a Company official responsible for managing the commercial transactions and cargo aboard a ship. "Writer" referred to a junior Company servant responsible for clerical and accounting duties. **Speculations** The attempt to re-establish trade at Borneo suggests a strategic response to shifting market prices, particularly the profitability of pepper. The detailed listing of ships, tonnage and personnel reflects the complexity and scale of the Company's maritime operations during this period.
245	233	The Borneo, Roaringgee and Arabella sailed from Spithead the 17th. January, the Arabella from the Downes the 29th. The St. George by her Delays at first & contrary winds since is yet in the Downes, We expect to hear every Hour she is gone, The Bombay Ships We hope will sail in March. Notwithstanding by Act of Parliament No Seperate Stock Ship can be on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope after the 29th. September next, but he will incur the penalty of forfeiture, yet the four following Ships have entered out with us Vizz. The Mercury 215 Tons Captr. George Litton with a Cargoe of almost fifteen hundred pounds. The Delicia Free ship Gregory Master with a Cargoe of seven hundred pounds. The Clapham Galley Antth. Welsh Master with a Cargoe of five hundred pounds and the Bonita Charles Douglass Commander with a Cargoe of near fifteen hundred pounds. This last not yet out of England. We have great reason to fear Pyrates may infest the Indian Seas, now the peace is Concluded, and there a Creditabble report that a small Vessell committed Acts of Pyracy in our Seas, That the people on board did Impudently declare they would proceed to Madagascar on the free Booting account, and should have other Consorts. We must further tell you, The Clapham galley and Delicia are as the Owners and Master Publickly said bound for Madagascar, That the Delicia is above four hundred Tons and was formerly the Milford Galley Man of War built for war and sailing, and it is generally said that Captr. Woods Rogers who commanded one of the Bristol Privateers that took the famous Neapolitan Ship, is to be her Commander; We cant Conceive how so.	It was reported that the *Borneo*, *Roaringgee* and *Arabella* had sailed from Spithead on 17 January 1713, while the *Arabella* had departed from the Downs on 29 January 1713. It was further noted that the *St George*, having been delayed initially and hindered by contrary winds, remained in the Downs, though it was expected that news of her departure would be received at any moment. It was also expressed that the ships bound for Bombay were expected to sail in March. It was observed that, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament which prohibited any separate stock ship from remaining beyond the Cape of Good Hope after 29 September 1713 under penalty of forfeiture, four such vessels had nevertheless been entered out. These were the *Mercury*, of 215 tons, commanded by Captain George Litton, carrying cargo valued at nearly £1,500; the *Delicia*, a free ship under Gregory as master, with cargo valued at £700; the *Clapham* galley under Anthony Welsh, carrying cargo valued at £500; and the *Bonita*, commanded by Charles Douglass, with cargo valued at nearly £1,500, though this last vessel had not yet departed from England. Concern was expressed that piracy might increase in the Indian seas following the conclusion of peace. It was reported that a small vessel had already committed acts of piracy in those waters, and that those aboard had openly declared their intention to proceed to Madagascar for the purpose of freebooting, possibly in company with others. It was further stated that the *Clapham* galley and the *Delicia* had been publicly declared by their owners and masters to be bound for Madagascar. It was noted that the *Delicia*, being above 400 tons, had formerly been the *Milford* galley, a man of war built for both combat and sailing efficiency. It was also reported that it was widely said that Captain Woods Rogers, who had commanded one of the Bristol privateers that captured a notable Neapolitan ship, was to take command of her, though doubt was expressed regarding this report. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Separate stock ship" referred to a vessel operating outside the main joint stock system of the Company, often under private investment arrangements. "Free ship" referred to a vessel not directly owned by the Company but permitted to trade under certain conditions. "Freebooting" referred to piracy or unauthorised raiding at sea, often conducted by private individuals or loosely organised groups. **Speculations** The reference to piracy near Madagascar suggests awareness of the region's reputation as a base for pirate activity in the early eighteenth century. The concern over separate stock ships indicates tension between regulated Company trade and more loosely controlled private ventures.
246	234	so small a Stock tho' laid in Slaves can ever be improved by September next to pay the Sea Mens wages, for She has about	It was observed that a vessel carrying so small a stock, even if invested in slaves, could not reasonably be expected to produce sufficient return by September

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		Eighty on board much less to lade her home again. This makes us very apprehensive lest She should by Surprise or otherwise get into the pyrates hands for the old Company have Suffered Severely by Pyrates, and the Effects of their Villanys are scarcely yet worn off at Surat and that side of India. We have strictly cautioned all our outward bound Ships to be very Vigilant to prevent being Surprized by them, and Especially when they come nigh to St. Helena. We tell you this that you also may be on your Guard and duly consider before you afford any Ship Assistance till you are well assured they are Honest Traders. This Letter we send on the Rochester Capt. William Browne Commander, in the Packets you will find the Invoice, Bill of Lading and Charterparty whereby you will see that She must pay Demorage, if She be detained above Ten working days there for which reason we earnestly recommend to you to employ every Hour of the four and Twenty when necessary to expedite her unlading and that none of you in such an emergency think the Title or office He bears a sufficient excuse for not setting his hand heartily to the speedier dispatch. To this end let all other affairs alone, if they are such as will interfere therewith 'tis work of the utmost necessity to be forthwith sett about. Touching the protests against Ships for not unlading in that time. We have given large Directions in our Letters formerly and particularly by the Taddington and touched upon them further by the Abingdon by what appears the then Governor & Council did -	1713 to cover the wages of approximately 80 seamen on board, much less to provide a full homeward cargo. On this basis, concern was expressed that such a ship might, by surprise or misfortune, fall into the hands of pirates. It was noted that the former Company had suffered severely from piracy, and that the consequences of such depredations had not yet fully subsided at Surat and in other parts of India. It was therefore stated that strict instructions had been given to all outward-bound ships to remain vigilant against such threats, particularly when approaching St Helena. The Governor and Council were accordingly warned to exercise caution and not to provide assistance to any vessel unless it had first been clearly established that it was engaged in legitimate trade. It was then stated that the present letter had been sent aboard the *Rochester*, commanded by Captain William Browne, and that the packet included the invoice, bill of lading and charterparty. It was explained that, under the terms of the charterparty, demurrage would be incurred if the ship were detained for more than 10 working days at St Helena. It was therefore strongly urged that every hour of the day should be used, when necessary, to expedite the unloading of the vessel. It was further directed that no individual should consider his rank or office as a justification for failing to contribute actively to this work. All other business was to be set aside if it interfered with the dispatch of the ship, as this was to be treated as a matter of the highest urgency. Reference was made to earlier instructions concerning the lodging of protests against ships that failed to unload within the allotted time. It was stated that detailed directions had already been provided in previous letters, particularly those sent by the *Toddington* and supplemented by the *Abingdon*. It was indicated that the actions of the former Governor and Council in this regard would be addressed, though the passage concluded before further detail was given. **Interpretations** "Demurrage" referred to a financial penalty payable when a ship was delayed beyond the agreed period for loading or unloading. "Charterparty" referred to the contract governing the hire and use of a ship, including terms for loading, unloading and penalties. "Surat" referred to a major trading port in western India, significant in the Company's commercial network. **Speculations** The concern over piracy reflects the instability of maritime trade routes in the early eighteenth century, particularly in regions such as the Indian Ocean. The insistence on rapid unloading suggests that delays at St Helena had previously resulted in financial loss to the Company.
247	235	did their part in unlading her tho' it took up Twelve working days for the reasons in the 6th paragraph of their Generalls letter of the 9th Aprill. But their excuse for or justification of their protest against the Taddington and Fitzeleworth as the same is mentioned in the 8th paragraph of that letter and sent to us as an Answer to our 11th by the Abingdon, will if you do rightly observe it appear at best but slight, for if the Boats lay half a Day or more without being able to come to the Come as Capt. Lesley says it is not that proper to be taken Notice of as a reason why the Ship stayed longer than Ten working	It was acknowledged that the former Governor and Council had performed their duty in unloading the ship, although the process had taken 12 working days, as explained in the sixth paragraph of their general letter of 9 April 1712. It was nevertheless observed that the justification offered for their protest against the *Toddington* and the *Fitzleworth*, as set out in the eighth paragraph of that letter and submitted in reply to the Company's eleventh paragraph by the *Abingdon*, appeared weak upon examination. It was stated that delays such as boats being unable to come ashore for half a day or more, as reported by Captain Lesley, should not ordinarily be accepted as sufficient reason for a ship exceeding the allowed 10 working days, particularly where such delay was not attributable to the Company.

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		days, and yet not on our Account. This Notice now we know, as We ought will be proper to be considered hereafter and Liquidated how far the Company and how far the Owners are to bear their share of such Impediments which neither side could foresee or prevent and it will be thought hard if not born in proportion, so that if there be occasion for you to protest, in a like case it will not be Improper for the Captain to urge it answer thereto, and to be sure for his Owners Benefit He will take care to do it for the ComMarsdeneasily fail to do the best for their Employers Advantage, and we hope you will be Equally careful of ours, and if the Ship did not, that you will not omit such Notices by saying that in such a Day or Days, only so many Boats or one, or none as the case shall be, came ashore with goods, and this will Necessarily oblige him to give the reasons why, or it will be taken as own Default, remember it is always best to transact all affairs relating to us directly or in consequence whether with Captains of Ships or others in writing, because thereby	It was further explained that such circumstances, now better understood, ought in future to be taken into account and fairly assessed, so that responsibility for unavoidable impediments might be shared proportionately between the Company and the ship's owners. It was noted that, in cases where a protest might be necessary, it would not be improper for the captain to advance such arguments in his defence, and it was expected that he would do so in the interest of his employers. It was correspondingly emphasised that the Governor and Council should exercise equal diligence in protecting the Company's interests. It was directed that, where delays occurred, precise records should be kept, specifying on which days boats arrived ashore with goods and in what number, whether many, few or none. It was stated that such detail would oblige the captain to account for any deficiencies, which would otherwise be interpreted as his own fault. It was further emphasised that all matters relating to the Company, whether direct or consequential, should be conducted in writing when dealing with ship captains or others, as this provided clear evidence and accountability. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Demurrage" referred to the financial penalty incurred when a vessel was detained beyond the agreed time for unloading or loading. "Protest" referred to a formal written declaration made by a ship's master or by officials to record objections or claims, often used in disputes over delays or damages. "Liquidated" referred to the process of determining and settling the financial responsibility for losses or delays. **Speculations** The detailed concern over unloading delays suggests that disputes over demurrage were a frequent source of tension between the Company and shipowners. The emphasis on written records reflects an increasing reliance on documentary evidence to resolve commercial and legal disputes.
248	236	shuchy matters of fact are stated and remain, whereas otherwise every body Concerned will be sure to make the best of his own Story here and Viva Voce will be urged as better evidence than Letters from abroad, which may be interpreted only as excuses for Ill management in the Writers. - When you send away the Rochester be sure to Transmitt the Charterparty to the Deputy Governour and Council of Honocoren in your Packett to them for their Information. Continue to Advise from time to time what Ships arrive, and when, at St. Helena, also the time of their leaving the Island, this Notice is always convenient and often so Necessary that we may Supplee for the want of it, give us also by all opportunitys what News you have of any of our own or other Ships being at or their Departure from the Cape, or any Port or Place within the Limits of our Charter. - We Observe the Management with relation to the two French Ships and their prize which came within a League of the Land as mentioned in the 4th Paragraph of the Letter of the 9th April, and take Notice of it here to commend the then Vigilance, which we hope will always	It was directed that all matters of fact relating to ships and their management should be set down in writing, so that they might remain clearly established. It was observed that, in the absence of such written records, those concerned would present their own accounts in the most favourable manner, and that verbal testimony would be advanced as superior evidence to written correspondence from abroad, which might otherwise be dismissed as attempts to excuse poor management. It was ordered that, upon dispatching the *Rochester*, the charterparty should be transmitted in the packet to the Deputy Governor and Council of Bencoolen for their information. It was further required that regular notice should be given of all ships arriving at St Helena, including the dates of their arrival and departure. It was emphasised that such information was often necessary, and that reports should also be sent at every opportunity concerning the presence or movements of Company ships or others at the Cape, or at any port within the limits of the Company's charter. Attention was drawn to the handling of two French ships and their prize, which had approached within one league of the island, as described in the fourth paragraph of the letter of 9 April 1712. This conduct was commended as an example of vigilance, which it was expected would always be maintained. It was stressed that, even in time of peace, the same level of caution should be exercised as in wartime, since hostilities might resume without warning and an enemy might attempt an attack before news of renewed conflict could reach the island. It was further observed that, had ships been anchored in the road at the time,

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		be kept up for tho' it be now peace and may it long continue yet is is and always will be your Duty to be as much on your guard as if War, because a war may break out, and an Enemy may attempt the Island before you have the News of it, and there is just reason to apprehend, That if any Ships had been in the road the French wd's have ventur'd to attack them, notwithstanding their pretence of the peace if they saw any hopes of Success. Under this head of Shipping We think it proper to tell you We must never suffer that inexcusable fault of not sending the Ships Accounts with the Packets sent by those Ships, nor must we over -	the French might have attempted to seize them despite their claims of peace, if any opportunity for success had appeared. It was also stated, under the subject of shipping, that the failure to send ships' accounts together with the packets dispatched by those vessels was an inexcusable fault and must not be permitted to occur again. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Viva voce" referred to oral testimony delivered by word of mouth rather than recorded in writing. "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing the employment and conditions of a ship. "Road" referred to an anchorage area where ships lay offshore rather than in a harbour. **Speculations** The insistence on written documentation suggests that disputes had arisen from conflicting verbal accounts. The continued emphasis on vigilance against French vessels indicates that peace was regarded as uncertain and potentially temporary.
249	237	bear that Suppling excuse given in the 22^{d} Paragraph of the Letter of the 13th June in answer to ours by the Susannah wherein we complain'd of the want of them, That it was none of the Councells or the Clerks fault but the storekeepers that they were not sent, for we lay down this as a fundamentall Rule, That since we intrust the Governour and Council to manage our affairs and see all under them to their duty We expect from them a Performance, and if any of them Singly or their Subordinates don't do their duty We shall lay the blame on you, for you ought early to call upon and remind them what to do if they are Indolent or Careless, Because the Authority Committed to you in Council is to have the Superintendency of every one of you apart, and therefore we Expect you do take care our Business be done from time to time by those to whom Committed, if any must be frequently called upon before they will obey, let us know who they are, and we will remedy it, and that we may be the better Informed, if you should not in some Cases mention names in the Generall Letter, let Notice of such your Orders when first given or as often as repeated be Entred in Consultation then we shall Discover the Persons by the Neglect, If Notwithstanding repeated Orders they shall continue still and not do their duty, Stop their Salary till you hear farther from us whether we will remitt any part thereof, and if you do pay such salary before you have our Answer. We will charge it to the Respective Accounts of such of the Councell who consent thereto in Consultation if it be paid and no Entry made in Consultation of the Order for Payment. We will charge it to the Governour for the time being. This you and all succeeding Governours and Councills must look upon as	Rejection was made of the excuse set out in the twenty-second paragraph of the letter dated 13 June 1713, in which it had been claimed that the failure to transmit ships' accounts was attributable to the storekeeper rather than to the Council or clerk. It was declared that such reasoning could not be accepted, and it was established as a fundamental rule that, since the Governor and Council were entrusted with the management of all affairs and the supervision of those under them, responsibility for any failure would rest with them. Expectation was expressed that any subordinate who proved negligent or indolent should be promptly called upon and reminded of his duty. The authority vested in the Council was described as extending over each member individually as well as over all subordinate officers, and it was therefore required that proper oversight be exercised to ensure that all assigned business was duly performed. Where repeated reminders proved necessary, the names of those in default were to be reported so that corrective action might be taken. Provision was made that, even where names were not explicitly included in the general correspondence, entries should be recorded in the Consultation Book noting when orders had been issued and repeated. By this means, those responsible for neglect could be identified. It was further directed that, if any individual continued in default despite repeated instructions, his salary should be withheld until further direction had been received as to whether any portion should be remitted. Responsibility for improper payment was clearly assigned, as it was stated that, if salary were paid without prior approval, the amount would be charged to the accounts of those members of Council who had consented to such payment, provided that their decision had been entered in consultation. In cases where no such entry existed, the charge would fall upon the Governor for the time being. It was made clear that this rule was to be observed by all present and future administrations. **Interpretations** "Remit" referred to the reduction or cancellation of a payment or financial obligation by authority. "Superintendency" referred to the duty of oversight exercised by those in authority over others. "Consultation Book" referred to the official record in which decisions, orders and proceedings of the Governor and Council were formally entered. **Speculations** The refusal to accept excuses from the Council suggests

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			that earlier failures had been attributed to subordinates in order to avoid accountability. The financial penalties imposed for non-compliance indicate a deliberate effort to enforce discipline through direct personal consequence.
250	238	AB A Standing Order always to be in force till Contradicted or altered from hence. We hope to have this farther Benefit by the rule here laid down viz^{t}: to have no more such lame excuses as we find in the 26th Paragraph of the same Letter of the 18th of June, that the Captains Accounts Orders and Bills of Exchange not fully dated are occasioned by the Writers in the Stores who Generally bring them just as the Packets are ready for sailing and therefore not Possible to be so Exact as the 33^{d} Paragraph of your letter by the Susannah requires. We observe by the Lists and Letter the then Governour and Council had three Writers, and surely they might if kept to it do much more Business than all this. And if they don't you have the remedy at hand to be applyed to cure the Evil, if tell us as that paragraph says it is their proper Business, is very Assuming for granting it is theirs as to the Execution it is the Govern^{t} & Councills as to direction, That any Bills should be Signed by the Council without examining whether right is unpardonable and what no Man of Common Sence can say a word for. That they have been so signed is plain by the 31st paragraph of the same Letter where it is owned there is a Mistake in the Bill drawn for Charles Steward being a Hundred pounds less than it should be. Since Beef is so scarce & Consequently dearer than Usual We hope you will have a due regard to what we wrote in the 12th paragraph of our Letter by the Susannah on that head and not let the Ships have it at Twenty shillings the hundred weight, if the scarcity makes the Common price of Beef dearer. It is true the Charterparty mentions the Captain shall for promoting the good Estate of the Island take out less than three hundred Weight for every Twenty -	A rule was established that was to remain in force as a standing order unless formally altered. It was expected that this would prevent weak excuses such as those given in the twenty-sixth paragraph of the letter dated 18 June 1713. In that case, it had been claimed that captains' accounts, orders and bills of exchange were not properly dated because storehouse writers delivered them only when the packets were ready to sail. This explanation was rejected. It was noted that the Governor and Council had three writers in their service. It was stated that they should have been able to manage more work if properly directed. Responsibility for execution lay with the writers, but responsibility for oversight rested with the Governor and Council. It was declared unacceptable that bills had been signed without being checked. This failure was described as inexcusable. Evidence of this appeared in the thirty-first paragraph of the same letter, where a bill for Charles Steward was found to be £100 short. Attention was then given to the scarcity of beef. Prices had risen above normal levels. It was expected that the instructions in the twelfth paragraph of the letter sent by the *Susannah* would be followed. Beef was not to be supplied to ships at 20 shillings per hundredweight if the market price was higher. The charterparty allowed captains to take less than 300 weight for every 20 [...], though the passage ended before the detail was completed. **Interpretations** "Standing order" referred to a rule that remained in force until officially changed. "Bill of exchange" referred to a written financial order requiring payment of a stated sum. "Hundredweight" referred to a standard unit of weight equal to 112 pounds. **Speculations** The repeated criticism suggests ongoing concern about weak financial controls. The pricing instruction shows an effort to prevent losses caused by fixed rates during shortages.
251	239	Twenty men the Ship shou'd carry at Twenty shillings the hundred weight but that is a Covenant only on the Owners side, yet in that case it also Mentions the payment to be made in towards, sugar or other Necessary Provisions wanted on reasonable Terms so that if our Councils would approve themselves good Husbands for us they should Consider that if the captains insists on one part of the covenant as to the price of the Beef, they	It was explained that, under the charterparty, a ship carrying 20 men was entitled to receive beef at the rate of 20 shillings per hundredweight. This obligation, however, was described as binding only upon the owners' side. It was further noted that the same agreement also provided that payment might be made in sugar or other necessary provisions at reasonable terms. It was therefore directed that, where captains insisted upon the fixed price for beef, equal consideration should be given to ensuring that the terms of barter compensated for any difference between that price and the higher market value. It was

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		ought as well to Consider the other part that the Barter be on such reasonable terms as will make good the loss between Twenty shillings & the Market price. This we cheifly mention for the sake of such of you who are Strangers to the Island or our Orders on this head, and also to prevent any future mistakes of this kind, as have been heretofore and more lately made and particularly in the 24th Paragraph of the Letter of the 18th June last. Had the then Governour well considered, he could scarecely have given us the excuse mentioned in the 9th paragraph for not protesting against the Captain of the Swiftworth for the badness of the bread - received from her by saying they did not know at the the Ship was gone, if he had remembred the former Letters told us positively the bread was used by the Ships Company and what went ashore was - scarce eatable. Secondly Concerning Goods or Stores sent from England or Received from India. What Supply of all kinds we now send you will be fully informed by the Bills of Lading and Invoices wherein you will also see the cost & thereby guided in the prices to be put on each reckoning The -	emphasised that such care would demonstrate proper stewardship of the Company's interests. This clarification was stated to be intended particularly for those unfamiliar with the island or with previous instructions, and to prevent the recurrence of earlier mistakes, especially those noted in the twenty-fourth paragraph of the letter dated 18 June 1713. It was further observed that the former Governor could scarcely have justified the excuse given in the ninth paragraph of the same letter for failing to protest against the captain of the *Swiftworth* concerning the poor quality of bread supplied. It had been claimed that the deficiency was not known until the ship had departed. This explanation was rejected, as earlier correspondence had clearly stated that the ship's crew had consumed the better bread, while that landed ashore had been scarcely fit for use. Attention then shifted to goods and stores sent from England or received from India. It was stated that full details of these supplies would be found in the bills of lading and invoices, including their cost. It was directed that these documents should be used as the basis for determining the prices at which such goods were to be sold or accounted. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Covenant" referred to a binding agreement within a contract, specifying obligations between parties. "Barter" referred to the exchange of goods in place of money, often used in Company transactions. "Bill of lading" referred to a document detailing the cargo carried on a ship, serving as both receipt and contract of carriage. **Speculations** The emphasis on barter terms suggests that fixed contractual prices could be offset through flexible exchange arrangements. The criticism regarding the bread indicates that failures in quality control had financial as well as practical consequences.
252	240	the advance according to former Directions for such part as shall be dispos'd of on the Island, or to any others who come to the Stores, as to the Garrison stores we shall speak of them under the proper head. - We have sent some Coarse Kerseys for the Blacks you already have and those which Mr. Sitwell shall Deliver you according to our Contract with him as & copy of our Letter enclosed, who coming out of a hotter Climate will stand in need of warmer Cloathing than Ordinary for we are very sensible they ought to be well taken care of not only on the score of Humanity, but likewise for our own advantage considering how much their Labour contributes to the Generall Benefit of the Plantations the Buildings of all kinds and other Services they are appointed to upon You have set apart sufficient for them, sell the rest of the Kerseys - and also such of the Blacks as you shall not want for our use to the Planters, and to guide you therein, We acquaint you We are to pay One and Twenty pounds a head for all good and Bad, and had not the number been so great, We could not have had them under four or five pounds more. -	Direction was given that advances on goods should follow earlier instructions for items sold on the island or issued from the stores, while garrison stores would be addressed separately. Provision was made for coarse kerseys to clothe the slaves already on the island and those to be delivered by Mr Sitwell under contract, a copy of which had been enclosed. It was explained that, coming from a hotter climate, they would require warmer clothing. Care for them was required both on grounds of humanity and because their labour supported plantations, building works and other services. A sufficient quantity was to be reserved for their use. Any surplus kerseys were to be sold, and any slaves not needed for Company service were to be sold to planters. It was noted that the Company paid £21 per head for all, whether good or bad, and that without buying in large numbers the price would have been £4 or £5 higher. Only half the requested quantity of window glass and small looking glasses was sent. This was to test the profit they might yield, as such items were considered ornamental rather than necessary. Pricing was not to follow the modest advance used for essential goods, but to be set with discretion. The outcome was to be reported, and further supplies would depend on the result. A shipment of 4 Canary lights was also noted. Any not required for real use were to be sold. Future supply would depend on the information returned regarding their usefulness and profit. **Interpretations** "Kerseys" referred to coarse woollen cloth used for durable clothing, often issued to labourers.

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		We have thought fit at present to send only half the Window Glass and small looking Glasses desired, being willing to try what profit these will yeild, and they being rather for ornament than Necessity, We think you ought not to be Govern'd by the easy advance We have Orders to be put on other goods, which are sent to supply the Necessity of the Inhabitants however We are absolutely determined it but leave it to your prudence to do what you think proper of which advise and if we find these turn to good Account We shall on Notice send you more, We have sent but four Canary Lights, if you have not a real occasion for all, sell the rest, and when we know -	"Advance" referred to the markup added to the original cost when goods were sold. "Canary lights" referred to glass lamps or vessels, often decorative, associated with Canary manufacture. **Speculations** The careful allocation of clothing indicates a practical approach to maintaining the labour force. The limited supply of luxury goods suggests a cautious effort to develop profit without unnecessary risk.
253	241	know what Profit they turn to, We shall be Encouraged to send more, remember all goods for necessity are to be under the rule formerly laid down for advance but those which are for ornament or Gentility need not but you must Sell them as the market governs whether they be Indian or European Manufactures. We have provided no large looking Glasses partly because you have not described their dimensions and fancy the Inhabitants would not go to the Price of them and partly because We can't apprehend any good reason to have them at the Fort or any other our own Houses having sent such a large of Cane Chairs by the Susannah which our Commodities apprehend were more than sufficient, there are none sent now till we hear how they are disposed of and for what. - We have sent you a Clock, two Dials, and the quantity of Drinking Glasses required, also the Ironmongers ware, and some more of proper and Necessary sorts at the instance of Mr. Mashborne likewise five and Twenty Chaldrons of coals and as many Deals as the Ship could well take in after the requisites Allowances for the other Stores her own provisions and the Passengers Necessarys. We have also complied with the desires in the Lists for sending you a Large quantity of salted Beef, Pork, Pease, Flower and Bread and have added hereto three Tuns of Cheese, But we think it necessary here to remember you, That some time ago We supplyed you with these Stores, great part of them were Suffered to spoil and being sent elsewhere you found a Sale for very little and in great part made a Dead Loss to us We hope you will be more careful of these Provisions, and Sell them whilst good as soon and as well as you can to the Inhabitants, and the Remainder which you do not spend for our Account dispose of to any	It was stated that, once the profit on such goods had been understood, further supplies would be encouraged. It was directed that all goods considered necessary should be sold according to the established rules for advance, while those regarded as ornamental or for gentility were not to be restricted in this way but instead sold at prices determined by the market, whether of Indian or European manufacture. It was explained that no large looking glasses had been sent. This decision was based partly on the absence of any description of their size, and partly on the belief that the inhabitants would not be willing to pay the price required. It was also considered that there was no sufficient reason to place such items in the Fort or other Company houses, especially as a large number of cane chairs had already been sent by the *Susannah*, which were thought to be more than adequate. It was therefore ordered that no further such goods should be sent until information had been received regarding their use and disposal. It was recorded that a clock, 2 dials and the requested quantity of drinking glasses had been dispatched. Ironmongery goods and other necessary items had also been sent at the request of Mr Mashborne. In addition, 25 chaldrons of coal and as many deals as the ship could carry had been loaded, after allowing space for other stores, the ship's own provisions and the necessities of passengers. It was further stated that a large quantity of provisions had been supplied, including salted beef, pork, pease, flour and bread, together with 3 tuns of cheese. A reminder was given that, on a previous occasion, similar supplies had been allowed to spoil, and that, when they were later sent elsewhere, they had sold for very little, causing a substantial loss to the Company. It was therefore directed that greater care should be taken. These provisions were to be sold to the inhabitants while still in good condition, as quickly and advantageously as possible. Any remaining quantities not required for Company use were to be disposed of accordingly. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Advance" referred to a regulated increase in price applied to necessary goods, ensuring controlled profit while maintaining supply. "Chaldrons" referred to a large unit of measure for coal, commonly used in maritime trade, indicating substantial quantities for fuel supply. "Deals" referred to planks of softwood timber, widely used in construction and ship maintenance.

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			Speculations The distinction between necessary and ornamental goods suggests a structured pricing strategy designed to balance affordability with profit. The repeated concern over spoilage indicates that storage and distribution systems on the island were probably inefficient or poorly supervised.
254	242	our outward bound or returning Ships if they will pay you for them in Money or Barter accept it, if not rather than fail take the Captains Bills on their Owners in Charterparty advising us thereof, and what consideration you had for the difference between England and St. Helena remembering of the provisions stated as encreased by the time and damage of the Ship to St. Helena than the first Cost, and for the Price of the Ship before her return to England which is supplyed with them. - We have at your now Governours desire sent a quantity of Naval Stores such as Pitch, Tar, Canvas, Twine &c^{to} to supply our Ships withall when Necessary, it will be incumbent on you to take care none be Embezled, but all disposed of at suitable Profits after wearing the prime Cost & deviation of the Ship, the Price and other Charges thereon, which whether you Sell for ready Money or goods or take Bills on the Owners you must ascertain having a due regard to the manner and time of Payment. - You will also find in the Invoice a large quantity of Vinegar Geneva &c^{to}, hard Sope, & Lined Sope, three Caves of Pickles, Seventy Fletchers Gask and three Tuns of Bricks & Lead all provided at the Governours desire, or in pursuance of the factors desires, We expect you are fowards in what part of these shall be made use of at the Generall Table, or otherwise on our Account. If so when more are wanted send word for we shall supply you accordingly. The rest Sell to our best advantage. If any part of the Melted Lead is Necessary for Gutters for the Store house &c^{to} Buildings use it. - There is provided at the Governours request and sent with a Theodolit and Levels, two Compasses a Quadrant, Barometer Thermometer & Telescope, We hope by the help of these he will be more able -	It was directed that provisions might be sold to outward-bound or returning ships for money or by barter. Where neither was possible, captains' bills drawn upon their owners under the charterparty were to be accepted, provided that advice was sent specifying the terms agreed. It was required that careful consideration be given to the difference in value between England and St Helena. This included the increased value arising from time, risk and the condition of the ship upon arrival. Regard was also to be had to the benefit received by ships before their return to England when supplied with such provisions. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. At the request of the present Governor, a quantity of naval stores had been sent, including pitch, tar, canvas and twine. These were intended for supplying Company ships when required. Strict care was ordered to prevent embezzlement. All such items were to be sold at suitable profit after accounting for the original cost, freight, price of the ship and all related charges. Whether sold for ready money, goods or by bills on owners, the value was to be properly determined with regard to the method and timing of payment. It was further recorded that the invoice included a large quantity of vinegar, geneva and other goods, together with hard soap, lined soap, 3 caves of pickles, 70 fletchers gask and 3 tuns of bricks and lead. These had been provided at the Governor's request or in response to factors' demands. It was expected that some portion would be used at the General Table or otherwise on Company account. Where additional quantities were required, notice was to be sent so that further supplies could be provided. The remainder was to be sold to the best advantage. It was also directed that any melted lead needed for gutters or buildings, including the storehouse, should be used accordingly. It was noted that, also at the Governor's request, a theodolite and levels had been supplied, together with 2 compasses, a quadrant, a barometer, a thermometer and a telescope. It was expressed that, by means of these instruments, the Governor would be better enabled to [...] The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement between ship owners and the Company, governing obligations such as payment, cargo and duration of stay. "Naval stores" referred to essential maritime materials such as pitch and tar, used for maintaining ships' hulls and rigging. "Geneva" referred to a distilled spirit, an early form of gin, commonly traded and consumed in maritime and colonial settings. "Theodolite" referred to a surveying instrument used for measuring angles, essential in mapping and fortification planning. **Speculations** The detailed pricing instructions suggest concern that island officials had previously undervalued goods supplied to ships. The provision of surveying instruments indicates an intention to improve fortifications or land management through more precise measurement.
255	243	enabled to do us Considerable Service in some affairs or other upon the Island for which these Instruments are adapted. -	It was expressed that the instruments provided, including the theodolite, levels, 2 compasses, quadrant, barometer, thermometer and telescope, were expected

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		Keep the Canvas and all manner of piece goods from the Rats, or other Vermin and all others our goods of what kind soever from waste, spoil, leakage or any other kind of Damage by whatsoever occasion. - Whenever you write for Stores, Provisions or goods of any kind be very particular in your Reasons for desiring each particular Sort as well as the sorts as quantity advising what prices they will severally yield and what quantity likely to go off in a year, and lett all be well considered and so plainly express that there may be no room for mistake, put also all numbers in words at length as well as figures to prevent future Errors Remember you are likely to have a Ship every year, therefor make Demand accordingly. - We have bespoke a good Deal groat to send you by this Ship and have formerly given Liberty to Buy a good Longboat or other boat of any of our Ships when you have an opportunity for it, if you have any occasion for it. - We take notice what is mentioned in the Letters before us in the Consultation Book relating to goods received for our Account from India or bought out of the Ships, and what advance you put upon those received from England, but we can't find how you have prised what received from the East Indies, for the future we expect this shall be done in a more particular manner and in the following Method Viz^{t}: That when any such goods are received or bought, the quantity and sorts be entered down in the consultation with the prices of each as Invoiced or paid for. That the -	to enable the Governor to render useful service in various matters on the island for which such tools were suited. Care was ordered to be taken to protect canvas and all piece goods from rats and other vermin. It was also required that all other Company goods, of whatever kind, should be preserved from waste, spoilage, leakage or any form of damage, regardless of cause. Instructions were given that, whenever requests were made for stores, provisions or goods, detailed explanations should accompany each request. The reasons for each type and quantity were to be clearly stated. It was also required that expected sale prices and estimated annual demand be included. All such information was to be carefully considered and expressed plainly to avoid misunderstanding. Numbers were to be written in full words as well as figures to prevent errors. It was further noted that, as a ship might be expected annually, demands should be adjusted accordingly. It was stated that a quantity of deal had been ordered to be sent by the present ship. It was also recalled that permission had previously been granted to purchase a longboat or other suitable boat from any Company ship when an opportunity arose, if required. Attention was drawn to entries in the letters and Consultation Book concerning goods received from India or purchased from ships, as well as the advances applied to goods received from England. It was observed, however, that no clear account had been given of the pricing applied to goods received from the East Indies. It was therefore directed that, in future, a more precise method should be followed. This required that, whenever such goods were received or purchased, their quantities and types should be entered in the Consultation Book together with the prices at which they had been invoiced or purchased. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Theodolite" referred to a precision instrument used for measuring horizontal and vertical angles, essential in surveying and fortification planning. "Piece goods" referred to lengths of cloth or textile materials, commonly traded in bulk and vulnerable to environmental damage. "Consultation Book" referred to the official record in which the Governor and Council entered their proceedings, decisions and administrative details. **Speculations** The emphasis on protecting goods from vermin and spoilage suggests that storage conditions on the island were perhaps inadequate or poorly managed. The detailed requirements for reporting prices and quantities indicate an effort to standardise accounting practices and prevent inconsistencies in valuation.
256	244	the rate at which they shall be sold out of the Stores and draw empties be also entered therein so soon as cast up with the additionals Carriage of Freight Demorage and the advance besides and that the same has been examined & approved in Councill, That Copy of this rate be delivered to the Storekeeper for his guidance and that you from time to time examine whether he doth sell at the settled prices, whoever shall Sell for more without our leave first had, Punish him for it. And when the Storekeepers Accounts are brought in Monthly as we hereby positively Order they shall be no excuse admitted but Passages, or such like	It was directed that the prices at which goods were to be sold from the stores should be formally entered in the Consultation Book. These entries were to include all additional charges such as carriage, freight, demurrage and the agreed advance. It was required that such rates be examined and approved in Council. A copy of these approved rates was to be delivered to the storekeeper for guidance. Regular checks were to be made to ensure that sales were conducted at the established prices. Any person selling at higher rates without prior permission was to be punished. Strict orders were given that the storekeeper's accounts must be submitted monthly. No excuses were to be accepted except for unavoidable circumstances such as passage delays or similar events. Upon receipt of these accounts, an abstract was to be entered in the Consultation Book. This summary was to include the quantities sold and their prices. Examples were

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		inviolable Accidents, you do then enter into the Consultation an Abstracted account of all goods sold and at what prices, which in the Substantial Articles is easily done, as for instance, if Arrack, Wine or other Liquors, so many gallons by such a Ship, so many by such and so for piece goods whether European or Indian, the like for so many pound or hundred weight of other Commodities, this will not be long a doing and much Shorter to enter and be a good Assistance for exhausting and approving the Accounts. - We must add further that by the Method taken lately at St. Helena We can never see whether our goods of all kinds which come into the Storekeepers possession are all disposed of or what remains behind of each Sort, this we Expect be more fully amended and that as the Storekeeper is to be Charged with all he receives, so to be discharged by entry so much as he Accounts for and proves he has disposed of whether by Sale for Money or in trust to the Inhabitants and charge to their Accounts arose for ours, and because small Haberdashery and such like wares consist of a great Number of particulars of small Value, the abundance of Writing is required about them We have thought of this Inconvenient which -	provided, such as recording the number of gallons of arrack or wine sold by each ship, or the quantities of cloth and other commodities sold by weight. It was noted that this method would be simple to maintain and would assist in reviewing and approving accounts. Concern was expressed that, under the current system, it was not possible to determine whether all goods received by the storekeeper had been properly disposed of, or what remained in stock. It was therefore ordered that improvements be made. The storekeeper was to be charged with all goods received and discharged only upon proper accounting for their sale or issue. This applied whether goods were sold for money or issued on credit to inhabitants, with such transactions recorded against their accounts. It was acknowledged that certain goods, such as small haberdashery items, consisted of many low-value pieces and required extensive record-keeping. This difficulty was recognised, and consideration had been given to the inconvenience caused by the volume of writing required. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Demurrage" referred to a charge incurred when a ship was delayed beyond the agreed time for loading or unloading. "Abstracted account" referred to a summarised version of detailed financial records, designed for easier review and verification. "Haberdashery" referred to small retail goods such as buttons, thread and other minor articles, often sold in large variety but low individual value. **Speculations** The detailed accounting requirements suggest that previous record-keeping had been insufficient to track inventory accurately. The concern over unauthorised pricing indicates that some individuals may have been profiting privately from Company goods.
257	245	which we put in practice unless you have good reason to the contrary Viz^{t}: Trust some Honest responsible Man who will undertake it with a quantity of each Sort, or so much as you see fit, let him Sell them out by retail at the price you sett on each species and when they are gone then furnish him a fresh with more and account to the Storekeeper Monthly, or what time you see fit for the Amount, whether it be in money or Debts given the Inhabitants, if Debits let every Person come and own the Debt right, and then let them be entered in the Books, for the trouble of this allow so much £ Cent. as you see reasonable. We suppose five £ Cent is a fair reward. This will make the Storekeepers Business and Accounts much Easier than at Present and very likely will save the Charge of one of the Assistants under the Storekeeper, which will Contributes to the making a Ledger less Voluminous and more Easily kept up. - Another Method We have resolved on is, That you shall have some small Money currant at St. Helena, your Committee of the Treasury can easily get them, they will send you a hundred pounds Value in Spanish Bits and we have wrote to port of George to send you one hundred pounds Value in Copper farthings & half pence and a	It was proposed that, unless good reason existed to the contrary, a new method should be adopted for managing small goods. A trustworthy and responsible individual was to be entrusted with a quantity of such items. These were to be sold by retail at prices fixed in advance. When the stock was exhausted, further quantities were to be supplied. Regular accounts were to be rendered to the storekeeper, either monthly or at other suitable intervals. Payments might be made in money or recorded as debts owed by inhabitants. Where debts were incurred, each person was required to acknowledge the obligation in person, after which it was to be entered in the books. A commission was to be allowed for this service, suggested at 5 per cent. It was considered that this arrangement would simplify the storekeeper's duties, reduce the complexity of accounts and perhaps eliminate the need for one assistant, thereby making the ledger easier to maintain. A further measure was introduced to improve financial transactions on the island. It was ordered that small coin should be made available for circulation at St Helena. The Committee of the Treasury was to supply £100 in Spanish bits. An additional £100 in copper farthings and halfpence was to be sent from Fort St George. A further £100 in silver tenour was also to be provided. It was stated that these supplies would reduce the need for frequent transfers of small debts between sailors and planters, which had previously caused considerable inconvenience and labour. In addition to coin, a further £400 sterling in paper notes was dispatched. This consisted of £100 in notes of half a crown each, £100 in notes of one crown each, £100 in notes of 20 shillings each and £100 in notes of 40 shillings each.

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		hundred pounds Value in Silver Tenour, by these helps you will be eased of those frequent transfers of small Debts from the Sailors to the Planters which cause abundance of trouble both as time and Writing. - And as a further Supply We herewith send you one hundred pounds Value in Notes each of half a crown, the same Value in Note of one crown each, the same Value in Notes of each Twenty shillings and the same Value in Notes of each forty shillings which make four hundred pounds Sterling.	**Interpretations** "Spanish bits" referred to fractional pieces of Spanish silver coins, commonly used as small change in colonial trade due to a shortage of official currency. "Silver tenour" referred to silver coinage of standardised weight and purity used in Company transactions. "Per cent" referred to a percentage commission paid for handling sales and accounts, reflecting common commercial practice. **Speculations** The introduction of small coin suggests that a shortage of currency had been disrupting everyday trade on the island. The use of intermediaries for retail sales indicates an attempt to streamline operations and reduce administrative burden within the storehouse system.
258	246	Sterling in the whole, These must be signed by the Governour and Council and all of them numbred from one on progressively, such part of them as you think fitt, do you entrust to one proper Person to deliver them out, who is to be Accountable for them and his discharge Examined & past in Consultation, and then deliver him out another part and so toties quoties. Give publick Notice of these several Coins and notes, and that they shall be taken in the Stores for goods, and if any Persons which leave the Island have any of them in their keeping you will give them Bills for the Value delivered you payable here by us in sterling Money, give also the Storekeeper an Account from time to time what Notes of each species you deliver out with their Numbers for his Guidance. Thirdly touching our Servants Civil or Military, the Accounts of St. Helena in Generall & also touching our Slaves, Cattle, Land and Revenues. This being the proper head for it & We therefore have omitted till now to acquaint you, that we have Settled your allowances as follows: The Governour at one hundred pounds a year Salary, and one hundred pounds a year gratuity. The Second who is to be - Bookkeeper and Accomptant at Sixty five pounds a year Salary and Thirty pounds a year gratuity. The third who is to be Overseer of the Plantations at the same Salary, and Gratuity He being - formerly in the same Station and well acquainted in all the Branches of that trust, the Fourth who is to be Storekeeper at Fifty pounds - a year Salary and Twenty pounds a year gratuity. The fifth and -	It was directed that the £400 sterling in notes previously mentioned should be signed by the Governor and Council. All notes were to be numbered consecutively, beginning from one. Such portions as were considered appropriate were to be entrusted to a responsible individual for distribution. That person was to be held accountable for their use, and his accounts were to be examined and approved in Consultation before further notes were issued to him. This process was to be repeated as necessary. Public notice was to be given regarding the circulation of these coins and notes. It was ordered that they should be accepted in the stores in payment for goods. Where individuals leaving the island held such notes or coin, they were to be allowed to exchange them for bills payable in England in sterling money. The storekeeper was to be regularly informed of the notes issued, including their denominations and numbers, so that proper records could be maintained. Attention was then directed to the subject of servants, both civil and military, together with the general accounts of St Helena, and matters relating to slaves, cattle, land and revenues. Under this heading, it was stated that allowances had been fixed as follows. The Governor was assigned a salary of £100 per annum, together with a gratuity of £100 per annum. The second member of Council, who was to act as bookkeeper and accountant, was assigned a salary of £65 per annum and a gratuity of £30 per annum. The third member, who was to oversee the plantations and had previous experience in that role, was granted the same salary and gratuity. The fourth member, serving as storekeeper, was assigned a salary of £50 per annum and a gratuity of £20 per annum. The fifth member's details followed but were left incomplete in the passage. **Interpretations** "Gratuity" referred to an additional payment beyond salary, often used as an incentive or reward for service. "Toties quoties" referred to a Latin phrase meaning "as often as necessary", indicating a repeated process. "Sterling" referred to standard British currency, used as the benchmark for value in Company accounts. **Speculations** The strict control over the distribution of notes suggests concern about misuse or mismanagement of currency on the island. The structured salary and gratuity system indicates an effort to formalise administrative roles and encourage accountability among officials.
259	247	fifth of Council who is to be also Secretary or Clerk of the Council at Forty pounds a year Salary and Ten pounds a year Gratuity. We have likewise Entertain'd Edward Byfield a Visitor at Twenty pounds a year Salary and five pounds a year	It was stated that the fifth member of Council, who was also to serve as Secretary or Clerk of the Council, was assigned a salary of £40 per annum and a gratuity of £10 per annum. It was further recorded that Edward Byfield had been employed as a visitor with a salary of £20 per annum and a gratuity of £5 per annum. It was

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		Gratuity, all the said Gratuitys are only Conditional, or as the Court of Directors shall from time to time think they deserve them and not otherwise. We have settled these Salarys and Gratuitys & deserved for the Encouragement of every one of you in your respective Stations to serve us with great and fidelity they being much larger than ever were formerly allowed to any of the Councill, for under this word we include the Governour and all the rest in time of peace or War either, excepting of late to the Governour, but we must further add, that we will not admit any of you besides Mr. Tovey to have any one or more Plantations of your own or Mortgag'd to you, the better to prevent giving a preference to such Private Plantations to the detriment of our own, which also was an Inducement to us the rather to come into the conditional gratuitys and as to Mr. Tovey he having Petition'd us about a Plantation which he Claims as belonging to his Wife and him alleging he was turned out of it unjustly by Governour Boucher and suffered great damage thereby, In Answer thereto We say do you Examine into the true Meritts of the cause in all parts of his complaints as soon as possible and before Captain Boucher leaves the Island, because he is principally complained against Hear all partys that shall be able to give Testimony on either side and on the whole determine impartially without favour, affection or resentment, and as a true state of the case with your determination and the reason for our Notice and further orders thereupon, if we or any other Court of Directors shall think fit to give.	expressly declared that all such gratuities were conditional, to be granted only at the discretion of the Court of Directors according to merit. It was explained that these salaries and gratuities had been established to encourage diligence and fidelity in each officer's duties. It was noted that these allowances were greater than those previously granted to members of Council, including the Governor, whether in time of peace or war, with the exception of recent increases to the Governor's pay. A further restriction was imposed that none of the Council, except Mr Tovey, were to possess or hold plantations, whether owned or mortgaged. This measure was intended to prevent private interests from being favoured at the expense of Company property. It was stated that this restriction had influenced the decision to grant conditional gratuities. Attention was then given to a petition submitted by Mr Tovey concerning a plantation claimed as belonging to his wife and himself. It had been alleged that he had been unjustly removed from it by Governor Boucher and had suffered considerable loss. It was directed that a full investigation be undertaken without delay, and before Captain Boucher departed the island, as he was the principal party complained against. All witnesses on both sides were to be heard, and the matter was to be determined impartially, without favour, affection or resentment. A complete account of the case, together with the decision and the reasons for it, was to be transmitted for further consideration and possible orders by the Court of Directors. **Interpretations** "Visitor" referred to an official appointed to inspect, supervise or review particular aspects of Company operations. "Gratuity" referred to a discretionary payment awarded in addition to salary, dependent on conduct and performance. "Mortgaged" referred to land or property held as security for a debt, which in this context could create conflicts of interest for officials. **Speculations** The prohibition on plantation ownership suggests that conflicts between public duty and private gain had previously caused concern. The detailed instructions for investigating Mr Tovey's claim indicate that disputes over land tenure were both common and potentially contentious within the island's administration.
260	248	In case the said Plantation shall on your Examination be Adjudged to be restored to Mr. Tovey We have agreed that he have Liberty to let it out to others, but not to keep it in his own hands, so that if he shall die in the Voyage or afterwards his wife may thereby be Enabled to Maintain her Family, if it be not, then he is to be Indemnable with no other. We can't forbear taking Notice of Governour Bouchers partiality and injustice, that tho' we wrote of this matter by the Abingdon yet if Mr. Tovey says true, He never was told one word of it. Tho' he stay'd on the Island several Months after the Abingdon arrived. what Mr. Boucher Answers in the 36th Paragraph of the 9th April is very Sufficing, and to tell us he is the only surviving one of the Councill is worse, for he could not forget when he went over Mr. Bagett was by	It was directed that, if upon examination the plantation in question was judged to be restored to Mr Tovey, he should be permitted to lease it to others, but not to retain it under his own management. This provision was intended so that, in the event of his death during the voyage or thereafter, his wife might be enabled to maintain her family through its income. If the claim was not upheld, it was ordered that he should receive no compensation beyond what was determined appropriate. Notice was taken of what was described as the partiality and injustice of Governor Boucher. It was stated that, although instructions concerning this matter had been sent by the *Abingdon*, Mr Tovey, if his account were correct, had never been informed of them, despite Governor Boucher remaining on the island for several months after the ship's arrival. It was further observed that Governor Boucher's response in the thirty-sixth paragraph of the letter dated 9 April 1712 was considered insufficient. His assertion that he was the only surviving member of Council was criticised, as it was pointed out that Mr Bagett had been duly appointed by the Company. It was suggested that Governor Boucher may have treated Mr Bagett as

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		us constituted one, (except he reckons his usurped authority to cast him aside was sufficient to esteem Mr. Bagett as no Body, there is a clause in the 22[d] Paragraph which contains in it a sly reflection as if warning Councellours was not sufficient to cure their faults and that he wanted power to expell them, but that is too great a trust, till We are well satisfied with the Persons fitt to have it. We hope you will take Speciall care to suppresse all Animositys and heats on the Island as far as you are able and that is best to be done By giving the Inhabitants no just cause to Complain of your Power. By hearing and redressing speedily all just grievances. - Impartially trying the cause not the Person. By discountenancing all Irreligious Persons and Practices, By preserving every ones property by example as well as precept and coercion when Necessary checking all sorts of Debauchery, Immorality & Prophaness and among others of putting -	insignificant by assuming authority to exclude him. Reference was also made to a clause in the twenty-second paragraph, which was interpreted as implying that warnings alone were insufficient to correct faults among councillors and that greater powers of removal were desired. It was stated that such authority would not be granted until suitable persons were identified as fit to exercise it. It was expressed as an expectation that particular care should be taken to suppress divisions and disputes among the inhabitants. This was to be achieved by avoiding any abuse of authority and by ensuring that no just cause for complaint arose. It was directed that grievances should be heard and resolved promptly, and that judgement should be made impartially, focusing on the matter rather than the individual. It was further required that irreligious behaviour and practices be discouraged, that property rights be protected both by example and enforcement, and that misconduct, including debauchery, immorality and profaneness, be restrained. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Indemnable" referred to the granting of compensation or protection against loss, though here it implied limited or conditional redress rather than full restitution. "Usurped authority" referred to power assumed without proper legal right, suggesting overreach by an official. "Debauchery" referred to excessive indulgence in vice, often associated with moral disorder in early modern administrative contexts. **Speculations** The criticism of Governor Boucher suggests that his administration had been viewed as both politically divisive and procedurally irregular. The emphasis on moral discipline indicates that social order was considered essential to maintaining effective colonial governance.
261	249	putting a stop as far as you fairly can to that excessive drinking of Arrack and other Strong Liquors, which has grown upon all the People strongly of late years and shews that their profusion and some other ill-conducts made them easie to ruin whatever went, for such Excess unceasingly tends to Beggary or at least Poverty. - You have given us so many Assurances of your hearty Endeavours to do us the best Service in your Power as well for the Improvement of the Island as managing all other affairs under your Particular Charges, that We have reason to believe We shall hereafter have no occasion to fill our Letters with Complaints of Neglecting or acting contrary to our Orders and if we should have any reason to find fault, that we shall not have such fallacious trifling or impertinent evasions or Replys as are to be found in the Letters now before us which upon Comparing what is wrote in the Letter of the 9[th] April &c[t] is called an Answer to ours by the Abingdon will be easily and often discern'd on the contrary that you will each of you in your Stations and all of you in Council take care our Orders be duly Executed and will stop any Neglect or Departure from them in the first appearance before it grows to Head and thereby becomes difficult to be cured as in the case of the Accompts, which	It was directed that efforts should be made to restrain the excessive consumption of arrack and other strong liquors. It was observed that such behaviour had increased among the inhabitants in recent years. This was described as a sign of wastefulness and poor conduct. It was further stated that such excess tended towards ruin, leading either to poverty or complete financial distress. Assurances previously given by the Governor and Council of their commitment to improving the island and managing its affairs were acknowledged. It was expressed that, on this basis, there was reason to expect that future correspondence would not be filled with complaints of neglect or disobedience. It was also stated that, if faults were found, it was expected that no evasive or unsatisfactory replies would be offered, such as those observed in the letters then under review. Particular reference was made to the letter dated 9 April 1712, which had been presented as an answer to earlier instructions sent by the *Abingdon*, but was considered inadequate upon comparison. Expectation was declared that each officer, in his respective role, and the Council collectively, would ensure that all orders were properly executed. It was required that any neglect or deviation be addressed immediately upon its first appearance, before it became more serious and difficult to correct. The example of the accounts was cited, which had been described as having been neglected in an inexcusable manner. It was noted that a qualified individual had been appointed as accountant with the expectation that deficiencies in record-keeping would be corrected. It was recalled that previous accounts had been criticised as being little more than informal shop records. Despite this, it was reported that, since his arrival at St Helena,

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		have been inexcuseably Neglected, tho' we sent out a Person who was able to to better and therefore We expected that as he was in our Accomptant Office here and knew the cause of our Complaints of the Accounts before sent us, that they were little better than Shop Books, He would have remedied it all by doing better, but since his Arrival at S^{t}. Helena We have had none at all of any kind, whereas formerly they used to be sent Yearly, such as they were this Negligence our then Governour ought to have prevented by frequent Examinations how far they were advanced and Check all dilatoriness therein.	no accounts of any kind had been received, whereas previously such records had been submitted annually. It was stated that this failure should have been prevented by the Governor through regular examination of progress and by addressing any delays promptly. **Interpretations** "Arrack" referred to a distilled alcoholic spirit commonly produced in Asia and widely consumed in maritime and colonial environments. "Shop Books" referred to informal account records, often lacking the structure and detail required for official financial reporting. "Dilatoriness" referred to delay or procrastination in performing required duties, especially in administrative tasks. **Speculations** The concern over excessive drinking suggests that social discipline was viewed as directly affecting economic productivity and stability. The repeated criticism of accounting practices indicates that financial mismanagement was a persistent and serious issue within the island's administration.
262	250	therein, but instead thereof of the Notices We have to say we apprehend they are true the word neither tell Mr. Bagett afores^{d} in the Stores tho' we mentioned he should, nor in any other matters relating to the expediting the Books from whence this mischievous consequence has happen'd, that the Planters are uneasy they can't have their Accounts settled, the Soldiers are run in Debts, and some of them from Seventy Twenty and Thirty pounds a Man, which prompts them to leave the Island, for it seems the Stores were delivered and charg'd sold without considering who ought or ought not to be Trusted further, By this means great sums has been drawn on us from time to time Notwithstanding the large Supplys from hence and India, We hope the bare stating these facts will shew you we had reason to Suspect and at the same time excite in you a Resolution to Act in a very different manner. - We must not pass over without remark two paragraphs of the Letter sent after the receipt of ours by the Abingdon and which is called an Answer thereto. The one the 19th. wherein the Penman gives Encouragement to hope Mr. Packs wish by an Extraordinary diligence atoned for past Neglects and shews his gratefull Returns for our Generosity, and yet in the 23^{d}. Paragraph of the same Letter it is - mentioned that he had been deprived of his speech and senses for seven months and while writing it news came that he was dead. If he had been so long out of his senses, should not the then Governour have applyed to Mr. Bagett or some Body else to that Business, or did he think it so trivial a matter as not worth Looking after this is yet a further proof of what we Suspected and of which we give a hint as	It was observed that, instead of proper oversight being exercised, the instructions given had not been followed. It was stated that Mr Bagett had not been employed in the stores as directed, nor had appropriate attention been given to other matters necessary for advancing the accounts. As a result, serious consequences had arisen. The planters had become dissatisfied because their accounts could not be settled. The soldiers had fallen into debt, some owing sums of £20, £30 and even £70 per man. It was noted that this situation encouraged desertion from the island. It was further explained that goods had been issued from the stores and charged without sufficient regard to whether individuals were fit to be trusted with further credit. By this practice, considerable sums had been drawn upon the Company over time, despite the substantial supplies previously sent from England and India. It was stated that these facts justified earlier suspicions and were intended to prompt a more careful and responsible approach in future. Attention was then drawn to two specific paragraphs in a letter sent after receipt of the Company's instructions by the *Abingdon*, which had been presented as an answer. In the nineteenth paragraph, it had been suggested that Mr Pack, through extraordinary diligence, had made amends for past neglect and had shown gratitude for the Company's favour. However, in the twenty-third paragraph of the same letter, it had been reported that Mr Pack had been deprived of speech and reason for seven months, and that, while the letter was being written, news had been received of his death. It was questioned how such circumstances could have been allowed. It was implied that, if Mr Pack had been incapacitated for so long, the Governor should have assigned his duties to Mr Bagett or another suitable person. The failure to do so was presented as further evidence supporting earlier concerns. Reference was made to the sixteenth paragraph of the letter sent by the *Susannah*, in which similar issues had been raised. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Run in debts" referred to the accumulation of unpaid obligations, often through credit extended without proper control. "Penman" referred to the writer or author of an official letter or document. "Deprived of his speech and senses" referred to a state of severe illness or incapacity, rendering a person unable to perform duties.

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		mentioned in the 16th. Paragraph of our Letter by the Susannah why	**Speculations** The failure to replace an incapacitated official suggests a breakdown in administrative responsibility and oversight. The accumulation of debt among soldiers indicates that the credit system in the stores was poorly regulated and perhaps exploited.
263	251	why Mr. Bagett was not referred to assist about the Stores or Accompts, a further instance is, that tho' in the 13th Paragraph of the above Letter Govr Boucher says Mr. Bagett is a Stranger to the Italian way of Bookkeeping yet in the Postscript of the same Letter Mr. Bagett denies the Charge and says it was the way which they formerly practiced and the Governour by his Silence seems to confess it, yet Mr. Bagett must not be employed in the Accompts till after Mr. Packs death. He had not mentioned this now were it not for your sakes that others miscarriages may make you more cautious, for Captain Boucher will find that such managements will be, so far from appearing a good Plea for his Gratuity. In the 9th Paragraph He tells us (for he only signs the Letter the like title runs as if signed by the Councill) they could not excuse themselves of omitting one article in the Todingtons Letter, tho' it was not answered Paragraph by Paragraph and yet owns the Orders it contains and adds some Paragraphs cited then in that time and then goes on in the next to tell what was done & concludes of Consultations were not so frequent as formerly it was, because there were fewer Luminositys among the people and Busines more done than talked of. To this we say for your Information and Governance) that we expect our Orders be obeyed at all times, unless pure Necessity prevent them & apparent and well grounded Reason make you depart from them for our real Interest; but then you must give us those reasons and take care you really believe them substantial. If any Paragraphs can't be Answered speedily, tell us so and why. But the excuse for consultation being held so seldom is very grievous and looks as if we were to be flattered they were to be hidden to hear Complaints, whereas the whole must not be Neglected, yet our main Design.	It was observed that Mr Bagett had not been employed to assist with the stores or accounts, despite earlier concerns. It was noted that, in the thirteenth paragraph of the same letter, Governor Boucher had described Mr Bagett as unfamiliar with the Italian method of bookkeeping. However, in the postscript, Mr Bagett had denied this assertion and had stated that such methods had previously been practised. It was remarked that the Governor's silence on this point appeared to confirm Mr Bagett's claim. Despite this, Mr Bagett had not been employed in the accounts until after Mr Pack's death. It was stated that this matter was raised not for its own sake but as a warning, so that the failures of others might encourage greater caution. It was further indicated that such conduct would not support any claim by Captain Boucher for the granting of a gratuity. Attention was then drawn to the ninth paragraph of the same letter, which had been signed only by Governor Boucher, although it had been presented as if issued by the Council. In that paragraph, it had been admitted that one article in the *Todington* letter had been omitted, and that the response had not been made paragraph by paragraph. It had also been acknowledged that the orders contained therein were valid, and that some had been cited at the time. It had then been asserted that consultations had been held less frequently than before, on the grounds that there were fewer disputes among the inhabitants and that more business had been conducted than discussed. In response, it was stated that all orders were expected to be obeyed at all times, unless prevented by necessity or justified by clear and reasonable grounds serving the Company's interest. Where deviation occurred, those reasons were to be reported and must be genuinely substantial. If any paragraph could not be answered promptly, this was to be explained with reasons. The justification for holding consultations less frequently was strongly criticised. It was described as unacceptable, as it suggested that oversight was being reduced and that complaints might be concealed. It was emphasised that all matters were to be properly attended to, in accordance with the Company's principal objectives. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Italian way of Bookkeeping" referred to double-entry bookkeeping, a structured accounting method developed in Renaissance Italy and increasingly adopted in early modern commerce. "Gratuity" referred to a discretionary payment awarded in addition to salary, dependent on merit and conduct. "Consultations" referred to formal meetings of the Governor and Council, whose proceedings were to be recorded as part of official governance. **Speculations** The dispute over Mr Bagett's competence suggests internal factional conflict within the administration. The reduction in consultations may have been used to limit scrutiny and centralise authority in the Governor.
264	252	Design in appointing them is, That all directions relating to our affairs may be there agreed on, and from thence Issued all Companys how far Complyed with may be there made and the Answers	It was explained that the purpose of appointing consultations was that all directions relating to Company affairs should be agreed there, and issued from that authority. It was intended that reports should be made there concerning how far orders had been

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		thereto given into Councill: All Reports of the progress in the Buildings, Repairs &c: Buſineſs there received and a proper Entry made together with the Results what further directions given. All Accounts whether from the Stores, Plantation House &c: there given in audited and past and proper Notices of all Entered in the Consultation Books as before intimated, had this been so and Copy of that Book sent us, We should not have Complain'd and reproved as We did in our aforesaid Letters. In the 15th Paragraph we are told they could not imagine how the prices set on the two Storeships from England were forgot to be sent us in the 6th Paragraph of the Letter of the 18th June, That the Accounts of the Captains omitted an Bill of exchange not fully dated was the proper Buſineſs of the Writers in the Stores, to this we say we never will again take such slight and trifling Excuses where our Buſineſs may be so drawn out and prolonged, but things is given to see they are Executed and sent, a few Memorandums to shorten your Enquiry, and a little time to see they are Complyed with together with early orders that they may be done is what becomes you to take care of, and our Governour in particular, who does therefore preside that he may have sufficient Power to enforce the doing out Buſineſs and the greater Salary to encourage Him to take the greater Care. In the 24th Paragraph We are referred to Consultations about Design Charles and Gunner French being made Aſsistants to the Chineil and yet told they could not be sent with that Letter, this is	complied with, and that responses should be delivered into Council. It was further directed that all reports on the progress of buildings, repairs and other works should be received and recorded, together with any further instructions arising from them. All accounts, whether from the stores, plantation house or elsewhere, were to be presented, examined and approved in Council, with proper entries made in the Consultation Book. It was stated that, had this procedure been followed and copies of the Consultation Book transmitted, the earlier complaints and reproofs would not have been necessary. Reference was then made to the fifteenth paragraph of the letter dated 18 June 1713, in which it had been stated that the omission of prices for the two store ships from England could not be explained. It had also been claimed that incomplete captains' accounts and undated bills of exchange were the responsibility of the storehouse writers. This explanation was rejected. It was declared that such excuses would no longer be accepted where Company business was delayed or neglected. It was emphasised that responsibility lay with those in authority to ensure that all tasks were carried out. It was stated that brief memoranda, careful supervision and timely orders were sufficient to ensure compliance. Particular responsibility was placed upon the Governor, who held greater authority and received a higher salary for that purpose. Attention was then drawn to the twenty-fourth paragraph, in which reference had been made to consultations concerning Charles [...] and Gunner French being appointed as assistants to the channel, yet it had also been stated that these consultations could not be sent with the letter. This omission was noted as a further deficiency in reporting. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Consultation Book" referred to the official register of Council proceedings, intended to record all administrative, financial and operational decisions. "Bills of exchange" referred to written financial instruments ordering payment, essential to long-distance trade and requiring accurate dating and documentation. "Channel" in this context probably referred to a specific operational or logistical role, perhaps connected with harbour or maritime management, though the exact meaning remains unclear due to the fragmentary text. **Speculations** The repeated emphasis on consultation procedures suggests that centralised record-keeping was seen as essential to maintaining control over distant colonial administration. The rejection of excuses from subordinate staff indicates a broader effort to enforce accountability at the highest levels of governance.
265	253	Another Instance of the Penmans Modesty in asserting that the Councill he had not omitted one Article wherein our Interest was concerned for the future from hence expresly Order the Consultations to be kept up constantly and sent us and how that was to be done is very obvious when it shall be considered That have now sent us contain but fifteen Sheets of Paper and closely written Just each from the 18th of March 1713 to the 4th June 1713 and might be wrote in a week with ease. Alike Modest is the Answer given about the then Governour repaying the One hundred pounds advanced him and Mr. Pack his thirty five pounds	It was remarked that the writer of the letter had shown undue confidence in asserting that no article affecting the Company's interest had been omitted. It was therefore expressly ordered that consultations were to be kept regularly and transmitted without fail. It was observed that the consultations sent covered only the period from 18 March 1714 to 4 June 1714, consisting of merely 15 sheets of closely written paper. It was stated that such a quantity could easily have been produced within a week, which demonstrated the insufficiency of the effort made. Attention was drawn to the response concerning the repayment of £100 advanced to the Governor and £35 6 shillings advanced to Mr Pack, as mentioned in the eighteenth paragraph. It had been claimed that these repayments would be evident in the accounts when transmitted to England. It was noted that such accounts

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		and Sixpence in the 18th Paragraph and referring us to the Accounts to see it was so when they should be transmitted to England, for they were not sent these Payments ought to have been notified in the generall Letter in answer to ours which mentioned the advancing the Moneys. In Paragraph the 31. it is written Blacks are much wanted, We have wrote before the Care We have taken to Supply you, but we must observe there is not sent a List of those now at St. Helena said to be and what we Ordere, nor any Lists from our Chaplain of the Christians Marriages, Births and Burials tho expresly Ordered by the Instructions. In Paragraph 33. it is advised that Ten pounds a year is abated out of Surgeon Southens pay to be paid his Wife here, but not one word when it commences, and till we know that, We cannot be certain whether we pay too fast or slow. In Paragraph the 45th It is promised that an Order by the Sollicitor shall be observed, namely to send us the Account of the severalls Branches of the Revenue and the amount of each &c: but we find no compliance.	had not been sent. It was further stated that these repayments should have been clearly reported in the general letter in direct response to the earlier instruction regarding those advances. It was observed in the thirty-first paragraph that there was a shortage of slaves. It was recalled that efforts had already been made to supply them. However, it was noted that no list had been provided of those currently on St Helena, nor of those ordered. It was also stated that no lists had been received from the chaplain concerning Christian marriages, births and burials, despite explicit instructions requiring such records. In the thirty-third paragraph, it had been reported that £10 per annum had been deducted from the salary of Surgeon Southen to be paid to his wife in England. It was pointed out that no date had been given for when this arrangement was to commence. It was stated that, without this information, it could not be determined whether payments were being made too early or too late. In the forty-fifth paragraph, it had been promised that an order from the solicitor would be observed, requiring the transmission of accounts detailing the several branches of revenue and their amounts. It was noted that no compliance with this instruction had been observed. **Interpretations** "Consultations" referred to the formal recorded proceedings of the Governor and Council, intended to document all administrative actions and decisions. "Sollicitor" referred to a legal officer responsible for advising on and enforcing compliance with Company regulations. "Advance" referred to money issued beforehand, often to be repaid or accounted for in official records. **Speculations** The repeated absence of required reports suggests a systemic failure in administrative discipline rather than isolated oversight. The omission of population records such as marriages and burials indicates that social as well as financial record-keeping had deteriorated.
266	254	Compliance therewith, nor with Severall other Promises in the Letters before us which for brevity Sake We omitt Mentioning. - The then Governours Excuse in severall Paragraphs, as to the Letters between him and Captain Roberts, and those he calls answers in others still deserve to be either replied to or commented upon being either evasive besides the Mark or Signs of a heated Temper. We have often complain'd of the great Charge of St. Helena as then managed, all our Cargoes sent from hence, all the Goods delivered from India, and great Sums drawn on us by Bills from year to year and this last year Two Thousand Seven hundred pounds and no Account sent how laid out, this makes us justly Concerned to put a stop to this Leak in our Estate, and we promise ourselves from your honest management, that it will now be done. The fifteenth Paragraph of the Letter of the 4th April says there is reason to believe St. Helena will not allway a very long be a Dead Charge when	It was observed that there had been no compliance with several promises made in earlier letters, nor with other undertakings which were not repeated for the sake of brevity. It was further stated that the excuses offered by the former Governor, particularly regarding his correspondence with Captain Roberts, required proper reply or comment, as they were judged to be evasive, irrelevant or indicative of an unsettled temper. Attention was drawn to the continuing expense of St Helena. It was noted that cargoes had been regularly sent from England, goods had been supplied from India and large sums had been drawn upon the Company through bills of exchange each year. In the most recent year, this had amounted to £2,700, yet no account had been provided explaining how the money had been spent. This situation was described as a serious concern, and it was stated that measures must be taken to prevent further loss. Confidence was expressed that, under proper management, this financial drain would be corrected. Reference was made to the fifteenth paragraph of the letter dated 4 April 1714, which had suggested that St Helena might not remain a financial burden once fortifications and buildings were completed. It was stated that, according to the letters received, these works ought to have been largely finished by that time, or would soon be so through the labour of the slaves. It was therefore expected that any further improvement would depend upon careful and honest administration. It was directed that overall expenses should be reduced

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		the Fortifications and Buildings are finished. If we may believe - the Letters before us those will be well Completed by the time you gett thither: and if they are not yett of the Blacks answer they will be considerably before the Expence, so that what more remains is to be expected from your management, that the generall Charge of the Island is frugally and Honestly conducted, all superfluous Expences, Parts of Frugality established and kept up and as few Bills as possible to charge our account on us, but on the contrary Bills sent us for Moneys Supplyed are Shipping. This leads us to tell you our Observations touching our Black Cattle and other live Stock and our Plantations on the Island the Cattle are unaccountably diminished. If the Account given in by John	through frugality, that unnecessary costs should be eliminated and that as few bills as possible should be drawn upon the Company. Instead, it was expected that funds would be remitted to England where possible. It was then stated that attention would be given to the condition of the Company's black cattle, other livestock and plantations on the island. It was observed that the number of cattle had declined in an unexplained manner. Reference was made to an account submitted by John [...], but the passage concluded before further detail was provided. **Interpretations** "Dead Charge" referred to an expense that produced no profit or return, representing a financial burden on the Company. "Bills of exchange" referred to financial instruments used to draw money from the Company in England, often contributing to large outflows of funds. "Frugality" referred to the careful and economical management of resources, a key expectation in colonial administration. **Speculations** The large unexplained expenditure suggests that financial oversight had broken down or that funds may have been misused. The concern over declining cattle numbers indicates that agricultural management, a key part of the island's sustainability, had been neglected or poorly supervised.
267	255	John How the 14th October, and by Mr. Craven the 9th of December as entred in the Consultation Books be true, We needs observe that in all the time of this Book We find no Account brought in by them, or any other Person but those two, We are ordered it should be done Monthly so evident, to say no worse has been the late management. The deadliest quarter in December is left than that in October by Eleven Bullocks and Seven Cows, and yet do Mention made of any Sold, or Killed by Disaster, nor any Notices taken upon this difference happening, which looks to us, as if the then Councill thought it enough barely to take the Account as given in without the Examination or farther thoughts: if this be not Indolence it is worse. - In time to come let us have Yearly an Account of all our Cattle and other live Stock, how many of each Sort are Sold to the Shipping and how many consumed at our own table, and what Addition has been made to your Stock of Hens or Goats or Hogs &c: since the last. If you have no Sett of Shipping a year, send the Accounts by each in double conveyances if some has one Ship; if any Cattle dye by disaster enter the Notice in Consultation when and where, for we least approve that slight overly way of telling us in the Letter that Sixty head Dyed since Lady day and not a Syllable to be found of it in the Consultation Books that should contain a full Account of all Affairs at least the Notices about them and we Order that hereafter it be so. - The Stock of Goats are quite omitted as if they were all gone which we must not believe, because Mr. Mashborne	It was observed that accounts submitted by John How on 14 October 1714 and by Mr Craven on 9 December 1714, as recorded in the Consultation Book, were the only such returns found for that period. It was noted that no monthly accounts had been provided by them or by any other person, despite explicit orders requiring this. This omission was described as clear evidence of defective management. It was further stated that the stock recorded in December was lower than that of October by 11 bullocks and 7 cows. No record had been made of any sale or loss by accident, nor had any notice been taken of this discrepancy. It was therefore concluded that the Council had accepted these accounts without examination or enquiry, which was described as either negligence or something more serious. It was directed that, in future, a full annual account should be provided of all cattle and other livestock. This was to include the number of each type sold to ships, the quantity consumed for Company use and any increase in stock such as hens, goats or hogs since the previous return. It was further ordered that, if no regular annual shipping occurred, accounts should be sent by each available vessel, in duplicate where possible. In cases where cattle died by accident, the event was to be recorded in the Consultation Book with details of time and place. It was stated that the previous practice of reporting such losses only in general terms, such as noting that 60 head had died since Lady Day without any supporting entry in the Consultation Book, was unacceptable. It was therefore required that all such matters be properly recorded in future. It was also noted that no mention had been made of the stock of goats, as if they had entirely disappeared. This was questioned, as Mr Mashborne had previously reported that, upon leaving St Helena, there had been about 200 goats in the valley and additional numbers in the countryside. It was ordered that a thorough enquiry be made into their whereabouts. If any loss was found to have resulted from misconduct or fraud, it was directed that restitution be obtained from those responsible. It was further required that the findings of this enquiry be reported. The passage concluded in an incomplete state.

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		assure us when he left St. Helena there was a great Number about Two hundred in the Valley and more up in the Country. Inquire diligently what is become of them, and if you can find we have been cheated of any take care to get us Satisfaction be it from whom it will. Let us know how you find	**Interpretations** "Lady Day" referred to 25 March, one of the traditional quarter days in England, often used as a reference point for accounting periods. "Head" referred to a unit of counting livestock, such as cattle. "Consultation Book" referred to the official record of the Governor and Council, intended to document all administrative and financial matters in detail. **Speculations** The unexplained reduction in livestock suggests possible mismanagement or unauthorised use of Company resources. The absence of goat records may indicate neglect in maintaining inventories or deliberate omission to conceal losses.
268	256	they are gone, be it by suffering them to be Stolen or destroyed and what remains. If they can be kept from destroying the young ones as we are told, they may, and that they are frequently if not every Night wounded by the Blacks, and were it ascertaind to it, that there was no Justice in trying them, then to be sure they are worth increasing, because at little for our charge in keeping and by the goodness of their Flesh and being good Breeders are much more Profitable than Sheep who encrease very slowly, let us know whether this be so or not or how far our Information is right. The severall Sorts of Fowles are also greatly diminished and we are Informed our late Governour has contributed very much thereto by his devouring up so many Fowls, Chickens and Eggs, that the People are afraid the only Breed will be lost, that he kills many of the Calves, because Beef is not delicate enough, what Truth there is in this you will on your enquiry be assured of. Our main reason for mentioning these things is to hasten and press you to be better Husbands for us, for such management will be destructive to us in every item, the want of the Monthly Accounts of all Stock supplys and the Dates as to the Expences there, but we are told that never was there such Profusion in Expences ever known as in this last Government, especially in Shipping time at the Plantation House where the Governour keeps a Magnificent Table for Captains Supercargoes and others at which time none of our Servants and sometimes not so much as the Chaplain are admitted to his Table whether at the Fort or Plantation We tell you this that it never be put in practice by you and that you inquire true fact as to him That the Plantations Suffer extremely by the Blacks being	It was directed that enquiry should be made into the disappearance of the goats, and whether this had occurred through theft, destruction or neglect. It was required that the number remaining be reported. It was noted that, if the animals could be prevented from destroying their young, they might be increased with little expense. It was further stated that reports had been received that they were frequently, perhaps nightly, wounded by the slaves. It was suggested that, if proper control and justice could be enforced, goats would prove more profitable than sheep, as they bred more readily and their meat was considered of better quality. It was therefore required that the accuracy of this information be investigated and reported. It was also observed that the various kinds of poultry had been greatly reduced. It was reported that the former Governor had contributed to this decline by excessive consumption of fowls, chickens and eggs, to such an extent that the continuation of the stock was feared to be at risk. It was further alleged that calves had been slaughtered in large numbers because beef was not considered sufficiently desirable. It was directed that the truth of these claims be carefully examined. It was explained that these matters were raised in order to emphasise the need for more careful and economical management. It was stated that such practices, if continued, would lead to loss in every aspect of the Company's interests. It was further observed that the absence of monthly accounts for stock and supplies had contributed to the inability to monitor these losses properly. It was reported that the most recent administration had been marked by unprecedented extravagance, particularly during periods when ships were present. It was stated that, at such times, the Governor had maintained an elaborate table at the Plantation House for captains, supercargoes and other visitors. It was further noted that Company servants, and sometimes even the chaplain, had been excluded from these gatherings, whether at the Fort or the Plantation. It was directed that such practices should not be followed in future, and that the truth of these reports should be investigated. It was further observed that the plantations had suffered greatly due to the allocation of slave labour to other purposes, though the passage concluded before further detail was given. **Interpretations** "Supercargoes" referred to Company officials placed aboard ships to manage commercial transactions and cargo. "Plantation House" referred to the principal residence of the Governor on St Helena, which also functioned as an administrative and social centre. "Husbands" in this context referred to the careful management and stewardship of resources, rather than familial relations.

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			Speculations The allegations of excessive consumption and selective hospitality suggest that personal indulgence may have been prioritised over Company interests. The emphasis on livestock and poultry losses indicates that food supply and self-sufficiency were critical concerns for the island's sustainability.
269	257	anything taken off from looking after them and Employed in carrying the Gover- nour up and down in Hammocks and not content with them he Employs the Planters Blacks on the same account. If these things shou'd on Enquiry prove true and be You Diligent and Impartiall in making it, cause the Governour to refund the Charge We paid for such Blacks, for we Suppose they were hired as if working at the Fortification. - We must add tho' it is more proper to be mentioned under the next head that the Governour has built a Shed of four hundred foot long for no other use than that he may rise therein on his Asses and be Cover'd from the Weather, That it Cost above three hundred pounds and that he has wasted a great deal of our Timber & Deals therein and in the Stables and in other conveniencies for his Asses, to be sure the Charge of Building and other workmanship would amount to a good Sum: Inquire strictly into the whole of this affair and what Damage has been done us thereby in the Timber, Deals and Charge of Workmanship and let him know he had no Authority from us to Act in this manner and that you are Ordered as We do hereby order you to make him refund the Expence and Damage. - The beforementioned sad waste in, or carelessness about our Plantations and live Stock We rest Assured will be soon remedied and repair'd by the Confidence We have in all our new Councill and particularly Mr. Mashborne whom we have appointed overseer of them and who is well versed therein, and as he had a good Character some time ago when in that office, We hope he will continue and augment it now & that we shall greatly feel the good Effects of his Skill, Diligence &	It was reported that labour had been diverted from the care of plantations and livestock to carry the Governor in hammocks. It was further alleged that not only Company slaves but also those belonging to planters had been employed for this purpose. It was directed that a thorough and impartial enquiry be conducted into these matters. If found to be true, it was ordered that the Governor should repay the cost of such labour, as it was presumed that these slaves had been hired under the pretence of working on fortifications. It was further observed that the Governor had constructed a shed measuring 400 feet in length, intended solely for riding asses under cover from the weather. It was stated that this structure had cost more than £300. It was also reported that considerable quantities of timber and deals had been wasted in its construction, as well as in building stables and other conveniences for the same purpose. It was directed that a strict investigation be made into the full extent of this expenditure, including the value of materials used and the cost of labour. It was declared that no authority had been granted for such actions, and it was therefore ordered that the Governor be required to repay all associated costs and damages. Confidence was then expressed that the previously described neglect and waste in plantations and livestock would be corrected under the new Council. Particular reference was made to Mr Mashborne, who had been appointed as overseer of these concerns. It was noted that he had previously held this role and had been regarded favourably. It was therefore expected that his experience, diligence and skill would lead to improved management and beneficial outcomes for the Company. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Deals" referred to planks or boards of timber, commonly used in construction and valued as a significant material resource. "Hammocks" in this context referred to portable litters or carriers used to transport individuals, often by slave labour in colonial settings. "Asses" referred to donkeys, used as working or riding animals, particularly in rough terrain. **Speculations** The diversion of labour for personal use suggests a pattern of exploiting Company resources for private comfort. The construction of an expensive structure for non-essential purposes indicates a disregard for financial discipline and Company priorities.
270	258	We have at his Instances allowed him to buy severall Seeds & Plants for Fences & Hedges and Severall other Seeds for Garden Trees bettering the ground and Improving the husbandry also divers Implements for the same purpose together with other utensils of use and Join as off List. Send us an Account how the Seeds and Plants thrive and which most, and what you shall Annually want with proper directions about them. write also as you have opportunity to	It was stated that, at the request of Mr Mashborne, permission had been granted for the purchase of various seeds and plants intended for hedges and fences, as well as seeds for garden trees to improve the land and agricultural practices. It was further noted that several tools and implements had been supplied for these purposes, together with other necessary utensils, as listed separately. It was directed that an account should be sent describing how these seeds and plants had prospered, identifying which had performed best and specifying what quantities would be required annually. It was also ordered that correspondence should be maintained with different parts of India to obtain additional suitable seeds and plants for St

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		all parts of India for any Seeds or Plants from thence proper for S^{t}. Helena. By the Rochester you may write to Bencoolen, the coast and Bay desiring the Deputy Governour & Councill of Bencoolen to forward your Letters to the other two Places, Advise us also of the same that we may give directions accordingly. - We do earnestly recommend to you all to Encourage the Improvement of the Vines at S^{t}. Helena that so if possible Quantity of Wine may be made for the Benefit of the Inhabitants which will be far more wholsome than Arack or any of your Distillations from Potatoes &c: for it is Generally observed in all parts of India where Arack is made, it is whilst new very Prejudiciall to the People who Covet to drink it because cheaper and kills abundance there with the dry Belly ake and to be sure what distills at S^{t}. Helena is not like to be more wholsome. Ar- only makes Arack. Tollerable wholsome, as the most experienced affirm But if you shou'd not arrive at the making of Wine yet the Grapes will be of some Advantage to the Inhabitants in point of health and Refreshment. -	Helena. It was specified that, by means of the *Rochester*, letters might be sent to Bencoolen, the Coast and the Bay, with instructions that the Deputy Governor and Council of Bencoolen should forward them onward. Notice of such correspondence was also to be sent so that further directions could be issued if necessary. Strong encouragement was given to the development of vineyards on the island, with the aim of producing wine for the benefit of the inhabitants. It was stated that wine would be more wholesome than arrack or other distilled liquors made from potatoes or similar substances. It was observed that, in many parts of India where arrack was produced, it was harmful when newly made, yet widely consumed due to its low cost. It was reported that it caused significant illness, particularly a condition described as "dry belly ache", and was responsible for many deaths. It was further stated that spirits distilled at St Helena were not expected to be any more beneficial. It was noted that ageing improved the quality of arrack and made it more tolerable, according to experienced observers. It was added that, even if wine production did not succeed, grapes themselves would still provide health benefits and refreshment for the inhabitants. **Interpretations** "Dry belly ache" referred to a condition now associated with lead poisoning or severe gastrointestinal illness, often linked to contaminated distilled spirits in early modern contexts. "Implements" referred to agricultural tools used in cultivation and land improvement. "Coast and Bay" referred to regions of India, commonly the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal, which were key centres of Company trade. **Speculations** The emphasis on vine cultivation suggests an effort to reshape local consumption habits and reduce reliance on harmful distilled spirits. The encouragement of agricultural experimentation indicates a broader strategy to improve the island's self-sufficiency and economic productivity.
271	259	We are pleased to find so good a Progress made in the Planting of and Fencing in of Lands, and Settling the Property of the Inhabitants and shall be glad when all is ended. We Referr you to former Letters from our Directors as to this, and to the Letting out any of our Lands the sending us yearly Accounts of our Revenues, the List of our Slaves how Employed and where, the Account of the Annnall Expence of the Island in the severall branches of it, such as our Covenant Servants & Soldiers with the List of the Salary or pay of each and the like of any others to whom you allow Wages, The Amount of Expences at our Table whether at the Fort or Plantation at the Market prices; what the Charge of Cloathing the Blacks, the Charge of the Boats & all other Items that make up the Annuall Expence, as is more fully express't in the 28th paragraph of our Letter by the Susanna, Send these in the proper papers in the Packets. you see we Curtail these things being unwilling to Bulk this Letter too much, it being already drawn out into a greater length than we were aware of. the Extracts	Satisfaction was expressed at the progress made in planting, enclosing land and establishing secure property rights for the inhabitants. It was stated that completion of these measures would be welcomed. Reference was made to earlier letters from the Directors regarding these matters, including the leasing of Company land, the requirement to send annual accounts of revenue and the provision of detailed lists of slaves, specifying their employment and location. It was further directed that accounts should be provided of the total annual expenditure of the island. This was to include the costs associated with covenant servants and soldiers, together with lists of their salaries or pay, as well as similar details for all others receiving wages. It was also required that the expense of maintaining the Company's table, both at the Fort and the Plantation, be recorded at market rates. Additional items to be included were the cost of clothing the slaves, the expense of maintaining boats and all other elements contributing to the yearly expenditure. It was stated that these requirements had been set out more fully in the twenty-eighth paragraph of the letter sent by the *Susanna*, and that the accounts were to be transmitted in separate papers within the packets. It was explained that repetition had been avoided in order to prevent excessive length, as the letter had already become longer than intended. It was noted that the previously ordered extracts of letters would provide further guidance and identify additional details not repeated here. It was recorded that an account had been received concerning the sale of plantations previously purchased,

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		of our Letters as before directed will Guide you herein, and point out to you severalls other particulars at present omitted here. - We have received the account of Sale of the Plantation you had bought as advised by the John and Elizabeth did find there. It was some Profit upon them as mentioned in the 28th Paragraph & their Governour Boucher ought to be commended for, But we shall be glad to hear how he will reconcile the 29th Paragraph which says it would be no great Damage to the Island or the Companys Interest	as reported by the *John and Elizabeth*. It was noted that some profit had been made on these transactions, as stated in the twenty-eighth paragraph, and that Governor Boucher deserved commendation for this. However, it was also observed that this appeared inconsistent with the statement made in the twenty-ninth paragraph, which suggested that such transactions would not cause significant harm to the island or the Company's interests. The passage concluded before further explanation was given. **Interpretations** "Covenant servants" referred to employees bound by formal contract to serve the Company for a specified period, often in administrative or technical roles. "Table" referred to the provision of food and hospitality at the Company's expense, particularly for officials and guests. "Packets" referred to the official bundles of correspondence and documents sent between St Helena and England. **Speculations** The emphasis on detailed financial reporting reflects an attempt to impose stricter fiscal discipline after a period of perceived mismanagement. The apparent contradiction in Governor Boucher's actions suggests inconsistency in policy or justification regarding land transactions.
272	260	Interest of all the Lands yet ever in our hands with the 7th Paragraph of the next Letter by the Roebuck which says: it is better for the Company to Lease out their waste Land than keep it without bringing in a fishing Proffitt and certainly there too is the right. We take Notice of this for your caution, that you may be more careful to reperuse what you write us and not to say and unsay at pleasure, yet we don't by this mean you should Continue in a Mistake when it appears to you to be so, In the 43d Paragraph we are promised to have an account of our Revenues in all their severall Branches and other matters directed by the Addington to which that is an answer, but find nothing done altho' in the 86th Paragraph of the Roebuck's Letter, Notice is taken of Mr. Alexander sending these things the year or more before and that he did so on perusing our Letters which plainly shews the great carelessness of the then Governour and Clerks too, that it was not done, again we must not dismiss this paragraph without one other remark. That Alexander by the Governour's Order took an Abstract of our Letter to see what was to be sent us, now if he had examined to see the Clerks had done well he found it was right; But if as seems most likely he left all entirely to the Clerks that was wrong, and we expect you do better. You will see in the 15th part of the Letter received by the Roebuck what is wrote about fencing in our great wood that it will not quitt cost, consider of it and do what is best for us it is	It was observed that there appeared to be inconsistency in the statements concerning the management of Company lands. On the one hand, it had been suggested that retaining land in Company hands would not damage its interests, while in the seventh paragraph of the following letter sent by the *Roebuck*, it had been stated that it was preferable to lease out waste land rather than keep it unproductive. It was noted that this latter view was considered correct. Attention was drawn to this contradiction as a caution, and it was advised that greater care should be taken in reviewing correspondence before it was sent, so that contradictory statements might be avoided. It was clarified that this did not mean that errors should be maintained once recognised, but that consistency and accuracy should be ensured. It was further noted that, in the forty-third paragraph, there had been a promise to provide an account of revenues across all branches, along with other matters required by the instructions sent by the *Addington*. It was stated that no such account had been received. Reference was also made to the eighty-sixth paragraph of the *Roebuck* letter, where it had been noted that Mr Alexander had previously sent such accounts after reviewing Company instructions. This omission was taken as evidence of negligence on the part of the former Governor and clerks. Further comment was made on the role of Mr Alexander, who had been instructed by the Governor to prepare an abstract of Company letters in order to determine what information should be sent. It was stated that, if he had subsequently examined whether the clerks had carried out their duties properly, this would have been acceptable. However, it was considered more probable that he had left the matter entirely to the clerks, which was judged to be improper. It was therefore directed that greater diligence should be exercised in such responsibilities. Attention was then drawn to the fifteenth part of the letter received by the *Roebuck*, which discussed the proposal to enclose the Company's large wood. It had been suggested that such an undertaking might not repay its cost. It was directed that this matter should be carefully considered and that the course most beneficial to the Company should be adopted. It was also reported that redwood trees, which were considered

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		therein also said - that the red wood trees which are properest to Build Houses are but very few now, and it is the nature of them seldom to produce young ones: This seems very strange to us, do you try to raise more	most suitable for building, had become scarce and were said to regenerate poorly. This was described as surprising, and it was directed that attempts should be made to cultivate additional trees. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Waste Land" referred to land not currently cultivated or generating income, often considered suitable for leasing to settlers. "Abstract" referred to a summary or digest of longer documents, used here to identify required actions from Company instructions. "Red wood trees" referred to timber valued for construction, though not necessarily identical to modern species known by that name. **Speculations** The contradiction over land policy suggests uncertainty or shifting priorities in how Company assets should be managed. The concern over diminishing timber resources indicates the growing importance of sustainable resource management on the island.
273	261	square, and if one piece of ground is not kindly, try another, for it is very Necessary to have usefull Timber and in Quantity on S^{t}. Helena - because of the great Charge in sending supplys. - We are told you have good Maiz or Indian Corn that it will thrive well if planted in proper places is much better than Yams, because it takes much less firing & is proper to feed the poultry besides the talk is very dispute if this be so Encourage the Increase of it. - Fourthly touching our Fortifications, Buildings and Garrison Stores. - We shall Refer you to former Letters touching the Buildings of all kinds, wherein you will see our Intentions which we recommend to you to take care be speedily, strongly and frugally performed and when so done to be allways well looked after and repaired as often as there is occasion. there being now peace We are not so much in haste to have any remaining part of the Fortifications speedily finished as thereby to take off any of our Blacks from the Necessary works of raising grain and other affairs Relating to the Plantations much less to pay Eighteen pence ℔ day for the Planters Blacks and yett those excepted we would have you hasten - what remains to be done as soon and as well as you can. But first to - finish the Necessary Storehouses which We would have Built Strong and Commodious. One for Arrack and all other Liquids, one for India goods, One for Europe Commoditys and a fourth for Navall Stores, then for Building the Necessary rooms, or Ware houses for Lime, Cut stone & other Materials fit to be housed after the Necessary work Ships for Carpenters or other Artificers and for the Barracks and other Buildings.	It was directed that, if one piece of ground proved unsuitable for growing timber, other locations should be tried, as it was considered essential that useful timber be produced in sufficient quantity on St Helena. This necessity arose from the high cost of importing such materials from elsewhere. It was reported that maize, or Indian corn, had been found to grow well in suitable locations. It was stated that it was considered superior to yams, as it required less firing and could be used to feed poultry. It was noted that this claim remained uncertain, and it was therefore directed that its cultivation should be encouraged and tested further. Under the subject of fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, reference was made to earlier letters outlining the intended approach. It was reiterated that all construction should be carried out promptly, solidly and with economy, and that completed works should be properly maintained and repaired as needed. It was observed that, since peace had been established, there was less urgency to complete the remaining fortifications. It was therefore directed that labour should not be diverted from essential agricultural work, particularly the cultivation of grain and the management of plantations. It was also stated that the practice of hiring planters' slaves at a cost of eighteen pence per day should be avoided where possible. Despite this, it was directed that the remaining works should still be completed as efficiently as circumstances allowed. Priority was to be given to the construction of necessary storehouses, which were to be built in a strong and practical manner. It was specified that separate storehouses should be provided for arrack and other liquids, for goods received from India, for commodities from Europe and for naval stores. Additional buildings were to be constructed for storing lime, cut stone and other materials requiring protection, as well as workshops for carpenters and other craftsmen. Provision was also to be made for barracks and other essential buildings. **Interpretations** "Firing" referred to the preparation of land for cultivation, often involving burning vegetation, a labour-intensive process. "Naval stores" referred to materials required for ship maintenance, such as tar, pitch and rope. "Artificers" referred to skilled tradesmen, including carpenters and other craftsmen employed in construction. **Speculations** The emphasis on maize cultivation suggests

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			experimentation with crops better suited to local conditions and labour constraints. The shift in priorities after the establishment of peace indicates a rebalancing from military urgency towards economic sustainability.
274	262	Buildings for the Military & many of those Plantation yet to be done. - The late Governour Boucher in the Explanation of the Plan which he calls of prospective Draughts of the works now intended at S^{t}. Helena sent by the John and Elizabeth says that his reason for projecting all these Buildings Viz^{ze}: The Storehouses, Warehouses, Guards house and Work house (near the Fort) was that the Governour had them allways under his Eye and that of a good Guard and we approve of his so doing, provided they be strong, commodious and frugally performed as he promised they should. - You will easily observe we are willing to be at any reasonable charge for supplying all the wants of the Place, if it be incumbent on you to take care nothing be made that is superfluous and as this charge of Building has lain for severall years heavy upon us - We hope you will speedily put an end to it, and contract the Expence of the Island into a much narrower Compass. - We have by the Rochester sent all the Carriages desired by the Stores Lists for the great Guns and given strict Orders they be made according to the Dimensions therein desired, Put the old carriages when unfit for Service to the best use you can for our Interest or Sell them. - We have not this Season sent the 8 long Demi Cannon Guns with Field Carriages for the new West Battery as desired in said List being assured there are guns on the Island will serve for that Battery, and that you have not hands enough fully Manage the great Guns you have, wherefore remove some of them accordingly if on your examination you shall be of opinion the said Demi Cannon or	It was observed that various buildings required for the military and for plantation purposes remained incomplete. It was noted that Governor Boucher, in his explanation of the plans described as prospective drafts of the intended works at St Helena, which had been sent by the *John and Elizabeth*, had justified the construction of storehouses, warehouses, a guardhouse and a workhouse near the Fort. The reason given was that these structures would remain under the constant observation of the Governor and a proper guard. This reasoning was approved, provided that the buildings were constructed in a strong, practical and economical manner, as had been promised. It was stated that there was willingness to incur reasonable expense to supply the needs of the island. At the same time, it was emphasised that care must be taken to avoid unnecessary construction. It was noted that the cost of building had weighed heavily upon the Company for several years. It was therefore expected that this burden would be brought to an end as soon as possible and that the overall expense of maintaining the island would be reduced significantly. It was recorded that, by the *Rochester*, all the gun carriages requested in the store lists for the large guns had been sent, with strict instructions that they should be constructed according to the specified dimensions. It was directed that old carriages, once unfit for service, should be put to the best possible use or sold for the Company's benefit. It was further stated that eight long demi-cannon with field carriages, requested for the new West Battery, had not been sent during that season. This decision had been made on the understanding that sufficient guns were already present on the island and that there were not enough personnel available to operate the existing artillery. It was therefore directed that, if necessary upon examination, guns should be redistributed to meet defensive needs. The passage concluded before the instruction regarding the demi-cannon was fully completed. **Interpretations** "Prospective draughts" referred to architectural or engineering plans showing intended designs for construction. "Demi Cannon" referred to a type of artillery piece, smaller than a full cannon but still significant in defensive capability. "Battery" referred to a fortified position equipped with artillery for defensive purposes. **Speculations** The decision not to send additional artillery suggests that manpower constraints were as significant as material shortages in determining defensive capability. The continued concern over building costs indicates that construction had been a prolonged and financially burdensome aspect of the island's administration.
275	263	or any other Guns are stopp'd at that Battery, let us know it that we may send them by the first Ship! Whilstever old broken or useles Guns, or other heavy Iron or worn out Stores shall be found on the Island, advise the particulars by the first, that we may Order a Bencoolen ship to call for such Iron to serve here as Tuntauge by which means the same may turn to our home account. -	It was directed that, if upon examination any guns were found to be lacking at the West Battery or elsewhere, notice should be given so that they might be supplied by the first available ship. It was further ordered that any old, broken or unusable guns, as well as other heavy iron or worn-out stores found on the island, should be reported in detail. This would enable arrangements to be made for a ship from Bencoolen to collect such materials, so that they might be returned for use in England.

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		If we can procure a Surgeon and Gunner able, sober and Ingenious you may expect them and in that case if those who now officiate therein are fit & willing to serve under them they may or else remain at Vantons on the Island or go to Bencoolen, or return home as they like best. - Some of the Soldiers on this Ship say they are Bricklayers & can make Tyles, if you find it so, detain two or three of them with you, if we can procure two or three Artists at Tyle making, He shall advise by the Packet, but do'nt you under pretences of this take any other of our Soldiers - because they are intended for as much wanted at Bencoolen. - In Perusing the four Lists of [Gunner's?] Stores referred from the 25th March 1710 to the 25th March 1713, We find severall things lyable to objection, and we expect you take care to remedy them because by the best enquiry We can make We suffer thereby Viz: The small Guns which he calls saulthons, He charges a pound of Powder for each Discharge on alarms &c: this we are told is too much and in the Totall amounts to a considerable Quantity, he likewise charges in one of the four Accounts Two hundred and Six pounds weight of Powder, as expended on the guards and at Funeralls, and in another Account one hundred and forty five pounds for the same - It appears to us this Charge is only for the small Guns, We observe further that notwithstanding	It was stated that, if suitable and competent individuals could be obtained, a surgeon and a gunner would be sent to the island. In that case, those currently performing those duties might either continue in subordinate roles, remain on the island in other capacities, transfer to Bencoolen or return to England, according to their preference. It was reported that some soldiers aboard the ship claimed to be bricklayers capable of making tiles. It was directed that, if this proved true, two or three of them should be retained on the island. It was also stated that, if skilled tile-makers could be obtained, they would be sent later. It was emphasised that no additional soldiers should be retained under this pretext, as they were required at Bencoolen. Upon review of four lists of gunner's stores covering the period from 25 March 1710 to 25 March 1713, several issues were identified. It was noted that the small guns, described as "saulthons", had been charged at a rate of one pound of powder per discharge during alarms. This was considered excessive, and it was observed that the total quantity expended in this manner amounted to a significant sum. It was also recorded that, in one account, 206 pounds weight of powder had been charged for use by the guards and at funerals, while another account recorded 145 pounds for the same purposes. It was suggested that these charges related only to the small guns. The passage concluded before further observations were given. **Interpretations** "Saulthons" probably referred to small swivel guns or light artillery pieces, often mounted for signalling or defence. "Tuntauge" referred to ballast or heavy material carried in ships, here implying that scrap iron could be transported as useful weight. "Artists" in this context referred to skilled craftsmen, particularly those with specialised trades such as tile-making. **Speculations** The scrutiny of gunpowder usage suggests concern over waste or possible misreporting in military stores. The intention to recover scrap iron indicates an effort to extract value from otherwise discarded materials in a resource-limited environment.
276	264	Notwithstanding our Orders to the Contrary there has been a great expence of Powder on account of Salutes more than we directed, for every Ship of ours that comes in or departs generally eleven or nine Guns and when the fleet went away in July 1712 there is three hundred Eighty five pound weight of Powder charg'd as expended and One hundred thirty four Guns fir'd of which it is said Twenty of your greatest Guns on the Place; these we think too much and for the future expect better Oe[dering?]. As to the English Men of War who to be sure will & are proper have Shot upon Vanelts, We leave that to your discretion to act as occasion requires: But as to our own, or other Ships, observe former Rules for abateing that superfluity, if any of them stand on a Vanelt, keep you to our Orders and let us know who disputes with you after having told them what those Orders are. We allow the number of Guns fired on the days of Publick solemnity, such as the Queens birth day, Coronation	It was observed that, despite previous orders to the contrary, an excessive quantity of gunpowder had been expended on salutes. It was noted that, for Company ships arriving or departing, nine or eleven guns were commonly fired. It was further recorded that, when the fleet departed in July 1712, a total of 385 pounds weight of powder had been charged as used, with 134 guns fired, including twenty of the largest guns on the island. This was considered excessive, and it was directed that more careful regulation should be exercised in future. It was stated that discretion might be applied in the case of English men-of-war, as they might properly expect such honours. However, for Company ships and others, earlier instructions limiting such expenditure were to be followed. It was directed that, if any captain insisted upon additional salutes beyond those authorised, the established orders should be adhered to and any disputes reported. It was further directed that the firing of guns on public occasions, such as the Queen's birthday and Coronation Day, might continue as previously allowed. However, it was stated that excessive salutes for private events were not to be permitted. It was specifically noted that 20 guns had been fired at the funerals of Mr Mashborne and Mr Hoskinson, and 21 guns at Mr Mashborne's wedding and at the Governor's landing. These were judged excessive, and it was ordered that a smaller number should be used in future.

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		day &c: but not to do so for others, such as Twenty Guns at Mr: Marshbornes and the same at Mr: Hoskinson Funeralls, One and Twenty Guns at Mr: Marshbornes Wedding and the same at the governours landing, these are too many a smaller Number ought to serve; and hereafter we expect they shall. It is not the charge we so much find fault with for that is not great as to these, but to put a stop to all needles Charges and Superfluitys, and thereby Introduce a more frugal management which is allways Convenient but now become absolutely Necessary, considering how much our Island has of late by loss and ill management took us in even beyond former times, notwithstanding Capt: Bouchers information of saving us a great expence. Another Observation we must make is, that by what appears to us, no Body has examined the Gunners Accounts &c: &c: if the	It was emphasised that the primary concern was not the immediate cost of these salutes, which was relatively small, but the need to prevent unnecessary expenditure and to establish a more economical system of management. It was stated that such frugality had become essential due to the financial losses and mismanagement recently experienced on the island, despite claims by Captain Boucher that savings had been achieved. It was also observed that, based on the available information, no proper examination of the gunner's accounts had been conducted. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Salutes" referred to ceremonial firing of guns, often used to honour ships, officials or significant occasions. "Men-of-war" referred to naval warships, typically belonging to the Royal Navy, entitled to formal recognition. "Oeconomy" referred to the careful management of resources, particularly financial restraint in administration. **Speculations** The detailed attention to ceremonial gunfire suggests that symbolic displays had become an area of unchecked expenditure. The absence of oversight of the gunner's accounts indicates a broader failure of internal controls within the island's administration.
277	265	Gunners and Councill had. We suppose they would have signed them and otherwise entered the Orders in Consultation nor have their Accounts of Expence been laid before the Councill Monthly as we Ordered or oftener, that while things were fresh in memory, any Error might be discovered and rectifyed. They had it ought to have been entred in the Consultation Book, (which as be forementioned) should Contain an historical Register of all our affairs that come before you and what you do thereupon & what we write till which - the Expences and drawing out of Stores be Charges ought to be approved or an some of them as seem to us should not, as particularly Sixty seven Swords - fifty gun Belts at one time and fifty Leather Belts at another beside many other things, if they ought it shews great Carelesness to Suffer them to be spoilt, however in the Main the Gunners Accounts as to the method of them are right and must be yearly sent us, if they had been past in Consultation and so wrote upon and signed by the Councill they would have come up to our Orders. - Let Mr. Cleeve know we expect from him Yearly an Account how all our Timber used on the Island is applyed, & what remains, and also that he send us yearly what he thinks further Necessary and for what purposes. We mention this the rather because he writes Governor Boucher would not let him know what He Ordered him to be taken into our Service only Mr. Marsden wrote him so from hence and that there may be no mistake, give him Copy of all this and the 3rd Paragraph of our Letter by the Swanna, by which he will see what we expect	It was observed that, if the gunner's accounts had been properly examined by the Governor and Council, they would have been signed and the relevant orders entered into the Consultation Book. It was further noted that such accounts had not been laid before the Council monthly, as required, nor even more frequently, so that errors might have been detected and corrected while still recent. It was stated that all such matters ought to have been entered in the Consultation Book, which was intended to serve as a complete historical record of all affairs brought before the Council, together with the actions taken and the correspondence received. It was remarked that certain expenses appeared questionable and might not have been approved if properly reviewed. Particular reference was made to the issuing of 67 swords, 50 gun belts at one time and 50 leather belts at another, along with various other items. It was suggested that, if these had been necessary, it demonstrated negligence in allowing them to deteriorate or be wasted. It was nevertheless acknowledged that, in general, the method used in the gunner's accounts was acceptable, provided they were properly reviewed, signed in Council and transmitted annually, as required. It was directed that Mr Cleeve should provide an annual account detailing how all timber on the island had been used and what remained in store. He was also required to report what additional supplies would be needed and for what purposes. It was explained that this instruction was given because Mr Cleeve had reported that Governor Boucher had not informed him of the terms under which he had been taken into service, and that he had only received notice of it from Mr Marsden in England. To prevent any misunderstanding, it was ordered that he be provided with copies of these instructions, as well as the third paragraph of the letter sent by the *Swanna*, so that he might clearly understand what was expected of him. It was clarified that this arrangement was not intended to make Mr Cleeve independent of the Governor and Council. On the contrary, it was required that he follow their orders while also reporting directly on his responsibilities. It was further noted that he had stated that, when he had requested assistance in his

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		from him, We meant by this mean that he should be independant or not look on himself as under you, on the Contrary we require that he follow your Orders and likewise give us an Account, for he tells us, That when he proposed to	duties, he had been refused by the late Governor. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Consultation Book" referred to the official record intended to document all administrative decisions, financial accounts and correspondence. "Gun belts" referred to military equipment used to support or carry firearms, forming part of a soldier's standard issue. "Timber" referred to construction materials essential for building and maintenance on the island. **Speculations** The failure to review and record accounts suggests a broader breakdown in administrative oversight. The complaint made by Mr Cleeve indicates tension between technical officers and the Governor, perhaps affecting efficiency in resource management.
278	266	Governor Boucher that the Smith should not be Interployed but put to Serviceable uses. He turned him out of our Service. Do you take care that some of the Blacks that are most docile, tractable and Ingenious be brought up under him to learn to do Joyners and Carpenters work, and let Mr. Cleeve know, when we are assured He has made good workmen of them We will Consider him by a Suitable gratuity. - In Perusing the Papers in the Packets We have thought fit to take Notice of the following particulars Viz: The List of Lands whether Free or hire that had been measured Vested and Entered in the Register Book, and to whom belonging - with the names of such Persons whose Lands had not been measured when the John & Elizabeth left St. Helena We approve in part, But it is deficient in this that no Body signs it, nor has it been by what appears approved in Council, for the future send the List yearly Signed by the Council that we may thereby see who are free who are Leaseholders, and for what number of Acres of each, This is often usefull, sometimes necessary for us to know. - The same complaint of want of Signing We must make of the Lists of our Covenant Servants & Military &c^{a}, nor is the Salary, pay, or Wages paid to any of them which must never hereafter be omitted. The List of Soldiers received by the Abingdon is well done because signed by the Clerk, but the Notice of paying the Surgeon six shillings p^{r} head should have also been mentioned in the Generall Letter. The Account of Plantations bought and Sold should have been signed, especially considering we have no Accounts to examine - whether the Articles are right. -	It was reported that Governor Boucher had ordered that the smith should not be employed in his proper trade, but instead be put to other forms of labour, and that he had subsequently been dismissed from Company service. It was directed that suitable slaves, being those most capable and willing to learn, should be trained under a competent artisan to acquire skills in joinery and carpentry. It was further stated that, when it was demonstrated that effective craftsmen had been produced in this manner, a suitable gratuity would be granted to Mr Cleeve in recognition of his efforts. Upon examination of the documents contained in the packets, several deficiencies were identified. A list of lands, whether freehold or leased, which had been measured, assigned and entered into the register, together with the names of their holders and of those whose lands had not yet been measured at the time the *John and Elizabeth* departed St Helena, was approved in part. However, it was noted that the list lacked signatures and had not been formally approved in Council. It was therefore ordered that such lists be submitted annually, duly signed by the Council, so that the distinction between freeholders and leaseholders, and the acreage held by each, might be clearly understood. It was further observed that lists of covenant servants and military personnel had similarly not been signed. It was also noted that the salaries, pay or wages of these individuals had not been included. It was directed that such omissions must not occur in future. It was acknowledged that the list of soldiers received by the *Abingdon* had been properly prepared, as it had been signed by the clerk. However, it was stated that the payment of six shillings per head to the surgeon should also have been recorded in the general letter. It was also directed that accounts relating to the purchase and sale of plantations should be signed, particularly given that no accompanying accounts had been provided to verify the accuracy of the entries. **Interpretations** "Free or hire" referred to land held either in freehold ownership or under lease from the Company. "Register Book" referred to the official record in which land ownership and tenure were documented. "Gratuity" referred to a discretionary payment awarded for satisfactory service or achievement. **Speculations** The insistence on signatures suggests concern that unauthorised or unverified records could undermine administrative accountability. The emphasis on training skilled labour among slaves indicates an attempt to reduce dependence on imported craftsmen and improve local self-sufficiency.
279	267	We find in the Packett a List of Lands Leased out since Governour	It was observed that a list of lands leased since the arrival of Governor Boucher had been included in the

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		Bouchers arrivall, which we take Notice of that you may not Omit actually what you leave out, It may be pickt out here from the Consultation Books, if the Entry there be allowably made, but we expect it from you because a very little time will do it. - All these Lists together with that from the Chaplain and printed as in his letter may be prepared and approved by the Councill before you send your Packett's, Less heavy upon you, so that no ready to be put up on very little warning, and by having it before you may be duly considered and settl'd and if more of conveyance presents Duplicates may be also prepared & worked. - Pray Inquire particularly into the following Complaint laid before us Viz: That since the Guns have been mounted at Munden's Point Battery, the Battery at Rupert's Valley hath been demolisht, which has given the Planters great dissatisfactions, for that they say an Enemy might if resolute Land at that Valley, the Beach being commodious for Boats coming a Shoar, That Mundens Point cannot sufficiently command that place and if the Enemy comes a Shoar, they have liberty to range and nothing to oppose them, how far this is true in part or in whole let us know with your opinion for our further Orders or if you see it absolutely Necessary, do in the interim what you think meet. - On perusing the Consultation Book besides what before Mention'd We have thought fit to direct as follows Viz[t].	packet. This was noted as a reminder that such information should not be omitted in future. It was stated that, although such details might be extracted from the Consultation Book if properly recorded there, they were nevertheless expected to be provided directly, as the effort required to compile them was minimal. It was further directed that all such lists, including those provided by the chaplain, should be prepared and approved by the Council before the dispatch of packets. It was explained that this would reduce difficulty at the time of sending, as the documents would already be complete and ready. It was also noted that, by having them prepared in advance, they could be carefully reviewed and corrected. Where additional opportunities for conveyance arose, duplicates could then be easily prepared and dispatched. Attention was drawn to a specific complaint requiring investigation. It had been reported that, since guns had been mounted at Munden's Point Battery, the battery at Rupert's Valley had been dismantled. This action was said to have caused dissatisfaction among the planters, who believed that the valley provided a convenient landing place for enemy boats. It was further alleged that Munden's Point did not adequately command that area, and that, if an enemy landed there, they would be able to move freely without opposition. It was directed that this matter be carefully examined and that a full report be provided, including an opinion on the validity of the complaint. It was also stated that, if immediate action was considered necessary, appropriate measures should be taken pending further instructions. It was finally noted that, upon reviewing the Consultation Book, additional matters had been identified requiring direction. The passage concluded before these were specified. **Interpretations** "Munden's Point Battery" referred to a fortified artillery position intended to defend a specific coastal approach on St Helena. "Rupert's Valley" referred to a geographical location on the island, significant as a potential landing site. "Packet" referred to the official collection of documents and correspondence sent between St Helena and England. **Speculations** The removal of one defensive position in favour of another suggests a strategic reorganisation that may not have fully considered local geographical vulnerabilities. The concern raised by planters indicates that civilian perspectives were sometimes at odds with military decision-making on the island.
280	268	That there be annually sent us a Copy of all Titles prov'd and stated with you, as is done from all parts of India. - That you let us know what is become of that Land which Mr: Watson fenced in and desired should not be measur'd &c we leave barren, for we can find no Report of it. the Mr. Bazett and Mr. Saxon were Ordered the 1st of December to examine whether the Leases should be granted. - That you dismiss Edward Collier, Grand Child of Sutten Grace from being a Soldier; if as the Consultation says. He was but fourteen years of Age and was listed that his pay might be a help to his Grandfathers or to lessen his Debt to the Company or for other Compassion you should see fit to continue him that you never again	It was directed that a copy of all land titles proved and recorded on the island should be sent annually, in the same manner as was done in other Company settlements in India. It was further required that information be provided concerning the land enclosed by Mr Watson, which he had requested should not be measured and was said to have been left uncultivated. It was noted that no report had been received on this matter, although Mr Bazett and Mr Saxon had been ordered on 1 December 1713 to examine whether leases should be granted for it. It was ordered that Edward Collier, described as the grandchild of Sutten Grace, should be dismissed from military service if, as recorded in the Consultation, he had been only 14 years of age at the time of his enlistment. It was observed that his enrolment had been allowed so that his pay might assist his grandfather or reduce a debt owed to the Company, or for other compassionate reasons. It was stated that, if he were retained in service under such considerations, this must

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		make a second Precedent of this kind. - That hereafter whensoever any Persons come before the Council to prove their Titles to the Land they Claim, Do not make proof thereof to your Satisfaction, It be accordingly stated in the consultation, our reason is, because we find severall of the Eight who produced their Deeds, your Consultations say they have a just & Legal title thereto, but for others of them there is no mention whether they had a just Title or know, and yet in the Lists of the Inhabitants received by the John and Elizabeth and the other by the Heroe where you mention the Land they hold, which suppose their Titles to be ascertained. - We would not hinder Persons buying Lands one of another but recommend to you to revive the antient standing Law of the Island and as well as you can to accommodate the matter, that we may have one white Man to such a number of Acres or thereabouts, for we ought not	not be allowed to establish a precedent for similar cases in future. It was also directed that, whenever individuals appeared before the Council to prove their claims to land, and failed to satisfy the Council of their title, this should be explicitly recorded in the Consultation Book. It was explained that this instruction was necessary because, in some cases, it had been recorded that certain individuals possessed valid legal titles, while for others no such determination had been noted. Despite this, lists of inhabitants sent by the *John and Elizabeth* and the *Heroe* had recorded the lands they held, implying that their titles had been accepted. It was therefore required that the status of all such claims be clearly recorded. It was stated that the buying and selling of land between individuals should not be prevented. However, it was recommended that the longstanding law of the island be revived and applied, so that a proportion might be maintained between the number of white inhabitants and the acreage of land held. This was considered necessary for proper settlement and management. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Titles" referred to legal claims or rights to land, which required formal proof and recognition by the Council. "Consultation Book" referred to the official record in which decisions, including judgments on land ownership, were to be entered. "Standing Law of the Island" referred to established local regulations governing land distribution and settlement patterns. **Speculations** The concern over unclear land titles suggests ongoing disputes and administrative inconsistency in property rights. The emphasis on maintaining a ratio of land to population indicates an attempt to regulate settlement in a way that supported both defence and agricultural productivity.
281	269	not to render that Law of no Effect, because then the Standing Militia of the Island will be too much Diminish'd. That you annually keep up the Orders mentioned in the Instructions, and in Consultation of the 7th March for the Inhabitants to give in, in writing signed an Account of their Familys, Land, Cattle, Blacks, and also the Account in writing to the proper Officer of all their Neat Cattle turned out upon our Commoning or waste Land as it is sometimes called. That you encourage the Fishery all you can, for whatsoever is gotten costs very little, being Chiefly Labour, That you Employ a proper number of our Slaves and others in our pay therein taking care the Fish be immediately salted and well cured, by this means, the Blacks will have a good supply of more heartening food than yams and you enough to furnish our Ships when they want and to sell to the Inhabitants, which is more Necessary now than ever, because of the great decrease of the live Cattle, We approve the Conditions Mention'd in the Consultation of the 14th May for the Inhabitants and Soldiers, making use of our Boat to Catch fish & whale and think it was prudently and Charitably done to	The letter emphasised the importance of maintaining the longstanding law of the island, which regulated land ownership and settlement, to avoid weakening the militia. It was also stressed that the law's effect should not be nullified, as it would lead to a significant reduction in the militia's strength. It was directed that the orders outlined in the Instructions and in the Consultation of 7 March be followed annually, with inhabitants required to submit written accounts of their families, land, cattle, slaves, and the cattle grazing on common or waste land. This information was to be submitted to the proper officer. The purpose was to ensure accurate records of property and livestock management. The letter encouraged the expansion of the fishery, noting that fish caught were inexpensive to process, requiring mostly labour. Slaves and others employed by the Company were to be tasked with fishing, and it was essential that the fish be salted and preserved immediately. This initiative was seen as a way to provide the slaves with more nutritious food than just yams and ensure the availability of fish to sell to the inhabitants. The letter also highlighted the ongoing decline in livestock and acknowledged the approval of earlier measures aimed at involving the inhabitants and soldiers in fishing activities, which were deemed both practical and charitable. Additionally, there was a directive to ensure the breeding and taming of asses, with regular updates on the number of animals in the herd. Lastly, it was mentioned that Captain Roberts had made progress in providing a more reliable water supply for the island's

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		encourage them on that occasion. Take great care of the Asses to encrease the breed and make them tame & fitt for Service, Send us an Account how many you have of each Sort. We understand that Captain Roberts during his Government of St. Helena had made a good progress in conveying the Water to convenient places for allowing the Garrison in Dry seasons of the year and that if he had stay'd a while longer, He had accomplish'd it.	garrison, which would have been completed if he had stayed longer. **Interpretations** "Standing Militia" refers to the permanent military force on the island, crucial for its defence. "Commoning or waste land" denotes land not individually owned, typically used for grazing. "The Consultation of the 14 May" refers to a specific record of decisions made regarding the island's operations, which included agreements on the use of boats for fishing. "Asses" refers to domesticated donkeys, which were important for transport and labour on the island. "Water conveyance for the garrison" refers to the project of bringing water to designated areas on the island, improving access during dry periods. **Speculations** The concern about the militia's strength indicates the island's vulnerability, and its military capabilities were directly linked to the effectiveness of land distribution and settlement laws. The push to expand the fishery may have been prompted by the declining availability of livestock and the need for an alternative food source for both the inhabitants and the garrison. Captain Roberts' water supply project suggests that, despite efforts to improve living conditions, there were persistent infrastructure challenges on the island.
282	270	As this seems to us so absolutely Necessary that we recommend it earnestly to you to use your utmost endeavours to Effect it. - The late Governour Captain Boucher having desired to come home and another being Constituted in his Place, He goes being about so to do, He must first Settle with you the Accounts of what is committed to his care or has come to his hands either from hence or from the East Indies, or for which he has drawn Bills on us since his entering on the Government. If any thing remains due to us on the Ballance, let an Account Currant be stated and signed by him and you, and do you the Governour and Councill now constituted receive the said Ballance from him and then give him proper discharges when he has complied on his part and also made good the Damage before herein mentioned, this we think is absolutely Necessary to be first done before he goes off the Island, because all the proofs of his sides and ours are there to be had in Order to making up Accounts, when this is done, Order the Captain of any Ship in the road He chooses to take passage to receive him on board, and treat him with Civility in the Voyage to England and that he may have no just reason for complaint do you your parts in speedily settling all the Accounts with him. - If there should be a Ballance due from him more than he can pay on St. Helena, then so soon as the Account Currant is stated and signed by him that he agrees thereto and is willing to take a Bond for that remainder, that of one Surety to pay the same here to the Company and	The letter outlined the necessity of settling all financial matters related to the former Governor, Captain Boucher, before his departure from the island. It was stated that Captain Boucher was required to settle accounts for all funds, goods, or bills drawn on behalf of the Company during his time in office. If there was an outstanding balance owed to the Company, an account was to be drawn up, signed by both him and the newly appointed Governor and Council, and the balance was to be paid before his departure. Once these financial matters were resolved, it was directed that the new Governor and Council ensure that Captain Boucher was allowed to embark on a ship of his choice and that he was treated with civility during his voyage to England. If Captain Boucher was unable to pay the full balance before leaving, it was instructed that he provide a bond with one surety to ensure the debt would be paid to the Company upon his return to England. This bond was to be witnessed by the ship's officers or other appropriate personnel returning to England and sent via two separate ships for security. These measures were put in place to ensure that all financial matters were fully resolved before Captain Boucher's departure, preventing further complications or complaints during his voyage. **Interpretations** "Account Currant" refers to a current account or statement of financial transactions. "Ballance due" refers to the remaining amount owed to the Company. "Bond with one Surety" indicates a legal guarantee that someone would ensure the payment of a debt if the principal debtor was unable to do so. "ComMarsdenor" likely refers to the senior officer or person in charge of the ship. **Speculations** The detailed measures for settling Captain Boucher's accounts before his departure indicated concerns about financial transparency and accountability, likely due to past issues with mismanagement or disputes over financial matters. The inclusion of a surety bond reflected the Company's desire to secure payment, even if Captain Boucher could not immediately settle his debt. This suggested

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		let the ComMarsdenor Mates or other proper Persons who are returning to England be Witness thereto and to the Account Currant one of those Bonds send by the Ship he takes passage on a second by another good Ship, and keep the third by you but send a Copy of it by a third Conveyance. We are Your Loving Friends	that the Company aimed to ensure financial stability and prevent any outstanding issues that might disrupt operations or relationships with returning personnel.
283	271	P.S. We have advanced to Mr. Man Surgeon of S^{t}. Helena Twenty pounds out of his Salary which is to be the same as usually allowed to others so you deduct it accordingly, and to Mr. Marshborne fifty pounds and to Mr. Tovey forty pounds on the like Accounts. London 4th Feb^{ry} 1714 Our Governour and Council of S^{t}. Helena Our Last to you was by the Rochester dated the 5th March 1713 which being received we don't send its Duplicate, since that time We have had the following Letters from the Island Viz^{t}. of the 31st March 1713 by the Abingdon, of the 5th May by the Stretham, of the 29th May by the Marlborough and of the 28th June by the Recovery with the Copys of the Preceding Letters which should have been duplicated, that is to say should have been Sign'd by the Governour and Council, and henceforward we expect they be, because a Letter signed gives it the better authority and a better Voucher to prove every part of its contents, when Necessary to do, than if be only a copy. We have likewise your Letter of the 31st July last brought to by the Master of Mr. Lidwells Vessel the Mercury Sloop, By the aforementioned Ships We have received Letters from Mr. Bagett, Mr. Tomlinson our Chaplain, Mr. Free, Mr. Cleeve, the	It was recorded in a postscript that advances had been made against salaries. It was stated that £20 had been paid in advance to Mr Man, surgeon at St Helena, and that this sum was to be deducted from his salary in the same manner as was customary for others. It was also recorded that £50 had been advanced to Mr Marshborne and £40 to Mr Tovey on similar terms. A letter dated 4 February 1715 from London to the Governor and Council of St Helena then followed. It was stated that the last correspondence sent had been by the *Rochester*, dated 5 March 1713, and that, as it had been received, no duplicate was sent. It was further recorded that subsequent letters had been received from the island, namely one dated 31 March 1713 sent by the *Abingdon*, another dated 5 May 1713 by the *Stretham*, one dated 29 May 1713 by the *Marlborough* and one dated 28 June 1713 by the *Recovery*. It was observed that copies of earlier letters had accompanied these, but that they had not been properly duplicated, as they had not been signed by the Governor and Council. It was directed that, in future, all such duplicate letters should be signed. It was explained that a signed letter carried greater authority and served as stronger evidence of its contents when required. It was also noted that a further letter dated 31 July 1713 had been received, brought by the master of Mr Lidwell's vessel, the *Mercury* sloop. It was recorded that, by the ships mentioned, letters had also been received from several individuals, including Mr Bagett, Mr Tomlinson the chaplain, Mr Free and Mr Cleeve. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Duplicate" referred to a second copy of an official letter, sent separately to ensure delivery if the original were lost. "Voucher" referred to documentary proof used to support the authenticity or accuracy of a statement or account. "Advance" referred to money paid beforehand against a salary, to be deducted later. **Speculations** The insistence on signed duplicates suggests ongoing concern about the reliability and authority of communications between St Helena and London. The listing of multiple ships carrying correspondence indicates the importance of redundancy in communication across long maritime routes, where loss was a constant risk.
284	272	the Carpenter and a Petition from Joseph Thomlinson. To all these we shall give Answers for so far as we think proper under the following generall heads and add the further Necessary Orders, Remarks, Observations, Prohibitions and Cautions in their proper Places. - The Letter by the Susannah which you say cannot be found and as you hear was carryed away by the late Governour Boucher. We now send Copy of for your Information and Observance. Know	It was stated that letters had also been received from the carpenter and that a petition had been submitted by Joseph Thomlinson. It was declared that replies would be given to these communications where considered appropriate, under the established general headings, together with any additional orders, remarks, observations, prohibitions and cautions in their proper places. It was noted that the letter sent by the *Susannah*, which had been reported as missing and said to have been taken away by the late Governor Boucher, was now being resent in copy for information and compliance. Attention was drawn to the instructions dated 5 March 1713, in which it had been ordered that

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		Instructions to you of the 5th March aforesaid, you will find We Order you to draw out Extracts of all the Companys Letters to Sᵗ. Helena - relating to every distinct Branch of the affairs under your care. We expect to hear by the next that is compleated for so far as you had the Letters which we suppose are the whole except that by the Susannah. and on receipt thereof with this, that you will add these Sheets, ranging every Clause and Order Negative or positive, each under its proper head. And then from the whole draw out a full Extract or Contents of every Article as to the Substance of it, which Enter in a proper Book to lye on the Councill Table for your and our Governours and Councills for the time being their Notice and direction in all time coming and leave therein Blank Spaces to add any new Orders under each head that may hereafter be received from hence. - This if carefully performed as We expect it shall be will take up some time in collecting, compiling and Methodizing, but when once done will be of great use to you and all your Successors. We recommend this matter to the care of our Governour more particularly he taking to his assistance the Secretary and any others if Necessary. By which means We hope he and they will be very careful in doing it, for as he has not any particular Charge upon him to take up his time as the Accountant am.	extracts should be made from all Company letters sent to St Helena, arranged according to each distinct branch of affairs under the Council's care. It was required that, by the next opportunity, this work should be reported as completed, at least for all letters then in possession, which were presumed to include all except that sent by the *Susannah*. Upon receipt of that missing letter, it was directed that its contents, together with the present instructions, should be incorporated into the same system. Each clause and order, whether directive or prohibitive, was to be placed under its appropriate heading. It was further instructed that, from this arrangement, a complete abstract or summary of every article should be prepared, expressing its substance. This was to be entered into a designated book to be kept on the Council table, for the continual guidance of the Governor and Council in office. It was also directed that blank spaces be left under each heading, so that future orders might be inserted as they were received. It was acknowledged that this task would require time and effort in collecting, organising and arranging the material. However, it was emphasised that, once completed, it would prove of lasting benefit to the administration and to all future office holders. It was therefore particularly recommended to the Governor, who was to undertake the work with the assistance of the Secretary and others as needed. It was expected that this arrangement would ensure careful execution, especially as the Governor did not bear a specific departmental responsibility that would otherwise occupy his time. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Extracts" referred to organised summaries or selections of key instructions drawn from official correspondence. "Negative or positive orders" referred to prohibitions and directives respectively, indicating what must not be done and what must be done. "Abstract" referred to a condensed summary capturing the essential substance of a document. **Speculations** The requirement to systematise all prior instructions suggests that administrative confusion had arisen from scattered and poorly organised correspondence. The emphasis placed on the Governor's role in compiling this record indicates an attempt to strengthen central oversight and continuity in governance.
285	273	and others have, It will take the more leisure in the Intervals of Shipping to Compleat this therefore needs get those old Necessary Regards to the Generall affairs of the rest which is his Charge, which must not be neglected. You will sometimes find the Paragraphs in our former Letters very large occasion'd by our reasoning and Expostulations on the Mistakes or Difficulties relating to the Complaints of but the rule wherein laid down is usually but Short and is that alone is to be taken Notice of, Copyed in the Book for use, and to be collect'd with short Memorandums annex'd if the reason for giving it. when the whole is drawn out, it must be Examined by the Councills Consultation and then send us an attested Copy thereof for our direction to see if the whole answers our Intention. Put in the margins the date of the Letters and by what Ships received and the number	It was acknowledged that the Governor, having fewer specific departmental duties than others, would have greater opportunity during intervals between shipping to complete the required compilation of extracts. It was nevertheless emphasised that this task must not interfere with his general responsibility for the overall management of the island's affairs, which was not to be neglected. It was observed that many paragraphs in earlier letters were lengthy due to explanations and arguments concerning complaints or difficulties, but that the essential rules contained within them were generally brief. It was therefore directed that only these concise rules should be extracted and entered into the book for use, accompanied by short notes explaining the reasons for their issuance where necessary. It was further instructed that, once the entire compilation had been prepared, it should be examined in Council and then an attested copy sent to England. This would allow verification that the work had been properly completed and that it accurately reflected the intended instructions. It was directed that the margins should include the dates of the original letters, the ships by which they were received and the paragraph

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		of the Paragraphs, by this means you may the more readily on any occasion to the State of them should be doubt of the full meaning of the Extracts or any of them, and those who shall Examine it here will be in like manner the better enabled to search and see if the selection be Compleat and nothing Omitted. - To prevent in all times coming the Embezzling or any other Loss of the Generall Letters which have been or shall be sent to S^{t}. Helena Let a proper office be appointed for the Secretary or Clerk of the Councill with Convenient Presses and Drawers, wherein to put them and all other Books, Papers, Records, Accounts and Writings belonging to us or the Generall affairs of the Island each Sort by themselves. Take care that within a Convenient time after the receipt of our Packett from hence our Generalls Letters and any other necessary Papers relating thereto be	numbers. This method would enable both the Council on the island and the authorities in England to refer back easily to the original documents if clarification were required, and to confirm that nothing had been omitted. It was also ordered that measures be taken to prevent the loss or embezzlement of general letters and other official papers. A proper office was to be established for the Secretary or Clerk of the Council, equipped with suitable presses and drawers for the orderly storage of documents. It was directed that all books, papers, records, accounts and writings relating to the Company or the general affairs of the island should be arranged systematically, with each category kept separately. It was further required that, within a reasonable time after receipt of any packet from England, all general letters and related papers should be properly filed and secured in this office. This arrangement was intended to ensure their preservation and ready accessibility for reference when needed. **Interpretations** "Attested copy" referred to a certified version of a document, formally verified as accurate. "Presses and drawers" referred to storage furniture used for organising and preserving documents in an administrative office. "Packet" referred to a bundle of official correspondence transmitted by ship. **Speculations** The detailed instructions for extracting and organising prior orders suggest that earlier confusion had arisen from dispersed and poorly structured documentation. The emphasis on secure storage indicates that the loss or misplacement of official correspondence had previously caused administrative difficulty.
286	274	be fairly Enter'd in a Book to be kept for that Purpose and with Examined and the Governour and Clerques at their meeting at the end of such Entry, and when it is so done let the Councill all fix it at their next meeting and after Councill make an Entry in the Consultation that they find it so. This will in some Measure Supply the want of an Originall Letter which thro' carelesness or knavery may be lost or convey'd away. And the like to be observed with Lists of Letters or of any Consultation Books, Books of Register of Decrees whether such as Contracts, Registers of Wills or any other publick Accounts or Writings of what Nature soever. Let a Sheet be drawn out of all that is remaining and when it hath been Examined and found right let the Clerque or Clerk of the Councill, as you usually call him sign it thereon, and take Charge which the Governour for the time being and Councill must also sign & fix to it. Let him keep a Duplicates for himself and do you send a Copy of it to us by double Conveyances. If this should be taken over all the Generall Articles therein once a year inspected to see all are safe and whenever a new Clerk is chosen, let him be Charged in like manner, this method will put a stop to the future loss of any Writings from such Books & passage of publick concerns. As we hereby require it, and find it may	It was ordered that all general letters received should be carefully entered into a dedicated book. After entry, they were to be examined and signed by the Governor and clerk at their meeting. At the following Council meeting, the entries were to be reviewed and confirmed, and this approval recorded in the Consultation Book. This process was intended to compensate for the possible loss or improper removal of original letters through negligence or misconduct. A similar method was required for all other official records, including lists of letters, Consultation Books, registers of decrees, contracts, wills and all public accounts or writings. A complete sheet listing all such documents in custody was to be prepared. Once verified, it was to be signed by the clerk, who would thereby take responsibility, and then confirmed by the Governor and Council. A duplicate was to be retained locally, while a copy was to be sent to England by two separate ships. Provision was made for this review to take place annually, ensuring that all records remained accounted for. When a new clerk was appointed, the same procedure was to be followed so that responsibility for the records was formally transferred. It was stated that this approach would prevent the loss of documents relating to public business. A fixed date for this examination was to be established. The suggested date was 1 September each year, or the next suitable day if it fell on a Sunday. This timing was chosen because it generally coincided with a period free from shipping duties, allowing proper attention to be given. Notice of the examination was to be given across the island. It was also directed that, when the storekeeper completed the accounts for the current year and began a new set of books, the completed accounts should be brought to the Fort and securely deposited in the clerk's

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		now be proper Do you fix a Day certain for taking the Examination which you think most proper. We reckon on the 1st September (if not time) if a Sunday the succeeding or Succeeding day, because you have then no Shipping upon your hands, when need Be and are befre let there be notice to the Island. Whenever the Storekeeper has Completed his Accounts for the Currant year and begins new Book. Let the former be brought to the Fort and lodged in the Clerkes office in a proper repository. And be Bragg's	office. The passage concluded before further detail was provided. **Interpretations** "Register of decrees" referred to the formal record of legal or administrative decisions made by the Council. "Consultation Book" referred to the official record of Council proceedings and decisions. "Double conveyances" referred to sending duplicate documents by separate ships to reduce the risk of loss. **Speculations** The structured system of verification and duplication suggests that earlier administrative practices had resulted in confusion or loss of records. The requirement for annual inspection indicates an attempt to impose consistent oversight and accountability in record management.
287	275	…change therewith, take constant care to prevent all the papers being damaged by [rats, mice?] or any other way. Having laid down these few generall Rules, We come to answer your letters under severall generall heads, and shall first take Notice, That the Rochester had been twenty three days at the Island before your Letter by the Mercury Sloop was sent away. So that considering most of you were not strangers to the place and consequently did not require much time to inform yourselves of the Nature and State of it, your Letter to us is very short and doth not give us so particular an Account of our affairs as we could wish and might have reasonably expected. We expect this defect be supplyed in the next. Touching the Rochester Dispatch, you will see our thoughts under the head of Shipping. The Letter by the Abingdon in Answer to ours by the Susanna contains in it so much insolence as deserves no Answer, nor is it fit to be taken notice of but with the utmost indignation, and that the Penman may possibly be informed of in due time. We have never seen him but once since he came to England for the loss of the ship in the Channell, and did not come to London till Months after. However in the course of his Letter we may touch upon some particulars under one or other of the generall heads following. First Concerning Shipping sent out and Returned. Since our last it has pleased God, That the following Ships are safely returned to us, vizt The Loxden from Bombay, but the 1 from Port St. George, for want of a Neapolitan for putting into Galway the 20th of April last, arrived here the 6th of June, the Winchelsea from Benicoolen the same…	It was directed that constant care should be taken to prevent damage to all papers, whether from vermin such as rats or mice, or from any other cause. Having established these general rules, attention was then turned to answering the letters received, arranged under several general headings. It was observed that the *Rochester* had remained at the island for 23 days before the letter sent by the *Mercury* sloop was dispatched. It was noted that, as most members of the Council were already familiar with the island, little time would have been required for them to understand its condition. Despite this, the letter sent was described as brief and lacking sufficient detail regarding the Company's affairs. It was therefore expected that this deficiency would be corrected in the next correspondence. It was further stated that matters concerning the dispatch of the *Rochester* would be addressed under the heading relating to shipping. It was remarked that the letter sent by the *Abingdon*, in response to earlier instructions conveyed by the *Susannah*, contained expressions regarded as highly improper. It was stated that such conduct did not merit a direct reply and should only be regarded with strong disapproval. It was noted that the writer of that letter had been seen only once since his arrival in England, following the loss of a ship in the Channel, and that he had not come to London until several months later. It was nevertheless indicated that certain matters raised in that letter would be addressed under the appropriate general headings. Under the heading concerning shipping, it was recorded that, since the previous correspondence, several ships had returned safely. Among these were the *Loxden* from Bombay and another vessel from Fort St George, which had been forced to put into Galway on 20 April 1714 due to the absence of a Neapolitan pass, and had subsequently arrived in England on 6 June 1714. It was also noted that the *Winchelsea* had returned from Bencoolen. The passage concluded in an incomplete state. **Interpretations** "Neapolitan pass" referred to a form of safe conduct or documentation intended to protect ships from interference, particularly during times of conflict or uncertainty at sea. "General heads" referred to the structured categories under which administrative matters were organised and addressed. "Packet" referred to official correspondence sent by ship between St Helena and England. **Speculations** The criticism of the brief and insufficient letter suggests frustration with the quality of reporting from the island's administration. The strong reaction to the tone of the Abingdon letter indicates tension between Company authorities in England and their representatives overseas.

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288	276	The Taunton from Fort St. George & Lichfield from Bombay the 16th July The Marlborough from Fort St. George and Loyal Bliss from China the 6th August The King William from the Bay the 5th September, and the Recovery from Fort St. George the 9th of that Month. The Ships by us sent out and designed this year for all parts of the East Indies are as follow Vizt: The Kent, 350, Capt. Lawrence Minster, for Benoolen, but first to touch at Madrass The Nathaniel, 260, Capt. Jonathan Negus, for Mocha The Dartmouth, 450, Capt. Thomas Elwes, for China & Madrass The Derby, 470, Capt. William Fitzhugh, for the Bay The Heathcote, 430, Capt. Joseph Eddson, for — The Mary, 450, Capt. Rich. Petteron, for the coast and Bay The Parthope, 420, Capt. Marksworth Geo. Petter, for — The Queen, 300, Capt. John Stanton, for Bombay The Cardonell, 300, Capt. William Naucore, for St. Helena & Benoolen The Kent sailed out of the Downs the 5th of November The Nathaniel the 23d ditto The Dartmouth the 30th December The three Coast and Bay ships had their last dispatches from us the 12th January and ever since have waited only for a fair wind to put to sea. The Bombay ships we intend to dispatch in March. This comes to you by the Cardonell, enclosed you will find her invoices and Bill of Lading wherein an account of what goods, stores and other necessarys are on board her. We have also sent in the Packet her Charter party, which after you have made use of for as far as concerns you, do you send with the ship to Benoolen. We have ordered the ship to touch at Madrass whereon board and...	An account was provided of ships that had recently returned. It was recorded that *Taunton* from Fort St George and *Lichfield* from Bombay had arrived on 16 July. *Marlborough* from Fort St George and *Loyal Bliss* from China had arrived on 6 August. *King William* from the Bay had arrived on 5 September, and *Recovery* from Fort St George had arrived on 9 September. A list was then set out of ships that had been sent out and intended for various parts of the East Indies during that year. *Kent*, of 350 tons, commanded by Captain Lawrence Minster, had been assigned to Bencoolen, with instructions first to call at Madras. *Nathaniel*, of 260 tons, commanded by Captain Jonathan Negus, had been sent to Mocha. *Dartmouth*, of 450 tons, under Captain Thomas Elwes, had been destined for China and Madras. *Derby*, of 470 tons, commanded by Captain William Fitzhugh, had been assigned to the Bay. *Heathcote*, of 430 tons, under Captain Joseph Eddson, had been listed for an unspecified destination. *Mary*, of 450 tons, commanded by Captain Richard Petteron, had been sent to the Coast and the Bay. *Parthope*, of 420 tons, under Captain Marksworth George Petter, had also been listed for an unspecified destination. *Queen*, of 300 tons, commanded by Captain John Stanton, had been assigned to Bombay. *Cardonell*, of 300 tons, under Captain William Naucore, had been intended for St Helena and Bencoolen. It was further recorded that *Kent* had sailed from the Downs on 5 November, *Nathaniel* on 23 November, and *Dartmouth* on 30 December. It was stated that the three ships intended for the Coast and the Bay had received their final dispatches on 12 January and had since remained ready, waiting only for a favourable wind to depart. It was also noted that the ships intended for Bombay were planned to be dispatched in March. It was explained that the present communication had been sent by *Cardonell*. Enclosed with it were said to be the ship's invoices and bill of lading, which contained a full account of the goods, stores and other necessities on board. It was also stated that the ship's charter party had been included in the packet. Instructions were given that, after it had been used for the purposes relevant to the recipients, it was to be forwarded with the ship to Bencoolen. It was further ordered that the ship was to call at Madras, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "The Bay" referred to the Bay of Bengal, a principal region of East India Company trade, particularly connected with Bengal and its surrounding ports. "The Coast" indicated the Coromandel Coast of India, a major trading region on the south eastern seaboard. "Charter party" denoted the formal contract between the shipowner and the Company, setting out the terms of the vessel's employment, cargo and obligations. "Bill of lading" referred to the official document listing cargo carried on a ship, serving both as a receipt and as evidence of title to the goods. "The Downs" referred to the anchorage off the coast of Kent, commonly used as a departure point for ships sailing from England. **Speculations** The detailed listing of ships, their tonnage and commanders suggests a highly structured system of maritime organisation within the East India Company, reflecting the scale and complexity of its operations. The inclusion of multiple destinations such as Bencoolen, Madras, Mocha and the Bay indicates the wide geographic spread of trade networks, linking

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			Britain with India, Southeast Asia and the Arabian Peninsula. The emphasis on documentation such as invoices, bills of lading and charter parties highlights the importance of accountability and record keeping in long distance trade. The instruction for ships to wait for a favourable wind illustrates the dependence of maritime schedules on seasonal and environmental conditions, which could significantly affect communication and commerce.
289	277	…and to take in Twenty five pipes of wine for the Service of the Island being persuaded that it is more wholesome than arrack, do you sell it with a suitable advantage thereon to answer our Stores, charge of a tolerable profit. What you use for the Service of our Table let it be done with frugality. You may depend upon it that all our Ships from the Coast and Bay will bring you their fifth one per cent in Arrack, Sugar and other necessary provisions for the use of the Island. We this year wrote to the Bay to diminish in the Arrack and encrease in the quantity of Rice, Sugar &c. These are the generall words so that you may make your Calculats accordingly. We hope our People at Bombay and Benoolen will also send one per cent of the tonnage they dispatch in the like Commoditys for they have the same Orders as we formerly advised (as the Charterpartys Endorsement of the Cardonell (which is the same with all other our Ships) will shew you, and you may depend on it now that during the peace all Ships homeward bound will be ordered to call in at St. Helena for Refreshments in their Return for England. The Cardonell is also to take in at the Maderas Fifteen pipes more of Wine for Benoolen and Mr. Joseph Hayward Merchant there has Orders to lade both parcells on board and consigne them accordingly, but if the Ship should not be able to take in the whole forty pipes she is then to Ship what she can and consigne it both places in proportion. If you strictly understand that the whole quantity is out laden take care to send a proper person on board the Ship to touch whether the Ship is fully laden and can take in no more or whether the Captain has not introduced newer, larger lading than on his own Account. It will either case give us a particular Acct. by the first opportunity.	Instructions were issued that *Cardonell* was to take on board twenty five pipes of wine for the service of the island. It was stated that this wine was considered more wholesome than arrack. It was directed that the wine be sold on the island at a suitable advance, so as to contribute towards the Company's stores and to produce a reasonable profit. It was further ordered that any wine used for the Company's table was to be consumed with frugality. It was stated that all ships arriving from the Coast and the Bay would deliver their allowance of one fifth of one per cent in arrack, sugar and other necessary provisions for the use of the island. It was explained that instructions had been sent that year to the Bay to reduce the quantity of arrack and increase the quantities of rice, sugar and similar goods. These directions were described in general terms, so that calculations might be made accordingly. It was expressed that the Company's agents at Bombay and Bencoolen were expected to send one per cent of the tonnage they dispatched in similar commodities, as they had been given the same orders previously. It was noted that the endorsement of the charter party of *Cardonell*, which was stated to be identical to that of other ships, would confirm this arrangement. It was further stated that, during the period of peace, all ships returning to England would be ordered to call at St Helena for refreshment. It was also directed that *Cardonell* was to take on board at Madeira an additional fifteen pipes of wine intended for Bencoolen. It was recorded that Mr Joseph Hayward, merchant there, had been given orders to load both consignments and to consign them accordingly. It was further instructed that if the ship was unable to take on board the full quantity of forty pipes, it was to load as much as possible and to distribute the consignments proportionally between the two destinations. It was ordered that, if it was clearly understood that the full quantity had been loaded, a suitable person was to be sent aboard the ship to verify whether it was fully laden and incapable of taking more cargo, or whether the captain had introduced additional or larger cargo on his own account. In either case, it was required that a detailed account be sent at the earliest opportunity. **Interpretations** "Pipe" referred to a large cask used for transporting liquids such as wine, with a standard capacity that varied but was commonly understood in maritime trade. "Arrack" denoted a distilled alcoholic spirit widely produced in Asia, often derived from palm sap, rice or sugar, and commonly supplied to ships and settlements. "One fifth of one per cent" referred to a fractional allowance of cargo space or goods, calculated as part of a customary entitlement or levy associated with tonnage. "Charter party" indicated the formal contractual agreement governing the employment of a ship, including cargo obligations and rights of the Company. "Endorsement" in this context referred to an additional note or clause attached to the charter party, specifying particular conditions or obligations. **Speculations**

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			The preference for wine over arrack suggests concerns about health or discipline, as wine may have been regarded as a more controlled or less harmful provision for the island's inhabitants. The structured allocation of small percentages of cargo from multiple ships indicates a systematic method of provisioning remote settlements without relying on single large consignments. The requirement to inspect the ship's loading suggests suspicion that captains might use Company vessels for private trade beyond authorised limits. The expectation that all homeward bound ships would call at St Helena reflects the island's strategic importance as a replenishment point in the East India Company's maritime network.
290	278	We hope Captain Mawsone will bring you some Pine Plants (We having wrote to him so to do & to Mr. Hayward to procure them for him and to give him Directions how to preserve them in the Voyage.) We are sorry to find that Notwithstanding our earnest recommendations to you to hasten away the Rochester, she should remain with you twenty one Days, for we find by your letter she arrived the 8th and was not dispatched till the 29th July. You say indeed you assisted the Captain with your Launch & Longboat for the quicker and easier unlading, but there having been some few Days a great swell was the reason she was not dispatch'd sooner. We believe had you well considered the 14th paragraph of our Instructions to you, you would (for we are sure you should) have done otherwise, look over it and you will see we direct you how to manage in the case the Boat were half a Day or more without being able to come to the Crane as was the case of Captain Lisley and what Notice to take of such casual Delays, that we ought not bear all the charge, the same reason holds, if the Captain had not boats sufficient, which seems to be the case of the Rochester, for you say you assisted him with yours and the Launch. You should in any or all these or other Cases of Delay have laid a protest (for his not unlading in Ten working days) that paragraph directed and then in his answer he would have given the reason why he did not, if he gave the whole the case had been stated by his own shewing if he failed in any particular which would have been for our advantage to have known, you should by reply have set that in a true light and you had done as you ought.	It was expressed that it was hoped Captain Mawsone would bring a number of pine plants to the island. It was stated that instructions had already been sent to him to do so, and that Mr Joseph Hayward had been directed to procure the plants and to advise on the proper method of preserving them during the voyage. Regret was conveyed that, despite repeated and urgent recommendations to dispatch *Rochester* with all possible speed, the vessel had remained at the island for twenty one days. It was noted from the letter received that the ship had arrived on 8 July and had not been dispatched until 29 July. It had been reported that assistance had been given to the captain by providing a launch and a longboat to facilitate more rapid and convenient unloading. It had also been explained that a considerable swell had prevailed for several days, which had prevented earlier dispatch. It was observed that, had proper consideration been given to the fourteenth paragraph of the instructions previously issued, a different course of action would have been taken, as was expected. Attention was directed to that paragraph, which explained the procedure to be followed in situations where boats were unable to reach the crane for half a day or longer, as had occurred in the case of Captain Lisley. It was emphasised that such incidental delays were to be formally noted, and that the Company was not to bear the entire expense arising from them. It was further stated that the same reasoning applied in circumstances where a captain did not possess a sufficient number of boats, which appeared to have been the situation with *Rochester*, as assistance had been required from the island's own boats. It was directed that, in any such cases of delay, a formal protest should have been made against the captain for failing to complete unloading within ten working days, as had been prescribed in the instructions. It was explained that, in responding to such a protest, the captain would have been obliged to provide his reasons for the delay. If those reasons had been fully stated, the matter would have been clearly presented by his own account. If any deficiency had appeared in his explanation, it would have been advantageous for the Company to have been aware of it. It was further directed that a reply should then have been made setting out the matter accurately, which would have constituted the proper course of action. **Interpretations** "Pine plants" referred to pineapple plants, which were valued in colonial settlements both for cultivation and for improving provisions, often transported carefully due to their fragility. "Launch & Longboat" denoted ship's auxiliary boats, used for transporting goods between ship and shore, particularly where direct docking facilities were limited.

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			"Crane" referred to a fixed lifting device at the harbour used for loading and unloading heavy cargo, essential in ports lacking deep water quays. "Lay a protest" indicated the formal maritime and legal practice of recording an official complaint or declaration, often used to protect financial or contractual interests in cases of delay or damage. "Ten working days" referred to a contractual unloading period specified in charter parties, beyond which penalties or claims could arise. **Speculations** The emphasis on transporting pineapple plants suggests an effort to diversify or improve agricultural production on the island, perhaps to reduce reliance on imported provisions. The criticism of the delay in dispatching *Rochester* indicates that strict adherence to shipping schedules was considered essential, probably due to the broader coordination required across the Company's trading network. The insistence on formal protests reveals a legalistic approach to managing shipping disputes, ensuring that responsibility for delays could be clearly assigned and costs recovered where appropriate. The reference to insufficient boats on *Rochester* may imply cost saving measures by captains, which could lead to operational inefficiencies and conflict with Company expectations. Mau
291	279	…and answered our Intentions and Orders refermented shewed by what appears to us at present. We have nothing to object to the reason's demand of seven days demurrage for your stint so much as particularly to the many do which days or part of days the great swell hindered. Consider further the Abingdon was unladed in twelve working days and she was fifty tons bigger than this, so that you have not by what we can see done so well for us in this instance as your Predecessors. You have more Assistance in the council than there was at that time and the Susanna was Dispatched by them in the ten days time, yet she was but fifty tons less than this. We are the longer upon this subject because it was one of the first charges we gave you and desired you to lay aside any other Business that might interfere therewith. We hope this stumbling at the Threshold is not an Ill Omen and that your future Actions will give us a better specimen of your Endeavours, Inclination and Ability for our Service. The Advices about our ships importing with or exporting from you and when the news of the Ships at the Cape outward or homeward bound or of their being at or Departure from any or from any Ports in the East Indies must be continued in all times coming as formerly directed. This is often necessary but allways usefull to us to have these Accounts finding something of failure in your steady of observing our Orders as aforementioned. We recite this matter here again, but at the same time must add that we expect all our Orders, Directions, Cautions and	It was stated that, based on what had been observed, the intentions and orders previously expressed had not been properly fulfilled. No objection was raised to the reasonable demand for seven days' demurrage for the stipulated period, but particular concern was directed towards the number of additional days, or parts of days, during which unloading had been hindered by a great swell. Further consideration was required of the fact that *Abingdon* had been unloaded in twelve working days, although she had been fifty tons larger than *Rochester*. From this comparison, it was concluded that the service performed in this instance had not equalled that of predecessors. Greater assistance had been available within the Council than had been the case at that earlier time. It was also observed that *Susanna* had been dispatched within ten working days, despite being only fifty tons smaller than *Rochester*. Attention was drawn to the importance of this matter, as it had formed one of the first and most strongly emphasised instructions. It had been required that all other business be set aside if it interfered with the prompt dispatch of ships. Concern was expressed that this initial failure might represent an unfavourable beginning, though it was also stated that it was hoped future actions would demonstrate improved diligence, willingness and capability in serving the Company's interests. Regular reports concerning ships arriving at or departing from the island, whether importing or exporting goods, were required to be consistently maintained. This included providing news of ships at the Cape, whether outward bound or homeward bound, as well as information regarding their presence at, or departure from, any ports in the East Indies. It was emphasised that such reporting was to be continued at all times in accordance with earlier instructions. These accounts were described as frequently necessary and always useful. A deficiency was observed in the consistent observance of these orders, and the matter was therefore restated. Full compliance was expected with all orders, directions, cautions and instructions that had been previously issued, were presently in force or would be issued in the future. **Interpretations**

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		Instructions heretofore or now or henceforward sent or to be sent you…	"Demurrage" referred to a charge payable for delays in loading or unloading a ship beyond the agreed period specified in the charter party, often forming a significant financial consideration in maritime trade. "Stint" in this context denoted the allotted or agreed period for completing the unloading of a vessel, usually defined within contractual terms. "The Cape" referred to the Cape of Good Hope, a crucial waypoint in maritime routes between Europe and the East Indies, where ships frequently stopped for refreshment or news. "Working days" indicated days on which cargo operations could be carried out, excluding interruptions caused by weather or other impediments depending on contractual interpretation. **Speculations** The comparison with earlier ships such as *Abingdon* and *Susanna* suggests that performance benchmarks were actively maintained, and that current officials were expected to meet or exceed previous standards. The emphasis on demurrage implies that delays had direct financial consequences, reinforcing the importance of efficient port operations. The repeated insistence on reporting ship movements indicates that the Company relied heavily on timely intelligence to coordinate its global trading network. The concern expressed about an "ill omen" at the outset perhaps reflects anxiety that early administrative shortcomings might signal deeper issues in governance or discipline.
292	280	…be esteemed as so many standing Rules for all times. & therefore you must have the same Regard unto them as if express'd anew in every particular letter until they be repealed or altered by us or our Successors, in which case the last Orders only are to be so far binding, so you look upon this as a generall direction for the Present and future, and tho' mentioned here under the head of Shipping yet to run thro' all other Branches of our Affairs under your care and Management. Secondly concerning Goods or Stores sent from England or received from India. What this Ship brings you the Invoice and Bill of Lading will inform you. We have ordered three Boats to be taken in from Dept. which our Committee of Shipping looks upon to be better for the Sea than what are generally made here, perhaps the Account of them may not come time enough to be mentioned in the Invoice and therefore we here give you the notice that you may Demand them of the Captain. We have also sent you Timber for a Crane, a quantity of Deals and a large Supply of fishing Tackle, it remains Incumbent on you to take care whatever you receive from hence or India be well looked after and nothing suffered to be embezelled or spoilt but a true Account kept of all, that whatever is sent for the use of the Inhabitants be laid out according to the usual Method on Vouchers and no bad Debts made. We fear there are some very Dubious occasions by the late ill Administration, whatever shall be used for our	It was directed that all previously issued orders were to be regarded as standing rules for all times. The same degree of attention was to be given to them as if they had been newly stated in every individual letter, unless they were formally repealed or altered by the present authorities or their successors. In such cases, only the most recent orders were to remain binding. This instruction was to be understood as a general rule for both present and future conduct. Although it had been mentioned under the heading of shipping, it was to apply equally to all other branches of affairs under their care and management. Attention was then turned to goods and stores sent from England or received from India. It was stated that the invoice and bill of lading for *Cardonell* would provide details of the cargo delivered. Notice was given that three boats had been ordered to be taken on board from Deptford, as the Committee of Shipping considered them better suited for sea use than those commonly made locally. It was observed that an account of these boats might not have arrived in time to be included in the invoice, and therefore prior notice was provided so that they might be demanded from the captain. It was further recorded that timber for a crane, a quantity of deals and a substantial supply of fishing tackle had been sent. Responsibility was placed upon the recipients to ensure that all goods received from England or India were carefully managed. It was required that nothing be allowed to be embezzled or spoiled, and that a full and accurate account be maintained of all items. It was directed that any goods intended for the use of the inhabitants were to be distributed according to the usual method, supported by proper vouchers, and that no bad debts were to be incurred. Concern was expressed that there had been doubtful practices arising from recent poor administration. It was therefore emphasised that any goods used for the Company's immediate service were to be managed with the greatest economy. This applied equally to materials used in building or other forms of

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		immediate Service take care it be husbanded to the best Advantage, if in Buildings or such like dead stock, if for the use of the Table that there frugality in the expence at all times and as you would or should do, were you to bear the charge thereof. Do but peruse the Expence for some years past…	fixed stock, as well as to provisions for the table, where strict frugality in expenditure was required at all times. It was stated that such management should be conducted as if the cost were being borne personally. Reference was made to the expenses of previous years, with the implication that these should be carefully reviewed. **Interpretations** "Standing Rules" referred to enduring administrative instructions that remained in force across multiple periods unless formally revoked or amended by higher authority. "Committee of Shipping" denoted a governing body within the East India Company responsible for overseeing maritime operations, including the construction, provisioning and dispatch of vessels. "Deptford" referred to the royal dockyard in England, a principal centre for shipbuilding and naval supply, known for producing durable vessels and equipment. "Deals" referred to planks or boards of softwood timber, commonly used in construction and ship repair. "Dead stock" indicated fixed or non consumable assets, such as buildings or equipment, as opposed to goods intended for immediate use or consumption. "Vouchers" denoted written records or receipts used to verify transactions, forming part of formal accounting procedures. **Speculations** The insistence that all prior orders be treated as continuing rules suggests a desire to ensure administrative consistency across distant colonies where communication delays could otherwise cause uncertainty. The provision of boats from Deptford indicates a concern with quality and durability, perhaps reflecting dissatisfaction with locally produced vessels. The warning against embezzlement and spoiled goods implies that losses or mismanagement had recently occurred, prompting stricter oversight. The emphasis on avoiding bad debts suggests that credit practices on the island may have been poorly controlled, potentially affecting the Company's financial stability. The call for frugality in both construction and daily provisions indicates an effort to reduce unnecessary expenditure, perhaps in response to rising operational costs or declining revenues.
293	281	…and you must be convinced how great the charge has been out of our Pockets. We have generally speaking sent every year a Ship with a good Cargo of necessarys of all sorts for sale. We ordered but Ships to bring Supplys from the East Indies. A great sum have been drawn on us from time to time with a Ship without advice of some Bills the Revenues of the Island (including the Lands leased out) makes or hath made a good Sum of Money yearly. Consider now what we have for all this only a place of refreshment for our Ships for the Benefit of the Mariners on board - no particular advantage to the Company besides. Wherefore We hope you will conclude with us that you ought to take a constant particular care to lessen this great charge to us as much as possible, and to that end to watch every article of expence to put a stop to whatever is superfluous, cut off what is not necessary and to exercise a becoming frugality in whatever is unavoidable.	Attention was drawn to the considerable expense that had been borne, and it was stated that it must be recognised how great a financial burden had fallen upon the Company. It was explained that, in general, a ship had been sent each year carrying a substantial cargo of necessary goods of all kinds for sale. At the same time, ships had also been ordered to bring supplies from the East Indies. It was further noted that large sums had been drawn upon the Company at various times, sometimes by means of ships arriving without prior notice of the bills. It was observed that the revenues of the island, including income from leased lands, had produced a significant annual sum. When these factors were considered together, it was concluded that little had been gained in return, other than the island serving as a place of refreshment for ships and for the benefit of their mariners, without any particular additional advantage to the Company. From this, it was urged that a constant and particular effort should be made to reduce this heavy expense as much as possible. It was directed that every item of expenditure be carefully monitored, that all superfluous costs be stopped, that anything unnecessary be removed and that strict frugality be exercised in all unavoidable expenses.

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		We understand that Captain Lisley delivered ten Baulks short of the number by us sent on the Abingdon, that when the Ship came back to St. Helena these Baulks were seen on board and enquiry being made whose they were, the Boatswain owned they were the Company's and short delivered outward bound. That those Baulks were after sold to the Planters, and that there is reason to fear some of our Deals went the same way, finding no Account of this in the General Letter. We enquired for the Bills of Lading to see if there was any exception therein, the present Captain says he cannot find the Bill of Lading and has not the charge of it outward bound, which he thinks is excuse sufficient for him. The owners to be sure will be ready enough to conclude all were delivered aright if we have nothing in particular to charge them with. And by this…	It was then reported that Captain Lisley had delivered ten baulks fewer than the number that had been sent aboard *Abingdon*. It was stated that, when the ship later returned to St Helena, these baulks had been seen on board. Upon enquiry as to their ownership, it had been acknowledged by the boatswain that they belonged to the Company and had been short delivered on the outward voyage. It was further reported that these baulks had subsequently been sold to planters, and that there was reason to suspect that some of the Company's deals had been disposed of in the same manner. It was noted that no account of this matter had been included in the general letter. It was recorded that enquiries had been made for the bills of lading in order to determine whether any exception had been noted therein. The present captain had stated that the bill of lading could not be found and that he had not been responsible for it on the outward voyage, which he appeared to consider a sufficient explanation. It was observed that the ship's owners would readily assume that all goods had been properly delivered if no specific charge could be brought against them. The account was left continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Baulks" referred to large squared timbers, commonly used in construction or heavy structural work, and often transported as part of Company cargo. "Deals" denoted prepared planks of softwood timber, widely used for building and repair purposes in colonial settlements. "Bills of lading" were formal shipping documents listing the cargo carried and confirming its receipt and delivery, serving as essential evidence in disputes over shortages or losses. "Short delivered" indicated that goods listed for delivery had not been fully handed over at the intended destination, often implying loss, misappropriation or concealment. "Planters" referred to landholding settlers on the island engaged in agricultural production, who might purchase or acquire materials such as timber. **Speculations** The emphasis on rising costs and limited returns suggests growing concern within the Company about the financial sustainability of maintaining the island. The reference to unauthorised sales of timber indicates that Company property may have been diverted for private gain, pointing to weaknesses in oversight and accountability. The absence of a bill of lading in this case highlights the vulnerability of administrative systems, where missing documentation could prevent the enforcement of claims. The suspicion that multiple types of timber had been misappropriated suggests that such practices may have been more widespread rather than isolated incidents. The stress placed on frugality and cost reduction reflects an attempt to impose stricter financial discipline in response to perceived inefficiencies or abuses.
294	282	This means we are in fair way to have the goods short delivered, had it not been for the aforesaid casualties & information. We mention this to show what care ought to be taken, and to prevent a second instance of such carelesness or rather infidelity, for if the then Council did not examine the particulars received & store by the Bill of Lading and Invoices, but took all on trust they were unfaithfull to us; if they did, and made	It was stated that, without the accidents and information previously mentioned, the situation would have resulted in the goods being accepted as fully delivered, despite their deficiency. This example was used to demonstrate the level of care that ought to be exercised, and to prevent a recurrence of such negligence or, more seriously, dishonesty. It was explained that, if the Council at that time had failed to examine the goods received and stored against the bill of lading and invoices, and had instead relied on trust, then they had acted unfaithfully. If such an examination had been carried out and shortages had been identified,

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		Mention of what wanting that we might have satisfaction made by the Owners or caused the Captain to make satisfaction, it was as bad if they did indorse in the Bill of Lading what wanting and did not give us Notices also in the Generall Letter or Paper in the Packet - it was great carelesness. We in such cases of Papers in the Packets think should be a reference thereto mentioned in the Generall Letter, and the Secretary or rather the Governor & Councill that they do not omit whatever therein mentioned; for we think it is proper the Governor or some one of the Council should always examine each of the Packets to see if all Papers therein sent are therein found and also to see that the Papers be actually sent us accordingly. We have this year received by the Abingdon a large Account which appears to be drawn out by Mr. Bazett of the Inventory deliver'd over by Mr. Masden Storekeeper to Mr. Packer and of the Copies of the Invoices of goods since received from hence or India or bought at the Island wherein we find against some articles wrote not recd. there is also mentioned in an outward column the prices at which the particulars were or were to be sold out at. This Account as to the Main of it is well done but no Body signs it, which is an omission that must be hereafter rectified. The sum total of the said Account is £15691. - - it begun after Mr. Packer arrived the...	but no proper claim had been made against the ship's owners or the captain for compensation, this was considered equally improper. If the shortages had been noted on the bill of lading but had not been reported in the general letter or accompanying papers, this was described as serious carelessness. It was further directed that, in cases where documents were included within packets, references to those papers should always be made in the general letter. Responsibility was placed upon the Secretary, and more particularly upon the Governor and Council, to ensure that nothing contained within such packets was omitted from notice. It was considered proper that the Governor, or at least one member of the Council, should examine each packet to confirm that all listed documents were present and that they had in fact been transmitted as required. It was reported that, during that year, a substantial account had been received by *Abingdon*. This account appeared to have been prepared by Mr Bazett, based upon the inventory handed over by Mr Masden, Storekeeper, to Mr Packer, together with copies of invoices of goods received from England or India, or purchased on the island. It was observed that, within this account, certain items had been marked as "not recd." It was also noted that an additional column had been included, listing the prices at which the various items had been, or were intended to be, sold. Although the account was described as being generally well prepared, it was observed that it had not been signed by any individual, which was identified as an omission requiring correction in future. It was recorded that the total sum of the account amounted to £15,691. The account was noted to have begun after the arrival of Mr Packer, with the narrative continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Short delivered" referred to goods that were listed for delivery but had not actually been received in full, often indicating loss, misappropriation or concealment. "Indorse in the Bill of Lading" meant recording discrepancies or shortages directly on the shipping document, thereby formally noting them for accountability. "Packet" referred to an official bundle of correspondence and documents sent together, often by ship, forming a key means of administrative communication. "Inventory" denoted a detailed list of goods, stores or property held in custody, used for tracking and accountability. "Not recd." was an abbreviated notation meaning "not received," indicating items that were expected but missing. **Speculations** The repeated emphasis on documentation and cross checking suggests that administrative failures had previously allowed losses to go unnoticed or unchallenged. The insistence on referencing packet contents within general correspondence indicates an effort to create redundancy in reporting, reducing the risk of overlooked information. The unsigned account may reflect informal or incomplete administrative practices, which the Company sought to formalise to ensure accountability. The identification of specific individuals such as Mr Bazett, Mr Masden and Mr Packer suggests that responsibility for record keeping was being closely scrutinised. The substantial total of £15,691 implies that significant quantities of goods were involved, increasing the importance of accurate accounting and oversight.

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295	283	…of August 1711 and reaches but to March 1713/14, the Bills since drawn on us from St. Helena beginning with those drawn the 1st December 1711 amount to £6930. – & upwards besides one thousand eight hundred and two pounds drawn the July before so that in less than three years the Island has had from hence or the East Indies and by Bills drawn payable here above £8630. – besides the profit on the sale of the said goods which must be very considerable. We find mentioned in Mr. Bazett's said Account two sums for goods brought out by the Ships amounting to near £790. – which we suppose Bills were drawn for and if so, are to be abated out of the said £8630. – as is also the remains of goods in the Stores and what their value may be. We cannot judge for want of your Books, but fear it cannot be considerable because of the quantity sent by the Rochester and that only part of what desired and more sent wrote for yearly, by all this you may see how vast a charge St. Helena has been to us and what reason we have for requiring frugality and a nice inspection into every article of disbursement mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs and why we order the accounts of remains to be annually sent to us. We hereby do by our Summer Shipping taken to the 25th of March before. To the disposal of the Timber and other Stores for our own acct we shall take the proper notice under the proper heads to which they do particularly belong. You will on reviewing our former Letters and among others that sent by you we have ordered an account to be entered in the Consultation Book at what rate the severall goods received at St. Helena from hence or from India should be sold out at, and what Rules are to be…	It was recorded that the account prepared by Mr Bazett began in August 1711 and extended only to March 1714. It was further noted that bills drawn upon the Company from St Helena, beginning with those issued on 1 December 1711, amounted to £6,930 and more, in addition to a further sum of £1,802 drawn in July of the preceding year. It was therefore calculated that, within a period of less than three years, the island had received from England or the East Indies, and through bills payable in England, a total exceeding £8,630. This was stated to be exclusive of the profit arising from the sale of those goods, which was considered to be considerable. It was observed that within Mr Bazett's account there were two sums relating to goods transported by ships, amounting to nearly £790. It was supposed that bills had been drawn for these sums, and if so, they were to be deducted from the total of £8,630. It was also stated that deductions should be made for any remaining goods held in store, although their value could not be determined due to the absence of the necessary account books. It was feared that this remaining value was not substantial, owing to the quantity of goods recently sent by *Rochester*, which itself had only partially fulfilled what had been requested, while further supplies had been sent annually as requested. From these considerations, it was stated that the island had imposed a very large expense upon the Company. It was therefore emphasised that there was strong justification for insisting upon strict frugality and careful examination of every item of expenditure, as had been outlined in the preceding directions. It was also explained that this was the reason why annual accounts of remaining goods were required to be sent. It was noted that this instruction was to be understood in relation to the summer shipping period up to 25 March of the preceding year. It was further stated that the disposal of timber and other stores belonging to the Company would be addressed separately under the appropriate headings to which those matters belonged. Attention was then drawn to earlier letters, including those sent to the recipients, in which instructions had been given that an account was to be entered in the Consultation Book specifying the rates at which various goods received at St Helena from England or India were to be sold, together with the rules governing such sales. The account was noted to continue beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Bills drawn" referred to financial instruments, often bills of exchange, issued in the colony and made payable in England, allowing funds to be transferred across long distances. "Remains of goods in the Stores" denoted unsold or unused inventory held in Company warehouses, representing retained value that could offset expenditure. "Consultation Book" referred to the official record in which decisions and administrative orders of the Governor and Council were formally entered. "Summer Shipping taken to the 25th of March" reflected the administrative or financial year used by the Company, which ended on 25 March in accordance with older calendrical conventions. **Speculations** The detailed financial breakdown suggests increasing concern within the Company regarding the cost of maintaining St Helena relative to its limited direct returns. The inability to assess the value of remaining goods indicates deficiencies in record keeping, reinforcing earlier criticisms of administrative oversight.

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			The emphasis on deducting certain sums and calculating net expenditure implies a growing effort to impose more rigorous financial accountability. The repeated insistence on annual reporting of stock levels suggests that inventory control had previously been inconsistent or unreliable. The reference to only partial fulfilment of requests by *Rochester* may indicate logistical difficulties or inefficiencies in supply chains serving the island.
296	284	…observed in writing them. This we expect be from time to time comply'd with, and the said settled prices when adjusted in Council entered accordingly for a guidance to the Storekeeper in disposing of them, as well as for our information, and then the said account which Mr. Bazett sent may be spared on supposition, the Consultations and Books of Accounts be duly and seasonally sent us, for we don't desire to multiply your business without a real necessity, the sooner the Account is settled the better if it can't be done while Ships remain in the road as the 10th part of the Abingdon's Letter asserts We must acquiesce; but at the same time must take Notice that the Ships from England do seldom arrive with those from India and it is the variety of particulars in the Europe Cargoes which cause the most trouble in that Account. Those from India consist but in a few articles, and less hours time is to be spent to cast up their cost, Charges and advance thereon. For as to the Arrack, Arrack, Rice and every thing else but Callicoes, and such like measured goods, you may price and settle them all in a day with ease and the entry in the Consultation Book of the quantities received and Prices at which to sell them will take up another. Rates on India goods ought to be according to the usuall generall Prices they have been sold at, not only so much per Cent advance on Invoice, but on that valuation don't take in the times of Draught and plenty, nor only the cheapest, the Medium between both is the best. We observe that this will well lay down on perusing the 9th paragraph of the Abingdon's Letter, which hints that all of the advance was only on the price of Invoice. This is no true Method for Arrack except it be worse in quality. Then lower it accordingly, else do as above directed. W.∴	Directions were given that the established rules for setting prices were to be carefully followed in all written records. Continued compliance was expected, and once prices had been agreed in Council they were to be entered in the Consultation Book. This record was to guide the Storekeeper in selling goods and to provide information for the Company. It was stated that, if this method were properly observed and the Consultation Books and accounts were regularly transmitted, the separate account prepared by Mr Bazett might be unnecessary. It was emphasised that no additional work was to be imposed without clear need. Prompt settlement of accounts was urged wherever possible. It was acknowledged that, if this could not be completed while ships remained in the road, as had been suggested in the tenth part of *Abingdon*'s letter, then this constraint would be accepted. It was nevertheless observed that ships arriving from England rarely coincided with those from India. The greater difficulty in accounting was attributed to the variety of goods within European cargoes. By contrast, goods from India consisted of fewer types, and their cost, charges and profit could be calculated more quickly. It was explained that commodities such as arrack, rice and most other goods, except for calicoes and similar measured items, could be priced and settled within a single day. The entry of quantities received and their sale prices into the Consultation Book would require only a short additional time. It was further directed that prices for goods from India should be determined according to the usual general rates at which such goods had been sold, rather than by applying a fixed percentage increase to the invoice price. It was specified that valuations should not be based solely on times of scarcity or abundance, nor on the lowest prices, but instead on a reasonable average between these extremes. Reference was made to the ninth paragraph of *Abingdon*'s letter, which had suggested that all profit had been calculated simply by adding a percentage to the invoice price. This approach was declared to be incorrect in the case of arrack, unless the quality was inferior, in which case a lower price might be justified. In all other cases, pricing was to follow the method previously described. **Interpretations** "Consultation Book" referred to the official record in which decisions of the Governor and Council were formally entered for administrative use. "The road" denoted the offshore anchorage where ships remained when not docked in harbour. "Callicoes" referred to cotton textiles imported from India, typically measured by length and requiring more detailed accounting. "Invoice" indicated the document listing goods shipped and their cost, forming the basis for financial calculations. "Advance" denoted the profit margin added to the original cost of goods when fixing their sale price. **Speculations** The effort to reduce duplication in accounting suggests a concern with administrative efficiency alongside the need for reliable records.

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			The distinction between European and Indian cargoes indicates differing levels of complexity in trade management, with European goods perhaps requiring more detailed oversight. The preference for average pricing reflects an attempt to maintain stability in local markets and avoid distortions caused by fluctuating supply. The criticism of earlier pricing methods implies that previous practices may have produced inconsistent or unfair outcomes. The emphasis on rapid account settlement suggests that delays may have hindered effective financial supervision.
297	285	We are positively assured, that the late Governor Boucher traded very much and sold the goods he bought as if they had been ours, that is to say, out of our Store room, and till his were gone, ours must not be disposed of; that Mr. Alexander sold Palm wines brought out in our Ships from England for him at Two Shillings and Six pence the Pint (this explains to us how Alexander came to be so much in his favour) yet your Letters mention our Madera wines were sold but at five shillings the gallon, one reason for telling you this is to give you fair Caution not to copy after him and to assure you that whoever doth abuse our Service in like manner shall whenever we know it, soon find We will apply an effectual Remedy. By former Letters we directed that an open Market should be kept for all Persons that would sell any thing out of the Ships and that every body had Liberty to buy and we forbid even our very Council from going abroad to engross Commodities. This we mention'd again that, that good rule may not be forgot, nor the Inhabitants oppressed, or their necessitys taken an advantage of to raise the price upon them extravagantly, tho' we have and shall endeavour to send or order you all needfull Supplys for the Service of the Island. Take care if ever you should see it for our Service to buy goods out of any returning Ship, that all you pay for be delivered into the Stores. For Mr. Bazett writes us that 55 gallons of sweet Syder bought off the Cook of the Leopard were never delivered ashore, tho' Mr. Packer by Capt. Heath's order gave Capt. Cooke credit for it in the Stores. So great an influence has this Trade by the Governours favour, and it is supposed the…	Information was conveyed that the late Governor Boucher had engaged extensively in private trade and had sold goods he had purchased as though they belonged to the Company. It was stated that these goods had been disposed of from the Company's storehouse, and that Company goods had not been sold until his own had first been cleared. It was further reported that Mr Alexander had sold palm wine, brought out in Company ships from England on Boucher's behalf, at a price of two shillings and six pence per pint. This circumstance was noted as an explanation for the favour shown to Mr Alexander. In contrast, it was observed that Company Madeira wine had been sold at only five shillings per gallon. This information was communicated as a caution against adopting similar practices. It was made clear that any abuse of the Company's service in such a manner would, upon discovery, be met with prompt and effective corrective action. Reference was made to earlier instructions in which it had been directed that an open market should be maintained for all persons wishing to sell goods from ships. It had also been ordered that all individuals were to have equal liberty to purchase, and that even members of the Council were forbidden from engaging in monopolising practices. This rule was restated to ensure it was not forgotten, and to prevent the inhabitants from being oppressed or their necessities exploited through excessive pricing, despite the Company's continued efforts to provide adequate supplies for the island. Attention was also directed to the handling of goods purchased from returning ships. It was required that, whenever goods were bought for the Company's service, everything paid for must be properly delivered into the stores. It was reported that Mr Bazett had written that fifty five gallons of sweet cider, purchased from the cook of *Leopard*, had never been brought ashore, even though Mr Packer, acting under Captain Heath's orders, had credited Captain Cooke for it in the store accounts. It was observed that such practices demonstrated the extent of influence that could arise from trading conducted under the favour of a governor. The account was noted to continue beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Palm wine" referred to an alcoholic beverage produced from the sap of palm trees, commonly traded in tropical regions and sometimes transported over long distances. "Madeira wine" denoted a fortified wine originating from the island of Madeira, widely traded within maritime networks and valued for its durability during long voyages. "Engross commodities" referred to the practice of buying up large quantities of goods in order to control supply and raise prices, often viewed as exploitative. "Open market" indicated a system in which goods were to be freely bought and sold without restriction, ensuring fair access and competition.

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			"Crediting in the Stores" referred to the accounting practice of recording goods as received and paid for within the Company's store accounts. **Speculations** The accusations against Governor Boucher suggest that private trade by Company officials may have been widespread, potentially undermining official supply systems. The disparity between the prices of palm wine and Madeira wine indicates possible manipulation of pricing to favour private interests over Company goods. The repeated emphasis on maintaining an open market suggests concern that monopolistic practices were harming the island's inhabitants. The missing cider implies weaknesses in oversight and record keeping, allowing goods to be misappropriated without immediate detection. The mention of influence derived from a governor's favour indicates that authority could be used to facilitate private gain, prompting stricter controls from the Company.
298	286	... carryed it along with him when he proceeded from St. Helena for England: We mention this that you should enquire diligently into the fact and advise us that we may if it be so get reparation and likewise by past Miscarriages that you all learn to be circumspect and prevent the like and any others of the like nature during your time, for tho' we believe you are honest yet we may suffer by those under you if they don't find you Sufficiently Vigilent! Continue advising us on every occasion what quantitys as well as sorts of goods are & shall be received by every Ship from the fact Indico & brought out of Ships when you have occasion to buy any with the prices, this will take up but little room in your Journall...tter and also Copys of the Invoices from India that we may by comparing see whether their Charge and your receipts answer: Take care the Captain or his Purser or a proper officer of his appointmt be with you when you examine the measured goods weigh off the weighable goods & view the Casks of arrack to see if they are full or what is wanting in any Article, that so if the whole don't answer the favour you may make a proper attestation thereof and the persons present on behalf of the Ship may sign it, write us what is so wanted - that we may get Satisfaction of the owners, or if it shall appear that there was no embezelment on board that we may advise the Needfull to India: We find in the Consultation of the 1: of April a Charge against Mr. Bazettt about the Arrack Leaked out of two or three Butts or Leagers, and observe what Mr. Bazettt writes us in his Letter of the 4: May with the Certificates thereupon in the Houghton's Packet (V:23) and from the whole say that Mr. Bazettt...	It was reported that the missing goods had been carried away when the individual departed from St Helena for England. It was directed that a careful enquiry should be made into this matter and that a full report be sent, so that, if the facts were confirmed, reparation might be obtained. It was further stated that past misconduct should serve as a lesson, requiring greater caution in future to prevent similar occurrences. It was acknowledged that confidence was placed in the honesty of those in charge, but it was emphasised that losses might still arise through the actions of subordinates if sufficient vigilance were not exercised. Instructions were given that regular reports should continue to be sent detailing both the quantities and types of goods received from each ship arriving from India, as well as those purchased from ships when necessary. These details, together with the prices paid, were to be recorded in the journal letter, as they would require little space. It was also required that copies of invoices from India be forwarded, so that comparisons could be made between the charges recorded there and the goods received. Careful procedures were prescribed for the inspection of cargo. It was directed that the captain, purser or another appropriate officer appointed by the ship should be present when measured goods were examined, when weighable goods were weighed and when casks of arrack were inspected to determine whether they were full or deficient. If any discrepancy were found, a formal attestation was to be prepared, describing the deficiency, and signed by those present on behalf of the ship. A report of any shortages was to be sent so that compensation might be sought from the owners. If no embezzlement on board could be established, it was stated that appropriate notice would instead be given to India. Reference was then made to a charge recorded in the Consultation of 1 April against Mr Bazett concerning arrack that had leaked from two or three butts or leaguers. Attention was also drawn to Mr Bazett's letter of 4 May and the accompanying certificates contained in *Houghton*'s packet, identified as volume 23. It was stated that, upon consideration of the whole matter, a judgement regarding Mr Bazett was to follow, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Butts or leaguers" referred to large casks used for storing liquids such as arrack, with a leaguer being a substantial measure commonly used in maritime trade. "Purser" denoted the ship's officer responsible for accounts, provisions and cargo management.

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			"Measured goods" referred to commodities sold by volume or length, requiring verification by measurement rather than weight. "Attestation" indicated a formal written statement confirming the accuracy of an inspection, often used as evidence in disputes. "Packet (V:23)" referred to a numbered collection of correspondence and documents sent together, serving as an organised record for administrative review. **Speculations** The insistence on detailed inspection procedures suggests that discrepancies in cargo had been frequent enough to require stricter oversight. The requirement for ship officers to be present during inspections indicates an effort to ensure accountability and prevent disputes over shortages. The reference to goods being carried away implies that misappropriation may have occurred at the point of departure, not only during transit. The attention given to Mr Bazett's case suggests that individual accountability was being closely examined, possibly to set an example for others. The emphasis on comparing invoices with received goods reflects an attempt to strengthen financial control and detect inconsistencies across different stages of trade.
299	287	was to blame that he did not acquaint the Governour and Councell therewith at its first discovery and we expect hereafter such Notices be given forthwith, that is to say transmit to the Secretary or Clerks in writing with orders for him to lay the same before the Governour, and that the said Notice be given into the board the next Councell day, or if the Governour can have leisure that he recie's the same sooner with such of the Councell as can be present But he is yet further to blame that he did not discover the Leakage sooner and immediately draw'd off the residue into tighter casks to prevent further waste, We find in said Consultation Mr. Bazettt charged with not delivering the keys of the warehouses to the Governour it looks there to be done purely for the sake of cavilling and doth not appear that he had ever demanded them, therefore we shall only say at Present that if the Governour or Governour and Councell shall see it at any time necessary for our Service to require those keys, He or they must be obey'd, for we entrust our Power with the Governour and Councell and the Majority of their opinions must be conclusive till our further Orders, tho each person shall have Liberty to enter his dissent in the Consultation Book if he thinks it for our Service to dissent at any time and give the reason why he doth so and We will judge of it here. In the absence of the Councell We look upon the Governour as Superintendant over all our affairs and do Empower him to put a stop to any thing he thinks amiss till a Councell can be called to determine the matter which must be done with the first conveniency. Thirdly touching our Servants Civil or Military, The Accounts of S^{t}. Helena in General and also touching	It was determined that Mr Bazett had been at fault for failing to inform the Governor and Council immediately upon the first discovery of the leakage. It was directed that, in future, such notices were to be given without delay, by being transmitted in writing to the Secretary or clerks, with instructions that they be laid before the Governor. It was further required that the matter be formally presented at the next Council meeting, or sooner if the Governor had the opportunity to receive it with such members of the Council as were available. Additional fault was attributed to Mr Bazett for not detecting the leakage at an earlier stage and for not promptly transferring the remaining contents into sound casks to prevent further loss. Reference was made to the Consultation in which he had been charged with failing to deliver the keys of the warehouses to the Governor. It was observed that this charge appeared to have been raised merely for the sake of dispute, as there was no indication that the keys had ever been formally requested. It was therefore stated that, for the present, it would be sufficient to note that, whenever the Governor, or the Governor and Council, considered it necessary for the Company's service to require the keys, their authority was to be obeyed. It was emphasised that power had been entrusted to the Governor and Council, and that the decision of the majority was to be regarded as binding until further orders were issued. At the same time, it was stated that each individual retained the right to record dissent in the Consultation Book, provided that reasons were given, which would then be reviewed. In the absence of the Council, the Governor was to be regarded as superintendent over all affairs and was empowered to halt any activity considered improper until a Council could be convened. It was required that such a meeting be called at the earliest opportunity to determine the matter. Attention was then directed to the next section, concerning the Company's servants, both civil and military, as well as the general accounts of St Helena, including matters relating to slaves, cattle, land and revenues. **Interpretations** "Consultation Book" referred to the official record of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor

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		our Slaves, Cattle, Land and Revenues. We	and Council, including dissenting opinions where formally entered. "Secretary or clerks" denoted administrative officers responsible for recording, transmitting and preserving official communications and decisions. "Leaguers" and other casks implied standardised storage vessels for liquids such as arrack, where proper maintenance was essential to prevent loss. "Majority of their opinions must be conclusive" indicated a formal decision making process in which collective agreement overruled individual authority. "Superintendant" referred to the Governor's overarching authority in managing the Company's affairs in the absence of a full Council. **Speculations** The criticism of Mr Bazett suggests that failures in communication and oversight were taken seriously, as they could lead to financial loss. The discussion of warehouse keys implies underlying tensions regarding control over Company property and access to stores. The formal allowance for dissent indicates an effort to balance collective governance with individual accountability. The empowerment of the Governor in the Council's absence reflects the need for continuous authority in a remote and potentially unstable administrative environment. The transition to matters concerning servants, land and revenues suggests a broader review of governance beyond shipping and trade, perhaps in response to accumulated concerns about management.
300	288	We have before told you of the Letter by the Whingdon. It is full of insolent surliness, ill manners, and what any Man shou'd that was not void or shoald have been asham'd of. The Governour pretended to answer the Susanna's Letter Paragraph by Paragraph, but instead of that and endeavouring to mend what therein justly complained of - neglecting or going contrary to our Orders, which was the only design in writing it. He either evades or misinterprets the purport of what we wrote, or throws the blame on others, and wipes his mouth saying he done no harm discovering thereout a Vain Glory of Tongue that is unaccountable. Let us know how far the boasting Contents of the Whingdon's Letter are true and particularly part the 19 & 40 wherein Captain Boucher [?] Magnify's his Performances he had been there above thirty Months in the Place and thereby had time enough to have perfected a great deal of work considering the great Progress he found made at his arrival - But if we may believe what is wrote and told us, he neglected what was most Necessary especially the Storehouse which after Several Months Labour, and great expence bestow'd upon it, the ground being levelled, stone got ready, the foundation laid, and the Timber f[...]sh for it, He put a full stop to all and ordered the foundation to be buried again; Touching his Building or siding Place and Stocks for his Asses We wrote in our Instructions sent by your	Reference was made to the letter sent by *Whingdon*, which was described as containing insolent and ill mannered expressions of a kind that any reasonable person ought to have been ashamed to present. It was stated that the Governor had claimed to answer the letter sent by *Susanna* paragraph by paragraph, but instead of doing so, and instead of addressing and correcting the matters that had been justly complained of, particularly those involving neglect of or deviation from orders, he had either avoided the issues, misrepresented their meaning or shifted blame onto others. It was observed that he had then asserted that no harm had been done, displaying what was described as an unjustified vanity in his manner of expression. It was directed that a report be provided indicating how far the claims made in *Whingdon*'s letter were accurate, with particular attention to paragraphs nineteen and forty, in which Captain Boucher was said to have magnified his own achievements. It was noted that he had been in the position for more than thirty months, and therefore had sufficient time to complete a considerable amount of work, especially given the progress that had already been made prior to his arrival. However, it was reported that, according to other accounts, he had neglected the most necessary works, particularly the storehouse. It was stated that, after several months of labour and considerable expense, during which the ground had been levelled, stone prepared, foundations laid and timber made ready, all work had been halted and the foundations ordered to be covered over again. Attention was also drawn to the construction of a building or enclosure and stocks intended for asses, which had been addressed in the fifty seventh paragraph of earlier instructions sent by packet. It was stated that further information had since been received on this matter. It was therefore directed that a full and detailed account be prepared of the entire undertaking, including the total expense, the time taken for construction and any waste or spoil of timber and other stores used in forming the stock. This account was to be properly

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		packet the 57th We have a larger account of it since, so you draw out as particular a state as you can of the whole of that affair and what the charge of it Amounts to reckoning the time of Building, expence or spoil of wood and the other stores that compose the stock and send it to us well attested that we may reckon with him for it; also what the amount of the Hogs, Turkeys and other Provisions which he...	attested and transmitted so that a reckoning might be made with Captain Boucher. It was further required that an account be provided of the value of hogs, turkeys and other provisions connected with his administration, with the narrative continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Paragraph by Paragraph" referred to a structured method of replying directly to each point raised in a previous communication, often used in formal administrative correspondence. "Storehouse" denoted a central warehouse for holding Company goods, essential for maintaining supplies and ensuring proper distribution. "Stocks for his Asses" referred to enclosures or constructed facilities for keeping working animals, indicating the use of livestock in transport or labour on the island. "Attested" indicated that a document or account had been formally verified and certified as accurate, usually by signatures of responsible persons. "Packet" referred to a bundle of official correspondence and documents sent together, often by ship, forming part of the administrative record. **Speculations** The strong criticism of the letter suggests serious dissatisfaction with Governor Boucher's conduct, possibly reflecting wider administrative failures. The accusation of misrepresentation and blame shifting indicates a breakdown in trust between the Company and its representatives on the island. The abandonment of the storehouse project after substantial investment implies either mismanagement or a change in priorities that was not justified to the Company. The request for detailed financial accounting suggests an intention to hold Boucher personally accountable for wasted resources. The focus on provisions and livestock indicates that mismanagement may have extended beyond construction to broader aspects of the island's economy.
301	289	was of our own, or at least bred up at our Charge or to the French or any others We have an account of it in part, but would not entirely depend upon that, and therefore expect you make and send the like enquiry and attestation on this head also what other Imbezelments, misapplications of our Stores or other Charges appear to you on examination to be justly chargeable on the late Governour Boucher; Let us have them that we may endeavour getting a Reparation here for what can be proved against him. We have a Letter from Mr. Free wherein he complains that the only cause of the late Governours turning him from being Clerk of the Councils was because he was devoted for our Interests and that soon after Mr. Pyke's (aged) the Governour dismiss'd him resolving to have a clerk of his own choosing, that he did desire to lay down the Service in June 1713 because he could not serve under the Governour. We take Notice what is said of him in part 28. of Abington and have it from other hands that the Governour used him so Ill, that he was delirious for some time, He now prays us to Entertain him in any Employment he is - capable of. But having last year settled the Councell and Secretary or Clerk -	It was required that an enquiry be made into livestock and provisions, in order to determine what had belonged to the Company, what had been raised at its expense and what might have been diverted to the French or others. It was stated that only a partial account had been received and that reliance could not be placed entirely upon it. A full investigation and attested report were therefore expected on this matter. It was further directed that any other embezzlements, misapplications of stores or improper charges attributable to the late Governor Boucher should be identified upon examination. These were to be reported so that steps might be taken to obtain reparation in England for whatever could be proven. Reference was made to a letter received from Mr Free, in which he complained that he had been removed from his position as Clerk of the Council solely because of his loyalty to the Company's interests. It was reported that, following the death of Mr Pyke, the Governor had dismissed him and had resolved to appoint a clerk of his own choosing. It was also stated that Mr Free had wished to leave the service in June 1714, as he felt unable to continue under the Governor's authority. Attention was drawn to remarks made about him in the twenty eighth paragraph of *Abingdon*, and it was further noted from other reports that he had been treated so harshly by the Governor that he had become delirious for a time. It was recorded that he had now requested to be employed again in any capacity for which he might be suitable. It was stated, however, that no alteration would be made to the

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		We shall not make any alteration. only say if you find him honest and Industrious and have any occasion for his Service, We leave it to you to Entertain him where he may be most usefull. We find Mr. Cason and Mr. French were the late Governours Assistants Councellours, or as we are told were to give some Countenance to the actions by approving whatever he proposed, and as it should seem as if what he did was by the Majority of the Councils consent, the List shows they have forty pounds a piece Salary, and very likely diet at our Table, We hear but a Mean Character of them and that they are of no Significancy to us. We are also told that Mr. French tho' entertained is rather has hardly little or no insight in the Art he professes and that you have on the Island one that is	existing Council and clerical appointments, which had been settled in the previous year. It was nevertheless permitted that, if he were found to be honest and industrious, and if a need arose for his services, he might be employed where he could be of most use. Attention was then directed to Mr Cason and Mr French, who had served as assistants or councillors under the late Governor. It was reported that they had been regarded as supporting his actions by approving whatever he proposed, thereby giving the appearance that decisions had been made with the consent of the majority of the Council. It was noted that each received a salary of forty pounds and probably also received provisions at the Company's table. It was stated that they were not held in high regard and were considered to be of little value to the Company. It was further reported that Mr French, although employed, was thought to possess little or no skill in the profession he claimed to practise. It was also noted that another individual was present on the island who was considered to be more capable, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Imbezelments" referred to the misappropriation or theft of goods or funds entrusted to an individual's care, particularly within an official capacity. "Attestation" denoted the formal verification of a report or account, usually by signatures confirming its accuracy. "Clerk of the Councils" referred to the administrative officer responsible for recording proceedings and maintaining official documentation of the Governor and Council. "Diet at our Table" indicated that individuals were provided with meals at the Company's expense, a form of additional benefit or allowance. "Councellours" denoted members of the governing Council who were expected to advise and approve administrative decisions. **Speculations** The request for detailed investigation into misappropriations suggests that misconduct under Governor Boucher may have been widespread and financially significant. The account of Mr Free's dismissal implies that loyalty to Company interests may have conflicted with the Governor's personal authority or practices. The reported treatment of Mr Free indicates that tensions within the administration may have escalated to a personal level, affecting individuals' well being. The criticism of Mr Cason and Mr French suggests that the Council may have functioned as a formality, with limited independent oversight of the Governor's actions. The mention of a more capable individual on the island implies that appointments may not have been based on merit, contributing to inefficiency in administration.
302	290	who hath much more Skill and is a good Engineer; We shall determine nothing here positively about either of them, but would have you consider their cases impartially, and if you find neither of the two Assistants did us any Injury while they were so and that Cason is a good officer, let him continue Lieutenant if that was his former post, or if but Ensign, as we remember then to have only Ensigns pay, but in either to have no claim to Dyet at our Table on account of his being once assistant to the Councill, if Mr. French is fitt to be Gunner continue	It was stated that there was on the island another individual who possessed greater skill and was considered to be a capable engineer. No final decision was made regarding the positions of Mr Cason and Mr French, but it was directed that their cases be examined impartially. If it were found that neither had caused any harm to the Company during their service, and that Mr Cason was a competent officer, he was to be continued in his former military rank, whether as lieutenant or, if that had not been his position, as ensign with the appropriate level of pay. In either case, it was specified that he was not to retain any entitlement to be maintained at the Company's table on the basis of his previous role as assistant to the Council.

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		him so but without the Liberty of our Table, unless it was the Ancient Custom. If he be not and Mr. Welch is and will in your opinion do us better Service, entertain him in his stead. This we the rather mention because as you may see in our late Letters We have reason to complain of over Charges on us of Powder and other stores on Pretence of Salutes &c[a] in his Accounts and if you on enquiry find our objections to his said Accounts rightly made, he has the less reason to expect further Encouragement from us, especially if you have a better to fill up his Place, and the Account received by the Abingdon of Gunners Stores Expended seems to us too Lavish. Touching Mr. Alexander you will see our opinion in former Letters and thereto we Refer you. We have a Petition from Joseph Thomlinson one of the Writers in the Stores desiring to be added to the Councill there being then so great a Vacancy; We have heard but little of him, tho' he says he has served near Seven years therein, Let us by your next have his Character without partiality with relation to what he has been and done and whether he be capable of a higher station and to be made of Councill in future in case of the Death or departure of	It was further directed that, if Mr French were suitable to serve as gunner, he should be continued in that position, but likewise without entitlement to the Company's table unless this had been an established custom. If, however, he were found unfit, and if Mr Welch were judged to be more capable and likely to provide better service, then Mr Welch was to be appointed in his place. This matter was emphasised because previous correspondence had raised concerns about excessive charges for powder and other stores, which had been attributed to salutes and similar uses in Mr French's accounts. It was stated that, if upon enquiry these objections were found to be justified, he would have little reason to expect continued support, particularly if a more suitable replacement were available. It was also observed that the account of gunner's stores expended, received by *Abingdon*, appeared to be excessively wasteful. Reference was made to earlier letters concerning Mr Alexander, to which attention was directed for the Company's established view. It was then recorded that a petition had been received from Joseph Thomlinson, one of the writers in the stores, requesting to be added to the Council due to a significant vacancy. It was noted that little was known about him, although he claimed to have served in that role for nearly seven years. It was therefore directed that a full and impartial account of his character be provided in the next correspondence, including an assessment of his conduct, experience and capability for advancement. This was to determine whether he might be considered suitable for appointment to the Council in the event of a death or departure, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Ensign" and "Lieutenant" referred to junior and intermediate commissioned military ranks, indicating the structured hierarchy within the island's garrison. "Dyet at our Table" denoted the provision of meals at the Company's expense, often regarded as a privilege attached to certain offices. "Gunner" referred to the officer responsible for the maintenance and use of artillery, as well as the management of associated stores such as powder and shot. "Salutes" indicated ceremonial or formal discharges of artillery, which consumed powder and could contribute to increased expenditure. "Writers in the Stores" referred to clerical staff responsible for maintaining accounts and records relating to goods held in Company warehouses. **Speculations** The careful consideration of military ranks and privileges suggests an effort to separate official duties from personal benefits, limiting unnecessary expense. The concern over excessive use of gunpowder implies that ceremonial practices may have been used to justify inflated consumption of stores. The possibility of replacing Mr French with Mr Welch indicates a willingness to prioritise competence over existing appointments. The request for an impartial character assessment of Joseph Thomlinson suggests that appointments to the Council were being scrutinised more closely than before. The overall tone reflects an attempt to reform administration by addressing inefficiencies, reducing costs and ensuring that positions were held by capable individuals.
303	291	of any of the present number, We find also in the Consultation of the 13th of October two other Writers in the Stores namely. Samuel Bronnee, and Thomas	It was directed that consideration be given to the possible appointment of Joseph Thomlinson to the Council in the event of a vacancy arising among the present members. Attention was then drawn to the

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		Delarose that they diet at our Table, and with four more their names were allowed two quarts of Arrack a Day; pray let us know whether there is an Absolute Necessity for so many Writers especially since we sent out Mr. Byfield a Writer with you, if there be and that fewer hands can't by Diligent Application to the Business be must required; if otherwise discharge such as can be spared and at least qualified on account of Ability, honesty or Application. We observe in the said Consultation of the 13th of October that the four others dieted at our Table and had the allowance of Arrack as aforesaid: because of the Scarcity of Provisions, for so it is worded, were the Surgeon - Mate, Joyner, Steward and Cooper. Pray let us know as we have in former Letters required what number of Persons do diet at our Table, for it seems there have been three and yet the late Governour said he thought it below him to have any Mechanicks diet at our Table when we Ordered Eleave the Carpenter that favours to encourage his care of our Timber and Deals Advise us the Peoples names, their Employments and your opinion whether it is for our Interest and by our and our Predecessors Order that they have had or should have that Priviledge, Examine also former Precedents to see how long since and for what reason any innovation have been made from what was the Practice in the Hth Company's time, or at the begining of the Union that is to say, during Governour Poiriers time of being Deputy Governour & Governour of the Island; don't forget or relate this but take pains to be truly Informed and let us know the whole of the case with your observation Thereupon, It is not so much for the...	Consultation of 13 October, in which it was recorded that two additional writers in the stores, namely Samuel Bronnee and Thomas Delarose, had been permitted to dine at the Company's table. It was further noted that, together with four others, they had been granted an allowance of two quarts of arrack per day. It was therefore required that information be provided as to whether there was a real necessity for maintaining so many writers, particularly since Mr Byfield had recently been sent out in that capacity. It was directed that, if the workload could be managed by fewer individuals through proper diligence, those who could be spared should be dismissed, giving preference to considerations of ability, honesty and application. Reference was again made to the same Consultation of 13 October, in which it had been stated that four additional persons had been permitted to dine at the Company's table and to receive the same allowance of arrack, on account of a scarcity of provisions. These individuals were identified as the surgeon's mate, the joiner, the steward and the cooper. It was requested that a full account be provided of the number of persons currently receiving provisions at the Company's table, as earlier correspondence had sought this information. It was observed that the number appeared to have reached three, despite the late Governor having expressed that it was beneath his position to allow mechanics to dine at the Company's table, even though instructions had previously been given to permit the carpenter this privilege as an encouragement for his care of timber and deals. It was required that a report be prepared listing the names of all such individuals, their roles and an opinion as to whether their entitlement to this privilege was justified in the Company's interest and consistent with current or former orders. It was further directed that earlier precedents be examined to determine when and why any changes had been made to established practice, particularly in comparison with arrangements during the time of the old Company or at the beginning of the Union, specifically during the administration of Governor Poirier as Deputy Governor and Governor of the island. It was emphasised that a thorough and accurate enquiry was expected, and that the complete circumstances, together with observations, were to be reported, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Writers in the Stores" referred to clerical staff responsible for recording and managing inventory, accounts and transactions within Company warehouses. "Two quarts of Arrack a Day" denoted a substantial daily allowance of distilled spirit, representing both a ration and a form of benefit. "Diet at our Table" indicated the provision of meals at the Company's expense, typically reserved for certain ranks or offices. "Mechanicks" referred to skilled tradesmen such as carpenters, coopers and joiners, whose labour was essential but whose social standing was considered below that of administrative officers. "The Union" referred to the merger of the Old and New East India Companies in 1709, after which administrative practices were often reassessed. "Governor Poirier" denoted a former office holder whose period of administration served as a reference point for earlier practices. **Speculations** The concern over the number of writers suggests that administrative staffing levels may have expanded beyond what was considered efficient or necessary. The provision of both food and significant quantities of arrack indicates that allowances had become a notable expense, prompting scrutiny.

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			The reference to scarcity of provisions as a justification implies that such privileges may have been extended during shortages, possibly inappropriately. The mention of the Governor's attitude towards mechanics highlights tensions between social hierarchy and practical necessity within the settlement. The call to review earlier precedents suggests an attempt to restore discipline by returning to established practices rather than allowing gradual expansion of privileges.
304	292	...having the charge of a few Peoples Victualls as the putting a stop to Precedents, which are often privately introduced and without reason or it may some time be allowed of as a particular respect or extraordinary Merritt, but when once establish't will be given as a reason why the same should be allowed to the Successors who very likely have no real Claim to Merritt or at least has not given sufficient Proof of it. But we must further add that our Charges have sweld of late years prodigiously at S^{t}. Helena beyond what they were in former times and therefore it becomes us to look about us and stop every the least leak, for good husbandry always begins in smaller matters and if it be true from thence ascends to greater till at last it becomes habituated to every thing. Send us Annually by our Ships at least by double Conveyances an abstract of the Monthly charge of our Table at the Fort and Plantation to a time certain Viz^{t}. the 25th or later of March, inserting the Persons names who have the Benefit of it with the reason. We come now to the next Branch under this Head and that is the Military wherein we observe as follows Viz^{t}. by the Abingdon we received a List of the pay and stages allowed to our Covenant and Merchantile Servants and Soldiers which was for so far well done and the Soldiers names put alphabetically, this is right - But it wanted to compleat it the abstract of the whole at the bottom to show what the Annual Charge amounted to, for the future do this in the following manner, first the Governour & Councell in one Line amounting to £ Sum in sum, then the severall persons employ'd by them as - Assistants at the Stores or at the Plantation house, or overseers of the grounds or of the Blacks, then the severall artificers, then the Boats...	It was observed that the issue was not merely the cost of providing victuals for a small number of individuals, but rather the danger of allowing precedents to be established. It was explained that such practices were often introduced privately and without sufficient justification, or granted on occasion as a mark of particular favour or extraordinary merit. Once established, however, they tended to be cited as justification for extending the same privileges to successors who might have no legitimate claim to them or had not demonstrated comparable merit. It was further stated that the Company's expenses at St Helena had increased greatly in recent years beyond what had been experienced in earlier periods. It was therefore considered necessary to exercise close oversight and to prevent even minor sources of unnecessary expenditure. It was emphasised that careful management should begin with smaller matters and, if properly maintained, would extend to larger concerns until it became an established habit in all aspects of administration. Instructions were given that an annual abstract of the monthly expense of the Company's table at both the fort and the plantation was to be sent by ship, and, where possible, by duplicate conveyances. This account was to be brought up to a fixed date, namely 25 March or shortly thereafter. It was required that the names of all individuals benefiting from these provisions be included, together with the reasons for their entitlement. Attention was then directed to the military branch of administration. It was noted that, through *Abingdon*, a list had been received detailing the pay and allowances of the Company's covenant servants, mercantile employees and soldiers. This list was described as satisfactory in part, particularly in that the soldiers' names had been arranged alphabetically. However, it was observed that the document was incomplete, as it lacked a summary at the end showing the total annual expense. It was therefore directed that, in future, such accounts be prepared in a more comprehensive manner. The Governor and Council were to be listed first, with their combined cost clearly stated. This was to be followed by entries for the various persons employed under their authority, including assistants in the stores, those at the plantation house and overseers of land or of slaves. After these were to be listed the artificers and then the boatmen, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Precedents" referred to previously established practices or privileges which, once allowed, could be invoked to justify similar claims in future. "Victualls" denoted food provisions supplied at the Company's expense, particularly those consumed at the official table. "Double conveyances" indicated the practice of sending duplicate reports by separate ships to ensure their safe arrival. "Covenant servants" referred to employees of the Company bound by formal agreements or contracts, often holding administrative or commercial roles.

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			"Artificers" denoted skilled craftsmen employed in technical or manual trades, such as carpentry, masonry or metalwork. **Speculations** The concern over precedents suggests that informal privileges had gradually expanded, contributing to increased and uncontrolled expenditure. The emphasis on monitoring even minor expenses indicates a broader effort to impose stricter financial discipline across the administration. The requirement for detailed annual accounts reflects an attempt to gain clearer oversight of recurring costs and identify areas for reduction. The structured format prescribed for military and administrative pay lists suggests a move towards more standardised and transparent accounting practices. The inclusion of overseers of slaves within the account highlights the integration of forced labour into the island's economic system, and the need to account for its associated costs.
305	293	Boats crew, then the Gunner and his underlings and Munition, then the covants Military officers, then the Privates Centinels, and so cast up the Totall, and to take care the Lists of all be ranged in the same manner to agree with the Abstract, when you draw out a new List and find any Persons names wanting which were in the former put a memorandum after the abstract which should be drawn out as aforesaid yearly mentioning what is become of the Persons named in the preceeding List Viz[t]. so many are dead naming them and when and of what distemper or casualty, so many discharg'd or run away & the Surgeon sign the List of the deceased, the Clerks that of the Persons discharged or run away and the proper officers who Muster the Soldiers on the Muster Roll of those actually in Service and do you the Governour & Councill sign the whole to show you have Examined all, and find it right and let the dates of each be put in each Place of Signing We propose this further Benefit by such List and Abstract, that you will see how great the Charge is and thereby be excited to a continued care to prevent any the least unnecessary article of Expence. We are sorry to find the reason alledged for the Soldiers mutinying namely want of food, one great cause of that as we take it is that mischevious practice of letting them run in Arrear so much at the Storehouse, this must be remedied. We have been told that a small Present from the Punch Houses to Mr. Cock or his Wife would get what the Soldiers were in Arrear for Punch transferred to the housekeepers credit at the Storehouse and to the Soldiers Debt, and by this means and the want of frequent Ballancing every Mans Account the Soldiers are run in arrears from £10. to £30. a Man and upwards, which being unable to pay They...	It was directed that the remaining categories in the military accounts were to be arranged in a clear and consistent order. After the artificers, the boat crews were to be listed, followed by the gunner, his subordinates and the munitions, then the covenant military officers and finally the private sentinels. A total was then to be calculated from these entries. It was required that all lists be arranged in this same sequence so that they corresponded exactly with the abstract. When a new list was prepared, any names that had appeared in the previous list but were no longer present were to be accounted for in a memorandum appended to the abstract. This memorandum was to state how many individuals had died, naming them and specifying the date and cause of death, whether by illness or accident. It was also to record how many had been discharged or had run away. It was further directed that the surgeon was to sign the list of those deceased, the clerks were to sign that of those discharged or absconded and the appropriate officers responsible for mustering the soldiers were to sign the muster roll of those currently in service. The Governor and Council were then to sign the entire document, confirming that it had been examined and found correct. Dates were to be entered alongside each signature. It was explained that the purpose of this system was to provide a clear understanding of the total expense and thereby encourage continual attention to preventing any unnecessary costs. Concern was expressed regarding reports that the soldiers had mutinied due to a lack of food. It was suggested that one of the principal causes had been the harmful practice of allowing their accounts at the storehouse to fall significantly into arrears, and it was directed that this be corrected. It was reported that a small gratuity given at the punch houses to Mr Cock or his wife had enabled goods owed by soldiers to be transferred improperly to the account of the housekeeper at the storehouse, while still being charged to the soldiers. It was further noted that, through this practice and the absence of regular balancing of accounts, soldiers had accumulated debts ranging from £10 to £30 or more per person. It was stated that, being unable to repay these sums, the soldiers had been placed in a difficult position, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Centinels" referred to sentinels or guard soldiers, typically forming the lowest rank within the military structure.

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			"Muster Roll" denoted an official register listing all soldiers present and fit for duty, used for inspection and verification. "Run away" referred to soldiers who had deserted their post without permission, a serious offence in military discipline. "Punch Houses" indicated establishments where alcoholic punch was sold, often frequented by soldiers and associated with informal credit arrangements. "Arrear" referred to unpaid debts or balances owed, in this case by soldiers to the Company's store. **Speculations** The detailed requirements for accounting and certification suggest an effort to impose stricter administrative control and reduce discrepancies in military records. The accumulation of debt among soldiers indicates systemic issues in pay management and provisioning, which may have contributed to unrest. The involvement of intermediaries such as Mr Cock or his wife suggests opportunities for corruption or manipulation within the supply system. The link drawn between financial mismanagement and mutiny reflects an understanding that poor administrative practices could directly affect discipline and stability. The insistence on regular account balancing implies that previous neglect in this area had allowed problems to escalate unchecked.
306	294	they are tempted to any desperate Course, We tell you the Evil that you may Apply the remedy of Prevention in future; Governour Boucher was in the right when he gave publick Order to such Debitors to work out their Debts at the Fortifications or Buildings, do you continue it for those still in Debt, because we have no other way to reimburse it, this will - Prevent the Change of Blacks. It was well done to find out, viz^{t}. and Punish the Mutineers, The method he practised of letting our Boats to the Soldiers to Fish was prudent and what would prevent any cold Complaints of their being hungerbit; and if a few were lazy and would not take pains to get their Victualls there would be Wiser men in Consequence the Complaint would not be generall, continue this practice to them and the Islanders during the great Scarcity of fresh Provisions which by the Afflicting hand of Providence hath lain so heavy on all the Inhabitants of S^{t}. Helena, as to the Accounts of S^{t}. Helena whether our own in generall or those on Account of Ships or persons in particular We have little to add to what we have mentioned before in this - Letter and in those sent you for years past, except this that we must have a Stop put to the drawing Bills. We can't remain quiet since such large Draughts yearly made upon us, heretofore We had used to have Bills sent us drawn on the owners for what supplyed the Ship and yet then S^{t}. Helena was not supplyed by us from India in any measure to what it has been lately, but now it is the reverse; It is	It was stated that the accumulation of debt among the soldiers had placed them in such difficulty that they were driven towards desperate actions. This was explained so that preventive measures might be applied in future. It was acknowledged that Governor Boucher had acted correctly in ordering that debtors should work off what they owed through labour on the fortifications or buildings. It was directed that this practice be continued for those still in debt, as no other means of recovering the sums was available. It was also observed that this would prevent the improper exchange or misuse of slaves. It was further noted that the identification and punishment of the mutineers had been properly carried out. The practice introduced by Governor Boucher of allowing the Company's boats to be used by soldiers for fishing was described as prudent, as it helped to prevent complaints of hunger. It was stated that, even if some individuals were unwilling to make the effort to obtain their own provisions, others would act more sensibly and the complaint would not become widespread. It was therefore directed that this practice should be continued, both for the soldiers and for the island's inhabitants, particularly during the severe scarcity of fresh provisions, which had been attributed to the effects of Providence and had affected all inhabitants of St Helena. With regard to the accounts of St Helena, whether general Company accounts or those relating to ships or individuals, it was stated that little needed to be added to earlier instructions contained in this and previous correspondence. However, it was emphasised that the practice of drawing bills must be brought to an end. It was declared that the Company could not continue to accept the burden of large sums being drawn upon it each year. It was recalled that, in earlier times, bills had been drawn upon ship owners for supplies provided to their vessels, and that during that period St Helena had not received supplies from India to the same extent as in more recent years. It was observed that the situation had now been reversed. Although it was acknowledged that fortifications and building works had contributed to increased expenditure, it was stated that the principal

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		true the Fortifications and Buildings have been some cause of an - additional charge but the difference between the management of the later and former times appears to us to be the greatest. In the Abingdons List of the Packet W^{t}. G. is mentioned Ships &c^{a} Accounts, but names none, for the future insert in the List...	difference lay in the management between former and more recent periods. It was also noted that, in the list of the packet received by *Abingdon*, an entry referred to ships and accounts but did not specify their names. It was directed that, in future, such lists were to include the names of the ships, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Work out their Debts" referred to the practice of requiring individuals to repay what they owed through labour, often on public works such as fortifications. "Change of Blacks" indicated the transfer or misuse of slaves in place of settling debts, reflecting the economic value assigned to enslaved labour. "Mutineers" referred to soldiers who had rebelled against authority, an offence treated with severity in military discipline. "Providence" denoted the belief that events, such as scarcity, were influenced by divine will or natural forces beyond human control. "Bills" referred to financial instruments drawn upon the Company, obliging it to pay sums in England for expenses incurred elsewhere. **Speculations** The use of forced labour to repay debts suggests limited financial flexibility within the settlement and reliance on labour as a substitute for monetary repayment. The continuation of fishing privileges indicates an attempt to supplement inadequate food supplies and reduce dependence on official provisions. The attribution of scarcity to Providence may reflect both genuine environmental hardship and a rhetorical means of explaining shortages. The insistence on ending the drawing of bills suggests that financial controls had weakened, leading to unsustainable expenditure. The comparison between earlier and later management implies that administrative discipline had declined, prompting renewed efforts at reform.
307	295	List the particulour accompts sent in the Packets, this reduces the severall Accompts to a certainty both to you and us, whereas the generalls word leave all in doubt and serv'd only for an Excuse to the Clerks to pretend they sent all they shou'd when very likely they sent few or perhaps none and you can never be sure whether they have done their duty or know how to supply by the next any defects in the former Packets, this Method of particularising in the List of the Packets all Books and Papers sent, will have this further Effect, that the Storekeeper and his under officers, your Clerk of the Councill and all others who have any charge under them of which they shou'd prepare and send us the Accompts knowing the Lists contains Memorandums of all sent, and that you can see what each have brought in, and what omitted they will or should be carefull to forget nothing, lest they incur your censure and the Clerk by looking over the preceeding years & seasons Lists of the Packets will be in mind to call timely on all the proper officers for the Papers, Books, and Accompts necessary to be sent by the Shipping then with you or what may be further expected during the present or approaching	It was directed that all particular accounts sent within packets were to be clearly listed in detail. This was considered necessary to ensure certainty for both the Company and those responsible on the island, as general descriptions were said to leave matters unclear and had previously allowed clerks to claim that all required documents had been sent when, in reality, few or perhaps none had been transmitted. It was stated that, without such specification, it was impossible to determine whether duties had been properly fulfilled or to identify and correct omissions in subsequent packets. It was explained that this method of listing each book, paper and account individually would have the additional benefit of encouraging diligence among all officers responsible for preparing and sending accounts. These included the Storekeeper and his assistants, the Clerk of the Council and all others entrusted with such duties. It was noted that, knowing that detailed lists would be examined, they would be more careful to omit nothing, in order to avoid censure. It was further observed that the Clerk, by reviewing lists from previous years and seasons, would be reminded to request in good time all necessary documents, books and accounts required for transmission by the ships then present or expected during the current or forthcoming season. Once all documents had been collected, it was stated that it would require little effort for the Governor or a member of the Council to prepare a list of the items to be sent and to verify that each was ready. If the Clerk anticipated difficulty in obtaining the required materials in time, it was directed that this should be

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		Season, and when they all are collected, it will be but little trouble for the governour or one of the Councils to form the Lists of what should be sent and call over the particulars to see they are ready, or if the Clerk fears he can't get them in time he can represent it to the Governour alone or in Councill, that he may employ his authority to get all done, for as you have the power to enforce obedience to our Orders, the blame will be yours if they are not complyed with and this we mention to obviate the Excuses made by Captain Boucher in the 7th Paragraph of the Whingdons Letter which we must never suffer to pass for orthodox. What Accompts we woud have sent besides the generall...	reported to the Governor, either individually or in Council, so that authority could be exercised to ensure completion. It was emphasised that, as the power to enforce compliance rested with the Governor and Council, responsibility for any failure to carry out these orders would lie with them. It was further stated that these instructions were given in order to prevent the type of excuses previously offered by Captain Boucher in the seventh paragraph of *Whingdon*'s letter, which were declared unacceptable. Attention was then directed to the specific accounts that were required to be sent in addition to the general correspondence, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Packets" referred to organised bundles of correspondence, accounts and official documents sent together by ship as part of administrative communication. "Particularising" denoted the practice of listing items individually and in detail, rather than summarising them in general terms. "Clerk of the Councill" referred to the administrative officer responsible for recording proceedings and managing official documentation. "Orthodox" in this context indicated what was considered acceptable or proper practice according to Company standards. "Censure" referred to formal disapproval or reprimand issued by authority for failure to perform required duties. **Speculations** The insistence on detailed listing suggests that previous failures in documentation had led to confusion or loss of important information. The emphasis on accountability indicates that clerical staff may have avoided responsibility by relying on vague reporting methods. The structured approach to document transmission reflects an effort to impose systematic administrative discipline across distant operations. The rejection of Captain Boucher's explanations suggests a breakdown of trust and a determination to prevent similar justifications in future. The requirement for proactive oversight by the Governor and Council highlights the expectation that leadership should ensure compliance rather than rely solely on subordinates.
308	296	Books which must be yearly transmitted you will see by what is mention'd in this and preceeding Letters where to we refer you. We find some Benefit of our Complaints on this head by what's sent on the Abingdon and the following Ships and a reason given why the Generall Books were not sent, because Mr. Park had let them run behind hand Nineteen Months. In the Marlborough's Packet Nº. 5 is mentioned a Calculate of the yearly Expence of Sᵗ. Helena for one year, but we can't find no such thing in the Packet, give no occasion to complain of such omissions hereafter. In the Abingdons List We had the List of Marriages - Baptisms and Burials certifyed by the Chaplain; Continue the like yearly to the 25th March. We received also in the same Packet Copys of the Letters sent from Sᵗ. Helena to Bengall, Bencoolen & Fort Sᵗ. George	It was stated that the books required to be transmitted annually were already specified in the present and preceding letters, to which reference was made. It was observed that some improvement had been achieved in response to earlier complaints, as evidenced by the materials sent by *Abingdon* and subsequent ships. It was noted, however, that the general books had not been included, and this omission had been explained on the grounds that Mr Park had allowed them to fall nineteen months in arrear. Attention was drawn to the packet sent by *Marlborough*, in which item number five was said to contain a calculation of the yearly expense of St Helena for one year. It was stated that no such document could be found within the packet, and it was directed that no further occasion for such omissions be given. It was further observed that the list accompanying *Abingdon* had included records of marriages, baptisms and burials, certified by the chaplain. It was required that similar returns be sent annually up to 25 March. It was also noted that copies of letters sent from St Helena to Bengal, Bencoolen and Fort St George had been received in the same packet, but that they lacked dates and signatures. It was directed that these deficiencies be corrected in future.

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		but no Dates put thereto nor who signed them, let this be amended in future. We find in the last Consultations Mr. Bazettts Account sold out of the Stores intire which is according to our Order, but if they cou'd be yett more contracted it would not be the worse was they appear plain, if not they must be continued in the same method as at present. We come now to the Article of Slaves & in answer to what lyes before us on that part of the Generall head say, since you have received into three Slaves by the Mercury Sloop, We hope you will apply them to the best uses you can for our Service for Handicrafts for Fishing, for Planting and other Beneficial Employments. Let...	Reference was made to the most recent Consultations, in which Mr Bazett's account of goods sold from the stores had been entered in full, in accordance with instructions. It was suggested that, if such accounts could be further condensed while remaining clear, this would be preferable. If not, they were to continue in their present form. Attention was then directed to the matter of slaves. It was noted that three slaves had been received by the *Mercury* sloop, and it was expressed that they were to be employed in the most effective manner for the Company's service. Suitable uses were identified as including handicrafts, fishing, planting and other productive forms of labour, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Generall Books" referred to comprehensive accounting records covering multiple aspects of the island's administration, including finance, stores and operations. "Packet Nº. 5" denoted a numbered item within a bundle of documents sent together, indicating an organised system of record transmission. "Marriages, Baptisms and Burials" referred to parish records maintained by the chaplain, serving both administrative and demographic purposes. "Consultations" indicated the formal recorded proceedings of the Governor and Council, forming an official administrative record. "Handicrafts" referred to skilled manual trades or productive labour, often assigned to slaves within the colonial economy. **Speculations** The continued omission of key documents suggests persistent difficulties in maintaining consistent administrative discipline. The reference to books being nineteen months behind indicates significant delays in record keeping, which may have hindered effective oversight. The requirement for certified parish records reflects the Company's interest in monitoring population changes on the island. The suggestion to condense accounts implies a desire to balance thoroughness with efficiency in reporting. The emphasis on the productive use of slaves highlights their economic importance within the island's labour system.
309	297	more be Idle, but all kept to their proper Labour, take care of their healths, afford them proper Cloathing and food, and when Sick let them be supplyed with usefull necessarys, write to the Coast or Bay to send you two or three Bales of Double Dungarees for Cloaths for them and for Sail for your Boats, Send us Annually a List of all our Blacks, Their Ages and how Employ'd. We had the Account by these last Ships but no Body signed it to vouch for its truth which must be done, put the Men the Women the Children at eight years or more and those under each in a Column by themselves and see all be rightly Entered which this last Surely was not a Child of one year old called Harry was therein ranked among several others as looking after the Hoggs, Calves and Poultry. If you have any Blacks to spare which you think worth while to send to Bencoolen, put them on board this Ship Cardonnell and advise it to the	It was directed that no slaves were to remain idle, but that all were to be employed in appropriate labour. Care was to be taken for their health, with proper clothing and food provided, and when sick they were to be supplied with necessary remedies. Instructions were given to write to the Coast or the Bay to obtain two or three bales of double dungarees, intended both for clothing the slaves and for use as sailcloth for boats. It was required that an annual list of all slaves be sent, including their ages and the work to which they were assigned. It was noted that such an account had been received by recent ships, but it had not been signed to confirm its accuracy, which was to be corrected in future. It was further directed that men, women, children aged eight years or more and those under that age were to be listed in separate columns. Attention was drawn to errors in the previous list, including the case of a child of one year named Harry being incorrectly recorded as tending hogs, calves and poultry. It was also stated that, if there were any slaves considered surplus and suitable for transfer, they might be sent to Bencoolen aboard *Cardonell*, with notice to be given to the Deputy Governor and Council there. It was specified that, according to the charter party, a payment

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		Deputy Governour and Councell the Charterparty will shew you we are to pay four pounds p̄ head for their Passage. The next branch of this Generall head is the Article of Cattle and live Provisions and is a very Melancholly Account in all parts as to the Death of so many, there is no repining at providence, an an humble submission becomes us, it is now Incumbent on you and all the Islanders to do what in you lyes to preserve the remaining Stock and encrease it all you can for the Benefit of the Island in generall and the severalls concerned, and to that end to prevent the killing of any the Calves whatsoever and to spare as much as Possible all the goodn Cattle especially the Cows. The French King has very lately put out an Edict forbidding any Lambs being killed in his kingdom to Whitsuntide 1716. because he wants wool for his Manufacturers how	of four pounds per head would be made for their passage. Attention was then directed to the matter of cattle and other livestock, which was described as a distressing situation due to the loss of many animals. It was stated that such losses were to be accepted without complaint, as part of Providence, and that efforts should now be directed towards preserving and increasing the remaining stock for the benefit of the island and all concerned. It was therefore ordered that no calves were to be slaughtered and that as many cattle as possible, particularly cows, were to be spared. Reference was made to a recent edict issued by the King of France, forbidding the slaughter of lambs until Whitsuntide 1716, in order to preserve wool supplies for manufacturing. This example was cited to illustrate the importance of conserving livestock for long term benefit, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Double Dungarees" referred to a durable cotton fabric, often used for work clothing and sails, valued for its strength and resistance to wear. "Blacks" was the term used in the original context to refer to enslaved individuals, reflecting the language of the period. "Charterparty" denoted the contractual agreement governing the use of a ship, including provisions for the transport of persons or goods. "Whitsuntide" referred to the Christian festival of Pentecost, used here as a fixed point in the calendar for enforcing agricultural regulation. "Edict" indicated a formal order issued by a sovereign authority, carrying legal force within their realm. **Speculations** The emphasis on proper care and employment of slaves suggests both economic reliance on their labour and concern over maintaining their productivity. The requirement for detailed and accurate lists indicates previous deficiencies in record keeping and oversight. The option to transfer slaves to Bencoolen implies an interconnected labour system across Company settlements. The prohibition on slaughtering young livestock reflects an effort to rebuild herds after significant losses, possibly due to disease or environmental factors. The reference to French policy suggests that broader European practices were used as justification for similar measures within the Company's territories.
310	298	how much greater reason have all the Inhabitants to Agree among themselves to lay a Penalty on any one who shall kill a Cow or Calf within a limited time to be by them settled and to see the Order be put in Rigorous execution Do you recommend it to them heartily but to our poor remaining Stock We positively Order that none of ours be killed within the same time, or if the Inhabitants will not be under a mutual Agreement yet be sure do you take care none of ours be (found) We have told you before we have Ordered you three Lead Jawls for Fishing Let the Planters and Soldiers have the use of them on the Terms settled in Governour Bouchers times, or if you can settle better, do, this will yield a good Supply if they are industrious, when our Shipping come to the Island, let them have as little Beef as	It was stated that there was strong reason for all inhabitants to agree among themselves to impose a penalty upon anyone who killed a cow or calf within a specified period to be determined by mutual consent, and to ensure that such an order was strictly enforced. It was directed that this measure be strongly recommended to them. It was further ordered that, regardless of whether the inhabitants agreed to such an arrangement, no cattle belonging to the Company were to be killed during that time under any circumstances. Reference was made to the provision of three lead jowls for fishing, which had previously been ordered. It was directed that these were to be made available to planters and soldiers under the same terms that had been established during Governor Boucher's administration, or under improved terms if possible. It was noted that this measure would provide a valuable supply of food if properly used. It was also instructed that, when Company ships arrived at the island, the amount of beef supplied to them was to be kept to a minimum, and that it was to be reserved chiefly, or solely, for the recovery of weak men among the crews.

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		Possible and that chiefly or only for Recruiting their weak Men, but neither Governour nor Clerks. It is an inseparable Loss that the late Governour had like to have brought upon us as your Letter of the 31st July discribs it, That we have neither sheep, Deer, goats, Turkeys, Geese, Ducks, Fowles or Rabbits left We earnestly recommend to you to remember your promise in that Letter and raise more as soon & as much as you can, if the Planters have Suffered in all or any of these Species, prevail on them to agree on good Laws for the sooner replenishing the Island again with each Sort, and do you set the Example, there need not many words to perswade Men of sence & foresight to take the utmost care herein, for the thing speaks itself: Let us hear what is done touching each these Articles by your next and how it came about that in July there should be none of these aforesaid Species remaining when the List by the Abingdon taken the 25th. February before mention we had Eighteen sheep, 5 Turkeys, 6 Ducks, 48 Dung hill Fowles, the same List	It was specified that neither the Governor nor the clerks were to receive such provisions. It was observed that a serious loss had nearly been caused by the late Governor, as described in the letter of 31 July, namely that there were no sheep, deer, goats, turkeys, geese, ducks, fowls or rabbits remaining on the island. It was strongly urged that efforts be made to fulfil the promise given in that letter to restore these stocks as quickly and as fully as possible. It was further directed that, if the planters had suffered losses in any of these species, they should be encouraged to establish effective regulations for replenishing them. It was also required that an example be set by the authorities themselves in promoting these measures. It was stated that no elaborate persuasion should be necessary, as the importance of preserving and restoring livestock would be evident to any person of understanding and foresight. It was required that a report be provided in the next correspondence detailing what had been done in relation to each type of livestock. It was also requested that an explanation be given as to how it had come about that, by July, none of these species remained, when the list received by *Abingdon*, dated 25 February of that year, had recorded eighteen sheep, five turkeys, six ducks and forty eight dung hill fowls. The account was noted to continue beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Lead Jawls" referred to weighted fishing equipment, possibly lead weighted lines or gear used to improve the efficiency of fishing. "Planters" denoted settlers engaged in agriculture, responsible for cultivating land and maintaining livestock. "Recruiting their weak Men" referred to restoring the health and strength of sailors who were unwell or weakened during voyages. "Dung hill Fowles" referred to common domestic chickens, often raised in farmyards for eggs and meat. "Penalty" indicated a formally imposed punishment or fine intended to enforce compliance with agreed regulations. **Speculations** The proposal for collective penalties suggests that voluntary cooperation among inhabitants was seen as essential for preserving limited livestock resources. The restriction on beef consumption by ships implies that local supplies had become critically depleted. The near disappearance of multiple animal species indicates a severe ecological or management failure, possibly due to over consumption, disease or neglect. The encouragement of local regulation among planters reflects an attempt to involve the community in recovery efforts rather than relying solely on central authority. The comparison between earlier and later livestock counts suggests that losses had occurred rapidly, prompting urgent concern and investigation.
311	299	List also makes the number of our Blacks, Cattle to be 92 and by a Letter to us of the 29th March there were so many then, yet your Letter they are but 60. be particular herein, We hope you will never Copy after your Predecessor's trifling insignificant Answer in paragraph 28th. of Obriington to a like Enquiry. Touching the last Article under this head Vizz: Lands and Revenues We shall briefly refer you to former Letters being unwilling to swell this further than Necessity requires, continue to send the List yearly by the Family, Whites & Blacks and Cattle, of all Land Leas'd out to the Inhabitants, what Freehold they have, what our Rent and Revenues Amount unto and how much by each Article in an Abstract at the end of the	It was observed that the list previously received recorded the number of slaves and cattle as ninety two, and that a letter dated 29 March had confirmed that number at that time. It was therefore noted with concern that a later letter reported only sixty. It was directed that a full and precise explanation be provided for this discrepancy. It was also stated that no superficial or inadequate response, such as that given by the predecessor in paragraph twenty eighth of *Obriington*, was to be repeated. Attention was then directed to the final article under this heading, namely lands and revenues. It was stated that reference should be made to earlier letters to avoid unnecessary repetition. It was nevertheless

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		Account and what Land by a good Survey shall be found to belong to us and where what part thereof is Necessary or used for our own Cattle and what part might be Leased out althrough put the List of Family Alphabetically which we find sometimes has not been done. As the great Security of our Island Consists in the number of the English Men upon it and that they will the better endeavour to defend it against an Enemy when they have any thing of their own at stake, We are willing to this and that any of our Soldiers who behave themselves Civilly and are desirous to rent our Land shall have Liberty so to do and become Planters when their Covenanted Term is expired and if there are any of them deserving the future favour of having Land given them according to the Antient custom Let us know it and whether you have any Objection thereto and for what for our further Consideration, and Resolution thereupon. Take Constant care to preserve the Civil Government of the Island in a regular Method and as may give all necessary Satisfaction make the Inhabitants easy in their property, suffer none to be oppress'd or Ill dealt	required that a yearly list be sent detailing all lands leased to inhabitants, arranged by families and including both white persons and slaves, as well as cattle. It was further required that this account specify what land was held as freehold, the total rent and revenues received and the amounts derived from each source, summarised in an abstract at the end. It was also directed that a proper survey be undertaken to identify all land belonging to the Company, distinguishing what portion was necessary for Company cattle and what might be available for lease. It was specified that the list of families was to be arranged alphabetically, as it had sometimes not been done. It was stated that the security of the island depended largely upon the number of English inhabitants, and that they would be more inclined to defend it effectively if they possessed property of their own. It was therefore expressed that soldiers who conducted themselves properly and wished to lease land should be permitted to do so and to become planters upon completion of their term of service. It was further directed that, if any such individuals were considered deserving of the additional favour of receiving land in accordance with earlier custom, this should be reported, together with any objections, for further consideration and decision. It was also required that constant care be taken to maintain the civil government of the island in an orderly manner, ensuring that inhabitants were satisfied in their property and that none were subjected to oppression or unfair treatment, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Freehold" referred to land held in full ownership, not subject to rent or lease conditions, representing a significant form of property right. "Abstract" denoted a summarised statement of accounts, presenting totals and key figures derived from detailed entries. "Survey" indicated a formal measurement and assessment of land to establish boundaries, ownership and usage. "Planters" referred to individuals cultivating land, often forming the backbone of the island's agricultural production. "Covenanted Term" referred to the fixed period of service agreed upon by Company servants or soldiers under formal contract. **Speculations** The discrepancy in the number of slaves and cattle suggests either significant loss or serious inaccuracies in reporting, both of which would be of concern to the Company. The emphasis on detailed land and revenue accounts indicates a need to better understand and control the economic resources of the island. The encouragement for soldiers to become planters reflects a strategy to increase the settled English population and strengthen defence. The possibility of granting land as a reward suggests an incentive system aimed at promoting loyalty and good conduct. The stress on orderly civil government and protection of property implies that tensions or disputes among inhabitants may have been present.
312	300	dealt with by whomsoever. We find some good Essays in the Consultation of July and August about settling the property of the Inhabitants Lands and their Titles thereto whether Freehold or Leasehold and the appointing a Court of Orphans: Continue these and all other usuall	It was observed that the list previously received recorded the number of slaves and cattle as ninety two, and that a letter dated 29 March had confirmed that number at that time. It was therefore noted with concern that a later letter reported only sixty. It was directed that a full and precise explanation be provided for this discrepancy. It was also stated that no superficial or inadequate response, such as that given by

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		Methods for the Benefit and Quiet of the People. Fourthly touching our Fortifications Buildings and Garrison Stores. We are sorry to find that notwithstanding Captain Bouchers Assurance in part: the 8th. off Abingdon that he has Deserved much better than any his Predecessors and his pompous Account of what he has done as in part: the 19 & 40: That you can find nothing of Moment done about the Fortifications since Governour Roberts left the Island and that all is out of repair, or at best the needfull Buildings Neglected and among others the designed Storehouse. We did in the instructions sent by you tell your our minds fully, what Storehouses We wou'd have Built: That is to say what really necessary as therein enumerated, but at the same time must acquaint you, That We wou'd have no more done than what is so, Building when not Managed is a Chargeable Article as we have found by Smarting Experience, since the wall is built as mentioned in part: the 10th. of your Letter make the needfull Additions thereto to become proper Warehouses, the late Governour wrote it was best to have the Storehouses there, because the Goods and Managements was more under the Eye of the Governour and Council, you write it is too Damp and only spoil the Goods. Consider well and if the Building is enough for all the Warehouses, don't build more, if it be not then only add what further Necessary for them and the Soldiers Barracks. And in the next	the predecessor in paragraph twenty eighth of *Obriington*, was to be repeated. Attention was then directed to the final article under this heading, namely lands and revenues. It was stated that reference should be made to earlier letters to avoid unnecessary repetition. It was nevertheless required that a yearly list be sent detailing all lands leased to inhabitants, arranged by families and including both white persons and slaves, as well as cattle. It was further required that this account specify what land was held as freehold, the total rent and revenues received and the amounts derived from each source, summarised in an abstract at the end. It was also directed that a proper survey be undertaken to identify all land belonging to the Company, distinguishing what portion was necessary for Company cattle and what might be available for lease. It was specified that the list of families was to be arranged alphabetically, as it had sometimes not been done. It was stated that the security of the island depended largely upon the number of English inhabitants, and that they would be more inclined to defend it effectively if they possessed property of their own. It was therefore expressed that soldiers who conducted themselves properly and wished to lease land should be permitted to do so and to become planters upon completion of their term of service. It was further directed that, if any such individuals were considered deserving of the additional favour of receiving land in accordance with earlier custom, this should be reported, together with any objections, for further consideration and decision. It was also required that constant care be taken to maintain the civil government of the island in an orderly manner, ensuring that inhabitants were satisfied in their property and that none were subjected to oppression or unfair treatment, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Freehold" referred to land held in full ownership, not subject to rent or lease conditions, representing a significant form of property right. "Abstract" denoted a summarised statement of accounts, presenting totals and key figures derived from detailed entries. "Survey" indicated a formal measurement and assessment of land to establish boundaries, ownership and usage. "Planters" referred to individuals cultivating land, often forming the backbone of the island's agricultural production. "Covenanted Term" referred to the fixed period of service agreed upon by Company servants or soldiers under formal contract. **Speculations** The discrepancy in the number of slaves and cattle suggests either significant loss or serious inaccuracies in reporting, both of which would be of concern to the Company. The emphasis on detailed land and revenue accounts indicates a need to better understand and control the economic resources of the island. The encouragement for soldiers to become planters reflects a strategy to increase the settled English population and strengthen defence. The possibility of granting land as a reward suggests an incentive system aimed at promoting loyalty and good conduct. The stress on orderly civil government and protection of property implies that tensions or disputes among inhabitants may have been present.
313	301	most proper places taking great care we are at no more Charge than needful	It was directed that buildings and works were to be carried out in the most suitable locations, with careful

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		to make all Durable and Convenient whether in these or in the Fortifications &ct: Buildings, and let us have a Calculated rent of the Charge of each place when finished giving therein an Account of what is done that we may judge of the Husbandry. Mr. Cleeve writes us that he is in great want of Warehouses to house Timber and Deals, for that the Sun Splits the Timber and Warps the Deals and the Soldiers steal the wood for firing that the Gunner loses much of his Dry Stores for want of a Store room, so far as you find this true take care to prevent the Evils complained of as you see fit: It seems the late Governour would not let him have the Charge of our Timber and Deals nor Suffer him to repair what he found wanted mending by which severall things were going to ruine; Do you give the Needfull Orders that he have the Charge of both and hath power to Act according to the Tenour of this and our 77th. paragraph of your Instructions. We understand that by reason of the Scarcity of Provisions and the want of good Artists, Carpenters and other Manufacturers, Labour	attention to ensuring that no greater expense was incurred than was necessary, while still achieving durability and convenience. This instruction applied equally to ordinary structures and to fortifications. It was further required that, upon completion of each work, a calculated estimate of its cost be provided, together with a detailed account of what had been done, so that proper judgement might be made regarding the economy exercised. It was reported that Mr Cleeve had written of a pressing need for warehouses to store timber and deals, as exposure to the sun was causing the timber to split and the deals to warp, while soldiers were said to be taking wood for fuel. It was also stated that the gunner was suffering loss of dry stores due to the absence of suitable storage. It was directed that, where these complaints were found to be justified, measures were to be taken to prevent such losses in whatever manner was considered appropriate. It was further noted that the late Governor had refused to allow Mr Cleeve control over the timber and deals, and had not permitted necessary repairs to be carried out, with the result that several items were deteriorating. It was therefore ordered that Mr Cleeve be given charge of these materials and be granted authority to act in accordance with these instructions and those contained in the seventy seventh paragraph of earlier directions. It was also observed that, owing to the scarcity of provisions and the shortage of skilled workers such as carpenters and other craftsmen, labour had been affected, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Deals" referred to prepared planks of softwood timber, commonly used in construction and vulnerable to warping if improperly stored. "Dry Stores" denoted materials such as powder, equipment and supplies that required protection from moisture and environmental damage. "Artists" in this context referred to skilled craftsmen or tradesmen, rather than practitioners of fine art. "Manufacturers" indicated workers engaged in producing goods or carrying out skilled labour, including carpentry and construction. "Calculated rent of the Charge" referred to an estimated accounting of total expenditure, allowing assessment of financial management. **Speculations** The emphasis on limiting expense while ensuring durability suggests concern over wasteful construction practices under previous administration. The reported damage to timber and theft of wood indicates inadequate storage facilities and weak control over resources. The restriction previously placed on Mr Cleeve implies possible mismanagement or personal interference by the former Governor. The shortage of skilled labour highlights structural challenges in maintaining infrastructure on a remote island. The need for detailed cost reporting reflects an effort to impose stricter financial accountability on building projects.
314	302	whoever pays wages all the year round will consider that and have the Service at a less rate than what necessity will Compell a private Man to pay for only a Day or a week on the whole He thinks he ought to take less considering he has diett from us, We cou'd give him a fix't allowance to encourage his Fidelity and care of our Storeing under his Charge	It was observed that a person receiving wages throughout the year ought to accept a lower rate than one compelled by necessity to work only for a day or a week, especially when provided with maintenance at the Company's table. It was suggested that a fixed allowance might be granted to encourage diligence and fidelity in the care of Company stores, but it was emphasised that excessive payment was to be avoided. It was required that an opinion be given on this matter and, if agreement were reached, that the allowance be

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		but wou'd not pay too dear for it, let us know your opinion and if you Agree with us resettle his allowance on fair and equitable Terms, if you disagree, let us know your reason, We likewise think Mr. Swarzes Allowance of six Shillings a day is too great a Jump, from 30^{rs} - a year, We entertained him at three, Moderate that in like manner the pretence of Dearness of Provisions can't last always but once Settling Wages will, Our Soldiers maintain themselves at 9^{rs} per month and their duty takes up great part of their time which is but nine pence ^{r} Day, these Mens Skill deserves better pay, but to us it appears plain the dearness of Provisions has too much stress laid upon it to warrant Governour Bouchers allowing them so much. We think it was very Ill Husbandry to allow John Simsick Soldier 4^{r} a day for working as a Stone layer at Prosperous Bay house as the Consultation of the 3rd November mentions and can't imagin how he cou'd come to have a demand for 5 Shillings a time for 19 Ultam^{o}, a how long time it was earning in. Inquire whether Mr. French ought to have this lodgings paid for by us and what was the cause he was three years in arrears if it was his due as mentioned in said Consultation it looks to us as if Mr. Boucher was gaining the good opinion of the People at our charge. We are strangely Surprized at the Account in your Letter book.	adjusted to fair and reasonable terms. If disagreement arose, reasons were to be provided. It was further stated that the allowance granted to Mr Swarze, amounting to six shillings per day, was considered disproportionately high compared with his former annual wage of thirty rix dollars, and with the three rix dollars at which he had originally been engaged. It was directed that this rate be moderated accordingly. It was observed that the argument of high prices for provisions could not be expected to continue indefinitely, whereas wages, once established, would endure. It was noted that soldiers maintained themselves on nine rix dollars per month, equivalent to nine pence per day, despite their duties occupying much of their time. While it was acknowledged that skilled workers deserved higher pay, it was considered evident that the cost of provisions had been given excessive weight in justifying the increases allowed by Governor Boucher. Attention was drawn to the case of John Simsick, a soldier, who had been allowed four shillings per day for work as a stone layer at Prosperous Bay house, as recorded in the Consultation of 3 November. This was described as poor economy. It was also questioned how he had come to claim five shillings for a particular task dated the nineteenth of the previous month, and it was required that enquiry be made into the duration of the work for which this payment had been demanded. It was further directed that an investigation be conducted into whether Mr French ought to have had his lodging paid for by the Company, and to determine the reason why he had been three years in arrears if such payment had been due, as indicated in the same Consultation. It was suggested that these arrangements gave the appearance that Governor Boucher had been attempting to secure the favour of individuals at the Company's expense. It was also stated that considerable surprise had been caused by the account contained in the letter book, with the narrative continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Rix dollars" referred to a form of currency used in international trade, particularly in colonial and maritime contexts, often employed in Company accounting. "Fix't allowance" denoted a predetermined and regular payment, intended to replace variable or discretionary wages. "Stone layer" referred to a mason or labourer engaged in laying stone for construction. "Ultimo" indicated the previous month, commonly used in accounting and correspondence. "Arrears" referred to unpaid or outstanding amounts, whether wages owed or debts accumulated. **Speculations** The comparison between annual and daily wages suggests an attempt to standardise pay structures and prevent inflation of labour costs. The criticism of high allowances indicates concern that previous administration had permitted excessive expenditure under the justification of rising prices. The reference to soldiers' low pay highlights disparities between military and civilian wages, which may have contributed to tension. The questioning of individual payments suggests suspicion of irregularities or favouritism in the allocation of funds. The suggestion that Governor Boucher sought popularity at the Company's expense reflects a broader concern about personal influence overriding financial discipline.
315	303	paragraph 7th that the additional work on each Side of the Castle next the Sea must be wanting to the Fort and that as you say you	It was observed that, in paragraph seven, it had been proposed that additional works on the seaward sides of the castle were necessary, involving raising

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		must Fortifye those two Sides of the Fort by raising it higher and must fix Iron rails with Crows foot against the Wall, We can by no means like this way of making more work by all that is done, if what you propose be absolutely Necessary We must submit to it: But consider well whether it is so before you begin and let nothing but the last necessity induce you to add to the Charge which will be great enough in all Conscience in performing what we are willing to allow for Securing the Island, repairing what Decays and providing Necessary Roomes for Lodgings and for holding our goods of all kinds. In perusing Mr. Clewes Account of the disposal of the Timber and Deals under his Charge We find severall parcels delivered the Islanders We suppose they are paid for, but that doth not appear so plain for the future do you take care to examine the Account he sends us which he must sign vouch it and if found right to you attest it, and for what is delivered the Inhabitants, let the Storekeeper, or whoever receives the Money or charges it to their Account sign that part of the List to show it is Accounted for. We have a Letter from Mr. Thomlinson our chaplain praying We will give Incouragement and Orders to Build a Church in James Valley and will send a Model and Timbers and other Necessarys, as Pews, Pulpit, reading Desk, Communion Table, &c. ready framed for it enclosed he sent us a Subscription of £150: – – to be paid towards it when it was begun, To this we say, We are very willing to Contribute handsomely. Do you advise what you Compute it may cost as to the	those parts of the fort and fixing iron rails with crow's foot defences along the walls. This proposal was not viewed favourably, as it appeared to increase the amount of work beyond what had already been undertaken. It was stated that, if such measures were absolutely necessary, they would be accepted, but it was emphasised that careful consideration must be given before proceeding. It was directed that no additional expense should be incurred unless required by clear necessity, as the existing works for securing the island, repairing decay and providing accommodation and storage were already expected to be sufficiently costly. Attention was then directed to Mr Cleeve's account of the disposal of timber and deals under his charge. It was noted that several quantities had been issued to inhabitants, and it was assumed that payment had been made, although this was not clearly recorded. It was therefore directed that, in future, his accounts must be carefully examined. He was required to sign and certify them, and, if found accurate, they were to be attested. For any materials supplied to inhabitants, it was further required that the Storekeeper, or the individual receiving payment or charging it to an account, should also sign the relevant part of the list to confirm that the transaction had been properly recorded. Reference was made to a letter from Mr Thomlinson, the chaplain, requesting encouragement and authority to construct a church in James Valley. It was stated that he had proposed to provide a model and to send timber and other necessary materials, including pews, a pulpit, a reading desk and a communion table, already prepared. It was also noted that he had enclosed a subscription amounting to £150, to be contributed towards the project once begun. It was stated that there was willingness to contribute generously to this undertaking. It was therefore directed that an estimate be provided of the total cost required to complete the work, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Crows foot" referred to a defensive device consisting of iron spikes or projections fixed to walls to prevent climbing or scaling. "Deals" denoted prepared timber planks, commonly used in construction and requiring careful accounting due to their value. "Attest" indicated the formal verification of an account by signature, confirming that it had been examined and found correct. "Subscription" referred to a pledged financial contribution, often collected from multiple individuals towards a common project. "Pews, Pulpit, reading Desk, Communion Table" denoted the principal furnishings required for the conduct of Anglican worship within a church. **Speculations** The reluctance to approve additional fortification works suggests concern over escalating construction costs and possible overbuilding. The requirement for multiple signatures on timber accounts indicates prior uncertainty or irregularity in the recording of transactions. The proposal to build a church reflects both religious priorities and the role of institutional structures in reinforcing social order on the island. The offer of a subscription implies local support for the project, suggesting community involvement in its funding. The request for a cost estimate indicates an intention to balance willingness to contribute with careful financial oversight.
316	304	the Stonework, what dementions are proper for the height & Area of it and what Number of Pews, let him Continue his	Details were required concerning the proposed church at James Valley, including suitable dimensions for its height and area, together with the number of

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		Subscriptions as Ships come to the Island, advise us what you would have us advance towards it, the great difficulty with us will be to find Tonnage for What is desired from hence because our Ships are not able to carry the Necessary Materials made for St. Helena and Bencoolen, and what he proposes us to send will prove Bulkey which can't be done till the Island is pretty well Stored with goods and the Stores wanted take up but little room here. He further presses us for Diett Money, and to pay his House rent, because the Soldiers are Quartered at the Sessions House where his Lodgings were, and they are too straight for him, as to diett we always supposed he Dietted at our our Table as other Chaplains have done he being married prays it may now be Suitable to the Decamp of the Place which we can't judge of here but wish have you give us your opinion upon it, and also the Apartment Adjoyning to the Sessions House may not be made Convenient for him. Then we shall send you our thoughts on the whole, tho' we must tell you we are always unwilling to make Precedents, for if they are once got on, it will be very difficult and thought a hardship to take them of again, be the reason never so cogent. We have now gone thro' the Letters Consultations and other papers before us relating to St. Helena, and our Remarks thereon wherein we have been necessitated to shew our resentment and write Sharply in some particulars, occurring before your time that very much needed it which we hope you will amend and take care none of them shall hereafterly be applyed to any of you, for it would be much more Pleasing to us to write in a Softer Stile and to exchange reproofs for Commendations which we shall willingly do if the Occasion.	pews needed. Mr Thomlinson was to continue collecting subscriptions as ships arrived. An estimate was requested of the contribution that should be made by the Company. It was explained that difficulty would arise in providing shipping capacity for materials from England, as vessels were already heavily laden with goods for St Helena and Bencoolen. The items proposed were described as bulky and could not be sent until the island had been sufficiently supplied with essential goods, which occupied less space. Further consideration was given to Mr Thomlinson's request for an allowance for diet and payment of house rent. It was reported that his former lodgings in the Sessions House had been taken over by soldiers, and that his present accommodation was inadequate. It was stated that it had been assumed he dined at the Company's table, as had previous chaplains. His request for arrangements more suited to his position, particularly as a married man, was acknowledged, but an opinion was required before any decision could be made. It was suggested that the adjoining apartment to the Sessions House might be adapted for his use, and further advice was requested so that a final determination could be reached. Reluctance was expressed to establish new precedents, as once granted they would be difficult to withdraw. A review had been completed of the letters, consultations and other papers relating to St Helena. Observations had been made upon them, and it was acknowledged that strong language had been used in addressing earlier misconduct. These remarks were considered necessary in response to matters arising before the present administration. It was expressed that such issues should now be corrected and that no similar faults should occur in future. A preference was stated for adopting a more favourable tone in correspondence, replacing criticism with commendation whenever circumstances permitted. **Interpretations** "Sessions House" referred to a building used for judicial or administrative purposes, which could also provide accommodation when required. "Diett Money" denoted a monetary allowance provided instead of, or in addition to, food supplied at the Company's expense. "Decamp of the Place" referred to the dignity or propriety expected of a particular office or role. "Tonnage" indicated the carrying capacity of ships, which limited the transport of goods and materials. "Precedents" referred to established practices that, once allowed, could be cited as justification for similar privileges in the future. **Speculations** The concern over shipping capacity suggests ongoing logistical constraints affecting construction and development on the island. The chaplain's request for improved living conditions indicates evolving expectations regarding status and accommodation among Company officials. The hesitation to create new precedents reflects a broader intention to control long term expenditure and prevent the expansion of entitlements. The acknowledgement of earlier sharp criticism implies that previous administration had exhibited significant deficiencies requiring correction. The closing emphasis on commendation suggests an effort to encourage improved governance through positive reinforcement as well as discipline.
317	305	Directions and Orders in this and former Letters are duly attended to, understood & executed. We have only to add, That it having pleased the Almighty to take to his	It was directed that all instructions and orders contained in the present and previous letters were to be carefully attended to, fully understood and properly executed.

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		Mercy our late most gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Anne on the first of August last, His present Majesty King George was in pursuance of the Acts of Settlement proclaimed the same day, some time after his Majesty with his Royall Highness George Prince of Wales & his Princess & two of the youngest Princesses arrived safely in England from Hannover and has been since crowned with the ususal Solemnity, and the Generall Acclamations of his Subjects, Do you take care as soon as conveniently you can after except tideing and fixing on shore the badges, To cause his Said Majesty the most High and Mighty Prince George Elector of Brunswicks-Lunenburg to be proclaimed on the Island King of Great Britain, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c: Let the whole be performed with a becoming Solemnity Suitable to the great occasion. We are Your Loving Friends	It was further announced that it had pleased Almighty God to take into His mercy the late Sovereign Lady Queen Anne, who died on 1 August. It was stated that, in accordance with the Acts of Settlement, His present Majesty King George had been proclaimed on the same day. It was also reported that, some time thereafter, His Majesty, together with His Royal Highness George, Prince of Wales, his Princess and two of the youngest Princesses, had arrived safely in England from Hanover. It was noted that he had since been crowned with the usual solemnity and had received the general acclamations of his subjects. It was therefore directed that, as soon as it could conveniently be done, after preparing and displaying the appropriate badges on shore, a formal proclamation was to be made on the island declaring His Majesty, the most high and mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick-Lüneburg, as King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and so forth. It was required that this ceremony be conducted with proper dignity and solemnity befitting the importance of the occasion. **Interpretations** "Acts of Settlement" referred to the legal statutes governing the succession to the British throne, ensuring the transfer of power to a Protestant heir. "Elector of Brunswick-Lüneburg" denoted the German title held by King George prior to his accession, reflecting his position within the Holy Roman Empire. "Badges" referred to ceremonial symbols or insignia displayed during official proclamations and public events. "Defender of the Faith" was a traditional title of the English monarch, signifying the sovereign's role in upholding the established church. **Speculations** The inclusion of detailed instructions for proclaiming the new monarch indicates the importance of maintaining loyalty and formal recognition of authority in distant colonies. The emphasis on ceremony suggests that public displays of allegiance were considered essential for reinforcing political legitimacy. The reference to the monarch's arrival and coronation reflects the desire to communicate significant events in Britain to remote settlements. The directive to act promptly implies concern that delays in proclamation might weaken the perceived authority of the new king on the island.
318	306	Omitted in the Rochester generall Letter of the 14th. December 1705 We wrote you last by the Nathaniel & Vanhese dated the 20th. November 1704. of which we should have sent you Copy, but that your Letters advised to have received the same. We have before us your Letter by the King Fisher Man of War dated the 15th. July last, and therewith Copy of what you sent by the winter Ships dated the 7th. December 1704, but the Original was lost with the Ship Gloster Frigatt who founded in her way homeward and this gives us occasion to tell you that, We find in your said Letter of the 7th. December 1704 That the Coben Captain Clarke arrived with you the 11th. August and did not depart till the 30th. September following, and what you say thereupon as the Assistance afforded him of 25 to 30 Men at two Shillings and three	It was noted that this matter had been omitted from the general letter sent by *Rochester* dated 14 December 1705. It was stated that a previous letter had been sent by *Nathaniel* and *Vanhese* dated 20 November 1704, and that a copy would have been transmitted, but it had been understood from later correspondence that it had already been received. Reference was made to a letter sent by the *King Fisher* man of war, dated 15 July, together with a copy of a letter originally sent by the winter ships dated 7 December 1704. It was explained that the original had been lost with the ship *Gloster* frigate, which had foundered on its return voyage. Attention was then directed to the contents of the letter of 7 December 1704, in which it had been reported that the ship *Coben*, under Captain Clarke, had arrived on 11 August and had not departed until 30 September. It was noted that assistance had been provided to the captain in unloading the ship, consisting of between twenty five and thirty men, each paid two shillings and three pence per day in addition to their soldiers' pay. This arrangement was said to raise two concerns, one relating to the expense incurred in hiring the men, and the other to the cost arising from the ship

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		pence a day with their Soldiers pay in helping the Captain to unloade the Ship: This leads us to two Considerations one relating to the Charge We have been at in the hire of the Men, the other in the Charge of the Ship by her being on Demorage after Ten working days time of Stay there, as to the hire of the Men it appears to us you have been very Ill husband for us why should not our Blacks have saved Us that Charge, what did they in the Mean time to get us more money, why must we pay Two Shillings and three pence a day to the Soldiers, your expression is not plain whether the Two Shillings and three pence a Day is besides their pay as Souldiers or Including their pay as part of the two Shillings and three pence if it be over and above We think you might have people on the Island woud Labour cheaper or at least would let you have their Blacks at far easier rates, as to the Demorage of the Ship We say you did well to employ the number of hands you did, and shou'd think you ought to have had more to hasten her unloading, for we paid for that Ship nine pence pr man pr Day, Ten pence & Ten p^{er} Diem Demorage, but then you must wthstand.	remaining on demurrage beyond the allowed ten working days. With regard to the cost of labour, it was stated that poor economy had been exercised. It was questioned why enslaved labour had not been used instead, thereby avoiding this expense. It was further asked what work those individuals had been performing during that time if not employed in unloading. It was also observed that it was unclear whether the payment of two shillings and three pence per day was additional to the soldiers' regular pay or inclusive of it. If it had been in addition, it was suggested that cheaper labour might have been obtained locally, or that enslaved workers might have been hired at a lower cost. In contrast, with regard to the demurrage incurred by the ship, it was stated that the decision to employ a sufficient number of men had been appropriate, and that even more might have been used to hasten unloading. It was noted that the Company had been paying nine pence per man per day, rising to ten pence per day in demurrage charges, and that such costs justified efforts to minimise delay. The account was noted to continue beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Demorage" referred to demurrage, a charge incurred when a ship remained in port beyond the agreed period for loading or unloading. "Man of War" denoted a naval vessel, in this case used for communication as well as military purposes. "Foundered" referred to a ship sinking, often due to damage, weather or structural failure. "Working days" indicated the contractual period allowed for unloading cargo without penalty. "Hire of the Men" referred to wages paid for temporary labour, distinct from regular military pay. **Speculations** The loss of the *Gloster* highlights the risks inherent in maritime communication, which could disrupt administrative continuity. The criticism of labour costs suggests that financial discipline was being closely scrutinised, particularly in relation to avoidable expenditure. The suggestion to use enslaved labour reflects the economic reliance placed upon such workers to reduce operational costs. The acceptance of higher labour use to reduce demurrage indicates a balancing of short term and long term expenses. The questioning of unclear wage arrangements suggests concern over transparency and accuracy in financial reporting.
319	307	without remember that we tired the Ceres to go to St. Helena and it is the same with other Ships, and allowed her six weeks demorage for deviation thither and also all the Demorage occasioned by her detention there after Ten working days on account of her unloading, which detention must necessarily appear that it is on our Account, whoevers Captain may trifle away the time as he pleases at our charge and as you say intermix the time with taking in Ballast or other delays and for what appears to us this was Captain Clarkes Design, if he did all that he cou'd, advise us by your next. And among many others which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this Letter. We find that we did by the Southseatine in our General Letter of the 3rd. December 1703 Order you to send us an account	It was stated that insufficient attention had been given to the fact that the ship *Ceres* had been hired to proceed to St Helena, and that similar arrangements applied to other vessels. It was noted that an allowance of six weeks' demurrage had been granted for deviation to the island, in addition to any demurrage incurred after ten working days spent unloading. It was emphasised that any such delay would necessarily be charged to the Company, regardless of whether the captain had unnecessarily prolonged the stay. It was observed that delays might be concealed by intermixing them with the time taken to load ballast or by other means. It was suggested that, based on the available information, such delay may have been the intention of Captain Clarke. It was therefore directed that a full report be provided indicating whether he had acted with proper diligence. Reference was then made to earlier instructions sent by *Southseatine* in the general letter of 3 December 1703, in which it had been ordered that an account be provided specifying what portion of Doctor Orwade's salary had been due from the old Company and what

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		what part of the Salary was due from the old Company to Doctor Orwade, for which we paid your Bill of Forty pounds two Shillings & four pence &c. and what part from us, that is to say two much before the 28th. July 1702 and two much after, but you have not thought fit to return us one word of Answer. We observe the Beef and Pork sent you proved Good and so did the flower received by the Anna and you add that you wish you had more according to the List sent with this Letter of the 7th. December which we are now answering, We have before told you that Packet was lost by the Glocester, & that thro' your Negligence in not sending duplicates We are to seek what the Contents of that Sort were. We take notice what you write about Wines and Brandy from the Madeiras touching which shall write you further in an after paragraph. As to the Soldiers We are forc'd in this time of Year to send what	portion from the present Company. It was noted that a bill for £40 2 shillings and 4 pence had already been paid, and that clarification had been requested as to how much of this sum related to the period before 28 July 1702 and how much after that date. It was stated that no response had been received on this matter. It was further observed that the supplies of beef and pork sent had proved satisfactory, as had the flour received by *Anna*. It was noted that additional quantities had been requested in accordance with a list sent in the letter of 7 December. However, it was explained that this packet had been lost with *Gloster*, and that, due to the failure to send duplicate copies, the contents of that request were now unknown. Attention was also drawn to remarks made regarding wines and brandy from Madeira, which were to be addressed in a later section. It was finally noted that, with respect to the soldiers, the account was to continue beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Deviation" referred to a ship altering its intended route, often by contractual arrangement, to call at an additional port such as St Helena. "Demorage" denoted demurrage, the charge incurred for delays beyond the agreed time for loading or unloading. "Ballast" referred to material loaded into a ship to ensure stability, often taken on board after unloading cargo. "Duplicate" referred to a copy of a document sent separately to guard against loss in transit. "Old Company" referred to the earlier East India Company prior to its union with the New Company in 1709. **Speculations** The emphasis on demurrage and deviation suggests ongoing concern over excessive shipping costs and potential misuse of Company resources. The suspicion directed towards Captain Clarke implies that some captains may have exploited delays for personal advantage. The lack of response regarding Doctor Orwade's salary indicates possible administrative neglect or inefficiency. The loss of the *Gloster* and absence of duplicate records highlights the vulnerability of long distance communication systems. The approval of provisions such as beef, pork and flour suggests that supply quality had improved, even as logistical challenges persisted.
320	308	what we can get when it is in our power to Pick and Choose. We shall send you Men such as you wish to have, however as we allways have so we shall give directions to the Officer who lists them to get the best he can. You did well to give out a Proclamation to prevent the destruction of your remaining woods and had done better if it had been done sooner. We come now to your Letter of the 15th July and shall therein answer what is Omitted in this Letter of the 7th December, for that we there find matters of the like nature. You tell us you receive with all imaginable respect the censures we have past on you and yet at the same time We find you continue to commit the like faults. We there censure you for, as We shall instance in several following paragraphs which after this time We tell you we will no longer treat with, but shift hands if they are not for the future Amendment. Our fifth paragraph you for all alienations & Mortgages which the Clerk enters in the Registry Books you shall allow him a small Fee to make him carefull in the Entry and be acceptable to the people and Advise us what that	It was stated that, when possible, men would be selected and sent according to the requirements expressed, and that instructions would be given to the officer responsible for enlistment to obtain the most suitable individuals available. Approval was given for the proclamation issued to prevent the destruction of the remaining woodland, although it was observed that it would have been preferable had such measures been introduced earlier. Attention was then directed to the letter dated 15 July, with the intention of addressing matters omitted from the letter of 7 December, as similar issues were found in both. It was noted that, although the censures previously made had been received with apparent respect, the same faults continued to be committed. It was therefore stated that these shortcomings would be addressed in detail, and that, if amendment did not follow, those responsible would be replaced. Reference was made to the fifth paragraph, in which it had been ordered that a small fee be allowed to the clerk for recording alienations and mortgages in the registry books, in order to encourage careful and acceptable entries. It had also been required that the

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		is that we may allow or approve it. The Answer to this is in the words following - That as for the Fee to the Clerk he does usually take, but you don't tell us what it is, tho' we Ordered you should that we might allow or approve it. Of the same nature is your next paragraph about Coales. We bid you buy Coales out of ye Bushells and complain of your Selling them at Eighteen pence in our 10th paragraph, and you return for answer that tho' you sell them but at Ten Shillings the Commoners have usually made a hard shift rather than lose Coales, and you have been forced to abate half ye Bushell of Coales from your first Selling it.	amount of this fee be reported for approval. It was observed that, although it had been stated that the clerk usually received such a fee, no information had been provided as to its value, contrary to the instructions given. A further example was noted in relation to coal. It had been directed that coal be purchased by the bushel, and complaint had been made in the tenth paragraph regarding its sale at eighteen pence. In response, it had been stated that it was sold at ten shillings, and that inhabitants had struggled to obtain it, leading to the necessity of reducing the quantity by half a bushel from the original measure. This reply was presented as another instance of inadequate or unsatisfactory compliance with instructions. **Interpretations** "Alienations & Mortgages" referred to the transfer or pledging of property rights, which required formal recording in official registers. "Registry Books" denoted official records in which legal transactions such as property transfers were entered and preserved. "Commoners" referred to the general inhabitants of the island, as distinct from Company officials. "Bushell" was a unit of measure used for dry goods such as coal, indicating a standardised quantity for trade. "Abate half ye Bushell" referred to reducing the quantity sold while maintaining or adjusting the price, affecting the effective cost. **Speculations** The emphasis on accurate reporting of fees suggests concern over informal or unregulated charges being applied by clerks. The repeated criticism of responses indicates frustration with incomplete or evasive communication from the island's administration. The issue with coal pricing and measurement implies difficulties in supply and possible manipulation of quantities or prices. The warning about replacing officials suggests that confidence in the current administration had been weakened. The continued focus on procedural compliance reflects an effort to impose stricter oversight and accountability.
321	309	and it is to be feared that if don't the same in other things you shall see it perish. Can you think we will always be thus trifled with, don't you remember we sent those Coals (so farr at your desire) because you complaind you wood was almost gone, and if it be so with any Body say the Captains will make a hard shift rather than pay so dear as two Shillings a Bushell for them, when in a hard Winter our poor here who can't lay in a Stock in Summer pay more, tho the freight be not the Tenth part so much as to St. Helena, besides if any will not take them let them let it alone, We can't doubt but the Island or your own necessary occasions will prevent their perishing and since we find you so negligent We shall expect that every Bushell of Coale you have or shall Sell under four Shillings you make good to us the Difference, since you have acted this contrary to our Express Orders. As careless you are in the answer returned to our 8th paragraph about Chalk. We tell you we have sent twenty Ton and Mr. William Marsden is skilled in burning it, and in several other matters therein mentioned Order you to advise us about him, what you find he excels in and whether he Deserves more Salary than the fifty pounds we agree to give him and in the 34th paragraph tell you what we have given and what advances to him to be repaid, and order you to let us know when it is in pain. But you don't advise us one word about him nor does it appear to us by your Letter whether ever he	It was stated that, if the same negligence were continued in other matters, further losses might be expected. It was asked whether it was believed that such conduct would continue to be tolerated, and it was recalled that the coal had been sent at the island's request, following complaints that timber resources were nearly exhausted. It was observed that, if the same reasoning were applied elsewhere, captains might refuse to purchase coal at a price of two shillings per bushel, even though, in England, poorer inhabitants were required to pay more during severe winters despite far lower transport costs. It was further stated that, if individuals chose not to purchase the coal, it should simply remain unsold, as the needs of the island or of the administration would ensure its eventual use. It was therefore directed that, as the coal had been sold below the instructed price, any deficiency was to be made good, and that for every bushel sold at less than four shillings, the difference was to be reimbursed, as this had been done in direct contravention of explicit orders. It was further observed that a similar lack of care had been shown in the response to the eighth paragraph concerning chalk. It was stated that twenty tons had been sent and that Mr William Marsden, who was skilled in burning it, had been included for this purpose. Instructions had been given to report on his abilities, to assess whether he deserved a higher salary than the fifty

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		arrived with you, nor to you tell us whether the quality of Chalk be received, nor when says you will send it, nor whether about his Fortifications or otherwise. We desire you will explain what you mean when you say our Orders about Coales Chalk shall	pounds previously agreed and to confirm the advances made to him and when repayment might be expected. It was noted that no information had been provided on any of these matters. It was also stated that it was unclear whether he had even arrived at the island, whether the chalk had been received or when it might be dispatched or used, whether in fortifications or otherwise. It was therefore required that a clear explanation be provided of these omissions and that a full account be given of the situation. **Interpretations** "Bushell" referred to a standard unit of dry measure used in trade, particularly for commodities such as coal. "Make good to us the Difference" indicated the requirement to reimburse the Company for any loss incurred through unauthorised pricing. "Burning it" referred to the process of heating chalk in a kiln to produce lime, an essential material for construction and fortification. "Advances" denoted money paid in advance of service or repayment, often to support an individual's work or travel. "Express Orders" referred to clear and direct instructions that were expected to be followed without deviation. **Speculations** The insistence on reimbursement suggests that financial losses from mismanagement had become a significant concern. The comparison with coal prices in England indicates frustration that logistical challenges were being used to justify poor decisions. The lack of reporting on Mr Marsden suggests administrative breakdowns in communication or oversight. The uncertainty regarding the arrival and use of chalk implies inefficiencies in handling essential construction materials. The repeated emphasis on compliance reflects a growing impatience with failures to follow instructions and provide adequate information.
322	310	shall be executed, tho' the price is Extraordinary. You did well to advise us of the Shoes being some of them rotten since they proved so, that we may get our Stremley here of him that sold them, or at least never deal again with him. We suppose you mean the Men's Shoes because you say you were forc'd to take some of the Shoemakers for the Soldiers at Six Shillings a pair, but in regard We sent men, Women and Childrens Shoes You ought to have been more particular in your advices thereabouts, and tell us how many men you say you word a great many. We are not satisfied with your answer to what we wrote about your buying the Wine, Sugar and Cheese &c^{a} of the Captains. We don't find how much is Sold nor what Profit there is arising to us thereby, nor what part is spent at our Table, or whether the greatest part goes that way, this gives us great cause of Uneasiness, and we can't bear it longer, this year we have fresh Bills for two hundred thirty nine pounds to Captain Tollet, three hundred Sixty one pounds three Shillings to Captain Hosier and three hundred fifty two pounds fourteen Shillings to Captain Cook in all nine hundred & fifty two pounds seventeen Shillings very near all of it for Wine and Brandy. We will not have such management any longer, had you foreseen that Madera wine and Brandy had not such Currant commodities at the Island why did it you not advise us long ago, the first Notice we find given us was in your Letter of last December. Pray let us have by the next an Account attested by the Storekeeper from his Book and sent with your Letter how much of the wine and Brandy you sold for our	It was observed that the statement that orders concerning coal and chalk would be executed, despite the price being described as extraordinary, required further explanation, as it appeared inconsistent with earlier failures to comply with instructions. Approval was given for reporting that some of the shoes had been found to be defective, as this would allow action to be taken against the supplier or to avoid further dealings with him. It was assumed that the complaint referred to men's shoes, as it had been stated that shoemakers had been employed to supply soldiers at six shillings per pair. However, it was noted that shoes for men, women and children had all been sent, and it was therefore required that more precise information be provided, including the number affected, rather than the vague statement that a great many had been spoiled. Dissatisfaction was expressed with the explanation given regarding the purchase of wine, sugar, cheese and other goods from ship captains. It was stated that no clear account had been provided of the quantities sold, the profit obtained or the proportion consumed at the Company's table. This lack of information was said to give serious cause for concern. It was further noted that new bills had been received amounting to £239 for Captain Tollet, £361 3 shillings for Captain Hosier and £352 14 shillings for Captain Cook, totalling £952 17 shillings, nearly all for wine and brandy. It was declared that such management would no longer be tolerated. It was further questioned why, if Madeira wine and brandy were not suitable commodities for the island, no

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		Account and at what price the dark means of every quack, but in such a Month so many gallons and	earlier advice had been given. It was observed that the first notice of this issue appeared only in the letter of the previous December. It was therefore directed that a full account be sent with the next correspondence, attested by the Storekeeper from his records, detailing the quantities of wine and brandy sold on the Company's account and the prices obtained. It was specified that this account should be presented in a clear monthly form, showing, for each period, the number of gallons sold and the corresponding details, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Extraordinary price" referred to a cost considered unusually high, often requiring justification before acceptance. "Stremley" referred to a claim or complaint made against a supplier for defective goods. "Attested" indicated that an account had been formally verified by signature as accurate. "Bills" referred to financial claims or bills of exchange drawn upon the Company for payment. "Madeira wine" and "Brandy" were imported alcoholic commodities, often traded for profit or used for provisioning. **Speculations** The insistence on detailed accounting suggests that previous reporting had been insufficient to track profits and expenditure accurately. The defective shoes indicate problems in supply quality, which may have affected provisioning for both soldiers and inhabitants. The large sums spent on wine and brandy imply either excessive consumption or poor commercial judgement in purchasing unsuitable goods. The delayed communication about market conditions suggests a lack of responsiveness or awareness among those managing trade on the island. The requirement for monthly breakdowns reflects an attempt to impose tighter financial control and improve transparency.
323	311	and in every Month at so much p^{e} Gallon and how much is spent at your Table that we may see what we have coming to us again for the vast Sums your Bills Amount to. Then as to the Sugar and other Merchandizes you say you can't force the ComMarsdento part with it under their own prices it is true, but you may Chuse whether you will give Extravagant rates for it, and if they see you will not, they will find it turn better to discount to Sell it at Moderate prizes than bring it home and when they will not get half so much, and had you but faithfully and discreetly observed our Orders in the 12th & 13th para^{gra} we needed not here to enlarge so much on these heads, for the future among the List of what you want let us know how much of every sort of English Commodity and flower and candles and cheese and what sorts and quantitys of Callicoes and other Indian goods or baubles or Sugar you may spare or dispose of on the Island Annually and we will take care you be duly supplyed therewith. If we can we Intend to send you wine and Brandy from the Maderas by the Ships we thinks to send you this Season. Our 17th part gives you full and perfect Orders to send us account of remains of goods in the stores and what you want and refers to a former Letter wherein we gave the like Orders, you tell us in answer that now and for the future We shall have them but coming to look over the Packermans is no such thing. You tell us that our Fortifications go on with all possible speed but don't say what is done at one place and what at another and what more remains, you did well to send us the lists of the number of men Supplyed you out of the Ships, which we shall take due notice of	It was directed that a detailed account be provided showing, for each month, the quantities of wine and brandy sold and the price per gallon, together with the amount consumed at the Company's table. This was required so that the Company might determine what sums were due in return for the considerable amounts drawn upon it. It was further stated that, although merchants might be unwilling to sell sugar and other goods below their own prices, there was no obligation to purchase them at excessive rates. It was observed that, if such prices were refused, sellers would be compelled to accept more moderate terms rather than risk returning with unsold goods. It was noted that, had earlier instructions in the twelfth and thirteenth paragraphs been properly followed, such extended discussion would not have been necessary. It was therefore directed that future lists of requirements should specify the quantities of English goods, flour, candles, cheese and other commodities needed, as well as the types and amounts of calicoes, Indian goods and sugar that could be disposed of annually on the island, so that appropriate supplies could be arranged. It was also stated that, if possible, wine and brandy from Madeira would be sent by ships dispatched during the current season. Reference was made to the seventeenth paragraph, which had given clear instructions to provide accounts of remaining goods in the stores and to report requirements, as had been directed in earlier correspondence. It was observed that, although assurance had been given that such accounts would be supplied, no such information could be found upon examining the documents received.

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		but your desire of 50 more Blacks must be thought on another time.	It was further noted that, although it had been stated that fortifications were progressing with all possible speed, no specific details had been provided as to what had been completed at each location or what work remained outstanding. It was acknowledged that the lists of men supplied from ships had been properly sent and would be considered. However, it was stated that the request for fifty additional slaves would be deferred for consideration at another time. **Interpretations** "Callicoes" referred to cotton textiles imported from India, commonly traded and measured for sale. "Baubles" denoted small trade goods or trinkets, often used in exchange within colonial markets. "Remains of goods in the stores" referred to unsold or unused stock held in Company warehouses, representing retained value. "Fortifications" indicated defensive structures on the island, including walls, batteries and related works. "Supplyed you out of the Ships" referred to labour or personnel transferred from arriving vessels to assist with local tasks. **Speculations** The insistence on monthly sales accounts suggests a need for tighter control over commercial transactions and revenue tracking. The refusal to accept high prices indicates a strategy to regulate local markets and prevent inflation driven by opportunistic trading. The continued absence of store inventories implies persistent weaknesses in record keeping and accountability. The lack of detailed reporting on fortifications suggests either poor oversight or an attempt to avoid scrutiny of progress. The postponement of the request for additional slaves may reflect concern over cost or uncertainty about their effective use.
324	312	We don't well understand what you mean by the paper called in your List the Draught of the Fort and Gallery wherein you write in one Corner of it, This Plattform was made while the Men of War were here, for that you don't describe the Plattform there and we can suppose it to be the Line of Guns before the Fort, nor do we know what you mean by another draught which your List calls a Plat of the Grand Fort to be erected, since we find no Explanation of it in your generall Letter. We observe that at length you promise (us) for the future to follow our directions in relation to the Charge of any the Sea men belonging to the Ships of War which may happen to be sick. Notwithstanding your endeavours to excuse your three Black Girls to Bencoolen We say again common reason would have dictated to any reasonable Man that if those Negroes of no value at S^{t}. Helena, they would not be of more at Bencoole and therefore there was no reason to be at the Charge of freight to send them thither. We want able Blacks not refuse. We observe Thomas Cook and his Family are gone Nathaniel to Bencoolen and that you have sent four Storekeepers for Colony and Jacob to Benjarr and this as to	It was stated that the description provided of the drawing referred to as the "Draught of the Fort and Gallery" was not understood. It was noted that a remark had been written upon it indicating that a platform had been constructed while ships of war were present, but no clear description had been given of this platform. It was suggested that it might refer to the line of guns positioned before the fort, although this could not be confirmed. It was further observed that another drawing, described in the list as a plan of the grand fort to be erected, had also been provided without explanation, and no clarification had been given in the general letter. It was therefore required that a fuller account be provided of these drawings and their intended meaning. It was noted that assurance had at last been given that future instructions regarding the cost of maintaining sick seamen belonging to ships of war would be properly followed. Attention was again directed to the matter of three enslaved girls sent to Bencoolen. It was stated that, despite attempts to justify this action, it remained unreasonable, as individuals considered to be of no value at St Helena would not be of greater value at Bencoolen. It was therefore concluded that the expense of their transport had been unnecessary. It was emphasised that what was required were able workers rather than those deemed unfit for productive labour. It was further observed that Thomas Cook and his family had departed for Bencoolen aboard *Nathaniel*, and that four storekeepers had also been sent, one to the colony and one named Jacob to Benjarr. The account was noted to continue beyond this point. **Interpretations**

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			"Draught of the Fort and Gallery" referred to a technical drawing or plan illustrating the design or layout of defensive structures. "Plattform" indicated a constructed base or emplacement, possibly for artillery, forming part of the fort's defensive arrangement. "Plat of the Grand Fort" denoted a plan or design for a larger fortification project intended to be constructed. "Men of War" referred to naval warships, whose presence could influence defensive preparations. "Benjarr" referred to a trading location or settlement within the Company's network, possibly Banjarmasin in Southeast Asia. **Speculations** The confusion over the drawings suggests deficiencies in communication or technical explanation, which may have hindered effective oversight of construction works. The acceptance of future compliance regarding sick seamen indicates that this had been an ongoing administrative issue. The criticism of sending unproductive labour to Bencoolen reflects a concern for efficiency and the optimal use of resources across Company settlements. The movement of individuals such as Thomas Cook and storekeepers suggests ongoing redistribution of personnel within the Company's network. The repeated emphasis on usefulness and productivity highlights the economic pressures shaping decisions in the administration of the island.
325	313	that punishment is for the sake of others, so is hard working too, but with this difference when a man is dead, He can never be again usefull whereas being reclaimed by labour he may, how else does it come that so many of our Felons who are Transported to the West Indies in time are reclaimed and prove advantageous to the Publick. The Governours Bill for five hundred and thirty pounds was paid in July last to Mr. Thaxton to whom it was endorsed. We don't find any mention in the copy of your Letter of the 7th December last of John Alexander being turned out which we think shows how careless you are either in not putting it in said Copy, when it was in the Original or else in not examining whether you did at any time advise us of this Expulsion, for we find none, nor do we find in said letter one word about the entertaining the Doctor of the lunatick German (who it seems wants a name) for we can't find it in this letter now before us, altho' you say you have entertained him to August 1706, which if you have We are content he should not be destitute of a Livelyhood, if he does not before that time meet with the offer of an Employment. We are Glad Mr. Temple Needham proves according to the character we had of him and observe the Bills are at present uneasy to him, time we hope will make them more familiar. We take notice that he has the usual allowance of his Predecessor (Viz^{za}) to have his Lodging and our Table gratis. We see by the Invoice what you received from the Bay by the Terwick and are sorry Captain Burrish [?] should not bring what designed by	It was stated that punishment served as an example to others, just as hard labour could, but with the important distinction that a man who had died could no longer be of any use, whereas one who had been reformed through labour might become productive again. It was observed that this principle was demonstrated by the case of felons transported to the West Indies, many of whom were said to have been reformed over time and to have become beneficial to the public. It was noted that the Governor's bill for £530 had been paid in July to Mr Thaxton, to whom it had been endorsed. Attention was drawn to the absence of any mention in the copy of the letter dated 7 December regarding the dismissal of John Alexander. It was stated that this omission indicated carelessness, either in failing to include it in the copy when it had been present in the original or in neglecting to ensure that such a matter had been communicated at all. It was further observed that no reference could be found to the employment of the German doctor described as a lunatic, whose name had not been recorded. It was noted that he had apparently been retained until August 1706, and it was stated that, if this were the case, it was acceptable that he should not be left without a livelihood, provided that no other employment had been found for him before that time. It was observed with satisfaction that Mr Temple Needham had proved consistent with the favourable character previously reported of him, although it was noted that financial matters were at present unfamiliar to him, and it was hoped that experience would improve his confidence. It was further noted that he had been granted the same allowances as his predecessor, namely lodging and maintenance at the Company's table without charge. It was also recorded that, according to the invoice, certain goods had been received from the Bay by *Terwick*, and regret was expressed that Captain Burrish had not delivered all that had been intended, with the account continuing beyond this point.

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			Interpretations "Felons transported to the West Indies" referred to convicted individuals sent overseas as a form of punishment, often employed as labourers. "Endorsed" indicated that a financial instrument had been formally transferred to another party by signature. "Expulsion" referred to the removal or dismissal of an individual from their position or from the island. "Lunatick" reflected the period's term for someone considered mentally unstable, without precise medical definition. "Gratis" indicated that something was provided without charge. **Speculations** The comparison between punishment and labour reflects a utilitarian view of justice, emphasising economic productivity over retribution. The omission of significant events such as the dismissal of John Alexander suggests ongoing deficiencies in communication and record keeping. The reference to the unnamed German doctor indicates a lack of proper documentation and oversight in personnel matters. The cautious approval of Mr Temple Needham suggests that new officials were being closely monitored for competence. The incomplete delivery of goods by Captain Burrish may indicate logistical difficulties or inefficiencies in supply chains.
326	314	by him, our advises from thence say that they did lade on the Terwick to the Amount of Rupees Rs92.15.3 in Boratch, Rice and Sugar at S^{t}. Helena, touching which shall enquire of Captain Burrish [?] when he comes up from his Ship. You tell us in this part you are in great want of Cloth, but no Account of the Sorts and quantitys and we are told by the Gentlen of the Company that when they had supplyed you from the Bay with Sorts, you sent them for England, so that we expect you give us of the quantitys and kinds you need, at least for what purposes we can then give the proper Orders. You say you are in great want of Timber of all Sorts, but not tell the Quantity of each Sort needfull to be sent you nor the use you design it for, only say that you have spared part of what to the ComMarsdenand Freemen. You were so far in the right as not to hinder the Dispatch of Ships by keeping them for your Account of remains of the Stores honest prudence would have dictated, That after such repeated to sent you by every Shipping you shou'd timely enough have applyed hands to have drawn out that Account and have employd him other Business and this we expect for the future and if the take exact Account be too Troublesome in such hurry, then send a calculate as near as may be (that is to say) so much of such and such Sorts of goods, Liquors and Stores remain, naming the quantity & species according to the best Account you can give, which if he keeps his Accounts regularly may be done in an hours or two time shewing under each head how much is charged in the Books, & what part of it is since disposed of and from thence will be what remains.	It was reported that advice had been received stating that goods valued at ninety two rupees, fifteen annas and three pice had been shipped aboard *Terwick*, consisting of boratch, rice and sugar intended for St Helena. It was stated that further enquiry would be made of Captain Burrish upon his arrival. A complaint had been made regarding a shortage of cloth, yet no specification had been provided as to the types or quantities required. It was also observed that supplies previously sent from the Bay had, on occasion, been forwarded to England rather than retained for local use. It was therefore required that future correspondence include clear details of the kinds and quantities needed, or at least the intended uses, so that proper provision could be arranged. A similar deficiency was noted in relation to timber, as a general shortage had been reported without any indication of the quantities required or the purposes for which it was intended. It was mentioned only that some portion had been distributed to Company servants and freemen. It was therefore directed that future reports include precise and detailed information. Approval was given for not delaying the departure of ships in order to complete accounts of remaining stores. However, it was stated that prudent management would have ensured that such accounts were prepared in advance, particularly after repeated instructions that they be sent with each shipment. It was therefore required that greater care be taken in future to prepare these accounts in a timely manner. Provision was made for situations in which a full and exact account could not be completed. In such cases, it was directed that an approximate calculation be provided, listing the quantities and types of goods, liquors and stores remaining. It was noted that, where accounts were properly maintained, such a summary could be produced quickly by comparing recorded totals with the amounts already issued, thereby determining what remained. **Interpretations** "Rupees Rs92.15.3" referred to a sum expressed in rupees, annas and pice, a system of currency used in trade with the East Indies.

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			"Boratch" was probably a trade commodity such as borax, though its precise identification depends on context. "Freemen" referred to inhabitants who were not bound by servitude or contract and held recognised rights within the settlement. "Calculate" denoted an estimated account used when precise figures were not immediately available. "Species" in this context referred to categories or types of goods. **Speculations** The inconsistency between reported shipments and received goods suggests possible losses or mismanagement during transport. The repeated absence of detail in supply requests indicates persistent administrative shortcomings. The mention of goods being forwarded to England implies inefficiencies in the allocation of resources on the island. The acceptance of approximate accounts highlights the urgency of maintaining oversight despite imperfect record keeping. The expectation of rapid summaries suggests that accounting systems were intended to be more organised than they appeared in practice.
327	315	You did well to advise us of Mr. Loddington Captain Cammell and Captain Martin their behaviour We shall talk to them when we see them here in the mean time. We come now to the advice you give us about Bills of Exchange drawn on us, that it is all in Blank, and we find when Bills come to be presented they all run thus make payment without further advice, This leads us to establish the following rules which we require you strictly to observe with relation to Bills of exchange. Viz[za] We herewith send you an Account of what Bills We have paid, or which will be paid when due drawn by you this Season Viz[za] £352.14 - dated the 14th July 1705 payable to Capt[e] W[m] Cook of Dartmouth £60 - 12 D[o]: - Capt[e] Finch Reddall £239 - 13 D[o]: - Capt[e] Anthony Tollett £361.3 - 14 D[o]: - Capt[e] Francis Hosier £46 - 13 D[o]: - George Hutchison £95 - 12 D[o]: - Edward Mashborne £51 - 12 D[o]: - Capt[e] Francis Nelly £19.10 - 11 D[o]: - Governour Poirier £92 - 11 D[o]: - (Captain Loddington) £202.3.4 - William Nowell £40 - Mr. Micklethwait These two last Sums We have some demurr upon as yet. but the whole amounts to Eighteen hundred thirty eight pounds Ten Shillings & four pence a very large Sum. In perusing your accounts with the Ships sent in your Packett We find you have received Money from Captain Webber, Captain Vaux, Captain South and Captain Raymond, you don't tell us in what Money you	It was stated that the information provided regarding the conduct of Mr Loddington, Captain Cammell and Captain Martin had been properly reported, and that the matter would be addressed with them upon their return. Attention was then directed to the issue of bills of exchange drawn upon the Company. It was observed that these had been presented in blank form, with instructions for payment without further advice. This was considered unsatisfactory and led to the establishment of strict rules to be followed in future. An account was provided of the bills already paid or due to be paid for the present season. These included £352 14 shillings dated 14 July 1705 payable to Captain William Cook of *Dartmouth*, £60 to Captain Finch Reddall, £239 to Captain Anthony Tollett, £361 3 shillings to Captain Francis Hosier, £46 to George Hutchison, £95 to Edward Mashborne, £51 to Captain Francis Nelly, £19 10 shillings to Governor Poirier, £92 to Captain Loddington, £202 3 shillings and 4 pence to William Nowell and £40 to Mr Micklethwait. It was noted that some doubt remained regarding the last two sums, but that the total amounted to £1,838 10 shillings and 4 pence, which was considered a very large sum. Further examination of the accounts sent with the packet revealed that money had been received from Captain Webber, Captain Vaux, Captain South and Captain Raymond. However, it was noted that no information had been provided as to the form of currency in which these payments had been made, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Bills of Exchange" referred to financial instruments used to request payment from the Company, often drawn in distant locations and settled in England. "In Blank" indicated that the bills lacked detailed supporting information or specific instructions, creating uncertainty in their handling. "Demurr" referred to doubt or hesitation in accepting or approving certain payments. "Packet" denoted a bundle of documents and accounts sent together by ship. "Season" referred to a trading period or cycle during which accounts and transactions were conducted. **Speculations**

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			The establishment of stricter rules for bills of exchange suggests concern over financial control and the risk of unauthorised or excessive claims. The large total of payments indicates significant expenditure, contributing to the Company's dissatisfaction with current management. The uncertainty surrounding certain sums implies possible irregularities or insufficient documentation. The absence of information about the form of payments received suggests incomplete accounting practices. The intention to address the conduct of specific individuals reflects ongoing efforts to enforce accountability among Company servants.
328	316	you were paid. We hope it was not in Dollars at six Shillings a piece, since the particulars furnished them with are Charges said to be paid with ready Money, supply all omissions of this kind in future. We find also that you bought of Captain Cammell Twenty four dozen of Cloaths at Seven Dollars & half p^{e} dozen and Twelve dozen of Beer at three Dollars p^{e} dozen We can't understand this extraordinary practice, for that we don't find this was bought for Sale it is then if you designed it for your Table and if so we think it is too much for you to do without asking a Generall Leave from us and using it so leave Modestly pray let us know what you did with it and what part of the Wine and Brandy bought of the Men of War and of Borach supplyed you, is Sold for our Account and what part spent at your Table, that we may know how our Charges swell to so Sum greatly. You also gave to the Burlington Sixteen pence for candles for Two hundred Sixty five pounds, what do if you had wrote for them We should not have sent them and of the Galese, you also give creditt to Captain Hannett sent for Cape Wehre Eighteen pounds but don't say what quantity was received of him. We observe also, that you paid Captain Tollett for the his Men on the Fortifications. Sixty nine pounds Six shillings & Six pence, it had been you duty to have told us what you did pay for their Labour, for the sum is only generall words, for paid Seamen Officers, Carpenters &c^{a} and how it came about Captain Tollett paid them the Money and Charges Sixteen pounds Three shillings and Eleven pence for advance of the same.	It was observed that no information had been provided regarding the form of payment received, and it was expressed that it was hoped this had not been in dollars valued at six shillings each, especially as the goods supplied had been charged as paid in ready money. It was therefore directed that such omissions be avoided in future and that full details of payments be consistently reported. Concern was expressed over the purchase from Captain Cammell of twenty four dozen sets of clothing at seven dollars and a half per dozen, together with twelve dozen of beer at three dollars per dozen. It was stated that this practice was not understood, as there was no indication that these goods had been intended for resale. It was therefore assumed that they had been acquired for use at the Company's table, which was considered excessive without prior approval. It was required that a full account be given of how these goods had been used, and that clarification be provided as to what proportion of the wine and brandy purchased from ships of war, as well as borach received, had been sold on the Company's account and what portion had been consumed. Attention was also drawn to the payment of sixteen pence per pound for candles amounting to two hundred and sixty five pounds, which was questioned on the grounds that, had a request been made, such supplies might have been sent instead. It was further noted that a credit of eighteen pounds had been given to Captain Hannett for goods sent from the Cape, but no indication had been provided of the quantity received. It was additionally observed that a payment of £69 6 shillings and 6 pence had been made to Captain Tollett for labour performed by his men on the fortifications. It was stated that it had been the duty of the administration to specify the exact rates paid for such labour, rather than presenting only a general sum. It was also questioned how it had come about that Captain Tollett had paid the men himself and had then charged an additional £16 3 shillings and 11 pence for advancing the money. **Interpretations** "Dollars at six Shillings a piece" referred to the exchange rate applied to Spanish or other silver dollars in Company accounts. "Borach" likely referred to a traded commodity such as borax or a similar material used in various applications. "Creditt" indicated an entry in accounts recognising a payment or value received, often without full supporting detail. "Advance" referred to money paid out in advance of reimbursement, sometimes including additional charges or fees. "Generall words" denoted vague or insufficiently detailed accounting entries lacking specific breakdowns. **Speculations**

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			The concern over currency suggests that fluctuating exchange rates may have been used to obscure or inflate costs. The unexplained purchases of clothing and beer imply possible misuse of Company funds for personal or unofficial purposes. The lack of detail in accounts indicates persistent weaknesses in financial transparency and oversight. The questioning of payments made through captains suggests suspicion of intermediary charges being added unnecessarily. The repeated demand for detailed reporting reflects a sustained effort to impose stricter financial discipline and accountability.
329	317	Captain Tollett in his Account Sixty one pounds for one hundred and Twenty Gallons French Brandy which is Twenty Shillings too much. Mr. Kerr's Bill for Seventeen pounds is come to hand, which you say he is Indebted to us, but don't tell us one word what Salary you paid him, or how his account stands, whether the fifty pounds Annual Salary was paid and the fifty pound Gratuity or whether he deserves any Gratuity so that we know not what to judge in that affair or what answer to give him here to the demands he makes upon us. We have now gone thro' your Letters and taken notice of them part by part. & show how you ought to do when you receive our Letters and go about to answer them, for it is plain to us as beforementioned that you have omitted some things, gone contrary to our Orders in others and been in many Degrees careless in the rest, you see we have drawn out this Letter to a great Length in making remarks as they occurred to us and putting them in such plain and full words as you can't mistake and shall now for a close tell you our minds in a few words. and this is unless you do for the future mend the faults we have already complained of in this and former Letters and put our Orders therein and herein mentioned in due Execution in every particular. We will have those to serve us as shall or shift hands till we find such. We also observe the complaints you make of Mr. Daniell Griffith Clerk of your Councell that his Slothfulness and Company keeping had made him Neglect his Business and tying up the Consultation Books tho' the Governour has warned him ever since March last to do it, This is so ill a beginning after his Entertainment, that we cant think him fit.	It was observed that Captain Tollett had charged £61 for one hundred and twenty gallons of French brandy, which was considered to be twenty shillings more than was justified. Attention was then directed to Mr Kerr's bill for £17, which had been received. It was noted that he had been described as indebted to the Company, yet no information had been provided regarding the salary he had been paid or the state of his account. It was therefore unclear whether his annual salary of £50 had been settled, whether the additional gratuity of £50 had been granted or whether he was deserving of such a reward. It was stated that, without these details, no proper judgement could be made nor any appropriate reply given to his claims. It was then declared that all letters had been reviewed in detail and that each point had been examined individually. It was stated that this had been done to demonstrate how correspondence ought to be answered, as it had become evident that several matters had been omitted, others had been handled contrary to instructions and many had been treated with carelessness. It was further stated that the present letter had been extended at length in order to address these issues clearly and fully, so that no misunderstanding could arise. It was then declared, in conclusion, that unless the faults identified in this and previous letters were corrected and all instructions strictly followed in future, those responsible would be replaced until suitable individuals were found. It was also noted that complaints had been received regarding Mr Daniell Griffith, Clerk of the Council, whose idleness and social distractions had caused neglect of his duties, including the failure to maintain the Consultation Books despite repeated warnings since March. It was stated that such conduct, occurring soon after his appointment, indicated that he was not considered fit for the position. **Interpretations** "French Brandy" referred to imported distilled spirits, often a significant expense in Company provisioning. "Gratuity" denoted an additional payment made as a reward or acknowledgement of service beyond regular salary. "Consultation Books" referred to the official records of the Governor and Council's proceedings, essential for administration. "Slothfulness" indicated idleness or lack of diligence in carrying out assigned duties. "Shift hands" referred to the replacement of personnel in order to secure more capable service. **Speculations** The correction of the brandy charge suggests close scrutiny of even relatively small financial discrepancies. The uncertainty surrounding Mr Kerr's account reflects ongoing weaknesses in record keeping and communication.

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			The strong concluding warning indicates a loss of confidence in the existing administration and a readiness to enforce change. The criticism of Mr Daniell Griffith suggests that inefficiency at the clerical level was seen as a serious threat to proper governance. The overall tone implies that repeated failures had led to a decisive effort to impose discipline and accountability.
330	318	fit for that Imploy and do therefore dismiss him from it and the rather because of the Omissions of other parts of his duty complain'd of in several parts of this Letter. We have received a Letter from Mr. John Alexander your late Clerk to whom last year we gave an Additional Salary who Confesses his fault of passionate Behaviour to the Governour and promises Amendment and therefore in hopes he will not be again guilty of the like or any other Miscarriage, We do hereby restore him to his place of Clerk of the Councill at the Salary before Ordered, so as he makes his submission to the Governour and acquitts himself in the discharge of his Business as becomes one who is sensible of his own faults. We have Considered what you write about Salutes to the Ships which come into S^{t}. Helena road, and do hereby direct that for the future you strictly observe the following direction Viz^{za} Omitted in the Rochester Generall Letter of the 20th December 1706. The above is what we wrote last year, but for want of Conveyance could not then send it. We are now to add thereto what we think proper on the perusal of your Letters and Packett received by the Martha who departed your Island in November 1705. But the generall Letter is not dated and also those received by the Oxford and Burlington since. We have read over the arguet of Thomas Davis who is grown old and fallen to decay and altho in such Cases in England the parish always are bound to take care of such poor, however in regard he was many years since one of the Soldiers and while such broke his Leg	It was directed that Mr Daniell Griffith be dismissed from his position as Clerk of the Council, as he was considered unfit for the role. This decision was based not only on his neglect of duty but also on the various omissions identified throughout the letter. It was then stated that a letter had been received from Mr John Alexander, the former Clerk, to whom an additional salary had been granted in the previous year. In this letter, he acknowledged his previous misconduct, particularly his passionate behaviour towards the Governor, and promised to amend his conduct. It was therefore ordered that he be restored to his former position as Clerk of the Council at the previously established salary, on the condition that he submit to the Governor and perform his duties properly, demonstrating awareness of his past faults. Instructions were then given regarding the firing of salutes to ships arriving at St Helena roadstead. It was directed that strict adherence be given to the regulations previously issued on this matter. It was further noted that certain instructions, originally prepared in the general letter of 20 December 1706, had been omitted due to lack of opportunity for transmission. It was stated that these were now to be supplemented by additional observations arising from the review of letters and packets received by *Martha*, which had departed the island in November 1705, as well as those received by *Oxford* and *Burlington*. It was also observed that the general letter accompanying these materials had not been dated. Attention was then directed to the case of Thomas Davis, who was described as having become old and infirm. It was noted that, in England, responsibility for the care of such individuals would normally fall upon the parish. However, it was also recorded that he had formerly served as a soldier and had sustained a broken leg during his service, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Clerk of the Councill" referred to the administrative officer responsible for maintaining official records and documentation of governance. "Submission to the Governour" indicated a formal acknowledgment of authority and willingness to comply with discipline. "Salutes" referred to ceremonial firing of guns in honour of arriving ships, often governed by strict protocol. "Road" or "roadstead" referred to a sheltered area of water where ships could anchor near the shore. "Parish" denoted the local administrative and ecclesiastical unit responsible for welfare in England. **Speculations** The dismissal and reinstatement of clerks suggests instability in administrative roles and reliance on limited personnel. The conditional restoration of John Alexander indicates a pragmatic approach, valuing experience despite prior misconduct. The regulation of salutes implies concern over the cost and frequency of ceremonial practices. The delayed transmission of instructions highlights ongoing communication difficulties across long distances.

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			The mention of Thomas Davis reflects an awareness of welfare responsibilities for former servants, balanced against practical limitations in a colonial setting.
331	319	Say, We do allow you to give him Ten pounds Sterling if he be liuing when this comes to your hands. We can say nothing to the Business of gabriel Powell and Jonathan Beals Children till you send us the full state of the case which is not yet done. As to the Books of Accouuts We have wrote at large in our Letter Assign'd you last year, which we expect you comply with exactly. What Soldiers we send you will see by the List in the Packett of which more in an after paragraph. We have heard nothing as yet from Mr Cooke Carpenter of the Martha about Richard Leechs Orphans. You will find in the Sequel of this Letter that we have entertained Captain James Laoust who is a good Engineer and Sailes to be our Deputy Gouernour, and our reason for so doing is that Mr Goodwins place of Storekeeper remains for him to continue in if he thinks fit and shall be found to deserue it. But we are told he driues a great Trade in other Mens Names with the Ships in the road to our Detriment. That he claims some priuiledges of Casks and Baggs in the storehouse which belongs to us but when they are empty he calls them his, altho' our affairs require seueral of them and by the Authority he has heard of being in the Councell thinks he may alwayes claim these and also the Gun houses and on that Account thinks he is aboue the Examination of the Gouernour, if these things be so and are not remedied We shall think him not fit to be continued. and We expect by the next an Answer to this paragraph in particular, that we may be ascertained how far this Information is right or wrong and if it be right how it is remedied. We observe that you write you have sent to the 26 Company Bills for the Ballance of Two Ship's Accouuts enclosed towards payment of Money	A payment of £10 sterling was authorised for Thomas Davis, provided he remained alive at the time the instruction was received. No determination could be made regarding the matter of Gabriel Powell and Jonathan Beals's children, as a full account of their case had not yet been submitted. Reference was made to the books of accounts, with a reminder that detailed instructions had already been issued in the previous year's correspondence and were expected to be followed exactly. Information regarding the soldiers sent was noted to be contained within the list included in the packet, with further mention to be made later. No report had yet been received from Mr Cooke, carpenter of *Martha*, concerning the orphans of Richard Leech. Captain James Laoust was appointed as Deputy Governor on account of his recognised skill as an engineer. This arrangement was intended to allow Mr Goodwin to continue as Storekeeper, provided he remained deserving of the position. Reports had been received alleging that Mr Goodwin engaged in extensive private trade under the names of others with ships in the road, to the disadvantage of the Company. Further claims suggested that he treated casks and bags stored in Company warehouses as his own property once emptied, despite their continued necessity for Company use. It was also indicated that he considered his position within the Council to place him beyond the authority of the Governor, asserting control over storehouses and gun houses on that basis. Should these allegations prove accurate and remain uncorrected, he would be deemed unfit to continue in office. A detailed response was therefore required in the next correspondence, confirming the accuracy of these claims and explaining what measures had been taken. Notice was also given that twenty six Company bills had been transmitted, relating to the balance of two ships' accounts and enclosed towards payment of sums due, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Sterling" referred to British currency of standard value, indicating payment in pounds. "Packet" denoted a bundle of documents and lists transmitted together by ship. "Deputy Gouernour" referred to the senior official acting under the Governor in the island's administration. "Road" referred to the anchorage where ships remained offshore. "Casks and Baggs" referred to storage containers used for goods, forming part of essential Company resources. **Speculations** The conditional grant to Thomas Davis suggests a practical but limited approach to welfare for former servants. The absence of full information regarding the children indicates delays or gaps in administrative reporting. The appointment of Captain Laoust highlights the importance of technical expertise in the island's governance. The allegations concerning Mr Goodwin point towards potential misuse of Company resources and authority. The requirement for a detailed reply reflects growing concern over discipline and accountability within the administration.

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332	320	Money due here from us to them and we find by the papers One Bill is for £88.13.10 from Captain Goodman of the Martha and the other for £31.10.9½ from Captain Collett of the Howland. We think you ought to have taken so much pains as to have mentioned these two sums and the Ships names also in your Letter and must blame your omitting it, as also the like omission of the Moneys supplyed in two Bills to Captain Cason, however having wrote so fully on this head in our aforesaid Letter We shall enlarge no farther there than to tell you, let it be so no more. We are told that some of the Freemen keep great part of their Blacks up in the Country at their Plantations and far from their Houses and thereby many Mischiefs arise by those Blacks and among others they are often robbing their Neighbours of their Fowls and Cattle too, and seacretly killing them for Sustenance, because their Masters don't allow them sufficient to live on, which could be prevented did their Masters require them to come to their Houses every night and a worse mischief also arises thereby, that those Blacks when so far from their Masters sight are often caballing together and plotting Mischiefs, if this account be true, We would have you make some good Laws to prevent it, and it is a generall Mischief. Summon together the heads of the Inhabitants and discourse the matter with them, and then do you agree upon such Rules to be observed as you apprehend most reasonable, and also what fines or other punishment shall be inflicted on the breakers of such Settled rules and let the said fines be applyed to the use of the Poor upon the Place or any other purpose you shall agree upon in the said Councill. - We hear there are great many Sheep on S[t] Helena which	It was recorded that two bills had been received for money due, one amounting to £88 13 shillings and 10 pence from Captain Goodman of *Martha*, and the other for £31 10 shillings and 9½ pence from Captain Collett of *Howland*. Criticism was made that these sums, together with the names of the ships, had not been specified in the accompanying letter. A similar omission was noted regarding money supplied in two bills to Captain Cason. Although the matter had already been addressed at length in earlier correspondence, it was stated that such neglect must not occur again. Reports were then considered stating that some freemen kept a large proportion of their slaves at distant plantations in the countryside rather than near their houses. Various harms were said to arise from this practice, including theft of poultry and cattle from neighbours and the secret killing of livestock for sustenance, allegedly due to insufficient provision by their masters. It was further suggested that such misconduct could be prevented if the slaves were required to return to their masters' houses each night. Additional concern was raised that, when left unsupervised at a distance, they might gather together and form plots leading to further disorder. Instructions were therefore given that, if these reports proved accurate, suitable laws were to be established to prevent such abuses. The principal inhabitants were to be assembled and the matter discussed with them, after which reasonable rules were to be agreed upon. Appropriate fines or punishments were to be determined for those who broke these regulations, and any fines collected were to be applied for the benefit of the poor or for other purposes agreed upon by the Council. Information was also noted indicating that there were a considerable number of sheep on St Helena, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Freemen" referred to inhabitants not bound by servitude or contract, often holding property and certain civic rights. "Plantations" denoted agricultural holdings where crops and livestock were maintained, often located away from main settlements. "Caballing together" referred to gathering in groups, often with the implication of conspiring or planning mischief. "Fines" referred to monetary penalties imposed for breaches of agreed rules or laws. "Councill" referred to the governing body responsible for local administration and decision making. **Speculations** The concern over the management of slaves suggests anxiety about both economic productivity and social control. The reported thefts indicate either insufficient provisioning or weak oversight by masters. The emphasis on nightly supervision reflects an attempt to impose stricter discipline over dispersed labour forces. The involvement of inhabitants in forming regulations suggests reliance on local cooperation alongside formal authority. The reference to sheep may indicate a shift towards livestock management as a means of stabilising food supply.
333	321	thrive well, but that if they are encouraged they will spoil the Neat Cattle because there is not herbage enough for both sorts and by their eating so close they will spoil the grass, how far this is true we wish have you examine, and if this encrease of the Sheep should as	Concern was expressed that sheep were said to thrive well on St Helena, but that their increase might damage the neat cattle due to insufficient herbage to support both. It was explained that, by grazing too closely, sheep might spoil the grass and thereby reduce

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		above be detrimental to let the Inhabitants know We expect it be remedied and you may at the Quarter Sessions, or other proper meeting of the Inhabitants consider what is fit to be done therein, and let what shall be so agreed on be put in due execution and we can't doubt but that they will be ready to concur in whatsoever is for the common Benefit. We approve of Thomas Sanderson's being made Ensign on Mr Purling's Decease, If he behaves himself as he ought being always willing to encourage our Servants to Continue faithfull to us by allowing them to rise according to their seniority and Merritt as any Vacancy happens which we woud have you always observe. We have received a Letter from Mr Matthew Bagett by the Martha desiring to be admitted in our Service, He says he has been long Assistant to the Storekeeper and otherwise bequitted himself to your satisfaction, you are on the place and know how far his allegations are true and wherein his Talent most lyes, therefore do you give him encouragement according to his Merritt, but we can't think it adviseable to put him into the Councill, as he seems to point at, let us know by the next his character and what you think is fit to be done for him and you shall have our further thoughts upon it. We have read over the petition of William Beale and he states his case it seems hard, That Henry Cole his Wife's Father should sell her House against her Consent and then detain her Money, but in	the pasture available for other livestock. Examination of this matter was required, and, if found to be true, the inhabitants were to be informed that a remedy was expected. Consideration of suitable measures was to take place at the Quarter Sessions or another appropriate meeting, and whatever was agreed upon was to be enforced. Confidence was expressed that the inhabitants would cooperate in any action taken for the common benefit. Approval was given for the appointment of Thomas Sanderson as ensign following the death of Matthew Purling, provided he conducted himself properly. It was stated that encouragement should always be given to servants who remained faithful, allowing them to advance according to seniority and merit whenever vacancies arose, and that this principle was to be consistently observed. A letter had been received from Mr Matthew Bagett, sent by *Martha*, requesting admission into the Company's service. He stated that he had long served as assistant to the Storekeeper and had performed satisfactorily. As local knowledge was considered essential in assessing his claims, it was directed that encouragement be given according to his merit. However, it was stated that it would not be advisable to appoint him to the Council, as he appeared to desire. A full report of his character and abilities was requested in the next correspondence, so that further consideration could be given. The petition of William Beale was also reviewed, in which it was alleged that Henry Cole, his wife's father, had sold her house without her consent and had retained her money. The case was described as appearing harsh, although the account continued beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Neat Cattle" referred to domesticated bovine livestock, particularly cows and oxen, valued for meat and dairy. "Herbage" denoted grass or pasture available for grazing animals. "Quarter Sessions" referred to periodic local courts or administrative meetings where civil and legal matters were addressed. "Ensign" was a junior commissioned military rank, often the first step in an officer's advancement. "Seniority and Merritt" indicated advancement based on length of service and demonstrated ability. **Speculations** The concern over sheep grazing suggests awareness of environmental limits and the need to balance livestock populations. The encouragement of promotion by merit reflects an attempt to maintain loyalty and motivation among Company servants. The cautious approach to Mr Bagett's advancement indicates a desire to rely on local judgement while maintaining control over senior appointments. The dispute described in William Beale's petition suggests tensions over property rights and family authority within the settlement. The expectation of cooperation among inhabitants implies reliance on collective decision making to address shared challenges.
334	322	regard he suggests there was a Tryall of his case by a Jury and they gave it in against him, therefore we are very apprehensive that he has not told us the whole, however we send you back his Petition for you to Examine and if you see cause and can relieve him do it. We come now to your Letter of the 11th August and 6th of September 1706 and observe you write you had no Sugar, Arrach nor any other sort of Liquors in the Stores on the 11th May which seems to be the reason	Consideration was given to the petition of William Beale, but it was noted that his case had already been tried by a jury and decided against him. This raised concern that the full circumstances might not have been disclosed. His petition was therefore returned for further examination, with directions that relief should be granted if, upon enquiry, it appeared justified. Attention was then directed to the letters dated 11 August and 6 September 1706. It was reported that, as

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		you took up so largely of Captain Rovies as to Charge us with a Bill for £993..4..– and of Captain Cooke more £91..15..9 But as before complained of your Generall Letter does not mention the sum and the Accounts of it are little scraps of Paper attested by no Body, however we have for this time accepted those Bills, notwithstanding the Extravagant rates the goods therein are charged at, Cheese at nine pence p^{e} pound, Sugar or Sugar candy at Twelve pence. We refer you to these things to what formerly wrote you, wherein you will fully see our minds. We are told that you were extremely Careless in the Liquors you bought of these two captains, for that they sold them by a sample which was good, but when they were delivered in the casks, some part was so Musty as not to be drunk unless in the utmost Necessity. We are sorry for Mr. Masham's Death and know nothing more of any Account he has with us, but what he mentioned in our Letter of the 30th November 1704 by the Ship which carryed him wherein we advised he had of us fifty pounds to be deducted out of his Salary. If you knew his Carriage think he deserved the Gratuity of fifty pounds p^{r} annum he ought to have it as well as his Salary, but only for so long as he lived.	of 11 May, no sugar, arrack or other liquors remained in the stores, which had led to large purchases being made from Captain Rovies, resulting in a bill of £993 4 shillings, and from Captain Cooke, amounting to £91 15 shillings and 9 pence. Criticism was made that these sums had not been clearly stated in the general letter, and that the supporting accounts consisted only of small, unattested papers. Although these bills had been accepted on this occasion, it was noted that the prices charged were excessive, with cheese at nine pence per pound and sugar or sugar candy at twelve pence per pound. Reference was made to earlier instructions, which were said to express clearly the Company's position on such matters. Further concern was raised regarding the quality of the liquors purchased from these captains. Reports indicated that they had been sold by means of a sample that was of good quality, but that, upon delivery in casks, some of the contents were so musty as to be unfit for consumption except in cases of necessity. This was presented as evidence of carelessness in procurement. Regret was expressed at the death of Mr Masham. It was stated that no further account of his financial dealings was known beyond what had been recorded in the letter of 30 November 1704, in which it had been noted that he had received £50 to be deducted from his salary. It was directed that, if his conduct had been satisfactory and he was considered deserving of the gratuity of £50 per annum, it should be allowed, but only for the duration of his life. **Interpretations** "Arrack" referred to a distilled alcoholic spirit commonly traded in the East Indies. "Attested" indicated that a document had been formally verified by signature to confirm its accuracy. "Musty" referred to goods, particularly liquids, that had deteriorated in quality, often through poor storage. "Gratuity" denoted an additional payment granted as a reward for service beyond regular salary. "Casks" referred to wooden barrels used for storing and transporting liquids such as wine or spirits. **Speculations** The doubt expressed about William Beale's petition suggests concern over incomplete or misleading accounts in legal disputes. The absence of proper documentation for large purchases indicates persistent weaknesses in administrative procedures. The acceptance of overpriced goods implies that shortages forced the administration into unfavourable transactions. The issue with poor quality liquors suggests inadequate inspection and control over supplies received from ships. The conditional granting of Mr Masham's gratuity reflects a balance between recognising service and limiting unnecessary expenditure.
335	323	What is before wrote Concerning Criminalls will take in the case of Le Jeune Jack condemned for Burglary. Touching your Books of Accounts & Mr Alexander and Mr Griffith. We have also told you our minds in our aforesaid Letter. We are sorry to read the Damage you mention is done by the great floods, that they have caused a great Confusion in Papers Fortifications and at the Fort, which shall be repaired as soon as possible and that this sad Experience as you write will put you in finding out new means to let the gulleys come to the Main channel, had this been the first time you complained of the Damage you had Suffered by the rains, We should have said Nothing, but when do We remember you wrote us formerly of the like Mischiefs occasioned by the rains, We it reason should think you might have then	Reference was made to earlier directions concerning criminals, which were stated to apply equally to the case of Le Jeune Jack, who had been condemned for burglary. The matters relating to the books of accounts, together with the conduct of Mr Alexander and Mr Griffith, were noted as already addressed in the previous letter, to which attention was again directed. Regret was expressed at the damage reported to have been caused by severe floods, which had resulted in disorder among papers, fortifications and structures at the fort. Repairs were expected to be carried out as soon as possible. Although it was acknowledged that this experience might encourage the development of improved methods for directing water into the main channels, it was observed that similar complaints had

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		prevented any future hurt, by making proper Conveyances to the Water to have diverted it from endangering your Fortifications however better late than never, let us at last find by experience that you will be as good as your word. Our Packett from Fort St. George are not come to hand therefore We can't at present say any thing to the Bill you mention given Thomas Cole drawn upon us which you write they have paid, till we hear their reasons for so doing. We note what you wrote about Mr. Marsden and therefore are content that you allow him Ten pounds a year more, and to further for his encouragement put him in fifth of the Councell, not that we would quitt him of any part of the Business he was entertained for. If you had but duly taken Notice of what we wrote you about him by	been made previously. It was therefore stated that such damage ought to have been prevented earlier through proper drainage measures. Nonetheless, it was accepted that remedial action should now be taken, and it was expected that the necessary improvements would be implemented. It was noted that packets from Fort St George had not yet been received, and therefore no comment could be made regarding the bill drawn by Thomas Cole, which had reportedly been paid, until further information was obtained. Approval was given for an increase in Mr Marsden's allowance by £10 per year. In addition, he was to be placed as the fifth member of the Council as a means of encouragement. It was specified, however, that this advancement was not to release him from any of the duties for which he had originally been engaged. It was further indicated that, had earlier instructions concerning him been properly observed, the present situation might have been clearer, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Criminalls" referred to individuals convicted of offences, often subject to punishment or transportation. "Burglary" denoted the crime of unlawful entry into a building with intent to commit theft. "Gulleys" referred to channels or ravines through which water flowed, particularly during heavy rains. "Packett" referred to a collection of letters and documents sent together by ship. "Councell" referred to the governing body responsible for administration on the island. **Speculations** The application of general criminal policy to specific cases suggests an effort to maintain consistency in punishment. The repeated complaints about flood damage indicate ongoing environmental challenges and inadequate infrastructure. The criticism of earlier inaction suggests frustration with a lack of preventative planning. The delayed communication from Fort St George highlights the uncertainty inherent in long distance administration. The promotion of Mr Marsden reflects recognition of technical skill while maintaining expectations of continued service.
336	324	by the Panther and Nathaniel you would have sent us an Account what Business he had been employed about, for the assisting the Storekeeper was only in the Vacancy of his other Business, and you have been alike remiss in not advising us, whether he, Doctor Masham or Mr: Masham have repaid any, or what part of the Money We told you that we had advanced them. Capt: Burrish [?]'s Bills we have lately accepted. One of them is paid and the other will when due, We demurr'd to them then because they were goods bought in India contrary to his Indulgence and therefore we would take notice of them till he had settled his Accounts. If you could show us that we had used to allow Board Wages to any of our Council at S^{t}. Helena it might be some Inducement to us to Consider Mr. Goodwin's desire of allowing the like to him, year it is so common a practice in India as you apprehend and where it has been introduced, We have generally discountenanced it when we know it without there were very particular Reasons for its allowance. We come now to Consider your part about the Loss of the Queen and Dover, had their ComMarsdenfollowed the Orders of the Secret Committee they had arrived in safety with the rest of our Ships in company of the Dutch East India Fleet, but as to your parts We must say that you are infinitely to blame in your management	Reference was made to earlier instructions sent by *Panther* and *Nathaniel*, in which it had been required that an account be provided of the duties performed by Mr Marsden. It was noted that his assistance to the Storekeeper had only been intended during a temporary vacancy, yet no report had been given of his actual employment. Similar neglect was observed in failing to advise whether he, Doctor Masham or Mr Masham had repaid any part of the money previously advanced to them. Notice was given that Captain Burrish's bills had recently been accepted, one having already been paid and the other to be settled when due. Initial hesitation had arisen because the goods concerned had been purchased in India contrary to the limits of his permitted trade, and therefore consideration had been delayed until his accounts were properly settled. Consideration was given to the request that Mr Goodwin be granted board wages. It was stated that, if evidence could be shown that such allowances had previously been granted to members of the Council at St Helena, this might serve as a reason to review his request. However, although the practice was said to be common in India, it had generally been discouraged unless supported by very particular justification.

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		and we wonder you can have the assurance to write us that had not Mr. Dolben told you there was no French ships in India, but a Dutch Ship bound to the Island you had not been so secure, is that an Excuse think you fit to be given us. We think it rather deserves the severest censure, We are also told	Attention was then directed to the loss of the ships *Queen* and *Dover*. It was stated that, had their commanders followed the orders of the Secret Committee, they would have arrived safely in company with the Dutch East India fleet. Strong criticism was made of the local management of the situation, and it was remarked that it was surprising that an explanation had been offered suggesting that reliance had been placed on information from Mr Dolben that no French ships were present in India, apart from a Dutch vessel bound for the island. Such reasoning was rejected as inadequate and was said to merit severe censure. It was further noted that additional reports had been received on this matter, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Indulgence" referred to specific permissions or limits granted to captains regarding private trade. "Board Wages" denoted an allowance given in place of food and lodging provided in kind. "Secret Committee" referred to a governing body within the Company responsible for confidential or strategic decisions. "Dutch East India Fleet" referred to the naval and commercial fleet operated by the Dutch East India Company. "Demurr'd" indicated hesitation or refusal to accept something without further consideration. **Speculations** The repeated failure to report on financial recoveries suggests ongoing weaknesses in accountability. The conditional acceptance of Captain Burrish's bills reflects tension between enforcing rules and maintaining practical operations. The reluctance to grant board wages indicates concern over rising administrative costs. The criticism of the loss of ships suggests that strategic or navigational errors were viewed as preventable. The rejection of reliance on second hand intelligence implies a demand for more cautious and independent judgement in decision making.
337	325	told that our Governour has been unaccountably careless about the Fortifications, that the Spunges are not fitt for the guns, That there is scarce Rods for the Guns and when the Governour has been Severally told to remedy such things. He abused People for their Kindness, It is further added that there was but two Strings of Match upon the Line and there was no Powder to be come at for some time when the French first approached. To tell you as the Governour does, That the Ships shou'd ride nearer the shore and that when he came first in Place, He endeavoured to have the Ships send their Boats a shore at Banks but mett with rough and proud answers, is so lame an Excuse that We can't bear with, for what does he think We trust him with that station, is it only to receive our Salary. Should not he have commanded both Ships to birth themselves in this time of War as near the shore and as much under the Command of our Guns as they could; if they had refused and he had advised us of it, He had done his Duty - what satisfaction can he give us for his Miscarriage, does he think it enough to throw the Blame on others which so palpably is his own; Add to this that Monsr De. Duguers who commanded in chief those two Men of War is the very man as we are told that Mr Poirier was so wonderously kind unto some years ago, and gave him a Reception on the Island much better than to any of our own Commanders, suffer'd his Boats to sound round the Island and his men to survey it on shore under pretence of Shooting.	Serious concern was expressed regarding reports of neglect in the island's defences. It was stated that essential equipment was found to be deficient, with sponges unfit for use with the guns, a scarcity of rods and inadequate preparation overall. Repeated warnings had reportedly been given to the Governor to address these deficiencies, yet instead of acting upon them, those who raised concerns had been met with hostility. It was further reported that only two lengths of match were available along the defensive line and that, at the time of the French approach, powder could not readily be accessed. Strong criticism was made of the explanation offered that ships should have anchored nearer the shore, and that earlier attempts to direct them to land at Banks had been met with resistance. This reasoning was rejected as insufficient, as it was stated that the Governor had been entrusted with authority not merely to receive his salary but to exercise command. In a time of war, he ought to have required ships to anchor as close to shore as possible and within the protection of the island's guns. Had such orders been refused and properly reported, his duty would have been fulfilled, but no such justification was accepted. The attempt to shift blame onto others was described as unacceptable, as the fault was considered to lie with his own conduct. Additional concern was raised regarding Monsr De Duguers, who had commanded the attacking ships. It was noted that he had previously been received on the island with unusual favour by Mr Poirier, who had

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		We are informed also that the Enemies did not all of them come down to their forts on the double Alarm, and yet the Governour	granted him a more generous reception than that afforded to Company commanders. It was further reported that his boats had been permitted to survey the island and that his men had been allowed ashore under the pretence of shooting, actions now viewed with suspicion in light of subsequent events. Information was also received indicating that, at the time of alarm, not all personnel had immediately taken their positions at the forts. Responsibility for this failure was implied to rest with the Governor, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Spunges" referred to implements used to clean cannon between firings, essential for safe operation. "Rods" referred to ramrods used in loading cannon. "Match" referred to slow burning cord used to ignite gunpowder in artillery. "Banks" referred to a landing place or anchorage point on the island. "Double Alarm" referred to a heightened state of military alert requiring immediate readiness. **Speculations** The deficiencies in equipment suggest neglect of basic military preparedness over an extended period. The criticism of the Governor's authority indicates an expectation of decisive leadership during wartime. The prior hospitality shown to Monsr De Duguers may have unintentionally provided intelligence to a future enemy. The failure of personnel to respond promptly to alarm suggests weaknesses in discipline or organisation. The overall tone reflects deep frustration and concern over the island's vulnerability to external attack.
338	326	has not so inquired into it as he ought, to know the defaultiers, much less to fine them, if this be true We have yet further reason to quarrel his Management. We require that you give us a true Account how this matter stands for our further consideration. We understand our Secret Committee have several times wrote to the Governour to get the assistance of the Captains of the Men of Warr and of our own Ships as well by their advices as their Men to perfect the Fortifications and we have wrote the same ourselves, and yet hitherto we have no good Account what has been done therein and we are informed that he has taken the workmen off from the Fortifications leaving them unfinished and sett upon making a new garden and Terraces which will cost, and has already many hundred pounds and he pays the Two Shillings a day Wages. We should be glad this was not true, for if it be, We shall expect a very good reason for his doing it before we allow the Charge. We understand the Governour Lodged Mr. Pooly's two children and two Servants and dietted them at our Charge for some months together and that he does so frequently to others whilst the Shipping is in the road. We expect to know his reason for it, for we will not allow of such expenses. To invite our ComMarsdenor any Persons now and then and of a Sunday We should not be against, but for such Countenance We can imagine no Cause unless it be to put Money into his Pockett at our cost. We have wrote you before to send by every Shipping the Annuall expense of all sorts of stores and are now to add that We would have you send us the dimensions of the great guns and Carriages, that so whenever you want new Carriages (and	Further concern was raised that no proper enquiry had been made into those who failed to attend upon the alarm, nor had any penalties been imposed. If this report proved accurate, it was stated that it would provide additional grounds for criticism of the Governor's management. A full and accurate account of the matter was therefore required for further consideration. Reference was made to repeated instructions issued by the Secret Committee, as well as by the Company itself, directing that assistance be obtained from the captains of ships of war and Company vessels, both in advice and manpower, to complete the fortifications. Despite this, no satisfactory report had been received detailing progress. Information had been given suggesting that workmen had been withdrawn from the fortifications before completion and instead employed in constructing a new garden and terraces, at a cost already amounting to many hundreds of pounds, with wages paid at two shillings per day. Doubt was expressed regarding the truth of this report, but it was stated that, if confirmed, a strong justification would be required before such expenditure could be accepted. Complaint was also made that the Governor had accommodated Mr Pooly's two children and two servants and had provided for them at the Company's expense over several months, and that similar hospitality had been extended to others when ships were present. An explanation was demanded, as such costs were not considered acceptable. Occasional entertainment of Company commanders or visitors, particularly on Sundays, was not objected to, but regular provision of this kind was viewed as unjustified unless supported by a valid reason. Previous instructions requiring the annual transmission of accounts detailing the expenditure of all stores were reiterated. It was further directed that the dimensions of the great guns and their carriages be sent, so that, when replacements were required, appropriate

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			provisions could be made, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Defaultiers" referred to individuals who had failed in their duty, particularly in a military context. "Secret Committee" referred to a governing body within the Company responsible for strategic oversight. "Terraces" referred to constructed levels or platforms, often part of landscaped or ornamental works. "Diested" referred to being provided with food at another's expense. "Great guns" referred to large artillery pieces used in the defence of the island. **Speculations** The failure to discipline those absent during alarm suggests weaknesses in authority and enforcement. The diversion of labour from fortifications to ornamental works indicates possible misallocation of resources. The criticism of hospitality expenses reflects concern over misuse of Company funds for personal or social purposes. The repeated demand for detailed reports suggests ongoing frustration with inadequate communication. The request for artillery specifications indicates an effort to improve logistical planning and military readiness.
339	327	We hope you will give us timely Notice when you do, We may give certain Directions here to make them and that they may be fitted to their Nath. We hear there are several Mineralls on the Island, We would have you send us Ten pounds weight of each sort for a Sample, that we may Judge further about them. We come now to tell you that we have entertained Captain James Lambe to be deputy Governour of S^{t}. Helena at the Salary of Seventy pounds p^{r} annum, and in regard he is represented to us as well Skilled in Fortifications and is a good Engineer and as such we expect he will be very serviceable to us in putting the Island into a better posture of Defence, We therefore have agreed to give him an Additional Salary on that Account of Fifty pounds p^{r} Annum, We have also given him Twenty pounds for his Fresh provisions; It now remains, that on his arrivall with you, He setts himself to Consider what is most Beneficial for the greater security and defence of the Island, and lay the same before you, and in case you approve thereof, as we doubt not but you will, if his proposals be reasonable, that then you cause the same to be performed, and we expect that he take the dayly inspection thereof upon him, and in particular to take care where the Ships are to ride as aforesaid be sufficiently fortifyed. We have been told, that when the French Ships were at S^{t}. Helena you guns could hardly reach them while their shott flew some of them a Mile up into the Island, if this be so it must arise from the difference of the Powder, and we fear you have not taken the necessary care of your Powder, We recommend to you to looke better after it and keep	Expectation was expressed that timely notice should be given whenever new gun carriages were required, so that proper directions could be issued for their construction and fitting according to the necessary specifications. Information had been received suggesting the presence of various minerals on the island, and instructions were given that samples of each type, weighing ten pounds, should be sent for examination, so that further judgement might be made regarding their value. Notice was then given that Captain James Lambe had been appointed Deputy Governor of St Helena with a salary of £70 per annum. In addition, an extra £50 per annum had been granted in recognition of his skill in fortifications and engineering, together with £20 for fresh provisions. Upon his arrival, he was to assess what measures would best improve the security and defence of the island and present his proposals. Should these be approved as reasonable, they were to be carried into effect, with responsibility placed upon him for their daily supervision. Particular attention was to be given to ensuring that the anchorage areas for ships were properly fortified. Reports had also been received indicating that, during the presence of French ships at St Helena, the island's guns had insufficient range to reach them, while the enemy's shot had travelled as far as a mile inland. If accurate, this disparity was attributed to differences in the quality of gunpowder, and concern was expressed that insufficient care had been taken in its storage and maintenance. It was therefore recommended that greater attention be given to the condition and preservation of powder supplies, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Nath" referred to the necessary or intended specifications for equipment, particularly in relation to fitting gun carriages. "Mineralls" referred to naturally occurring substances of potential economic value, such as ores or salts. "Deputy Governour" referred to the second ranking official on the island, responsible for assisting in administration and defence.

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			"Fresh provisions" referred to perishable food supplies, often required to maintain health during service. "Shott" referred to projectiles fired from artillery. **Speculations** The request for mineral samples suggests an interest in assessing the island's potential for resource extraction. The appointment of Captain Lambe reflects a priority placed on strengthening defensive capabilities. The emphasis on fortifying anchorage areas indicates concern over vulnerability to naval attack. The disparity in artillery range suggests deficiencies in equipment or maintenance. The focus on gunpowder quality implies that storage conditions or supply standards may have been inadequate.
340	328	keep it dry and not lett it be exposed to the Weather what part of it shall prove to be decayed. We would have used in firing the Alarum Guns and in Salutes and as often as you receive fresh Powder from hence send us what lyes before you which is decayed and unserviceable remembering always to keep a Sufficiency by you in case of an Exigency! We have entertained Mr. Joshua Thomlinson to be our Chaplain at S^{t}. Helena in the room of Mr. Masham Deceased at the Salary of fifty pounds p^{r} Annum and fifty pounds a year Gratuity in case he shall by his carriage be found to deserve it, which we hope he will and Comply with all the Established rules on that Island relating to his Function, for that he is well recommended to us as a Gentleman of Piety and Learning, you are to allow him as We have promised his Diet at our Table, and a convenient Lodging and place for his Study. We have given him Ten pounds for his Fresh provision and advanced him fifty pounds which is to be deducted out of his growing Salary that commences on his Arrival with you and have taken his own bond to Secure the payment. What Stores and Provisions we send you by this Ship you will see by the Enclosed Invoice and Bill of Lading, you have also the Charterparty which when you dispatch the ship you are to return to the Governour and Councill of Bencoolen. By the Charterparty you will see We are to keep the Ship but Ten working days for her unlading, if you should not unloade her in that time, it will cost us Twelve pounds fourteen shillings	Instructions were given that gunpowder was to be kept dry and protected from exposure to the weather. Any portion found to be decayed or unfit for service was to be used only for firing alarm guns or ceremonial salutes. Whenever fresh supplies were received, the deteriorated stock was to be returned, while always ensuring that a sufficient reserve was retained in case of emergency. Notice was given that Mr Joshua Thomlinson had been appointed Chaplain of St Helena in place of Mr Masham, at a salary of £50 per annum with an additional gratuity of £50 per annum, contingent upon his conduct being satisfactory. Confidence was expressed that he would adhere to the established rules of his office, as he had been recommended as a man of piety and learning. Provision was to be made for his maintenance at the Company's table, along with suitable lodging and a place for study. A sum of £10 had been granted for fresh provisions, and £50 had been advanced to him, to be deducted from his future salary, secured by his bond. Details of the stores and provisions sent by the current ship were stated to be contained within the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. The charterparty was also included and was to be returned to the Governor and Council of Bencoolen once the ship had been dispatched. It was further stated that, according to the charterparty, the ship was to be detained for no more than ten working days for unloading. Should this period be exceeded, a charge of £12 14 shillings would be incurred, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Alarm Guns" referred to artillery fired as signals of danger or warning. "Gratuity" denoted an additional payment granted as a reward for satisfactory service. "Diet at our Table" referred to the provision of food at the Company's expense. "Bond" referred to a formal financial obligation ensuring repayment of money advanced. "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing the use and terms of a ship. **Speculations** The emphasis on maintaining usable gunpowder suggests prior losses due to poor storage conditions. The structured terms of the chaplain's appointment reflect the importance placed on moral and religious order within the settlement. The advance of salary secured by bond indicates caution in financial dealings with Company servants. The strict limit on unloading time reflects ongoing concern with reducing shipping costs.

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			The requirement to return documents to Bencoolen highlights the interconnected administrative system across Company settlements.
341	329	and three pence a day for every day after, so that we expect you employ all hands in hastning her away and that you observe what we have wrote in our beforementioned Letter on this head. If you have any Blacks you think fit to send to Bencoolen, you may observe by the Charterparty We have a Liberty to send them on the Rochester at four pounds a head for such as are delivered a live there, Therefore advise the Governour and Council if you do send any their names and Discriptions, but don't send little Children as you did by the Anna. We have Entertained Mr. Edward Mashborne to be fourth in Councill at the Salary of Forty pounds p^{r} Annum. He takes passage on the Ship Rochester, and is to be applyed to such Business as the council see fitt.	It was stated that, beyond the ten working days allowed for unloading, a charge of £12 14 shillings and three pence per day would be incurred for each additional day. For this reason, all available labour was to be employed to hasten the ship's dispatch, and strict attention was to be given to earlier instructions on this matter. Provision was made for the transport of slaves to Bencoolen, as permitted under the charterparty, at a rate of £4 per head for those delivered alive. Should any be sent, their names and descriptions were to be communicated to the Governor and Council there. It was specifically directed that young children were not to be included, as had previously occurred with those sent aboard *Anna*. Notice was given that Mr Edward Mashborne had been appointed as the fourth member of the Council, with a salary of £40 per annum. He was to travel aboard *Rochester* and, upon arrival, was to be employed in such duties as the Council considered appropriate. **Interpretations** "Charterparty" referred to the formal agreement governing the use and terms of a ship. "Blacks" referred to enslaved individuals under Company control, often assigned to labour or transferred between settlements. "Per head" indicated a fixed cost assigned to each individual transported. "Councill" referred to the governing body responsible for administration on the island. "Dispatch" referred to the sending away of a ship after completion of loading or unloading. **Speculations** The strict penalties for delay suggest continued pressure to minimise shipping costs and improve efficiency. The controlled transfer of enslaved individuals indicates their treatment as economic assets within the Company's system. The exclusion of children from transport suggests a preference for labourers considered immediately productive. The appointment of Mr Mashborne reflects ongoing adjustments to the composition of the Council. The emphasis on detailed reporting of transported individuals highlights concerns over accountability and record keeping.
342	330	London the 14th March 1714 By the Ship Carnarvon: We wrote you at large touching our Affairs in our generall Letter of the 4th February 1713/14, and it being come to your hands we omitt sending its Copy. Since that time we have received the following Letters from you viz^{t}. of the 12th December 1713 by the Susanna, of the 8th December by the Frederick, of the 3^{d} February by the Aurengzebe, of the 19th of that Month by the Muncery, of the 24th March by the Rester, of the 12th July 1714 by the Hannover, and Eagle, of the 2^{d} August by the Osarilla, and of the 1st December last by the St George and with them the Consultations, and other papers contained in their Packett except what is sent by the St George of which having only a generall Letter without the Ship is not yet gott into the River We can't tell what Books or Papers come in her Generall Packett. Before We proceed to take Notice of the Contents of those Letters under the Established generall heads, We think proper to tell you, that some matters relating to said Letters Papers and Consultations are not to our	London, 14 March 1715. A general letter had previously been sent by the ship *Carnarvon* dated 4 February 1714, in which the Company's affairs had been addressed in detail. As it was believed to have already been received, no duplicate copy was forwarded. Since that time, several letters had been received, namely those dated 12 December 1713 by *Susanna*, 8 December by *Frederick*, 3 February by *Aurengzebe*, 19 February by *Muncery*, 24 March by *Rester*, 12 July 1714 by *Hannover* and *Eagle*, 2 August by *Osarilla*, and 1 December by *St George*. These were accompanied by consultations and other papers contained within their respective packets. However, the materials sent by *St George* had not yet been fully examined, as only a general letter had arrived and the ship itself had not yet reached the river, leaving uncertainty as to what additional documents were included. Before addressing the contents of these letters under the established general headings, it was stated that several matters relating to the correspondence and accompanying papers were unsatisfactory and required correction. It was directed that each new letter should

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		minds, and must be altered or amended Viz[t]. you should always in every succeeding Letter at the beginning of it, mention the date of the preceeding which hath been sometimes omitted; instead of sending Copys of the last Letter by the next Ship you should sign it, and thereby make it a Duplicate for the reasons we have told you: In the Lists of your Packets should be mentioned the dates of all the Letters and Papers therein contained, This would ascertain to us what the Letters and Papers were, advised thereby to be	begin by stating the date of the preceding one, a practice which had sometimes been neglected. Instead of sending copies of previous letters with subsequent ships, it was required that such letters be signed and treated as duplicates, in accordance with earlier instructions. It was also directed that packet lists should include the dates of all letters and papers contained within them, so that the contents could be clearly identified and verified. **Interpretations** "Consultations" referred to the recorded proceedings and decisions of the Governor and Council. "Packett" referred to a collection of letters and documents sent together by ship. "Duplicate" referred to a second authorised copy of a document, signed to confirm its validity. "The River" referred to the River Thames, where ships arriving in London would be received. "Generall heads" referred to established categories under which administrative matters were organised. **Speculations** The emphasis on dating and duplication suggests ongoing problems with lost or delayed correspondence. The requirement for detailed packet lists indicates a need for greater administrative clarity and accountability. The uncertainty regarding the contents of the *St George* packet highlights the delays inherent in long distance communication. The structured approach to reviewing letters reflects an effort to impose order on complex administrative exchanges. The repeated corrections imply persistent difficulties in maintaining consistent record keeping practices.
343	331	sent, which for want of it can't always be done especially if those Lists come to be enquired into in future, and care must be taken that all Letters, are truely endorsed, or otherwise it may mislead us. We have an Instance or two now before us of Errors in this Case. We find severall Papers in the Packets as Accounts or Lists, or Notices of things Ordered to be sent us, some of them not dated, others not signed, whereby they are not Vouchers of the matters required as we expect, nor doth it appear that they have been examined or approved by the Councell. This must be remedied, You should always send Lists by every Packett containing the particullars of the Papers or Books therein (it was wanting in the Resters). You do advise us of Bills drawn, but have omitted to tell the Dates of each, tho we directed you should mention them, and how many Bills given for the same Sum. We Ordered you in the 3[d]. Pararagraph of the Generall Letter pr Rochester to draw out under their proper heads Extracts of all standing Rules and Directions, and enforced it in the 3[d]. Paragraph by the Carnarvon, and in the 4[th]. Ordered an attested Copy to be sent for our Inspection, You tell us in the 3[d]. Paragraph of the Letter of the 12[th]. November 1714 it was drawing out; and in the 3[d].	Concern was expressed that, without proper listing of documents, it could not always be determined what letters and papers had been sent, particularly if enquiries were made at a later time. It was therefore required that all letters be correctly endorsed, as errors in this respect had already been observed and could lead to misunderstanding. Attention was drawn to several papers received within the packets, including accounts, lists and notices of goods ordered to be sent. Some of these were found to be undated, while others lacked signatures, and therefore could not serve as proper vouchers for the matters they were intended to confirm. It was also noted that there was no evidence that such documents had been examined or approved by the Council. This deficiency was to be corrected. Lists were to accompany every packet, detailing all papers and books included, a requirement which had been neglected in the case of *Rester*. It was further observed that, although information had been given regarding bills drawn, the dates of these bills had not been included, nor had the number of bills issued for the same sum been specified, despite earlier instructions that such details be provided. Reference was made to previous orders, particularly those contained in the third paragraph of the general letter sent by *Rochester*, requiring extracts to be made of all standing rules and directions under their proper headings. This instruction had been reinforced in subsequent correspondence sent by *Carnarvon*, and it had been ordered that an attested copy be forwarded for inspection. Reports had been received stating that this work was in progress and that letters had been copied into a book with marginal notes and an alphabetical table being prepared. However, it was noted that, despite a period of nearly seventeen months since arrival on 8 July 1714, this single task had not

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		paragraph of the Letter of the 1st. December 1714 our Letters were Copyed out into a Book, and Marginal notes made thereto, and an Alphabeticall Table in making by which it appears that you had not in almost seventeen Months (for you arrived 8th. July 1714) compleated that single direction touching the Extracts, and tho the Carnarvon had been with you 4 Months, yet it did not quicken you, for no Copy of that Extract is	been completed. It was further remarked that the arrival of *Carnarvon*, which had been present for four months, had not hastened the work, as no copy of the required extracts had yet been received, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Endorsed" referred to the marking or annotation of documents to confirm their identity and contents. "Vouchers" referred to documents serving as formal evidence or proof of transactions or statements. "Packett" referred to a collection of letters and papers sent together by ship. "Standing Rules" referred to established and ongoing directives governing administration. "Attested Copy" referred to a document formally verified as accurate by signature or certification. **Speculations** The insistence on proper documentation suggests repeated problems with incomplete or unreliable records. The absence of dates and signatures indicates weak administrative discipline and lack of oversight. The delay in compiling extracts of rules reflects inefficiency or lack of prioritisation. The repeated reinforcement of instructions suggests frustration with continued non compliance. The emphasis on future traceability implies concern for long term accountability and record preservation.
344	332	Extract is sent us, This dilatory management is not to be excus'd nor must it be continued. We find you are making the Presses and other repositorys for the Letter Books and other Writings; Be sure they are always preserved and not suffered to be Damaged by Wet, Rats or any other way, as you advise you found them on your arrivall; To this end appoint some stated times to inspect them, and if the Clerk be not sufficiently carefull. Let him be fined in Tomorrow, and takes quittes in all time coming the Secretary or Clerk of the Councell is to be kept to his duty; As to the Entry of Wills, Leases or other writings, equall care must be taken that they be rightly made, and the Counterparts of Leases, and the originall Wills faithfully kept. Remember the crime Mr. Alexander was Charged with in relation to a Lease of Lands thereby to prevent such another instance and every thing of the like nature. The Generall Letter or Instructions you carried with you directed and shewed you a pattern to write of all our affairs under severall generall heads, this is also done in part in some Letters and not at all in others. It must be better regarded in future and tho' it have something of Difficulty, or at least Tediousness at first, yet in the event it will be much easier, and more Beneficial than writing of our affairs in confused and irregular manner, for when every paragraph is put under its proper head it will be the sooner, and more certainly found out on Enquiry and thereby make Amends for the first Difficulty, and	Severe criticism was made of the delay in sending the required extracts of standing rules and directions, and it was stated that such neglect could not be excused and must not continue. Attention was directed to the construction of presses and other repositories intended for the storage of letter books and official writings. These were to be carefully maintained and protected from damage caused by damp, vermin or any other hazard, as it had been reported that such materials had previously been found in poor condition upon arrival. Regular inspections were to be established to ensure their preservation. If the Clerk failed in this duty, penalties were to be imposed so that greater care would be taken in future, and the Secretary or Clerk of the Council was to be held strictly accountable. Equal care was required in the entry and preservation of legal documents, including wills and leases. It was emphasised that entries must be made accurately, and that counterpart leases and original wills must be securely retained. Particular reference was made to the offence previously attributed to Mr Alexander concerning a lease of land, which was to serve as a warning to prevent any recurrence of similar misconduct. Instructions were reiterated that all correspondence should be arranged under established general headings, as had been directed in the general letter provided upon arrival. It was noted that this method had been followed only partially in some letters and entirely neglected in others. Greater attention was required in future, as, although this approach might initially appear difficult or tedious, it would ultimately provide greater clarity and efficiency. By organising each matter under its proper heading, information could be more easily located and reviewed when required, thereby compensating for any initial inconvenience, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Presses" referred to storage cupboards or cabinets used for keeping documents and books. "Repositorys" referred to designated places for the secure storage of records.

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		by Collecting	"Counterparts of Leases" referred to duplicate copies of lease agreements retained for record and verification. "Originall Wills" referred to the primary legal documents outlining the distribution of a person's estate. "Generall heads" referred to structured categories used to organise administrative matters. **Speculations** The strong criticism of delays suggests growing impatience with administrative inefficiency. The emphasis on document preservation indicates previous losses or damage to important records. The reference to Mr Alexander's offence highlights concerns about fraud or mishandling of legal documents. The insistence on structured correspondence reflects an attempt to standardise and improve governance. The requirement for regular inspections suggests a lack of trust in clerical diligence and the need for oversight.
345	333	collecting materials of the same nature together will help your attention as well as memory, and prevent omissions and Tautologies. If you want to write of matters not properly reducible to these heads, put them in last or under a particular head of Miscellany. We observe some of these Letters before us are swelled to an unequall length by frequent repetitions of the same matters, which by a little order thought might have be contained in much fewer words, and particularly in the two Articles of Timber and Blacks. We shall never find fault with long letters, where the Variety of particullars, or the fully explaining your desires, or the setting things or stating Cases in a true and full light or treating particularly of the severall species of goods sent you from hence or received from India necessarily require such length. We would have all such matters plain and full, as you have now done about the goods sent from hence, but then Endeavour all in as few and significant words as possible, and when you have afterwards occasion to write us about any thing, which you had mentioned in part before in a preceeding Letter, take notice only of the new matter, and refer to the paragraph in such Letter for the rest giving only a short account or hint of the contents. when you have occasion to write of matters, as in the above examples of Timber and Blacks, put what you have to say on each head altogether in one or if more part let them go on successively, and not lye scattered here and there in parcells, which swell the Letter but divides instead of uniting the attention. Touching our Consultation Books, We have these Generall remarks	It was advised that collecting matters of the same nature together would assist both attention and memory, and would prevent omissions and unnecessary repetition. Where subjects could not easily be placed under established headings, they were to be included at the end under a separate heading of miscellany. Observation was made that several of the letters examined had become excessively long due to repeated discussion of the same matters, particularly in relation to timber and slaves. It was stated that no objection would be made to lengthy letters where the number of particulars, the need for full explanation or the accurate presentation of cases required such detail. Clarity and completeness were encouraged, as demonstrated in the descriptions of goods sent from England. However, it was directed that all such information should be conveyed in as few and as precise words as possible. Guidance was also given for handling matters already discussed in earlier correspondence. In such cases, only new information was to be included, with reference made to the relevant paragraph of the earlier letter and a brief summary provided. When writing on subjects such as timber and slaves, all related information was to be grouped together in a continuous section rather than dispersed in separate parts, as scattering such material was said to increase length unnecessarily and reduce clarity. Attention was then directed to the consultation books, with general remarks to follow. **Interpretations** "Miscellany" referred to a category used for subjects that did not fit within the main established headings. "Tautologies" referred to unnecessary repetition of the same ideas or information. "Parcells" referred to separate or fragmented portions of text or information. "Consultation Books" referred to official records of the proceedings and decisions of the Governor and Council. "Species of goods" referred to different categories or types of commodities. **Speculations** The emphasis on organisation suggests ongoing frustration with disordered and repetitive reporting. The distinction between acceptable and excessive length indicates a desire to balance thoroughness with efficiency. The instruction to reference earlier letters implies an attempt to create continuity and reduce redundancy in communication.

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			The criticism of scattered information reflects concern that poor structure hindered effective oversight. The focus on consultation books suggests their importance as central records for governance and accountability.
346	334	remarks to make thereon, they are indeed better than none, or than some we have had, of which we complained in the 6th. paragraph of the Generall Letter by the Rochester, but they don't come up in any tollerable degree to the directions contained in the 6th. part of that Letter. This you carried it with you, and should have observed it as the first generall rule of your management peruse it and you will see how much you have fallen sort of it in divers particullars, and that you promise in the 4th. part of Susanna hath not been complyed with, if the Consultations sent us be true copys this we Ordered Duplicates, that is, those sent us should bee as well signed as the Originalls kept with you and your 5th. paragraph promised to send Duplicates: This we expect to be done in all time coming, and then we may also expect it will be more correct: The severall pages must be Numbered successively as your first by the Susanna was, whereas whereas all the rest bee only numbered on the first corner of the sheet. The Entrys must be put in the proper Places, and not Papers of an after date placed with the Consultations of a former. The writing must be more carefully done, and not so many faults of words omitted, or wrong wrote, that makes the sence scarcely intelligible: No Materiall papers must be omitted to be Entred as in these before us, where it is said none comes in the Storekeepers Account whereas there is not one word of the Account: The Consultation Books should be stitched together at least, and not in loose Scattering Sheets. We	General remarks were made upon the consultation books, which were acknowledged to be an improvement upon earlier examples, though still falling far short of the standards previously required. Reference was made to the sixth paragraph of the general letter sent by *Rochester*, which had set out clear directions that had not been properly followed, despite being carried with the administration and intended as a principal rule for governance. It was observed that promises made in the fourth part of the letter sent by *Susanna* had not been fulfilled, and that, if the consultations received were accurate copies, they had not been prepared in accordance with instructions. It was required that duplicate copies of the consultation books be sent, properly signed in the same manner as the originals retained on the island. It was stated that this had been promised but not carried out, and that compliance was expected in future, as it would improve accuracy. Pages were to be numbered consecutively throughout, as had been done in the first example sent by *Susanna*, whereas subsequent copies had only been marked at the corner of each sheet. Entries were to be placed in their correct chronological order, and documents of later date were not to be inserted among earlier consultations. Further criticism was made of the quality of writing, which was said to contain numerous errors, omissions and incorrect words, rendering the meaning difficult to understand. It was directed that all material papers be fully entered, as omissions had been observed, including instances where it had been stated that no account had been received from the Storekeeper, yet no such account appeared in the records. It was also required that the consultation books be properly bound or at least stitched together, rather than consisting of loose and scattered sheets. **Interpretations** "Consultation Books" referred to the official records of proceedings and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Duplicates" referred to authorised copies of documents, signed to confirm their accuracy and validity. "Entrys" referred to recorded proceedings or notes entered into official records. "Materiall papers" referred to documents of importance that formed part of official records or evidence. "Stitched together" referred to the physical binding of pages to preserve order and prevent loss. **Speculations** The repeated criticism suggests persistent dissatisfaction with the quality and reliability of official records. The insistence on signed duplicates indicates concern over authenticity and the risk of alteration or loss. The emphasis on correct ordering and numbering reflects a need for chronological clarity in governance. The poor quality of writing suggests either lack of skill or insufficient oversight in clerical work. The requirement for binding the books implies that physical disorganisation had contributed to administrative confusion.
347	335	We do expect as we directed in that 5th. part that your Consultation	Expectation was stated that the consultation book should be maintained in the form of a journal,

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		Book be in the nature of a Journall and do contain in it an account of all the Merchantile, Civill, Military or other affairs on the Island under your direction, and which comes before you: It hath not hitherto been so, We find many times no Body signs but the Governour, at other times the like errours, as if we had no Councill there but he acted Singly, tho we shall never find fault with him for doing our Business, yet we appoint a Councill, because we will have all things done by joynt consent or at least a Majority, and if any dissent, will have him or them have liberty to enter they do so, and their reasons for it in Consultation, or if any part of a Letter is not agreeable to their judgement, then to enter such their dissent to it and reasons at signing; all the Councill must be duly summon'd to and we expect they be present at every Consultation and if any wanting mention the reasons at the head of the Consultation where you put the names of those present; If after this plain declaration of our minds, any of the Councill at present or in future shall consent to any Letter or Entry in Consultation &c[a]. which they think is not right without excepting thereto, they may thank themselves, if they suffer'd in the Company opinion for so doing. We find your Entry in the Consultation of your approving the Minutes of the last or of all Letters read there which you received, nor of the Letters by you sent that they were read and approved of in Councill nor is the Accounts entered therein of all the sorts and quantitys of Goods received from India which ought to be as we ordered, they being but a few Articles. The particulours following must also be inserted	containing a full account of all mercantile, civil, military and other affairs conducted on the island under the administration's authority. It was noted that this standard had not been met, as entries frequently bore only the Governor's signature, giving the appearance that decisions had been made without the participation of the Council. Although no objection was made to the Governor acting in the Company's service, it was emphasised that a Council had been appointed so that all matters should be determined by joint agreement or by majority decision. Provision was required for any member who disagreed with a decision to record their dissent and the reasons for it within the consultation. This was to apply equally to entries and to letters, with objections to be noted at the time of signing. All members of the Council were to be properly summoned to each meeting, and their attendance was to be recorded. Where any were absent, the reasons for their absence were to be stated at the beginning of the consultation alongside the names of those present. It was further declared that, following this clear instruction, any councillor who consented to entries or letters believed to be incorrect without recording objection would bear responsibility for any consequences arising from such agreement. Deficiencies were also noted in the recording of proceedings. No entry was found confirming that minutes of previous meetings had been approved, nor that letters received or sent had been read and agreed upon in Council. It was further observed that accounts of goods received from India, including their quantities and types, had not been properly entered, despite earlier instructions that such details should be recorded, particularly as they consisted of only a limited number of items. Additional particulars were required to be included, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Consultation Book" referred to the official record of meetings and decisions made by the Governor and Council. "Journall" indicated a continuous and comprehensive record of daily or regular proceedings. "Majority" referred to the greater number of members whose agreement determined decisions. "Dissent" referred to a formal statement of disagreement recorded in official proceedings. "Particulours" referred to specific details or items that were required to be recorded. **Speculations** The insistence on collective decision making suggests concern over excessive concentration of authority in the Governor. The requirement to record dissent indicates an effort to ensure transparency and accountability within the Council. The absence of proper entries implies weak administrative discipline and inadequate record keeping. The emphasis on attendance and procedure reflects a desire to formalise governance practices. The need to record goods received from India highlights their importance to the island's economy and supply system.
348	336	inserted Viz[t]: The Accounts of prices, sett on all sorts of goods as we directed part the 3[d]. of your Instructions. The Monthly Accounts of the Stores; The List of Revenues of Blacks where and how Employed. The Monthly Account of the plantation disbursements and Expences, and those also at the Fort expressing the	A detailed schedule of entries was required to be included within the consultation books. These were to contain the accounts of prices set upon all types of goods, in accordance with earlier instructions. Monthly accounts of the stores were to be recorded, together with lists of revenues, and full details of slaves, including where and how they were employed. Monthly accounts were also to be entered for plantation disbursements and expenses, as well as those incurred at

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		particullars the increase or disposall of all our Live Stock. The Account of the particulars of the pay of the Military, of the Covenant Servants of the others Employed at Wages, whether the same be Monthly, or Quarterly or Weekly. The weekly Account of the number of Blacks hired, at what price and where; The Letters wrote to or received from Captains or others belonging to Ships in the road or Protests against them. The Letters you send to India, all reports made to you, or papers laid before you, or which by our Orders are to be sent us by Shipping together with a short notice of your perusall and approvall thereof, and which of them you sign. The Account of all Orders you give, and when and by whom and when executed. What is mentioned in these particullars touching the Consultations are, but part of what might be enumerated. The reviewing our Orders, your own reasons, and the severall occurrences will remind you of many more proper to be taken Notice of to rectify or amend faults omitted, and prevent omissions That all your Consultation Book may contain a particullae Account of all your Transactions sufficiently plain to the understanding of a stranger who peruses it, and by such entrys will be a full register of all things done by you or others by your Orders. such	the fort, with clear specification of each item. Records were to include the increase or disposal of all livestock belonging to the Company. Further entries were to include detailed accounts of military pay, the wages of covenant servants and all other employees, specifying whether such payments were made monthly, quarterly or weekly. Weekly records were to be kept of the number of slaves hired, the rates paid and the locations of their employment. All correspondence with captains or others associated with ships in the roadstead was to be entered, including any protests made against them. Copies or records of letters sent to India were also to be included, along with reports presented to the administration and any papers laid before it, noting their review, approval and signature where applicable. A complete record was also to be maintained of all orders issued, specifying when they were given, by whom and when they were carried into execution. It was stated that these requirements formed only part of what might properly be recorded, and that careful consideration of existing instructions, together with experience of events, should guide the inclusion of further relevant matters. The consultation book was therefore to provide a full and clear account of all transactions, written in such a manner that a stranger could understand it, and serving as a comprehensive register of all actions carried out by the administration or under its authority. **Interpretations** "Covenant Servants" referred to individuals employed under formal contract for a fixed term of service. "Revenues of Blacks" referred to the economic output or labour value derived from enslaved individuals. "Protests" referred to formal objections or declarations made against captains or ships, often in relation to delays or disputes. "Road" or "roadstead" referred to the anchorage where ships remained offshore. "Register" referred to an official and systematic record of transactions and decisions. **Speculations** The extensive list of required entries suggests dissatisfaction with incomplete and inconsistent record keeping. The emphasis on clarity for an external reader indicates a desire for transparency and accountability. The inclusion of labour and livestock records reflects their central importance to the island's economy. The requirement to document all orders and their execution suggests concern over enforcement and follow through. The instruction to expand beyond the listed items implies recognition that administration required adaptable and comprehensive oversight.
349	337	such as are so entered may be referred to in the Generall Letter when Necessary: from India where they have frequent and large Correspondence they send us annually Copy Books of all Letters received from or sent by them to all places together with their Accounts and Councill Books, but whereas your occasions for writing are but small, therefore we say enter all into Consultation. touching your Accounts we shall tell you our Orders in after paragraphs. We now proceed to a more particulour answer to your said Letters, and	Guidance was given that entries recorded in the consultation books could be referred to in the general letter whenever required. It was observed that, in India, where correspondence was frequent and extensive, annual copy books were sent containing all letters received and dispatched, together with accounts and council records. By contrast, as correspondence from St Helena was more limited, it was directed that all matters should instead be fully entered into the consultation books. It was stated that further instructions regarding accounts would be provided in subsequent sections. A transition was then made to a more detailed response to the letters received, with remarks and directions to be given under the established general headings. It was directed that future correspondence

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		to make such remarks or give such directions thereon, and on what contained in the consultations received or Papers in the Packets as we judge necessary under our Established heads, and which have you write your Letters in the same manner. Altho we should at some times write promiscuously of our affairs, where any thing for our Notice is not proper to be ranged under one or other of these heads, put in afterwards. And First Concerning Shipping sent out and returned. Since our last it hath Pleased God, That the following Ships are returned to us in safety. Viz^{t}. The Frederick from Fort St. George the Grantham and Toners from Bombay imported here in February and March 1714. The Susanna from Bencoolen the 5th. April 1715 the Aurengzebe from Fort St. George the 1st. May. The Rester from China the 25th. D^{o}. the Hannover from the Bay and Fort the 28th. September. The Oravilla from Bencoolen the 27th. October. the Eagle Galley from Benjarr the 29th. of said Month. The Captain by his trading at the Cape, at S^{t}. Helena and in Ireland making his homeward passage near Eleven months, and the St. George from the Bay is lately	should follow the same structure. Where matters could not be properly assigned to any of these headings, they were to be included separately at the end. Under the heading of shipping sent out and returned, it was reported that several ships had safely arrived since the last correspondence. These included *Frederick* from Fort St George, and *Grantham* and *Toners* from Bombay, which reached England in February and March 1715. *Susanna* arrived from Bencoolen on 5 April 1715, followed by *Aurengzebe* from Fort St George on 1 May 1715, and *Rester* from China on 25 May 1715. *Hannover* returned from the Bay and Fort on 28 September 1715, *Oravilla* from Bencoolen on 27 October 1715, and *Eagle Galley* from Benjarr on 29 October 1715. It was further noted that one captain had extended his homeward voyage to nearly eleven months by trading at the Cape, St Helena and Ireland. The ship *St George* from the Bay was also reported to have recently arrived, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Copy Books" referred to bound volumes containing copies of all correspondence sent and received. "Consultation Books" referred to official records of decisions and proceedings of the Governor and Council. "Promiscuously" referred to matters written without strict order or classification. "The Bay" referred to the Bay of Bengal, a principal region of Company trade. "Benjarr" referred to a trading location, probably Banjarmasin or a similar settlement. **Speculations** The contrast with Indian administrative practice suggests that St Helena was expected to maintain simpler but more complete internal records. The structured format required for correspondence reflects an effort to standardise communication across Company territories. The detailed reporting of ship arrivals highlights the importance of maritime oversight in Company operations. The mention of extended trading voyages indicates concern over delays and unauthorised commercial activity. The continued emphasis on record keeping suggests persistent efforts to improve administrative discipline and reliability.
350	338	arrived in the Downs. The Ships sent and sending out to all parts of the East-Indies by us this Season are, Viz^{t}: The Brittish Merchant ... 200 capt: Tho: Gilbert for Mocha The Marlborough ... 480 capt: Matthew Martin for China & Fort The Susanna ... 300 capt: Vick: Pinnell for China The Stringer Galley ... 280 capt: John Clarke for China The Grantham ... 470 capt: Thomas Collet for the Bay The King George ... 450 capt: Samuel Lewis for the Coast & Bay The Prince Frederick ... 420 capt: Edward Martin for the Coast The King William ... 350 capt: Tho: Winter for Madrass & Bencoolen The Catherine ... 350 capt: Tho: Hunter for S^{t}. Helena & Bencoolen The Rester ... 300 capt: Jno: Godon for Benjarr The Saram Frigatt ... 400 capt: George Newton for Bombay The Princes Amelia ... 840 capt: John Mizenor for Bombay	Notice was given that orders had been sent by a ship which had arrived in the Downs. A full account was then provided of the ships dispatched, or intended for dispatch, to various parts of the East Indies during the present season. These included the *Brittish Merchant* of 200 tons under Captain Thomas Gilbert, bound for Mocha; the *Marlborough* of 480 tons under Captain Matthew Martin, bound for China and Fort St George; the *Susanna* of 300 tons under Captain Vick Pinnell, bound for China; the *Stringer Galley* of 280 tons under Captain John Clarke, bound for China; the *Grantham* of 470 tons under Captain Thomas Collet, bound for the Bay; the *King George* of 450 tons under Captain Samuel Lewis, bound for the Coast and Bay; the *Prince Frederick* of 420 tons under Captain Edward Martin, bound for the Coast; the *King William* of 350 tons under Captain Thomas Winter, bound for Madras and Bencoolen; the *Catherine* of 350 tons under Captain Thomas Hunter, bound for St Helena and Bencoolen; the *Rester* of 300 tons under Captain John Godon, bound for Benjarr; the *Saram Frigatt* of 400 tons under Captain George Newton, bound for Bombay; and the *Princes Amelia* of 840 tons under Captain John Mizenor, also bound for Bombay.

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		The supracargoes of the Susanna are Mr. Nash, Mr. Childs, Mr. Head, and Arthur Morris Waiter. Those of the Stringer are Mr. Middleton, Mr. Holland & Mr. Atkyns and Samuel Windsor Waiter. Those of the Marlborough are Mr. Fenwick Mr. Horsmonden & Mr. Godfrey and Rowland Aynsworth writer. The Brittish Merchant sailed out of the Downs the 5th. December The King William the 7th. January. The Marlborough and Susanna the 29th. Do. The Stringer Galley, Grantham and Prince Frederick the 28th. February and from St. Hellens the 27th. You will receive this by the Catherine, her Invoice and Bill of Lading will show you what Stores and Necessarys of all sorts as well as Goods are laden on board, and which our Committee who had	Details were also given of the supercargoes assigned to certain ships. The *Susanna* carried Mr Nash, Mr Childs, Mr Head and Arthur Morris, described as a waiter. The *Stringer Galley* carried Mr Middleton, Mr Holland, Mr Atkyns and Samuel Windsor, also described as a waiter. The *Marlborough* carried Mr Fenwick, Mr Horsmonden, Mr Godfrey and Rowland Aynsworth, described as a writer. The sailing dates of several vessels were then recorded. The *Brittish Merchant* departed from the Downs on 5 December 1714. The *King William* sailed on 7 January 1715. The *Marlborough* and *Susanna* departed on 29 January 1715. The *Stringer Galley*, *Grantham* and *Prince Frederick* sailed on 28 February 1715, and from St Helens on 27 February 1715. Information was then given that the present letter would be conveyed by the *Catherine*, and that her invoice and bill of lading would provide a full account of the stores, provisions and goods loaded on board. These had been prepared by the Committee responsible for outfitting the vessel, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Supercargoes" referred to Company officials placed aboard ships to manage trade, oversee cargo and conduct commercial business at overseas ports. "The Bay" referred to the Bay of Bengal, a principal region of Company trade. "The Coast" referred to the Coromandel Coast of India, an important trading area for the Company. "Waiter" referred to a junior Company servant assisting senior officials, often at the beginning of a commercial career. "Writer" referred to a clerical servant responsible for accounts and correspondence. "The Downs" referred to the anchorage off the Kent coast where ships assembled before departure. "St Helens" referred to the anchorage at St Helen's, Isle of Wight, used as a staging point for outward-bound vessels. **Speculations** The detailed listing of ships and commanders reflects the scale and coordination required for Company maritime operations. The appointment of multiple supercargoes on larger vessels suggests the importance of managing complex trading ventures. The variation in destinations illustrates the wide geographic scope of Company trade. The staging of departures at both the Downs and St Helens indicates established logistical practices for assembling fleets. The reliance on invoices and bills of lading highlights the importance of documentation in maintaining control over cargo and supply.
351	339	had your Intents and other advises provided thereupon. Could the Ship have taken in more you might have had some further Supplyes, you have in her Packett her Charterparty, which on her being dispatched from St. Helena you must forward by her to the Deputy Governour and Councill of Bencoolen. This Ship is under the same Covenants as usuall of having Demanage allowed her for all the time She stays above Ten working days; Wherefore we must repeat to you as in severall Letters hath been recommended with Earnestness on the like occasions to dispatch her away with all possible Expedition and for this	It was explained that the ship had been laden according to the Company's intentions and prior advice, and that, had her capacity allowed, additional supplies might have been sent. Her charterparty was enclosed within the packet, and instructions were given that, once she had been dispatched from St Helena, this document was to be forwarded to the Deputy Governor and Council at Bencoolen. Attention was drawn to the conditions of her service, noting that demurrage would be payable for any time exceeding ten working days spent at the island. It was therefore strongly urged that the vessel be dispatched with all possible speed. Emphasis was placed on the lateness of the season, which made prompt departure especially important. It was further reported that a severe frost lasting approximately six weeks during the winter had delayed outward bound shipping,

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		further reason, because the Season of the year is now far advanced. We had a very severe Frost for about Six weeks this Winter which detained our outward bound Shipping, and this among the rest, or else they had, Wind permitting been dispatched a Month earlier. We note you severall paragraphs relating to the Ships which bring you goods from hence, and their time of delivery, and can only say - hasten this away as soon as possible, observe our former directions on this head, and now you have your Crane fixt, the place for Landing more Commodious by your repair where the Bridge was, some of the Reasons for Tediousness in landing Goods will cease. Your Protest against the Cardonnell was right and answered our Orders in such Cases as it ascertains what days the Ship did work and what She did not, when the Weather hindered and when the Captain was not sufficiently expeditious, continue the like method when there is occasion for it. We take notice of your opinion that it is better to fix a time Certain, for Ships Station to, and stay at S^{t}. Helena	including this vessel, which otherwise might have been dispatched about one month earlier, weather permitting. Reference was made to several paragraphs concerning the arrival of ships carrying goods from England and the time taken to unload them. Instructions were repeated that such vessels should be cleared as quickly as possible, in accordance with earlier directions. It was observed that improvements recently made, including the installation of a crane and repairs to the landing place where the bridge had been, would reduce previous causes of delay in unloading cargo. Approval was given for the protest entered against the *Cardonnell*, as it conformed to established orders by clearly distinguishing the days on which work had been carried out from those lost to bad weather or lack of diligence by the captain. It was directed that this method be continued whenever necessary. Notice was taken of the view expressed that a fixed and certain period should be established for ships to remain at St Helena, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Charterparty" referred to the formal contractual agreement governing the employment, obligations and conditions of a ship. "Demurrage" referred to a financial penalty payable for delays beyond the agreed period of loading or unloading. "Packet" referred to a collection of official letters and documents sent together by ship. "Protest" referred to a formal declaration, often made before witnesses, recording delays or deficiencies in performance, particularly by a ship's captain. "Deputy Governor and Council at Bencoolen" referred to the administrative authority of the East India Company at Bencoolen, a key settlement on the west coast of Sumatra. **Speculations** The repeated emphasis on dispatch suggests continuing concern over costly delays in maritime operations. The reference to severe winter weather highlights the vulnerability of shipping schedules to environmental conditions. The improvements to landing facilities indicate efforts to increase efficiency at St Helena. The approval of formal protests suggests reliance on legal documentation to enforce accountability. The discussion of fixed time limits for ships' stay reflects ongoing attempts to standardise procedures and control expenses.
352	340	Helena unlading which will be time enough to consider of when we take up Ships for that Island hereafter, but the present Covenants being the constant Custom hitherto, it is somewhat dubious whether the owners will be easily inclined to admit of an alteration. We take notice of the Account given us by your severall Letters of the times of arrivall of Shipping at S^{t}. Helena and what news you heard of others at the Cape and from India together with a recapitulation of the whole in the Letter of the 1st. December. Continue these sort of Advices, and be as particular in your Enquirys and Notices as you can. Continue to send us by every Ship the Accounts of such ship that we may thereby the better know what you supply them	Consideration was given to the suggestion of fixing a definite period for ships to remain at St Helena for unloading. It was stated that such a measure might be examined in future when ships were engaged for that service. However, as existing covenants reflected long established custom, doubt was expressed whether shipowners would readily agree to any alteration. Attention was given to the accounts received in several letters concerning the arrival times of shipping at St Helena, together with intelligence gathered about other vessels at the Cape and from India. A summary of these reports had been included in the letter dated 1 December 1714. Instructions were given that such advice should continue to be provided, and that enquiries and reports should be made as detailed as possible. Further direction was given that accounts of all ships should be sent with each opportunity, so that a clear understanding might be formed of what supplies had been furnished to them, at what rates, and what had been received in return, whether by barter or other means of settlement. It was observed that these

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		withall and what rates, and what they return you in Barter, or how they otherwise Ballance the Account. We generally find their credit is by one or other of the Inhabitants but no mention made or at least no Proof how those Inhabitants make good such Sums to us, nor doth it appear that you are satisfied the Account is right, so that its very possible We may thereby be greatly abused. If he that makes out the Account which seems to be done at the Storehouse is not very carefull and honest, had we the Books every year as we ought, and heretofore used to have them We could then examine whether those Persons had creditt in our Stores and were duly debited for the Credit given in such Accounts, for the future let all such Accounts of Ships be examined and past in council and signed by the proper officer. We observe what you mention touching the French Ships and your reasons for not sparing them Beef with the Orders -	accounts commonly relied upon credit extended by inhabitants of the island, yet no sufficient explanation or proof was provided as to how such inhabitants discharged these obligations to the Company. It was also noted that no clear indication was given that the accounts had been verified as correct, creating the risk of significant abuse. Concern was expressed that, if the accounts prepared at the storehouse were not handled with care and honesty, inaccuracies might arise. It was remarked that, if the Company's books were regularly transmitted, as had formerly been the practice, such matters could be properly examined to confirm whether those credited had corresponding entries in the store accounts. Instructions were therefore given that, in future, all such accounts relating to ships should be examined and approved in Council, and signed by the appropriate officer. Notice was also taken of the explanation provided regarding French ships and the reasons given for not supplying them with beef, in accordance with existing orders, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Covenants" referred to the contractual terms agreed between the Company and shipowners governing service conditions, including duration of stay and obligations. "The Cape" referred to the Cape of Good Hope, a key staging point in maritime routes between Europe and Asia. "Barter" referred to the exchange of goods without the use of money, a common practice in Company trade. "Storehouse" referred to the Company's central depot on the island where goods were received, stored and issued. "Passed in Council" referred to the formal approval of accounts or decisions by the Governor and Council acting collectively. **Speculations** The reluctance to alter established covenants suggests the Company's dependence on maintaining favourable relations with shipowners. The emphasis on detailed shipping intelligence indicates the importance of timely information for coordinating trade and defence. The concern over unverified credit arrangements reflects anxiety about financial mismanagement or fraud. The insistence on Council approval of accounts shows an effort to strengthen oversight and accountability. The reference to French ships suggests ongoing geopolitical tensions affecting supply decisions at St Helena.
353	341	thereupon, which were not amiss as Circumstances then stood, your care to prevent their sounding about the Island, and to hinder their attempting it on pretence of Fishing or rambling too far about the country was commendable, be sure to Contain the same practice for them and all other Shipping whatsoever, for tho' we have now peace with France, as We have with all other Nations, We can't tell how long it may last, therefore keep strictly to our former Orders, and the rather because there are now no separate Stock Ships abroad, and all Captains have Orders to send their Boats on Shore as formerly advised	Approval was given to the measures taken in relation to French ships, noting that the actions described had been appropriate given the circumstances at the time. Particular commendation was made of the precautions taken to prevent those ships from sounding around the island, or from attempting to do so under the pretence of fishing or travelling inland. Instructions were given that this same vigilance should be maintained not only towards French vessels but towards all shipping. Although peace then existed with France and other nations following the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714, it was observed that such conditions might not endure. It was therefore directed that earlier orders be strictly followed. As no separate stock ships were then abroad, all captains had been ordered to send their boats ashore as previously instructed. Where such boats failed to comply, it was directed that they should be fired upon, though prior

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		and whoever doth not fire upon them, but if you can give them previous Notice by Signalls or otherwise Do it. You complain of ships delivering you less of the goods sent from hence or from India than what's consigned to you by Bill of Lading and instance in several particulars, if ever the like case again happens demand of the comMarsdento make good the Value of those goods is worth at S^{t}. Helena either in Money or other Goods such as you shall want at a price to be agreed on, if he refuse protest against him, our reason for this is to prevent his making use of them, and thinking he need only be accountable for their prime Cost, which is very unreasonable, for there can be no just reason to pretend that rice can't waste: your 116th post: of the Letter of the 1st. December 1715 says there was fourteen hundred and Eight pounds delivered short. therefore it must be used and so probably was the Sugar short delivered at the same time; as to Arack it is very probable it will waste something, be it never so carefully looked after the very little	warning by signals or other means was to be given where possible. Complaint was acknowledged regarding the delivery of goods in quantities less than those specified in the bills of lading, with several instances having been cited. Instructions were given that, should such deficiencies occur again, the commander was to be required to make good the full value of the missing goods at St Helena, either in money or in other goods agreed upon at a suitable price. In cases of refusal, a formal protest was to be entered. This measure was intended to prevent commanders from retaining goods for their own use while accounting only for their original cost, which was described as unjust. Reference was made to the 116th postscript of the letter dated 1 December 1715, in which a deficiency of 1,408 pounds weight had been reported. It was observed that such a quantity must have been consumed or otherwise disposed of, and that similar circumstances probably applied to sugar reported missing at the same time. It was acknowledged that arrack might naturally diminish in quantity to some degree, even when carefully managed, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Sounding" referred to the practice of measuring depths and surveying coastal waters, often undertaken for navigational or strategic purposes. "Separate Stock Ships" referred to vessels operating under a distinct trading arrangement within the East India Company system, separate from the main joint stock. "Bill of Lading" referred to a formal document specifying the type, quantity and destination of goods carried on a ship, serving as a contract and receipt. "Protest" referred to a formal legal declaration made to record non-compliance or dispute, particularly in maritime trade. "Arrack" referred to a distilled alcoholic spirit commonly traded in the East Indies, often transported in casks which could allow for minor losses through evaporation or leakage. **Speculations** The reference to peace with France reflects the recent conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession, which ended in 1714 through the Treaty of Utrecht and related agreements, leaving a period of uncertain stability. The insistence on restricting coastal surveying suggests concern over foreign powers gathering strategic intelligence about the island. The readiness to fire upon non-compliant boats reflects the defensive importance of controlling access to St Helena. The strict approach to short delivery indicates ongoing problems with pilferage or unauthorised use of cargo. The distinction made between rice, sugar and arrack suggests differing expectations of loss depending on the nature of the goods.
354	342	as it is plain by your Letter of the 4th. March, where you say Part: 3: you bought Ten Leagers, and in part the 5th: that you paid for 1501 gallons to Captain Keene [?], however your reason will tell you, whether the want is whats usual, if it be you must be Content, if it be excessive, as in the 6 Leagers in the said part: You say 59 gallons were short delivered, charge the Captain with so much as you think equitable, and which shall	Reference was made to the letter dated 4 March 1715, in which it had been reported in the third part that ten leagers of arrack had been purchased, and in the fifth part that payment had been made for 1,501 gallons to Captain Keene […]. It was stated that judgement must be used to determine whether any deficiency fell within the ordinary level of loss. If the shortage proved to be usual, it was to be accepted, but if excessive, as in the case of six leagers mentioned in the same part where 59 gallons were reported short delivered, the captain was to be charged with such quantity as appeared to have been embezzled. He was to be required to make good the deficiency from his

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		appear to be embezeld and oblige him to make it good out of his over at the Market price, and if you can't get it of him, charge him with the Value at your Markett, advising us thereof by the first opportunity. Touching the Inhabitants going on board Ship to Trade you will find full Orders in former Letters, and among others in part: the 23^{d}. of Cardomall, you are greatly to blame not to put them in due execution, as it seems you have not, for you only say you could wish they were reviv'd: you can't be ignorant of the clause in Charterparty where the penalty is laid on any Captain that doth so Trade on board, because you write that Captain Ryan and M^{r}. Packer sold their goods on Shore according to Charterparty, for the Liberty is given by that clause; But then we must ad[d] that we have heretofore had grievous complaints from the Planters of their being restrained whilst at the same time one, more particular favourites either in or out of the Council have been indulged and thereby engrossed the goods, and afterwards put their own prices on them. We positively require that you give no such cause of Complaint but let justice be administered impartially to every Body in	remaining stock at the market price. If recovery could not be obtained directly, the value was to be charged against him at the prevailing market rate, and notice of this was to be sent at the first opportunity. Attention was then directed to the practice of inhabitants going on board ships to trade. It was stated that full instructions had already been given in earlier correspondence, particularly in the twenty third part of the letter sent by *Cardonnell*, and that these had not been properly enforced. Criticism was made of the failure to implement these orders, as it had only been suggested that they might be revived, rather than actively applied. It was observed that the relevant clause in the charterparty imposed a penalty upon any captain who engaged in such trading aboard ship, and that this should have been known, as reference had been made to Captain Ryan and Mr Packer selling their goods ashore in accordance with that provision. Further concern was expressed regarding earlier complaints from planters, who had reported that they had been restricted from trading, while certain individuals, either within or outside the Council, had been favoured and allowed to monopolise goods, subsequently setting their own prices. It was therefore strictly required that no such grounds for complaint should arise in future, and that justice should be administered impartially to all persons without distinction. **Interpretations** "Leagers" referred to large casks used for storing liquids such as arrack, typically of substantial capacity. "Embezzled" in this context referred to the misappropriation or unauthorised removal of goods entrusted to a captain or crew. "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing the conduct and obligations of ships and their captains. "Market price" referred to the prevailing value of goods at St Helena, rather than their original cost at the place of loading. "Planters" referred to inhabitants engaged in agriculture on the island, often dependent on access to imported goods. **Speculations** The distinction between acceptable and excessive loss indicates an awareness of natural wastage in transported liquids such as arrack. The requirement to charge captains at local market rates suggests attempts to prevent profit from undeclared shortages. The criticism of unequal trading practices reflects tensions between Company officials and local inhabitants. The reference to monopolisation of goods implies the existence of favouritism and informal economic control within the settlement. The insistence on enforcing charterparty clauses demonstrates the Company's effort to regulate private trade and maintain fairness.
355	343	in this and all other cases. We find the Cardonell arrived with you the 31st. of May, and it was the 7th. of July before the next Letter was sent us, in the 30th. part of it you say, you could not answer our Letter by her, because of the time taken up in examining the Eagles Men; This we can't think a good excuse, or if it was, why could it not be answered by the Asarella who left your Island the beginning of August, in either case we had had an early account of your proceedings and the Notices in	Instruction was given that justice was to be administered impartially in all cases without exception. Observation was made that the *Cardonell* had arrived at St Helena on 31 May 1715, and that no subsequent letter had been sent until 7 July 1715. In the thirtieth part of that letter, it had been stated that no reply had been sent earlier because of the time taken in examining the men of the *Eagle*. This explanation was rejected as insufficient. It was further noted that, even if such delay had been unavoidable, a response might still have been sent by the *Asarella*, which departed the island at the beginning of August 1715. In either case, earlier notice of proceedings would have been received, whereas, due to this failure, the information had only

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		due time, which for that failure are but just now come to hand. surely you need not want two Months time to answer a Letter, if you had either Inclination, or any Tollerable Share of dilligence; As to that examination of the Eagles Men, if the account here given us of it is true, it had been much better let alone, at least if not carried so far; The punishing the Men with that Severity which they here positively affirm was used, is no way justifiable what necessity was the Governour under to interpose himself so particularly therein, as by all hands it appears he did; The pretence of Mutiny, or if it was real might have been as well prevented by removing the ring leaders at first, as it was afterwards, for the Hannover was in the road. Had they been as bad as the Letter would make them, ought not they to have had a proper Tryall by examining them at a Consultation, where the officers of one or both Ships might have been present, and so far as culpable should not their captain have given them due correction. Why should Governour Pyke take that Assum upon him to show his Despotick Authority unseasonably. The Men here	just reached England. It was asserted that two months ought not to have been required to answer a letter, and that the delay suggested either lack of inclination or insufficient diligence. Reference was then made to the examination of the men of the *Eagle*, and it was stated that, if the account received was accurate, it would have been preferable for the matter either not to have been pursued or at least not to have been carried so far. The severity of the punishment inflicted upon the men was described as unjustifiable. It was questioned why the Governor had intervened so directly in the matter, as it appeared that he had done so extensively. The allegation of mutiny was also considered, and it was suggested that, whether real or not, the situation might have been controlled at an earlier stage by removing the principal instigators, particularly as the *Hannover* had been present in the road at the time. Further criticism was made of the handling of the case, noting that, even if the men had been as culpable as described, they ought to have received a proper trial conducted within a consultation. It was stated that officers from one or both ships could have been present, and that any necessary punishment should properly have been administered by their own captain. The Governor's assumption of authority in this matter was described as excessive and ill timed, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Ring leaders" referred to the principal individuals responsible for instigating disorder or mutiny among the crew. "Consultation" referred to a formal meeting of the Governor and Council at which matters were examined and decisions recorded. "The road" referred to the anchorage off St Helena where ships remained offshore. "Mutiny" referred to collective disobedience or rebellion by seamen against authority. "Despotick Authority" referred to the exercise of absolute or unchecked power, especially beyond proper limits. **Speculations** The strong criticism of delay in correspondence suggests the Company's reliance on timely information for governance. The objection to the Governor's intervention indicates concern over misuse of authority and deviation from established procedures. The emphasis on formal trial procedures reflects the Company's attempt to impose legal order within its settlements. The suggestion to remove ringleaders early implies practical experience in managing discipline among crews. The reference to excessive punishment suggests tension between local authority and Company expectations of moderation.
356	344	frequently pretend to justify themselves, and that they were whipt for Petitioning in a modest manner. The words of the Petition as you copy it in the Letter appear such, and it is plain by your 65th. Paragraph they had some hardships, a prudent exertion your Authority might have healed all. Whereas severe usage generally inflames the more. Many things they say in their own Vindication which we shall not repeat, the Event will prove whether they have been so abused by the Captain as they pretend, for they	Reports were noted that the men frequently attempted to justify their conduct, claiming that they had been whipped for presenting a petition in a modest manner. The wording of the petition, as copied into the letter, appeared to support this assertion. It was also evident from the 65th paragraph that they had experienced certain hardships. It was observed that a prudent exercise of authority might have resolved the matter, whereas severe treatment was said generally to inflame discontent. Various statements had been made by the men in their own defence, though these were not repeated. It was stated that the outcome of their intended legal action would determine whether their claims of abuse by the captain were justified.

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		are about seeking their remedy at Law. However to keep them in Irons for several Months, and working all the while in Quarrys as Adauby his Petition tells us he was and that some are yet, there is a punishment very shocking to an English Ear, and too Grievous for any crime especially if less than Capital, and that Sufficiently proved. whereas the proofs here were but Circumstantial. We are sorry we have occasion to take notice of this, and repeat we shall never have a second. All proper endeavours to prevent Mutiny are commendable but then they ought to be warrantable. Government is best preserved by a just and gentle management when it exceeds that it soon loses its veneration and degenerates into Tyranny & Oppression which stirs up hatred against it and therewith a generall clamour. Your behaviour toward the People on board the Cardonell was much better and your Endeavours to reconcile the passengers and captain succeeding being carried on with Temper at least without Violence. In Answer to your 70th. Paragraph of Hannover We have this year fixed the price of Beef in Charterparty at Twenty five Shillings a hundred weight, however if the circumstances should	Attention was drawn to the severity of their punishment, noting that they had been kept in irons for several months and compelled to work in quarries during that time, as indicated in the petition of Adauby […], with some reportedly still subjected to such conditions. This treatment was described as excessively harsh and unsuitable for any offence that was not capital and clearly proven, especially as the evidence in this case had been only circumstantial. Regret was expressed that such conduct had occurred, and it was declared that it would not be tolerated again. General principles were then stated, acknowledging that all reasonable efforts to prevent mutiny were commendable, but that such measures must remain within proper bounds. It was observed that authority was best maintained through just and moderate governance, whereas excessive severity risked undermining respect and giving rise to tyranny and oppression, which in turn could provoke resentment and widespread complaint. More favourable notice was given to the conduct displayed towards those aboard the *Cardonell*, where attempts had been made to reconcile disagreements between passengers and the captain. These efforts were described as having been carried out with moderation and without violence, and had achieved success. Reference was then made to the 70th paragraph of the letter sent by the *Hannover*, in response to which it was stated that the price of beef had been fixed for the current year in the charterparty at 25 shillings per hundredweight. It was added that, should circumstances require adjustment, further consideration would be given, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "In Irons" referred to the confinement of individuals in chains or shackles as a form of restraint and punishment. "Quarrys" referred to sites where stone was extracted, often used as places of forced labour. "Capital" referred to offences punishable by death under contemporary legal standards. "Circumstantial" referred to evidence based on indirect indications rather than direct proof. "Charterparty" referred to the contractual agreement governing the employment and terms of a ship, including provisions such as pricing. "Hundred weight" referred to a unit of weight, commonly used in trade, equivalent to 112 pounds. **Speculations** The criticism of harsh punishment suggests concern within the Company over maintaining discipline without provoking unrest. The reference to legal action indicates that seamen retained some access to formal avenues of complaint. The emphasis on moderation reflects a broader administrative philosophy favouring stability over coercion. The contrast between the two incidents highlights differing approaches to authority exercised by local officials. The fixing of beef prices in the charterparty suggests attempts to regulate provisioning costs and prevent disputes.
357	345	should be more, remember the directions in former Letters, for there is one reason We should let our Beef go at less price than any others will afford it at. If you can meet with a good Longboat out of any of the Ships at a reasonable rate We permit your buying it since as it appears she is so Necessary to fetch Lime from Sandy Bay, take care of the Fishing Boats	Further instruction was given that additional considerations should be taken into account, in accordance with earlier letters, as there existed particular reasons why Company beef ought to be supplied at a lower price than that charged by others. Permission was granted to purchase a suitable longboat from any ship, provided it could be obtained at a reasonable cost, as such a vessel was considered necessary for transporting lime from Sandy Bay. Care was directed to be taken of the existing fishing boats. If

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		you have if the Inhabitants are too lazy to use them on so easy terms as you offered, they must suffer for their folly and Sloth. So far as these Boats can be usefull in unloading Goods take care they be employed therein. Our Committee of private Trade on making up the Account of the Susanna do find, that the acceptions on her Bill of Lading don't contain the nine Lotts mentioned to be wanting in the 3d. Paragraph of the General Letter dated the 31st. March 1714 amounting to five pounds, Six Shillings and Six pence which is a culpable omission and the owners refuse to make it good because not endorsed on said Bill. take better care for the future. Secondly concerning Goods or Stores sent from England or received from India. What Goods Merchandize or Stores our Committee have thought fit to send and the Ship could take in, you will know by the Invoice, they took notice that the Quantitys contained in your Presents are sufficient to load two large Ships, considering we can have only a part of the Ships Tonnage when outward bound. Tho' we have taken notice that the prices you set on our Goods when to be Sold by retail is not entered into Consultation	the inhabitants refused to make use of them under the favourable terms already offered, the consequences were to fall upon them. It was also directed that, wherever these boats could be of use in unloading goods, they should be employed for that purpose. Notice was taken that the Committee of private trade, in reviewing the accounts of the *Susanna*, had found that the exceptions noted on her bill of lading did not include the nine lots previously reported as missing in the third paragraph of the general letter dated 31 March 1715. These goods had been valued at £5 6 shillings and 6 pence. This omission was described as a fault, and it was reported that the owners had refused to make good the loss because it had not been properly endorsed on the bill of lading. Instructions were therefore given that greater care must be taken in future. The discussion then proceeded to the next general subject, namely goods and stores sent from England or received from India. It was stated that the contents of such shipments would be known from the invoice, which detailed all items loaded on board according to what the Committee had deemed appropriate and what the ship could accommodate. It was observed that the quantities requested in previous representations would have been sufficient to load two large ships, whereas only part of the available tonnage could be used on outward bound voyages. Attention was drawn to the pricing of goods sold at retail, noting that the prices set had not been entered into the consultation records, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Longboat" referred to a large ship's boat used for transporting goods, materials and passengers between ship and shore. "Lime" referred to a material produced by burning limestone, used in construction, particularly for mortar. "Bill of lading" referred to the formal document listing goods shipped, serving as a receipt and contract. "Endorsed" referred to the formal recording of amendments or exceptions on a document to make them legally valid. "Private trade" referred to commercial activity conducted by Company servants or others outside the Company's direct trading operations. "Tonnage" referred to the cargo capacity of a ship. **Speculations** The emphasis on lower beef prices suggests an effort to maintain Company influence over provisioning on the island. The purchase of a longboat indicates logistical challenges in transporting essential materials such as lime. The criticism of missing endorsements highlights the importance of accurate documentation in resolving disputes with shipowners. The observation about excessive requested quantities suggests tension between local demands and shipping limitations. The concern over unrecorded retail prices reflects ongoing efforts to ensure transparency and control over trade practices.
358	346	notwithstanding We Ordered they should, yet it is of such Consequence we'll remember you of it again here. Therefore lett it not be omitted at any time hereafter the trouble can't be much, for it is generally but once a year from hence, and to this end when you have entred the Invoice against every Article, or if there is't set down	Reminder was given that earlier orders requiring the entry of retail prices in the consultation records had not been followed, despite their importance. It was emphasised again that this requirement must never be omitted in future. The task was described as involving little difficulty, as it generally needed to be performed only once each year. Instructions were given that, once the invoice had been entered, the agreed selling price for each article was to be recorded either alongside the item or directly beneath it. This was to be done in the

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		then underneath it sett down the price agreed upon for sale in Council in the same manner you did the Orcheasters Invoice which you sent in the Susanna's Caskett. but take care it be the whole whereas that was not, for in another Copy of it Nº. 28 which you sent by the Frederick, We find an Additional Invoice which was omitted in the other, the reasons why we Order this Entry are that we may always see the prices, for we will never Pardon the not sending the Consultation Book yearly no more than we will the Account; that you may at all times have recourse to those Entrys when you want to be informed of particulars, because a loose Paper may easily be mislaid; and likewise that the whole Council may thereby know more certainly how to examine, check and pass the Storekeepers Accounts by seeing whether he brings to Account the true rates of goods. He disposes of according to those prices and We require the Council so to examine it. These Entrys being so made, there will be no necessity to send the same Account in the packetts if the Consultation Book come at the same time. The Goods and Stores received from India must be also Entred in the said Books not only the quantity received of each species by every Ship, but the prices the Council put upon each that the same examination may pass on them.	same manner as had been followed for the Orcheasters invoice sent in the *Susanna*'s casket. Attention was drawn to an earlier error, noting that the Orcheasters invoice had not been fully recorded, as an additional invoice had been included in another copy numbered 28 and sent by the *Frederick*, but omitted from the first version. It was therefore directed that future entries must be complete. The reasons for requiring these entries were then explained. By recording prices in this manner, the Company would always be able to review them, particularly as the annual transmission of the consultation book was considered essential and its omission would not be tolerated. Such records would also allow reference to be made easily when needed, as loose papers might be misplaced. In addition, the Council would be better able to examine, verify and approve the storekeeper's accounts, by ensuring that goods had been charged at the correct rates according to the agreed prices. It was explicitly required that the Council carry out this form of scrutiny. It was further stated that, once these entries had been properly made in the consultation book, there would be no need to send separate copies of the same accounts in the packets, provided that the consultation book was transmitted at the same time. Instructions were then extended to goods and stores received from India. These were also to be entered in the consultation records, including not only the quantities received of each type by every ship, but also the prices assigned to them by the Council. This would ensure that the same level of examination and verification could be applied to these goods as to those sent from England. **Interpretations** "Consultation Book" referred to the official record in which the Governor and Council entered decisions, accounts and administrative matters, serving as a formal institutional register. "Invoice" referred to a detailed list of goods shipped, including quantities and descriptions, often used for accounting and verification. "Casket" referred to a container used for transporting documents, letters and smaller valuable items. "Packetts" referred to bundles of official correspondence and documents sent together by ship. "Species" in this context referred to categories or types of goods. **Speculations** The insistence on recording prices suggests ongoing concern about inaccuracies or manipulation in the sale of Company goods. The reference to incomplete invoices indicates recurring administrative carelessness. The emphasis on consultation books reflects their central role in maintaining accountability within Company governance. The requirement for Council oversight suggests limited trust in individual officers such as the storekeeper. The move to avoid duplicate accounts in packets may have been intended to reduce administrative burden and prevent inconsistencies.
359	347	Since as you mention in part: 24th. of Susanna you have not found any person who would undertake to retail out the small particulars at the Advance of five pr. cent for their trouble, appoint one of the Six People you have in the Store for that purpose and now you have our Bills and when ever you want them may have more and	Notice was taken that, as stated in the 24th part of the letter sent by the *Susanna*, no person had been found willing to undertake the retailing of small goods at an advance of five per cent for their trouble. In consequence, instructions were given that one of the six persons employed in the store should be appointed to carry out this duty. It was observed that sufficient means of payment were now available, including Company bills and coinage such as Spanish bits,

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		have also Spanish Bitts, Panams and copper Money currant on the Island fit for Change, all those sorts of Haberdashery were be paid for in ready Money, that will prevent the pretence of much writing work and thereby avoid intention in part: 35th. of your Instructions be fully answered surely your own reason might have suggested this to you without giving us the trouble of it. The remarks you made on the severall sorts of goods received from hence by the Rochester and Cardonell and what you further offer'd thereupon are well done, continue all such advices. All our Deals Invoiced to you by the hundred are at six score to the hundred, so far as the Captains have delivered short they are accountable and you must charge them with the want. We have been thinking of sending you a Ship on purpose with Timber and Stores of Bulkey Trade and to be broke up at St. Helena and when a convenient opportunity presents may furnish you accordingly, but then it must be your care to husband all to your best advantage. We are Strangely Surprized to find you mention the Island would take Seventy Leagers of Arrack a year, the number of Inhabitants are not increased but diminished for you have fewer more than twenty Familys on the Island by the estimate of them.	panams and copper money, all of which were current on the island and suitable for making change. It was therefore directed that such small wares of haberdashery should be sold for ready money. By this method, the need for extensive written accounting would be reduced, and the intention expressed in the 35th part of the instructions would be fulfilled. It was further remarked that such a solution might reasonably have been devised without requiring additional direction. Approval was expressed for the remarks made regarding the various kinds of goods received by the *Rochester* and the *Cardonell*, and for the observations that had been offered in relation to them. Instructions were given that such detailed reporting should be continued. It was also clarified that all timber deals invoiced by the hundred were to be understood as calculated at six score to the hundred. Where any deficiency had occurred in delivery, the captains responsible were to be held accountable and charged accordingly. Consideration was then given to the possibility of sending a ship specifically laden with timber and other bulky stores, with the intention that it might be broken up at St Helena to provide materials. It was stated that, when a suitable opportunity arose, such a plan might be carried into effect, but that careful management would be required to ensure that these resources were used to the greatest advantage. Surprise was expressed at the statement that the island might require seventy leagers of arrack annually. It was observed that the number of inhabitants had not increased but had instead declined, with the estimate indicating that there were little more than twenty families residing on the island. **Interpretations** "Advance of five per cent" referred to a commission or profit margin allowed to a person responsible for selling goods on behalf of the Company. "Spanish bits" referred to small denominations of Spanish silver coin, widely used in international trade. "Panams" referred to a form of small coin or currency used in parts of India and the East Indies. "Haberdashery" referred to small manufactured goods, such as sewing items or minor domestic wares, typically sold in retail quantities. "Deals" referred to planks or boards of timber, commonly used in construction. "Six score" referred to a counting method where one hundred was reckoned as 120 units rather than 100. "Leagers" referred to large casks used for storing liquids such as arrack. **Speculations** The instruction to use store personnel for retailing suggests difficulty in finding private individuals willing to engage in small scale trade. The emphasis on cash transactions indicates an effort to reduce accounting complexity and potential disputes. The clarification of timber measurement suggests recurring misunderstandings or manipulation in deliveries. The proposal to send a ship for dismantling reflects the scarcity of building materials on the island. The reaction to the reported consumption of arrack suggests concern over excessive use or inaccurate reporting relative to the small population.
360	348	in your List of Grievances. We ought to have had a List of all heretofore they used to be annually whereas in times past when they were more Numerous We can't find they spent a quarter part so much. We then used to have wine brought in our	Observation was made that, in the list of grievances, a full account ought to have been provided of matters which had formerly been reported annually. It was noted that, in earlier times when the population had been more numerous, consumption had not reached even a quarter of the present level. It was further recalled that wine had previously been supplied

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		Account, nor did the Ships bring any large quantity, for the ComMarsdenwere not free during the last two Wars with France they shun'd touch shore, We have of late also Supplied you with Wine from the Madeira's which was rarely done formerly. By all this it appears plainly the People are grown sottish and no wonder so many are Poor and unable to pay their Debts, We are sure the place is less healthfull than formerly. Diseases more rife and this the Letters before us as well as formerly abundantly testifie. Let it be your care to set them better Examples, discountenance that Mischievous Vice of Drunkenness, Encourage frugallity and Industry, and let the people from the highest to the lowest know by Experience such shall always have the most of your favours. For the reasons mentioned in severall of your Paragraphs We will give you the liberty to buy up Arrack when good of the sort and procurable at four Shillings a under, the gallon but would not have you encourage the consumption by so much as conniving at Drunkeness. On Considering your 76 and 77th. parts of Susanna and others to the same purpose in the following Letters, We have a further Testimony of our unfaithfull Servants management in raising our goods to give others the opportunity of selling theirs in Storehouse's kept for that purpose, as none of you our present Councell were then on the place except Mr. Bagett. We can't	on the Company's account, and that ships had not brought large quantities, as the commanders had avoided making landfall during the two recent wars with France. It was also stated that, in more recent years, supplies of wine had been sent from Madeira, which had seldom been done in the past. From these comparisons it was concluded that the inhabitants had fallen into excessive drinking, which was considered a principal cause of their poverty and inability to meet their debts. It was further observed that the island had become less healthful than before, with diseases more prevalent, as evidenced by both recent and earlier correspondence. Responsibility was placed upon the local administration to set a better example, to discourage the vice of drunkenness, and to promote frugality and industry. It was directed that all inhabitants, regardless of rank, should understand through experience that such conduct would be rewarded with favour. For the reasons set out in several paragraphs, permission was granted to purchase arrack when of good quality and obtainable at a price of 4 shillings per gallon or less. However, it was expressly stated that this liberty was not to be used in any way that would encourage excessive consumption or tolerate drunkenness. Further consideration was given to the 76th and 77th parts of the letter sent by the *Susanna*, together with similar passages in subsequent correspondence. From these, it was concluded that there had been mismanagement by Company servants, who had raised the prices of Company goods in order to allow others to sell their own goods more profitably in storehouses established for that purpose. It was noted that none of the present Council, except Mr Bagett, had been in office at that time, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "ComMarsden" referred to commanders of ships, particularly those engaged in Company service or trade. "Madeira's" referred to the Madeira Islands, a source of wine frequently traded in the early modern period. "Sottish" referred to habitual drunkenness or intemperance. "Arrack" referred to a distilled alcoholic spirit commonly traded in the East Indies. "Storehouses" referred to premises where goods were stored and sometimes sold, whether on Company account or privately. **Speculations** The comparison with earlier periods suggests that the Company closely monitored changes in consumption patterns over time. The link drawn between drunkenness and poverty reflects contemporary moral and economic attitudes. The concern over declining health indicates awareness of broader social consequences linked to behaviour and provisioning. The controlled permission to purchase arrack suggests a pragmatic approach balancing supply with regulation. The accusation of price manipulation implies ongoing tension between Company interests and private trade conducted by its servants.
361	349	can't blame you on that Account, but we do him for not advising us of it, and must say he has thereby made us but an ill return for our kindness to him in first approving his being put into the Council and afterwards Continuing him therein tho' a Stranger. This gives us	No blame was assigned to the present administration in this matter, but censure was directed towards the individual concerned for failing to report it. It was stated that such conduct represented an ungrateful return for the favour previously shown to him, first in approving his appointment to the Council and later in continuing him in that position despite his being a stranger. This occasion was then used to lay

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		an opportunity to tell you all, and for the same reason gives suspicion for we design all our Generall Orders to respect futurity as well as the Present; That whatever of our council: in which we include the Governour for he is one of the Council, shall know of any forgery or hurt done us on any Account and doth not his utmost to hinder it We shall look on him as a party Concern'd therein, and if he not being able to remedy it doth not advise us the particulars, We shall think him unworthy of continuance in our Service, This rule must run thro' the whole of our affairs, tho' it is here mentioned only on Account of Goods. These two parts run in Generall terms as if all our Goods were affected thereby which can't be, for as to several of them they are sent from hence sure no Body can have them but ourselves, unless our own Servants abuse us as the 35th. part of the Letter of the 1st. December, too plainly hints they have basely done. These goods which we send are such as you write for, and therefore necessary. We can't therefore see the Inference you make holds, that you end dispose of no goods but to those who have no Money, and can never pay for the Rich want usefull goods as well as the Poor. For such goods as are Moth eaten or otherwise Damaged by lying we said (what your own reason would tell you were they yours with) Sell them as well and as soon as you can, but to prevent our being	down a general rule applicable to all members of the Council, including the Governor. It was declared that any member who became aware of fraud or damage affecting the Company and did not make every effort to prevent it would be regarded as complicit. Where prevention proved impossible, full notice of the matter was required to be sent, and failure to do so would render the individual unfit for continued service. It was further stated that this principle was to apply across all aspects of Company affairs, although it was here introduced in relation to goods. It was then observed that the two referenced paragraphs had been expressed in overly general terms, as though all Company goods were affected, which could not be the case. Many goods were sent directly from England, and could only be accessed by the Company unless misused by its own servants. It was remarked that such misuse had been strongly implied in the 35th part of the letter dated 1 December 1715. These goods had been supplied in response to requests from the island and were therefore considered necessary. It was therefore rejected that sales should be confined only to those without means to pay, as had been suggested. It was stated that both wealthy and poor inhabitants required useful goods, and that such a restriction was unfounded. Direction was then given regarding goods that had become moth eaten or otherwise damaged through storage. It was stated that such goods should be sold as advantageously and as promptly as possible, as reasonable judgement would suggest if they were privately owned. This instruction was given with the intention of preventing loss to the Company, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Forgery" in this context referred broadly to fraud, deception or dishonest manipulation of Company goods or accounts. "Stranger" referred to a person not previously known or established within the Company's service or the island community. "Moth eaten" referred to goods, particularly textiles, damaged by insects during storage. "Disposed of" referred to the sale or distribution of goods. **Speculations** The strong warning to Council members suggests persistent concerns about internal corruption or negligence. The inclusion of the Governor within this rule indicates an effort to enforce collective accountability. The rejection of limiting sales to the poor reflects an intention to maintain broader commercial activity on the island. The reference to misuse by Company servants implies that internal abuses were already suspected or known. The instruction to sell damaged goods quickly suggests practical awareness of losses arising from storage conditions.
362	350	being abused we direct that the Storekeeper shall acquaint the Council when ever he finds such damage, and that they thereupon survey them, and put such a price on them as they judge equitable entering into Consultation the Storekeepers representation, the Councils Survey, and Report of the whole quantity and sorts of goods with their prices when sound and what put on them on account of damage. We add further to prevent the Storekeepers	Direction was given that, to prevent abuse, the storekeeper was to inform the Council whenever any goods were found to be damaged. A survey was then to be conducted, and a fair price assigned to such goods. The storekeeper's report, together with the Council's survey and a full account of the quantities and types of goods, was to be entered into the consultation records. These entries were to include both the original value of the goods when sound and the reduced price assigned due to damage. It was further required that, if the damage clearly resulted from the storekeeper's neglect, he was to be held responsible and required to make good the loss. Greater care was expected in the

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		overlooking that if should plainly appear He is in the fault, We shall from this time forward expect he shall, and that you take care he do make good such damage, because he ought to look better after them, and on the first appearing of it acquaint the Council therewith. We wonder why you should send us back the 20 pieces of the Ordinary blue Cloth mentioned in the Postscripts of the S^{t}. Georges Letter being as there Report unfit for use can you suppose us to do better with it here. We suppose it is part of the Kerseys We sent for the Blacks warmer Cloathing, if you had sent it us not answering Sample, or to show how bad it was in comparison of the prices charged at one price or part of the piece had been sufficient; The Ship not yet being come into the river We can't be sure what it is, however at present we think you were in the wrong to return it, you should have made it do as well as it would. We have considered the last part of said 76th. part. and do approve of your laying twelve pence a gallon duty on all Arrack that comes a shore for Sale hoping thereby to put some stop to that practice of tipling so mischievous both to the health and wealth of the Inhabitants. Our aim in Ordering you Stores from	preservation of goods, and any deterioration was to be reported immediately upon its appearance. Surprise was expressed at the decision to return twenty pieces of ordinary blue cloth mentioned in the postscript of the letter sent by the *St George*, on the grounds that they were unfit for use. It was questioned whether any better use could be made of such goods upon their return. It was suggested that these items were probably part of the kerseys intended for providing warmer clothing for the slaves. It was stated that, if the intention had been to demonstrate that the goods did not match the sample or were of poor quality relative to the price charged, the return of a single piece or even part of one would have been sufficient. As the ship had not yet arrived in the River Thames, the exact nature of the goods could not be confirmed. However, it was concluded that the return had been improper, and that the goods ought to have been used as effectively as possible. Consideration was then given to the final part of the 76th paragraph, and approval was expressed for the imposition of a duty of 12 pence per gallon on all arrack brought ashore for sale. This measure was intended to restrain excessive drinking, which was considered harmful to both the health and the financial condition of the inhabitants. It was stated that the intention behind sending stores had been directed towards broader purposes, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Survey" referred to a formal inspection and valuation of goods by the Council. "Consultation records" referred to the official written proceedings of the Governor and Council. "Kerseys" referred to a type of coarse woollen cloth used for durable clothing. "Duty" referred to a tax imposed on goods brought ashore for sale. "River Thames" referred to the principal port of arrival for ships returning to England. **Speculations** The detailed procedures for recording damaged goods suggest concern over accountability and prevention of loss. The requirement for the storekeeper to bear responsibility indicates an effort to enforce discipline among Company servants. The criticism of returning damaged cloth reflects a practical approach aimed at minimising waste. The approval of a duty on arrack suggests an attempt to regulate behaviour through economic measures. The broader concern over drinking habits indicates a perceived link between social conduct and economic productivity.
363	351	from India was partly that we might gain something towards our generall Charge, and partly to prevent the Ships imposing on the Inhabitants, and which if rightly managed would effectually crest the Pride of the private Storekeepers complained of, for we don't desire you to raise our goods to an exorbitant price, but Considering the demand then at Market to sell them at a middling proffitt above the prime Cost, Freight, Aomancy, Interest and Insurance remembering withall that when we Buy by Whole Sale, We have our goods generally speaking much Cheaper here than any one can buy the same by retail.	Explanation was given that the intention behind sending goods from India had been partly to generate revenue towards the Company's general expenses, and partly to prevent ships from imposing unfairly upon the inhabitants. It was stated that, if properly managed, this policy would reduce the influence of private storekeepers whose conduct had been complained of. It was made clear that Company goods were not to be sold at excessive prices, but rather at a moderate profit above the combined cost of purchase, freight, charges, interest and insurance. It was also noted that, as goods were purchased in bulk in England, they were generally obtained at lower prices than those available through retail purchase by others. Attention was then directed to complaints regarding the "nannees" sent from the Bay. It was stated that letters had already been sent to the Bay and other locations to address earlier complaints of a similar

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		Touching the Complaint of the Nannees sent you from the Bay We have wrote to the Bay and other places to signifie a former Complaint of this nature, and hope you will have no more faulty goods. If ever you have send Certificates under the Councills hands attested of the Mark and Number of the Bale in which such damaged goods are found, and what Ship received together with the nature of the damage and how many pieces are on your Inspection found to be so that we may send the same to the place Complained of. Let us have three of the Tenour to send by different Ships. We have as heretofore advised wrote to the Coast and Bay Bombay and Benoolen to send you every Ships full one pr. cent in goods and stores, as we generally send you a Ship from hence yearly you may thereby have an opportunity by her to write to Benoolen, and from thence to the coast and Bay acquainting them what sorts and quantitys of each you desire take care to do so and as you have yearly frequent opportunitys of conveyance advise us in like manner, your 39th. part. of Hannover tells us you did.	nature, and it was hoped that defective goods would not be sent in future. Instructions were given that, if such faults occurred again, certificates were to be prepared under the signatures of the Council. These were to specify the mark and number of the bale in which the damaged goods were found, the ship by which they had been received, the nature of the damage, and the number of pieces affected. Three copies of such certificates were to be produced and sent by different ships, so that they might be transmitted to the place from which the complaint arose. It was further stated that, as previously advised, instructions had been sent to the Coast, the Bay, Bombay and Bencoolen requiring that one per cent of each ship's cargo be sent to St Helena in goods and stores. As a ship was generally dispatched from England each year, it was observed that this provided an opportunity to correspond with Bencoolen, and from there with the Coast and the Bay, in order to specify the types and quantities of goods required. Care was directed to be taken that such communication was carried out. It was also required that similar advice be sent regularly to England, taking advantage of the frequent opportunities for correspondence, as had been indicated in the 39th part of the letter sent by the *Hannover*. **Interpretations** "Nannees" referred to a type of cotton cloth produced in India, often used for clothing or trade. "The Bay" referred to the Bay of Bengal, a principal region of Company trade. "Aomancy" referred to additional charges or commissions associated with trade and handling of goods. "Prime cost" referred to the original purchase price of goods before additional expenses. "One per cent" referred to an allowance or portion of cargo set aside for the Company's use at St Helena. **Speculations** The dual purpose of supplying goods suggests a strategy to balance profit with control over local trade practices. The concern over private storekeepers indicates competition between Company supply and private enterprise. The requirement for detailed certificates reflects efforts to improve accountability in long distance trade. The use of multiple copies sent by different ships suggests awareness of the risks of loss in communication. The system of one per cent cargo allocation indicates a structured approach to provisioning remote settlements.
364	352	to write by the Cardonnel, and refer us to the Copys sent us — but we cou'd find none in the packett, nor inserted in the List — This is another instance of carelesness which must be remedied and if it be our⟨t⟩ your Secretary sent ⟨to⟩serve to be continued during our Broad, because that is more immediately under his care, for when the Generall Letter is writing He should take a Memorandum of every paper then mentioned to be sent, and put it in the List — however as the 30th. paragraph of the Letter of the 7th. December says, the Governour calls over the List. We would recommend to him to quicken the Secretary's diligence, and to cause him to	Notice was taken that reference had been made to copies said to have been sent by the *Cardonnel*, yet none had been found within the packet or entered in the accompanying list. This omission was identified as another instance of carelessness, and it was directed that such faults must be corrected. Responsibility was placed particularly upon the secretary, whose duty it was to ensure that all documents mentioned in the general letter were properly recorded. It was stated that, while the general letter was being prepared, a memorandum should be made of every paper intended to be sent, and that these should be included in the list. It was further observed that, although the 30th paragraph of the letter dated 7 December 1715 stated that the Governor reviewed the list, he was now urged to enforce greater diligence upon the secretary. The secretary was also to examine previous lists, identify all accounts and documents required by standing orders to be sent annually, and ensure that they were prepared in advance

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		revise the former Lists, and see what Account or other writings are by our standing Orders to be annually sent us, and take care they be preparing in the Intervalls of Shipping to be ready against the order of ships dispatch. ——————— We approve the Building the Storehouse at the Castle — that it may be under your Inspection (for the reasons and to prevent the mischiefs in the 35th. par: of St. George when the people at the Storehouse know they are always just under the Governour Councill's Eye, they will be under the greater Eye to be — honest, as fearing to be discovered if they do amiss, We hereby order that the Governour and those of the Councill do frequently overlook them. ——————————— Mr: Bagetts answer in part: the 44 by the St. George to our 86th. Cardonnel, is too slight and unmannerly, He ought to have perused the Letter He wrote us touching the exchange of the Barrack, and we are apt to think, had he minded the said part, He would scarcely have signed the Letter in which	during intervals between shipping, so that they would be ready when ships were dispatched. Approval was expressed for the construction of a storehouse at the Castle, as this would place it under the direct supervision of the Governor and Council. It was explained that such proximity would help prevent the abuses previously described in the 35th paragraph of the letter sent by the *St George*. It was considered that, when those working in the storehouse knew they were constantly under observation, they would be more inclined to act honestly, for fear of detection. It was therefore ordered that the Governor and members of the Council should frequently inspect the storehouse and its operations. Criticism was then directed at Mr Bagett's reply in the 44th part of the letter sent by the *St George*, in response to the 86th paragraph of the letter sent by the *Cardonnel*. His answer was described as insufficient and lacking proper respect. It was stated that he ought to have reviewed his earlier correspondence concerning the exchange of arrack, and it was suggested that, had he done so, he would probably not have signed the letter in which the account continued beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Packet" referred to a bundle of official correspondence and documents sent together by ship. "Secretary" referred to the clerk responsible for managing official correspondence and records for the Governor and Council. "Standing orders" referred to established instructions requiring regular and repeated compliance. "Storehouse at the Castle" referred to a central storage facility located within or near the main fortified administrative area. "Exchange of the Barrack" referred to the trading or conversion of arrack, possibly in relation to its valuation or distribution. **Speculations** The repeated concern over missing documents suggests persistent administrative disorder. The emphasis on the secretary's role indicates reliance on clerical accuracy for effective governance. The approval of the storehouse location reflects efforts to reduce theft or mismanagement through supervision. The criticism of Mr Bagett implies tensions within the Council or dissatisfaction with individual performance. The insistence on advance preparation of documents suggests ongoing difficulties with delays in communication.
365	353	from without making a better apology for himself. — We find in the Consultation of the 27th. July 1714, The Governour was impowered to buy wine and Europe liquors out of the Rochester, but no Account is any where entered as We can see in the Consultation what was so bought and at what rate this we take notice of to prevent the like in future for we must always have every occasion for laying out our Money or Moneys worth entered there together with the Item paid and for what. If you don't it is plain instance of Fraud Intended. — The Consultation also show that you have early Orders for taking an Inventory of what goods were in the Castle on your arrival and quickned Mr. Bagett to bring up the Accounts at the Stores to the end that an Inventory might be taken of all our goods in the	Further criticism was made of the response previously given, noting that no adequate justification had been offered, and that a more proper explanation ought to have been provided. Attention was drawn to the consultation dated 27 July 1714, in which authority had been granted to the Governor to purchase wine and European liquors from the *Rochester*. No account had been entered in the consultation records specifying what had been purchased or at what price. This omission was highlighted in order to prevent similar failures in future. Direction was given that every instance in which Company money, or goods of equivalent value, was expended must be fully recorded, including the item purchased, the sum paid and the purpose of the transaction. Failure to do so was described as clear evidence of intended fraud. Reference was then made to earlier instructions requiring an inventory to be taken of all goods held at the Castle upon arrival, and to the direction given to Mr Bagett to bring the store accounts up to date so that an inventory might be completed by the time of the

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		Stores by the Susanna. We have in the Packett the said Inventory, which by the Title appears to be taken of the goods in the Storehouses the 8th July 1714 signed by Mr. Haswell and Mr. Bagett and certified to be overhauled and examined by them but not dated. The totall there is £4467:-14:9½. By the Frederick we have another sent as Duplicate for the Title is the same, and tho' signed yet is without certifying as in the other. This makes the Totall to be £4578.6.11½ which of these is right. We can't tell but to be sure both are not and shows a palpable carelesness, if there had been any mistake in the first it had been well done to have taken Notice in the Second where it was. Having thus taken Notice of what we think necessary to be remarked touching goods in your several Letters Consultations and Papers in the Packett. We come now to consider what therein.	*Susanna*. An inventory had been received in the packet, bearing a title indicating that it had been taken on 8 July 1714 of the goods in the storehouses. This document had been signed by Mr Haswell and Mr Bagett, and certified by them as having been examined, though it had not been dated. The total recorded in this inventory was £4,467 14s 9½d. A second inventory had been received by the *Frederick*, appearing to be a duplicate, as the title was the same. Although this version had been signed, it lacked the certification present in the first. The total recorded in this document was £4,578 6s 11½d. Both totals could not be correct, yet no explanation had been provided for the discrepancy. This inconsistency was described as clear evidence of carelessness, and it was stated that, had an error been discovered in the first document, it ought to have been acknowledged and corrected in the second. Having addressed these matters relating to goods as set out in the various letters, consultations and papers contained in the packet, the discussion was then stated to proceed to the next subject, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Consultation" referred to the formal record of decisions and proceedings of the Governor and Council. "European liquors" referred to alcoholic drinks imported from Europe, such as wine and spirits. "Inventory" referred to a detailed list of goods, including their quantities and assessed value. "Certified" referred to a formal attestation confirming that a document had been examined and approved. "Duplicate" referred to a second copy of a document intended to match the original. **Speculations** The insistence on recording all expenditures reflects strong concern over financial accountability. The description of omissions as evidence of fraud suggests a lack of trust in local administration. The discrepancy between the two inventories indicates either poor record keeping or possible mismanagement. The emphasis on proper certification highlights the importance of formal validation in Company procedures. The transition to a new subject suggests a structured review of administrative performance across multiple areas.
366	354	wherein contained about Scarcity of Debts about Moneys passing on the Island, and in particular the raising the price of the Dollars to prevent their being carried of the place, your 23d. part. of Susanna says Farthings would be usefull but Copper more, because would not be sent away, and imports, That the ill use of transferring was the bane of us, and then follows that our Bills would be better than Money which would be carried away by every Ship. The 11th. part. of Frederick says you believe Farthings would be more usefull, and if you had some to pay away for Wages they would prevail on the artificers to work cheaper besides other Conveniences therein enumerated. In your next Letter part. the 6th. you confirm the same, and desired	Consideration was then given to the contents of the letters relating to scarcity of money and debts on the island, and particularly to the proposal to raise the value of dollars in order to prevent their being carried away. It was noted that the 23rd part of the letter sent by the *Susanna* stated that farthings would be useful, but that copper coin would be preferable as it would not be removed from the island. It was also observed that the practice of transferring accounts had been described as highly damaging, and that Company bills had been suggested as more effective than coin, which could be taken away by departing ships. The 11th part of the letter sent by the *Frederick* similarly expressed the view that farthings would be useful, particularly for paying wages, as their availability might encourage artificers to accept lower rates of pay, together with other advantages mentioned therein. This opinion had been repeated in the 6th part of a subsequent letter, where a request had again been made for small coin to facilitate change, with the expectation that this would reduce the cost of labour. Upon reviewing these representations, it was stated that these needs ought already to have been met by

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		some small Money for change, and say thereby a great deal would be saved in the price of Labour. On reading these we thought all those ends had been effectually answered by the Orders sent to Madras to furnish you by two Ships with one hundred pounds Value in Farthings, the same in Copper Money for half pence and farthings, and you carried with you above one hundred pounds Value in Spanish Bills, and four hundred pounds Value in Notes from half a Crown to Forty shillings each, and that these would have more than circulated all the payments you had occasion to make, because as you paid out Money whither to the Soldiers or to the workmen or to the Plantors for their Blacks Service. So it must return to you again in the Store, for what were wanted out of them. And excepting in these three Articles. We cant apprehend what occasion	earlier measures. Orders had been sent to Madras to supply, by two ships, £100 in farthings and a further £100 in copper coin suitable for halfpennies and farthings. In addition, more than £100 in Spanish bills and £400 in notes, ranging in value from half a crown to 40 shillings each, had been provided. It was considered that these sums should have been sufficient to sustain circulation for all necessary payments. It was explained that, as money was issued to soldiers, workmen or planters in payment for the labour of slaves, it would naturally return to the Company through the store when goods were purchased. Apart from these specific uses, no clear necessity was seen for additional currency, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Dollars" referred to silver coins, often Spanish, widely used in international trade. "Transferring" referred to the practice of shifting debts or credits between accounts rather than settling them in cash. "Company bills" referred to written instruments of payment issued by the Company, functioning as a form of paper currency. "Artificers" referred to skilled labourers or craftsmen employed in trades. "Half a crown" referred to a coin valued at 2 shillings and 6 pence. **Speculations** The concern over money being carried away reflects the difficulty of maintaining a stable currency supply on an isolated island. The preference for copper coin suggests an attempt to retain lower value currency within the local economy. The emphasis on Company bills indicates reliance on controlled financial instruments to manage payments. The expectation that money would circulate back through the store reflects a closed economic model centred on Company supply. The repeated requests for small coin suggest ongoing practical difficulties in everyday transactions despite official provisions.
367	355	occasion you have to lay out any Money, unless the same All manner was to had be introduced as in your Predecessors time viz: to buy yarn and provisions for our own People, as to goods bought out of the ships that hath been paid by Bills, and then as to the Soldiers pay a considerable part used to be paid out of the Stores by goods to those Plantors who Billeted them, however no sooner had you received the Farthings and Copper Money by the Hannover, but then your minds seems to be changed as appears in your Letter by that Ship, where you did object to the Copper Money as too heavy, and so it is considered its gone, and wish for English Farthings and half pence which we had sent with you, could we have had Liberty at the Tower as for China Letter we shall think of them another season. and then comes your desire of having Money going with you above its vall^{y} Value to prevent its being carried away, which in your next Letter of the 3^{d}. August you press more strongly, and in the 35th. to the 40th. Parag^{h}. of your Letter	Further consideration was given to the occasions on which money might be required for expenditure on the island. It was observed that, unless former practices had been revived, there appeared to be little need for additional cash. In earlier times, yarn and provisions had been purchased for the Company's own people, but goods obtained from ships had generally been paid for by bills. A considerable portion of soldiers' wages had also been settled through goods issued from the stores to those planters who lodged them. It was then noted that, shortly after the receipt of farthings and copper coin by the *Hannover*, a change of opinion had been expressed. In the letter sent by that ship, objection had been made that copper coin was too heavy, and it was implied that it had already passed out of circulation. A preference had instead been stated for English farthings and halfpence, which had already been supplied, though it was acknowledged that additional quantities might have been obtained from the Tower had permission been granted, as in the case of China shipments. It was indicated that this matter might be considered again in a future season. Attention was then drawn to the proposal that money should be issued at a value above its intrinsic worth in order to prevent it from being carried away from the island. This request had been repeated with greater force in the letter dated 3 August, and further arguments had been advanced in paragraphs 35 to 40 of the letter dated 1 December 1715, in favour of sending dollars to circulate at 6 shillings each. Having reviewed

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		of the 1st. December you give several reasons why we should send you Dollars to pass at Six shillings a Dollar. having thus mentioned all the partys relating to this matter. We say We dont at present think fit to send you any Dollars whether the Court will another Season is very dubious, for we are not sure the Ordering Dollars to pass at six shillings can be any Benefitt to us notwithstanding the appearing likelyhood of it. We know it hath been prejudiciall and as to the advance on the money that is not like to keep it on the Island, for as people know how they are to be paid, so will they set a price on their goods, and it is no great matter whether the	all these representations, it was stated that no decision would be made at present to send such dollars. It was further remarked that it remained uncertain whether the Court would adopt this measure in a future season, as it was not clear that fixing dollars at 6 shillings would provide any real advantage, despite appearances to the contrary. It was asserted that such a practice had previously proved harmful. It was also observed that increasing the nominal value of money would not necessarily ensure that it remained on the island, as prices would simply adjust accordingly. Those receiving payment would raise the price of their goods in proportion, so that the benefit of the increased valuation would be neutralised, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Bills" referred to Company issued financial instruments used in place of coin for payments. "Billeted" referred to the lodging of soldiers with inhabitants, often compensated through goods or allowances. "The Tower" referred to the Tower of London, where coinage was controlled and issued. "Intrinsic worth" referred to the actual value of a coin based on its metal content. "Court" referred to the governing body of the East India Company in London. **Speculations** The rejection of raising the value of dollars reflects an understanding of price inflation and its effects. The shifting preferences regarding coinage suggest ongoing practical difficulties in managing currency on the island. The reliance on non cash payments indicates a semi closed economic system centred on Company stores. The hesitation to adopt new monetary policies suggests caution based on past negative experience. The discussion reflects broader challenges of maintaining stable currency circulation in a remote colonial settlement.
368	356	the Dollars goes at five Shillings Six Shillings or Ten Shillings in that case for by the same reason the Ships carrying Dollars to India was at five shillings they will get them if they are at double, if they have such goods as the planters want and will purchase of them — But the great mischief to us is as you rightly observe among other places in the abovementioned 35th. part. The wicked corruption of our own Servants suffering our goods to be paid for in bad Debts and Transferring the Rich Planters Debts in the Stores from themselves to others who were Insolvent by which means and letting the Soldiers and others have more goods than they were able to pay for. We find a List of Debts in the Consultation Book, and in the Frederick Packett amounting to £2794.2.4 amongst these great Sums trusted to the Soldiers and to the Visitors in the Stores of which two are run away in Debt and others which is an unaccountable management as no Mortall can give any reason for. What can the Storekeeper say to this to Suffer it. The	It was argued that altering the nominal value of dollars would not prevent their removal from the island, as ships trading to India would still obtain them whether rated at 5 shillings, 6 shillings or even 10 shillings, provided they carried goods desired by the planters. In such circumstances, transactions would proceed regardless of the assigned value, as demand for goods would determine exchange. Greater concern was expressed regarding what had been identified, particularly in the 35th paragraph, as the principal abuse affecting the Company. This consisted of corrupt practices by Company servants, who allowed goods to be paid for through bad debts and permitted the transfer of debts from wealthy planters to others who were insolvent. It was also noted that soldiers and other individuals had been supplied with goods beyond their ability to pay. A list of debts had been observed in the consultation book and in the packet sent by the *Frederick*, amounting to £2,794 2s 4d. Within this total were significant sums owed by soldiers and by visitors to the store, including cases where two individuals had absconded while in debt. Such conduct was described as wholly unjustifiable, and no reasonable explanation was considered possible for allowing it to occur. Responsibility was placed upon the storekeeper, whose failure to prevent these practices was strongly criticised. The rapid growth of these abuses was attributed to the neglect of proper accounting, particularly the failure to keep accounts current and posted so that each individual's debt could be known. It was observed that no accounts had been received from St Helena since those sent by the *Concord*, which had

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		great encrease of this mischief must certainly arise from the Accounts being behind hand and unposted to see what every Man owed. We have had none from St. Helena since those by the Concord, which ended the 25th. March 1711 of which we shall say more in after Paragh. but to prevent the like in future We enjoyn take speciall care that our Accounts be constantly kept up. and whoever is negligent therein after fair admonition suspend him from Salary till he brings them up. If yet he is dilatory let him have no Diet at our charge and appoint another to the Business. We find in your Consultation of the 2d. November 1714	been balanced to 25 March 1711, with further comment to be made in a later paragraph. In order to prevent recurrence, strict instructions were given that all accounts were to be kept continuously up to date. Any person found negligent in this duty, after receiving fair warning, was to be suspended from salary until the accounts were brought into order. Continued delay would result in the withdrawal of board at the Company's expense and the appointment of another person to perform the work. Reference was then made to the consultation dated 2 November 1714, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Transferring" referred to the reassignment of debts from one individual to another, often to avoid repayment. "Insolvent" referred to a person unable to pay their debts. "Visitors in the Stores" referred to individuals who obtained goods from Company stores, whether residents or temporary persons. "Absconded" referred to individuals who had fled or left the island without settling their debts. "Posted" referred to the process of entering transactions into account books so that balances could be tracked. **Speculations** The rejection of altering currency values reflects practical awareness of market behaviour overriding official pricing. The emphasis on corruption suggests serious internal governance failures within the Company's administration. The large sum of outstanding debt indicates systemic issues in credit control on the island. The link between poor accounting and rising debt highlights administrative inefficiency as a root cause. The strict disciplinary measures proposed suggest frustration with repeated negligence among Company staff.
369	357	you called on many of the Debtors to make them pay their Debts, and before that time in August laid down rules for getting in part of the Debts, before you would trust for more, and the 21st. December you settled Regulations touching the Transfers of Credits in the Stores These were well done so far, but the consultations which are yet come to hand, and which reach to the 26th. April 1715. make no mention of what effect it had, however we hope you have proceeded to get in these Debts as fast and as well as you can. Pray make enquiry as much as possible into the Severall Articles of those Debts, and whenever you find the Planters or others have got their just debts to us discharged or a creditt given them in our Books by Corrupting or otherwise prevailing on our Storekeeper or Accomptant to Transfer them to others or get creditts so given by abetting others not able to pay, make them reimburse us. for such unjust Transfers are in truth Errors in Account, and when discovered ought to be rectified which we require you to take care they be as fast as possible and let us know who admitted the Transfers.	It was noted that action had been taken to summon many of the debtors and compel payment of their debts. Earlier measures taken in August had also been acknowledged, when rules had been established requiring that part of existing debts be recovered before further credit was extended. It was further observed that, on 21 December, regulations had been set concerning the transfer of credits within the stores. These actions were approved as far as they extended. However, the consultations received, which continued to 26 April 1715, contained no account of their results. It was therefore stated that it was hoped that efforts had continued to recover these debts as effectively and promptly as possible. Instructions were given that thorough enquiry should be made into the various items composing these debts. Where it was discovered that planters or others had discharged their obligations improperly, or had obtained credit in the Company's books through corrupt means or by influencing the storekeeper or accountant to transfer debts to insolvent persons, restitution was to be enforced. Such transfers were to be treated as errors in accounting, and once identified were to be corrected without delay. It was required that this process be carried out as swiftly as possible, and that notice be given of those responsible for authorising such transfers. Further enquiry was requested into the circumstances by which the Company had become indebted to the planters in the sum of £1,598 4s 11d, despite the payment of numerous bills drawn upon the Company and said to represent credit due to them from

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		Pray let us also know the particulars whereby we came in Debt to the Planters £1598.4.11 notwithstanding the payment of so many Bills drawn on us as alledged for creditt due to them in the Stores. We cant understand the meaning of it. We send Cargoes to St. Helena from England, from India. You buy out of the Ships, surely all these are for sale, dont the Planters buy these goods, and in consequence should rather be in our Debt. We cant see how we ought to owe them any thing unless for their Blacks working at the Fortifications, and by what we understand there is but little done.	the stores. This situation was described as incomprehensible. It was stated that goods were regularly sent to St Helena from both England and India, and that additional purchases were made from ships arriving there. As these goods were intended for sale, it was expected that the planters would purchase them and thereby become indebted to the Company. It was therefore questioned how the Company could instead be in debt to them, except in respect of payments for the labour of slaves employed on fortifications. It was further observed that, according to available information, little work of this kind had been completed. **Interpretations** "Transfers of credits" referred to the reassignment of debt obligations from one individual to another within the Company's accounts. "Accomptant" referred to the officer responsible for maintaining financial records and accounts. "Errors in account" referred to inaccuracies or improper entries in financial records requiring correction. "Bills drawn on us" referred to financial drafts issued locally but payable by the Company in England. "Planters" referred to settlers engaged in agricultural production on the island. **Speculations** The lack of follow up reporting suggests continued weaknesses in administrative oversight. The focus on corrupt transfers indicates a systemic problem in the management of credit. The Company's unexpected debt to planters may point to manipulation of accounts or misreporting. The insistence on restitution reflects an attempt to restore financial discipline. The limited progress on fortifications may have reduced legitimate payments owed to labour providers.
370	358	some those since Governour Roberts Departure, or the Provisions and if for the Ships we are paid for them again either by Bills which the Captains draw on the Orders or by goods delivered into the Stores for Sale. In short this management is unaccountable and must be mended, for we shall never think ourselves well dealt with if we thus continue to have Bills drawn on us to tell us as you do in some Places that they are for Arrack the profit of which we yet can appear to us no better than fair Promises till by your Accounts being sent We find it is so, and therefore all you who have a hand in drawing or consent to sign Bills will thereby lay yourselves under a Suspicion. Thirdly touching our Servants Civil or Military. The Accounts of S^{t}. Helena in Generall and also touching our Slaves, Cattle Land and Revenues. We take notice of your promise par^{t}. the 27th. of Susanna to endeavour to observe or good opinion that your Salary may be neither enlarged or uttered. We shall be glad to see the good effects of it, and that what herein complained of may be rectified, but still we have our Accounts sent us annually. We can never think any of our first concerned therein deserve to eat our bread. We	It was observed that some of the debts had arisen since the departure of Governor Roberts, or in relation to provisions. Where supplies had been provided to ships, it was stated that payment ought to have been received either through bills drawn by the captains upon the Company, or through goods delivered into the stores for resale. The present situation was described as wholly inexplicable and requiring immediate correction. Concern was expressed that bills continued to be drawn upon the Company, sometimes justified as relating to arrack, yet without supporting accounts to demonstrate any resulting profit. Until such accounts were received and verified, these claims were regarded as no more than assurances. It was therefore stated that all those involved in drawing or approving such bills would place themselves under suspicion. Consideration was then introduced under a new heading concerning Company servants, both civil and military, together with the general state of the accounts of St Helena and matters relating to slaves, cattle, land and revenues. Notice was taken of the assurance given in the 27th part of the letter sent by the *Susanna*, in which it had been promised that efforts would be made to justify the favourable opinion previously held, and that salaries would neither be increased nor misused. It was stated that satisfaction would be taken in observing the fulfilment of this promise and the correction of the matters complained of. However, it was emphasised that, until annual accounts were regularly submitted, no confidence could be placed in those responsible for financial management. It was declared that no person entrusted with such duties could be considered worthy of support while failing in this obligation. Reference was made to the fact that the last accounts received from the island had been balanced to

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		told you before the last accounts from hence ended the 25th. of March 1711 it is now near five years since, and in that time hath the unaccountable encrease of charge to us been greatly growing. you told us part. the 27th. by the Susanna you would send the Accounts by the next and get in above Twelve Months after none come. It will never mend this again, and if our supervisors doth not take care they be sent.	25 March 1711, and that nearly five years had since elapsed without further submission. During this period, the Company's expenses had increased in an unexplained manner. It was recalled that, in the 27th part of the letter sent by the *Susanna*, a promise had been made that the accounts would be forwarded by the next opportunity. Yet more than twelve months had passed without any being received. It was stated that this failure could not be excused, and that improvement would not occur unless those charged with oversight ensured that the accounts were prepared and transmitted. **Interpretations** "Bills drawn on us" referred to financial drafts issued locally but payable by the Company in England. "Arrack" referred to a distilled alcoholic spirit traded in the East Indies. "Civil or Military" referred to administrative and armed personnel employed by the Company. "Supervisors" referred to those responsible for oversight of accounts and administration. "Balanced" referred to accounts being completed and settled to a particular date. **Speculations** The repeated concern over unsupported bills suggests distrust in financial claims made by local officials. The emphasis on missing accounts indicates a serious breakdown in administrative reporting. The reference to Governor Roberts suggests a perceived shift in management standards after his departure. The insistence on annual accounts reflects the Company's reliance on regular financial oversight. The growing expenses without explanation may indicate inefficiency, mismanagement or possible misuse of funds.
371	359	and so grossly he must bear part of the blame, if he doth his utmost by inquiring himself, and putting the Councill in mind to call, and taking care they do call Monthly for the Accountants of Stores to be inspected by them in Consultation to see what progress is made therein, and making an Entry to what time they are brought up, and in every successive Month and any Dilatoriness appear by Admonishing the Concerned, and if they wont do it by suspending from Salary or from Diet as aforesaid. We have given sufficient Rules for these things and are always sorry to swell our Letters with Complaints, Expostulations or reasoning upon the Neglects of or going Contrary to those rules, you had been about Seventeen Months on the Place, and tho' we have so often pressed for our Accounts, and even in your Instructions complained of the want of them, yet we don't find this had the Effect intended. Tho' Mr. Haswell was particularly appointed for that purpose, and Mr. John. Mr. Bagett is Storekeeper under him, and you say you have six Writers, had these their deserts they ought to be expelled our Service, or such of them at least as are blame worthy, however tho' we admit at present process so far, We say, We will not allow them the Gratuity intended them, and do hereby direct that no part of it	Responsibility was extended to those in authority, it being stated that they must share in the blame if they failed to act with sufficient diligence. It was required that active enquiry be undertaken, and that the Council be regularly reminded to call for the store accounts each month. These accounts were to be examined in consultation, with entries made recording the date to which they had been brought up. This process was to be repeated each successive month. Where delay appeared, those responsible were to be formally admonished, and if this proved ineffective, they were to be suspended from salary or from diet, as previously directed. It was observed that sufficient rules had already been provided for these matters, and regret was expressed that letters had been lengthened by repeated complaints and reasoning arising from neglect or disobedience of those rules. It was noted that approximately seventeen months had passed since arrival on the island, and that despite repeated demands for accounts, including explicit mention in the instructions, the expected results had not been achieved. Mr Haswell had been specifically appointed to oversee this duty, with Mr John Bagett serving as storekeeper under him, and six writers also being employed. It was stated that, if these individuals had received proper treatment, those found at fault ought to have been dismissed from the Company's service. However, although such action was not immediately enforced, it was directed that no gratuities were to be paid to them until explicit permission had been granted, and that this would depend upon their conduct and performance. Attention was then drawn to entries in the consultation records indicating that Mr Bagett had been slow in submitting his monthly accounts, and that Mr Tovey had been so dilatory in his duties as secretary that

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		be allowed, till you receive our particular leave for it, and that will be as we find them deserving. We find by some Entrys in the Consultations that Mr. Bagett hath been backward in bringing in his monthly Accounts into Consultation, and that Mr. Tovey hath been so Dilatory in his Business as Secretary, that the not holding Consultations was occasioned. If this be the return of our kindness to him we shall …	consultations had not been held as required. Such conduct was described as an unworthy return for the favour previously shown to him, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Diet" referred to the provision of food and lodging at the Company's expense. "Consultation" referred to the formal meeting and recorded proceedings of the Governor and Council. "Writers" referred to clerks employed to maintain records and correspondence. "Gratuity" referred to an additional payment or reward granted beyond regular salary. "Dilatory" referred to behaviour characterised by delay or lack of promptness. **Speculations** The insistence on monthly inspections suggests chronic delays in maintaining financial records. The threat of suspension from salary or diet indicates increasing frustration with administrative failures. The withholding of gratuities reflects the use of financial incentives to enforce discipline. The mention of multiple staff members implies that inefficiency was widespread rather than isolated. The criticism of the secretary's delays highlights the central role of record keeping in Company governance.
372	360	if you find any more of it, let him find he is unfit for our service, however for the present and till he shall appear to us to better We forbid his having any part of the Gratuity intended him, did not we send over Mr. Bagett as Justice to assist him & we expect he doth. By all we can discover of the Writing Work at S^{t}. Helena under his care, Two Persons are sufficient to do it if some than it is, but if they were not in times of hurry such as the dispatch of ships, then those at the Stores might to assist at least for so many days in the week when the Stores are not open and some of them when they are, In a word every one of the Councill might at such times lend their helping hand toward the dispatches then Necessary to be sent. We find Mr. Alexander hath also been imployed by the writing in the Consultation Books and other Papers as well as by your Letter of the 1st. December, and Letter from him by the Chester, so that there was sufficient diligence and Application, the Secretarys office is well supplyed. We don't understand your reason for making Mr. Bagett of Councill, you had no Authority from us for it, nor doth it appear Necessary. If he acquits himself well, he shall have our encouragement. and because We have no complaint against him have paid his mother two his five pounds Gratuity, however let us know what is his constant employment. We have told you formerly what Sticks upon Mr. Alexander and the Petition of Thomas Free entered in Consultation the	Warning was given that, if further instances of negligence were discovered, the individual concerned was to be regarded as unfit for the Company's service. In the meantime, and until improvement was clearly demonstrated, it was ordered that no part of the gratuity intended for him should be paid. Reference was made to the appointment of Mr Bagett as Justice, which had been intended to support him in his duties, and it was expected that such assistance would be properly applied. Observation was made that, based on the volume of writing work carried out at St Helena, two persons would ordinarily have been sufficient to manage it. During periods of increased activity, such as the dispatch of ships, additional help could have been provided by those employed in the stores, particularly on days when the stores were not open, and even at times when they were. It was further suggested that members of the Council themselves might have contributed assistance during such occasions to ensure that necessary dispatches were completed efficiently. It was noted that Mr Alexander had also been engaged in writing the consultation books and other papers, as indicated both in the letter dated 1 December 1715 and in his own correspondence sent by the *Chester*. From this, it was concluded that sufficient personnel had been available to perform the required clerical work, and that, with proper diligence and application, the secretary's office ought to have been adequately managed. Concern was expressed regarding the appointment of Mr Bagett to the Council, as no authority had been granted for this action and no clear necessity for it had been demonstrated. It was stated that, if he performed his duties well, he would receive appropriate encouragement. In the absence of any complaint against him, a gratuity of £5 had been paid to his mother on his behalf. However, it was required that a full account be provided of his regular employment. Reference was then made to earlier concerns regarding Mr Alexander, and to the petition of Thomas Free entered in the consultation dated 16 July 1714, which was said to contain serious accusations against him. It was noted that, in the matter concerning Mr Frye […], the account continued beyond this point. **Interpretations**

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		16th. July 1714 Charges him home, We find in the affair of Mr. F[rye]s	"Gratuity" referred to an additional payment granted beyond regular salary as a reward. "Justice" referred to a local judicial officer responsible for administering law and order. "Dispatch of ships" referred to the preparation and sending of official correspondence and cargo with departing vessels. "Consultation books" referred to the official records of proceedings of the Governor and Council. "Petition" referred to a formal written complaint or request submitted for consideration. **Speculations** The restriction of gratuity suggests disciplinary measures short of dismissal were being applied. The suggestion that Council members assist with clerical work indicates frustration with inefficiency. The questioning of Mr Bagett's appointment implies concern over unauthorised administrative decisions. The payment to Mr Bagett's mother suggests a practice of remitting earnings or benefits to family members. The reference to petitions against Mr Alexander indicates ongoing disputes or misconduct allegations within the administration.
373	361	Toveys Complaint touching Mr. Bagetts Land, which we observe how you have determined that he is of a litigious ungovernable Tempt We don't absolutely forbid your employing him when you have urgent occasion, but are sure of what We see of the Writing work done at the Secretary or Clerks Office that two as beforementioned are sufficient to perform it if they make it their whole Business (from what we can find heretofore, especially if in times of hurry the Writers at the Stores or when needfull the Councill also lend their helping hand and due care be taken to bring up the Business in the absence of Shipping). ——————— We observe your severall parts. and Consultations relating to Governour Butcher, and among others that the riding Shed He built cost us by Valuation £184.11.6 that he converted to his own use of our Live provisions £16.19.6 that he made an utter destruction of most of our Live Stock, stript the House let the Plantations and Gardens run to Ruin &c: and shall make the proper use of them, but it is very strange to us that Mr. Bagett and the overseer of the Plantations, as also Mr.Cason & Mr. French who were taken in by Mr. Butcher as Assistants to the Councill and Mr. Alexander and Mr. Free who where then in service, should not or will not give you the account of these particulars, and among them you say you cannot come to a full knowledge of the Cattle he Sold to our Shipping. This looks Ill and makes us fear they are not so hearty disposed for our service as they ought. Let them know that we expect they do	Notice was taken of Mr Tovey's complaint concerning Mr Bagett's land, and of the determination that Mr Bagett was of a litigious and ungovernable temper. It was stated that his employment was not entirely prohibited where urgent necessity required it, yet it was reiterated that the volume of clerical work at the secretary's office did not justify extensive staffing. From past experience, it was considered that two persons would be sufficient if they applied themselves fully to the task. During periods of increased activity, assistance might be provided by writers from the stores, and, where necessary, by members of the Council. It was emphasised that proper care should be taken to keep work up to date during intervals when no ships were present. Attention was then directed to several paragraphs and consultations relating to Governor Butcher. It was recorded that a riding shed constructed by him had cost the Company £184 11s 6d, and that he had appropriated for his own use provisions valued at £16 19s 6d. It was further alleged that he had caused the destruction of much of the Company's livestock, had stripped the house, and had allowed plantations and gardens to fall into ruin. It was stated that appropriate use would be made of this information. However, it was regarded as highly irregular that Mr Bagett, the overseer of the plantations, Mr Cason, Mr French, and others who had served under Governor Butcher, including Mr Alexander and Mr Free, had either failed or refused to provide a full account of these matters. It was noted in particular that no complete information had been obtained regarding cattle sold to Company shipping. This absence of cooperation was described as troubling and suggestive of a lack of proper commitment to the Company's interests. It was therefore directed that these individuals be made aware that full disclosure was expected from them, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Litigious" referred to a disposition inclined towards disputes or legal contention. "Riding shed" referred to a structure used for sheltering horses or for riding purposes. "Live provisions" referred to livestock kept for food supply, such as cattle or other animals. "Plantations" referred to cultivated agricultural land under Company management.

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		give you and	"Oversight of plantations" referred to the supervision of agricultural operations and livestock. **Speculations** The criticism of staffing levels suggests ongoing concern about inefficiency in administrative work. The allegations against Governor Butcher indicate serious mismanagement or misuse of Company resources. The failure of multiple individuals to provide information may suggest collective reluctance or shared involvement. The uncertainty regarding cattle sales points to possible irregularities in trade or accounting. The insistence on full disclosure reflects efforts to reassert control over local administration.
374	362	and you to us a full Account of all other Mr. Bouchers Extraordinary Proceedings to our Prejudice so far as the same came to their knowledged and what Proofs of each. We refer you to former Letters wherein we have been very large in our directions for the due management of our affairs under your care. The good government of the Island, The Encouraging Industry, The promoting the welfare of the People, The Discountenancing vice, Litigiousness & Quarrells and doing whatever else will contribute to the peace of the People and flourishing of the Island, your own reason and common humanity and justice should prompt you to these things. We earnestly recommend them to you and do expect you will from time to time acquitt yourselves as becomes you. We have some Complaints of our Governours Arbitrary Temper. We expect he give no cause for it. We have heard as if one or other of you have promoted Quarrells for the sake of Fees or some other private Advantages which is so base and Disingenuous We would not willingly believe it, however Give this caution to put a stop to it, if it has been, or prevent attempts to begin it. We have received a Petition from Gabriel Powell, if the Complaint therein of his being bound over in a bond of Two hundred pounds be truly and fully stated it is too severe and should not be brought into Precedent: and we expect it be not in future, it seems to us to arise from some quarrell some words which ought to have been prevented, and to a too rigorous use which.	Requirement was made that both the Council and the Governor should provide a full account of all extraordinary proceedings undertaken by Mr Boucher that had been prejudicial to the Company, so far as these had come within their knowledge, together with the evidence supporting each instance. Reference was then made to earlier letters in which detailed instructions had been given for the proper management of Company affairs. Emphasis was placed upon the importance of good governance of the island, the encouragement of industry, the promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants, and the discouragement of vice, litigiousness and quarrels. It was stated that these objectives ought to be guided not only by prior instructions but also by reason, humanity and justice. Strong expectation was expressed that such principles would be consistently upheld in practice. Concern was raised regarding reports of an arbitrary manner of conduct on the part of the Governor. It was stated that no grounds should be given for such complaints. Additional concern was noted that disputes may have been encouraged by some individuals for the purpose of gaining fees or other private advantage. Although reluctance was expressed to accept such allegations without proof, a clear warning was issued that such behaviour must cease if it had occurred, and must be prevented in future. Consideration was then given to a petition submitted by Gabriel Powell. It was observed that, if the complaint contained therein, relating to his being bound in a bond of £200, was accurate, the measure appeared excessively severe and ought not to be established as a precedent. It was stated that such cases seemed to arise from quarrels or verbal disputes that should have been prevented, and from an overly rigorous application of authority, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Extraordinary proceedings" referred to actions taken outside normal or authorised practice. "Litigiousness" referred to a tendency to engage in disputes or legal actions. "Arbitrary temper" referred to the exercise of authority in an unpredictable or unjust manner. "Bond of £200" referred to a legal obligation requiring a person to forfeit a substantial sum if conditions were not met. "Precedent" referred to a prior action or decision used as a guide for future cases. **Speculations** The demand for evidence suggests concern about accountability for past mismanagement. The emphasis on moral governance reflects the Company's attempt to shape social order on the island. The warning against encouraging disputes implies possible abuse of judicial or administrative authority. The case of Gabriel Powell highlights tensions between discipline and fairness in local justice.

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			The reluctance to accept allegations without proof suggests a balance between suspicion and formal procedure.
375	363	which thereby becomes an abuse of Power, a little discretion and Moderation will put a stop to most things of this nature, & the People know you will maintain your Authority, but then give them no just cause to cry out of your Rigour & Inhumanity. Herewith you will receive another Complaint of Thomas Free relating to the payment of his Debt, wherein he allages he is unjustly dealt with and shall be a great loser by not having your Agreement with him complyed with to take away his yarns, which lye rotting on the ground, how far he is in the right We cant judge here because We don't know both sides of the Case. But we hope We dont desire you to oppress or injure any Body for our Benefitt Be impartiall and just to every Body, We covett not gain by oppressing him or any one on the Island. We have great Complaints from Bencoolen of your keeping several of the Artificers, and other useful persons sent in the Rochester designed for them. We must never allow you to disappoint our Instructions in this manner, and expect you never do so again among others you detained one Hovson a Gardiner sent out particularly to goverour Collett by his Friends, and John Wagan a Shipwright sent by us for the service of Bencoolen. Be sure them take passage on the Ship Catherine to Bencoolen. Mr Blunts son John who was left on St. Helena, We have entertained a Writer for Fort St. George, and have given him leave to take passage on the said Ship to Bencoolen, which	It was stated that excessive severity in such matters amounted to an abuse of power, and that greater discretion and moderation would prevent most disputes of this nature. It was acknowledged that authority must be maintained, yet it was emphasised that no just cause should be given for complaints of harshness or inhumanity. Reference was then made to a further complaint submitted by Thomas Free concerning the payment of his debt. It was reported that he alleged unfair treatment and claimed that he would suffer loss because an agreement to take his yarn had not been fulfilled, with the goods now lying and deteriorating. It was stated that no judgement could be made without hearing both sides of the case. However, it was made clear that no person was to be oppressed or injured for the Company's advantage, and that impartiality and justice were to be observed in all dealings. It was expressly declared that no profit was desired if it depended upon the oppression of any individual on the island. Attention was then drawn to complaints received from Bencoolen regarding the detention of artificers and other useful persons who had been sent there in the *Rochester*. Such conduct was stated to be contrary to instructions and was not to be repeated. Among those detained were Hovson, a gardener sent specifically to Governor Collett by his friends, and John Wagan, a shipwright sent for the service of Bencoolen. Instructions were given that both were to be placed on board the *Catherine* and sent to Bencoolen without further delay. It was also noted that John, the son of Mr Blunt, who had been left at St Helena, had been appointed as a writer for Fort St George. Permission had been granted for him to take passage on the same ship to Bencoolen, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Artificers" referred to skilled workers or craftsmen employed in specialised trades. "Writer" referred to a clerical employee responsible for record keeping and correspondence. "Bencoolen" referred to a Company settlement on the west coast of Sumatra. "Fort St George" referred to the Company's principal settlement at Madras. "Yarn" referred to spun fibre prepared for weaving into cloth. **Speculations** The emphasis on moderation suggests concern about the misuse of authority in local governance. The case of Thomas Free indicates ongoing disputes over commercial agreements and obligations. The complaints from Bencoolen reflect tensions between different Company settlements over resources and personnel. The insistence on forwarding specific individuals suggests the importance of skilled labour to Company operations. The appointment of John Blunt's son indicates continued reliance on patronage and recommendation in staffing decisions.
376	364	Orders &c. p^{e} Ship We mention for your Compliance therewith. We have a Letter from Joseph Tomlinson enclosing a Certificate of the late Governour Roberts dated the 8th June 1711 importing that for his Abilitys and good behaviour He was advanced to be 2^{d}. to the Storekeeper behaving himself	Instruction was given that the matters conveyed were to be complied with in full. A letter had been received from Joseph Tomlinson enclosing a certificate from the late Governor Roberts dated 8 June 1711, stating that, on account of his abilities and good behaviour, he had been advanced to the position of second to the storekeeper, having conducted himself with diligence, fidelity and satisfaction. It was stated that

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		with Diligence, Fidelity and Satisfaction, how far he deserved that character or whether he hath degenerated since we can't judge here, your 19th. past by the St. George gives a very different Account of him, you are on the Place, and to you we leave him either to Continue or dismiss him as you shall judge most for our service. You tell us part. the 4th. the 35. of Susanna you will stop the Money advanced by us to several of you as it becomes due, We have Letters from you of more than Twelve Months later date, but they mention nothing more about it, which is blame worthy, you shou'd always peruse your former Letters as to the promises therein contained of what's to be done in pursuance of our Orders and let us know when those promises are turn'd into performances We might take notice of several partts in that Letter, wherein You promise well but nothing is done, don't let us Complain again. The fifty pounds advanced to Mr. Mashborne has been paid us here. Serjeant Southerns Wife is daily troubling us for some allowance, and hath brought People of Credit to Evidence the falsity of his allegations entred in the Consultation Book the 6th. November, and among others that Joseph Gunson therein named. We find he is greatly in our Debt, and hear he is very Extravagant, take care he pay us what due, and that he make her	no judgement could be formed from a distance as to whether he continued to merit that character or had since declined, especially as the 19th part of the letter sent by the *St George* provided a very different account. Decision was therefore left to the local authority to determine whether he should be retained or dismissed, according to what best served the Company's interests. Reference was made to the 4th and 35th parts of the letter sent by the *Susanna*, in which it had been stated that money previously advanced to various individuals would be recovered as it became due. It was observed that subsequent letters, written more than twelve months later, made no further mention of this matter, which was described as a fault. It was directed that earlier correspondence should always be reviewed, particularly where commitments had been made in response to Company orders, and that confirmation should be given when such undertakings had been fulfilled. It was further stated that several instances existed in which assurances had been given but no action taken, and it was required that no further cause for complaint should arise. It was noted that the sum of £50 advanced to Mr Mashborne had been repaid in England. Attention was then drawn to repeated representations made by the wife of Sergeant Southern, who had sought an allowance and had produced credible witnesses to dispute the accuracy of statements attributed to her husband in the consultation dated 6 November. Among those mentioned was Joseph Gunson, who was reported to be heavily indebted to the Company and to be living extravagantly. It was directed that he be compelled to settle what he owed, and that he provide appropriate support to her, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Certificate" referred to a formal written testimonial attesting to a person's conduct and abilities. "Second to the Storekeeper" referred to the deputy responsible for assisting in the management of Company stores. "Advanced" referred to promotion to a higher position or rank. "Extravagant" referred to excessive or wasteful expenditure. "Allowance" referred to a regular payment granted for maintenance or support. **Speculations** The reliance on testimonials suggests the importance of reputation in assessing Company servants. The conflicting accounts of Joseph Tomlinson indicate possible disputes over conduct or performance. The emphasis on fulfilling promises reflects frustration with uncompleted administrative actions. The case of Sergeant Southern's wife highlights social and financial tensions affecting dependants. The concern over Joseph Gunson's debt suggests ongoing problems with financial discipline among individuals connected to the Company.
377	365	for the allowance he formerly received. We have paid her here Ten pounds, you 27th. past mentions you sent by the Store Books, find hath had any thing stopt out of this, if on making up the Books it so appear, charge him with the said Money do you receive any thing for his wife Advise us that we may pay it here for her support and prevent the Continuance of her Clamour. Our Committee have not yet been able to get you the Artificers you desire, if any of our returning Ships can	It was stated that provision should be made for the allowance previously received by the wife of Sergeant Southern. A payment of £10 had already been made to her in England. Reference was made to the 27th part of the correspondence, in which it had been indicated that entries relating to this matter would be found in the store books. It was directed that, if no deduction had been made from her husband's account, the amount should be charged to him when the books were settled. Instruction was also given that any sums received locally on her behalf should be reported, so that corresponding payments might be made in England for her support, and thereby prevent further complaints.

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		spare you a Surgeon or Carpenters or other usefull hands We permit your entertaining them on reasonable Terms, but only such as are Necessary. We have a Letter from Mr. Cleeve, assuring that the Governours Ill treatment to him made him quitt our Service tho' against his inclination, such things don't look well, and ought as much as possible be avoided, He says his Endeavours to promote our Interest first began the Quarrell. The repeated part in your Letters about Blacks We take Notice of, and can't but wonder how the want of them becomes so much more pressing than formerly. The number you have is greater than what former Governours thought brought. When We supplied the Island by the Mercury in pursuance of their desires for Slaves, We thought we had Sufficient. It seems some of them proved bad, and the sort of them is complained of; but we are assured the same kind are often carried to the West Indies where they answer very well. We hope these will be reclaimed and rendred usefull by proper discipline, tho' we wou'd not have them cruelly treated if possible to be avoided, remember they are Men when	It was noted that the Committee had not yet been able to procure the artificers requested. Permission was granted to engage, on reasonable terms, such useful personnel as surgeons, carpenters or others, if they could be obtained from returning ships, provided they were genuinely necessary. A letter had been received from Mr Cleeve, in which it was asserted that ill treatment by the Governor had caused him to leave the Company's service, contrary to his own wishes. Such conduct was described as undesirable and to be avoided. It was further reported that his efforts to promote the Company's interests had been the origin of the dispute. Attention was then directed to repeated references in the correspondence concerning the shortage of slaves. It was expressed as surprising that this deficiency should now be considered more severe than in earlier periods, particularly as the number of slaves on the island was greater than had been deemed sufficient by previous governors. When additional slaves had been supplied by the *Mercury* in response to earlier requests, it had been believed that adequate provision had been made. It was acknowledged that some had proved unsuitable and that complaints had been raised regarding their quality. However, it was stated that similar individuals were frequently sent to the West Indies, where they were considered serviceable. It was therefore hoped that, through proper discipline, they might be improved and made useful, though it was emphasised that they should not be subjected to unnecessary cruelty, recognising their humanity, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Artificers" referred to skilled workers such as carpenters, surgeons or craftsmen. "Store books" referred to the accounting records maintained for goods and financial transactions. "Allowance" referred to a payment granted for maintenance or support. "Committee" referred to the body responsible for organising Company resources and personnel. "Discipline" referred to the management and regulation of behaviour to ensure productivity. **Speculations** The arrangement for payments across locations suggests an interconnected financial system between England and the island. The difficulty in obtaining skilled workers reflects labour shortages in remote Company settlements. The complaint from Mr Cleeve indicates tensions between officials and subordinates. The continued concern over slaves suggests reliance on forced labour for the island's economy. The emphasis on discipline without cruelty reflects an attempt to balance control with practical considerations of labour management.
378	366	when we have a fitting opportunity We shall send you some Recruits in the mean time make these as usefull as possible. We may another year write to India to send you some of their Slaves Send us annually List of all our Slaves and how and where Employed, and take care they are kept to their Business. We find some truth in Gabriel Powells Petition aforesaid that our Plantations are not well taken care of and we are told since Mr. Mashbornes death, it hath been much worse than before. It is strange to us that our Plantations should not be sufficient to	It was stated that, when a suitable opportunity arose, additional recruits would be sent, and that in the meantime the existing labour force was to be made as useful as possible. It was further indicated that, in a future year, instructions might be issued to India to supply additional slaves. Direction was given that annual lists of all Company slaves were to be sent, specifying how and where each was employed, and that strict care was to be taken to ensure they were properly engaged in their work. Attention was then drawn to the petition of Gabriel Powell, in which some truth was acknowledged regarding the poor management of the Company's plantations. It was reported that conditions had deteriorated further following the death of Mr Mashborne. It was expressed as surprising that the plantations were not sufficient to supply the Company's

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		furnish our own People with Yams, and yet other Inhabitants can raise enough not only for their own use but sell as large quantitys. If the List sent of the Planters Blacks be true, they are greatly that of ours, and yet sufficient for their uses, the said Powells Petition sports He has a Stock enough to supply three or four Ships yearly, yet he hath but Seventeen Blacks of which Seven Boys and Girls. These things shew to us a vast difference of Management, and might surely be much better look'd after. If our Governour and Council were but sufficiently carefull and frequently calling for Accounts of what is done in every place how far our Orders are performed, and now and then actually viewing whether those Accounts be true: You can't be ignorant what is and what is not for our Advantage. Let your Endeavours shew you do and will heartily espouse our Interest and promote it to your Power, Tho' you did well to reduce the price of yams which you bought and not give the Planters whatever they asked, as your Letters and particularly that by the S^{t}. George - par^{t}. 7 & import Governour Boucher did, yet surely it wou'd be much better for us, if you bought none. We have told you in	own personnel with yams, while other inhabitants were able not only to meet their own needs but also to produce surplus for sale. It was observed that, if the lists of planters' slaves were accurate, their numbers were significantly lower than those belonging to the Company, yet they were adequate for their purposes. It was noted that Gabriel Powell claimed to possess sufficient stock to supply three or four ships annually, despite having only seventeen slaves, seven of whom were boys and girls. These comparisons were said to demonstrate a considerable difference in management and suggested that much improvement was possible. It was emphasised that greater diligence was required from the Governor and Council, particularly in calling regularly for accounts of activities across all operations, ensuring that orders were carried out, and verifying the accuracy of reports through occasional direct inspection. It was stated that the advantages and disadvantages to the Company ought to be clearly understood by those in authority, and that their conduct should demonstrate a genuine commitment to advancing its interests. Approval was expressed for the reduction in the price paid for yams, rather than agreeing to the higher prices demanded by the planters, as had reportedly been done by Governor Boucher. However, it was suggested that it would be more advantageous for the Company if no purchases of this kind were necessary, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Recruits" referred to newly engaged labourers or personnel intended to strengthen the workforce. "Plantations" referred to agricultural lands operated by the Company for food production. "Yams" referred to a staple root crop used for feeding both slaves and inhabitants. "Stock" referred to agricultural produce or livestock available for supply. "Accounts" referred to records detailing activities, production and expenditure. **Speculations** The comparison with private planters suggests dissatisfaction with the efficiency of Company run agriculture. The emphasis on slave labour reflects its central role in sustaining the island's economy. The decline after Mr Mashborne's death may indicate reliance on individual competence rather than systemic management. The call for inspections suggests mistrust of reported figures and concern over misrepresentation. The suggestion to avoid purchasing yams implies a desire for greater self sufficiency within Company operations.
379	367	in former Letters that we had much rather hold but very little than a great deal of Land in our own hands, and give the reasons for it, and still Continue as strong as before and will more so if by such management our Ground don't raise stocks of all sorts of provisions This leads us to the Consideration of several parts of your Letter relating to the Planters engrossing great part of the Plantations, and particularly in that by the S^{t}. George in the 9th and following part^{s}. wherein you are entirely right. If you look back into the Orders of former years you will find this Mischief hath encreased by not putting them in due execution or taking care that there should be a proper number of white Men to the	It was reiterated that the Company had long preferred to retain only a limited amount of land in its own possession rather than extensive holdings, and that the reasons for this policy had already been set out in earlier correspondence. This position was stated to remain unchanged, and would be reinforced if the existing management failed to produce sufficient supplies of provisions from the land already held. Attention was then directed to several passages in the correspondence concerning the practice of planters engrossing large portions of land, particularly those in the 9th and subsequent parts of the letter sent by the *St George*. Agreement was expressed with the observations made there. It was stated that this problem had increased over time due to the failure to enforce earlier orders, especially those requiring that each planter maintain a proper number of white men relative to the acreage held, in accordance with the original constitution of the settlement. It was therefore directed

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		Acres of Land enjoyed by each of the Planters according to the original Constitution: It will be incumbent on you to take better care in future and let the Inhabitants know they shall not be suffered to transgress those well considered and just rules for the design of parcelling out the Lands into such small and Midling Portions was to preserve the Militia of the Island in case of attacks by an Enemy, for every Man will do his utmost to preserve the little he hath of his own. whereas by engrossing the several Plantations into few Peoples hands, the design of that Political Law is defeated. The Inhabitants of S^{t}. Peters is greatly decreased of late years, some alledging the hardships of the Governours drove them away, and yet if it had not been for this engrossing you so justly complain of, they would scarce have left the Place, Wherefor put a stop to it by obliging everyone to keep on his Land white men as aforesaid without which they must not be allowed to make additional Purchases. Perpuse those old orders - and you will find the Conditions plainly laid down, inforce their Execution. It is your part to render them effectual.	that stricter attention be given to enforcing these rules in future, and that inhabitants be clearly informed that they would not be permitted to disregard them. Explanation was given that the original intention behind dividing the land into small and moderate holdings had been to preserve the island's militia in the event of attack. It was reasoned that individuals would be more committed to defending property held in their own right, whereas the concentration of large estates in the hands of a few undermined this principle and defeated the purpose of the policy. It was also noted that the population of St Peter's had declined in recent years, with some attributing this to the harshness of former governors. However, it was suggested that the concentration of landholdings had been an additional factor, as it reduced opportunities for others to remain on the island. Instruction was therefore given that this practice be halted by requiring each landholder to maintain the prescribed number of white men on their land. Without compliance, no further acquisitions of land were to be permitted. It was further directed that earlier orders on this subject be reviewed, as they clearly set out the relevant conditions, and that their enforcement be actively pursued as part of the responsibilities of the administration. **Interpretations** "Engrossing" referred to the accumulation of large amounts of land by a small number of individuals. "Original constitution" referred to the foundational rules governing land distribution and settlement on the island. "Militia" referred to the body of local inhabitants capable of bearing arms in defence of the island. "White men" referred to European settlers required to reside on and maintain landholdings. "St Peter's" referred to a district or settlement area on the island. **Speculations** The emphasis on limiting land ownership suggests concern about inequality and its effects on defence. The link between landholding and militia service reflects the dual economic and military purpose of settlement policy. The decline in population may indicate dissatisfaction with governance as well as structural economic issues. The insistence on enforcing earlier orders suggests that existing regulations had been widely ignored. The policy implies a preference for a dispersed and stable settler population over concentrated wealth and control.
380	368	when we have a fitting opportunity We shall send you some Recruits in the mean time make these as usefull as possible. We may another year write to India to send you some of their Slaves Send us annually List of all our Slaves and how and where Employed, and take care they are kept to their Business. We find some hints in Gabriel Powells Petition aforesaid that our Plantations are not well taken care of and we are told since Mr. Mashbornes death, it hath been much worse than before. It is strange to us that our Plantations should not be sufficient to furnish our own People with Yams, and yet other Inhabitants can raise enough not only for their own use but sell as large quantitys.	It was stated that, when a suitable opportunity arose, additional recruits would be sent, and that in the meantime the existing labour force was to be used as effectively as possible. It was further indicated that, in a future year, instructions might be issued to India to supply additional slaves. Direction was given that annual lists of all Company slaves were to be transmitted, specifying how and where each was employed, and that strict care was to be taken to ensure they were properly engaged in their duties. Reference was then made to observations contained in the petition of Gabriel Powell, which suggested that the Company's plantations were not being properly maintained. It was reported that conditions had deteriorated further since the death of Mr Mashborne. It was considered surprising that these plantations did not produce sufficient yams to supply the Company's own personnel, while other inhabitants were able not only to meet their own needs but also to produce surplus quantities for sale. It was noted that, if the lists of planters' slaves were accurate, their numbers

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		If the List sent of the Planters Blacks be true, they are greatly that of ours, and yet sufficient for their uses, the said Powells - Petition sports He has a Stock enough to supply three or four Ships yearly, yet he hath but Seventeen Blacks of which Seven Boys and Girls. These things shew to us a vast difference of Management, and might surely be much better look'd after. If our Governour and Council were but sufficiently carefull and frequently calling for Accounts of what is done in every place - how far our Orders are performed, and now and then actually viewing whether those Accounts be true: You can't be ignorant what is and what is not for our Advantage). Let your Endeavours shew you do and will heartily espouse our Interest and promote it to your Power, Tho' you did well to reduce the price of yams which you bought and not give the Planters whatever they - asked, as your Letters and particularly that by the S^{t}. George - part: 7 & import Governour Boucher did, yet surely it wou'd be much better for us, if you bought none. We have told you in	were considerably fewer than those belonging to the Company, yet they were sufficient for their purposes. It was further observed that Gabriel Powell claimed to possess enough stock to supply three or four ships annually, despite having only seventeen slaves, seven of whom were boys and girls. These comparisons were taken to demonstrate a significant difference in management, indicating that the Company's operations could be improved. Emphasis was placed on the responsibility of the Governor and Council to exercise greater diligence by regularly calling for accounts of activities in all areas, ensuring that orders were carried out, and occasionally verifying the accuracy of those accounts through direct inspection. It was stated that awareness of what was and was not advantageous to the Company ought to be clear, and that their conduct should demonstrate a firm commitment to promoting its interests. Approval was expressed for the reduction in the price paid for yams, rather than agreeing to the higher prices demanded by planters, as had reportedly been done by Governor Boucher in the 7th part of the letter sent by the *St George*. However, it was stated that it would be more beneficial for the Company if no such purchases were required, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Recruits" referred to newly engaged labourers or personnel intended to strengthen the workforce. "Plantations" referred to agricultural lands operated by the Company for food production. "Yams" referred to a staple root crop used for feeding both slaves and inhabitants. "Stock" referred to agricultural produce or provisions available for supply. "Accounts" referred to records detailing work, production and expenditure. **Speculations** The comparison with private planters suggests dissatisfaction with the efficiency of Company run agriculture. The reliance on slave labour reflects its central role in sustaining the island's economy. The decline after Mr Mashborne's death may indicate dependence on individual capability rather than structured management. The call for inspections suggests mistrust of reported figures and concern over misrepresentation. The preference to avoid purchasing yams implies a desire for greater self sufficiency within Company operations.
381	369	in former Letters that we had much rather hold but very little than a great deal of Land in our own hands, and give the reasons for it, which still Continue as strong as before and will more so if by such management our Ground don't raise stocks of all sorts of provisions This leads us to the Consideration of several parts of your Letter relating to the Planters engrossing great part of the Plantations, and particularly in that by the S^{t}. George in the 9th and following part^{s}. wherein you are entirely right. If you look back into the Orders of former years you will find this Mischief hath encreased by not putting them in due execution or taking care that there should be a proper number of white Men to the Acres of Land enjoyed by each of the Planters according to the original Constitution: It will be incumbent on you to take better	It was reiterated that the Company had long preferred to retain only a small amount of land in its own possession rather than extensive holdings, and that the reasons for this policy had already been set out in earlier correspondence. This position was stated to remain unchanged, and would be strengthened if the present management failed to produce sufficient supplies of provisions from the land already held. Consideration was then given to passages in the correspondence concerning the practice of planters engrossing large portions of land, particularly those in the 9th and subsequent parts of the letter sent by the *St George*. Agreement was expressed with these observations. It was stated that this problem had increased over time due to the failure to enforce earlier orders, especially those requiring that each planter maintain a proper number of white men relative to the acreage held, in accordance with the original constitution of the settlement. It was therefore directed that stricter attention be given to enforcing these rules in future, and that inhabitants be clearly informed that they would not be permitted to disregard them.

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		care in future and let the Inhabitants know they shall not be suffered to transgress those well considered and just rules for the design of parcelling out the Lands into such small and Midling Portions was to preserve the Militia of the Island in case of attacks by an Enemy, for every Man will do his utmost to preserve the little he hath of his own. whereas by engrossing the several Plantations into few Peoples hands, the design of that Political Law is defeated. The Inhabitants of S^{t}. Peters is greatly decreased of late years, some alledging the hardships of the Governours drove them away, and yet if it had not been for this engrossing you so justly complain of, they wou'd scarce have left the Place, Wherefor put a stop to it by obliging every one to keep on his Land white men as aforesaid without which they must not be allowed to make additional Purchases. Perpuse those old orders - and you will find the Conditions plainly laid down, inforce their Execution. It is your part to render them effectual.	Explanation was given that the original intention behind dividing land into small and moderate holdings had been to preserve the militia of the island in the event of attack. It was reasoned that individuals would be more inclined to defend property held in their own right, whereas the concentration of large estates in the hands of a few defeated the purpose of this policy. It was further noted that the population of St Peter's had declined in recent years, with some attributing this to the harshness of former governors. However, it was suggested that the concentration of landholdings had also contributed, as inhabitants would probably not have left had such engrossing not taken place. Instruction was therefore given that this practice be halted by requiring each landholder to maintain the prescribed number of white men on their land. Without such compliance, no further acquisitions of land were to be permitted. It was also directed that earlier orders on this subject be reviewed, as they clearly set out the relevant conditions, and that their enforcement be actively carried out as part of the administration's responsibilities. **Interpretations** "Engrossing" referred to the accumulation of large amounts of land by a small number of individuals. "Original constitution" referred to the foundational rules governing land distribution and settlement on the island. "Militia" referred to the body of inhabitants capable of bearing arms in defence of the island. "White men" referred to European settlers required to reside on and maintain landholdings. "St Peter's" referred to a district or settlement area on the island. **Speculations** The emphasis on limiting land ownership suggests concern about inequality and its effect on defence. The link between landholding and militia service reflects the dual economic and military purpose of settlement policy. The decline in population may indicate dissatisfaction with governance as well as structural economic issues. The insistence on enforcing earlier orders suggests that regulations had been widely ignored. The policy implies a preference for a dispersed and stable settler population over concentrated control of land.
382	370	Take due care that the Laws for fencing and for planting of wood be continued in full Exercise and Incouragement that when you proposed of Planting Oranges and Limes and Lemons, make fair and Equitable allowances as you judge fit on account of the Fences, in a word deal justly with all the People, and in the case of Fencing, where it is plain some by reason of wanting Blacks or White assistance can't comply in point of a time, indulge for a reasonable time longer but be sure the Fences be done as fast as in your opinion they can with the assistance they have or can procure. As to the letting out Leases where the improvements of the Plantations hath been expensive by Building, planting of Trees or Fences, do as you shall on due Consideration find reasonable to encourage such improvement; We want	Direction was given that the existing laws relating to fencing and the planting of wood should be strictly maintained and encouraged. Where proposals had been made for planting oranges, limes and lemons, it was required that fair and equitable allowances be granted, particularly in relation to the costs of fencing. It was emphasised that all dealings with the inhabitants should be conducted with justice. In cases where individuals were unable to complete fencing within the required time due to a lack of slaves or white labour, reasonable extensions were to be allowed. However, it was also required that such work be carried out as promptly as possible, according to the means available to each person. Guidance was then provided regarding the granting of leases, particularly where significant improvements had been made to plantations through building, planting trees or erecting fences. It was directed that such cases be considered carefully, and that reasonable encouragement be given to promote further improvement. It was noted that an increase in population was desired, and that proposals contained in the 50th part of the letter sent by the *Susanna*, together with those in the *St George*, were considered suitable for achieving this objective.

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		more People and your Proposal part: the 50: by the Susanna and the above of the S^{t}. George seem well adapted for that purpose. - The looking after our Cattle and other live Stock and Endeavours to encrease the Breed is well done, as was also your care to forbid the killing the Breeders, fining Mr. Carne for transgressing your Orders on that head, and your limiting our Table on Stated Days for Salt provisions and Fish. We shall only add, that your own reason will tell you what might farther be done for encreasing the generall Stock of Provisions and Green Trade of the Island. Our Directions therein you will find fully Express'd in former Letters, as also, for the Improving our Plantations and the cultivating the Vine Trees, Seeds and other Endeavours We have used for the advantage of the Place. Towsley	Approval was expressed for the measures taken to manage cattle and other livestock, and for efforts made to increase their numbers. Commendation was given for the prohibition on killing breeding animals, for the fining of Mr Carne for violating these orders, and for the regulation of the Company's table to include fixed days for the consumption of salted provisions and fish. It was added that further measures for increasing the overall supply of provisions and the development of trade on the island should be guided by practical judgement, supported by earlier instructions already provided. Reference was made to previous directions concerning the improvement of plantations, including the cultivation of vine trees, seeds and other initiatives intended to enhance the island's productivity, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Fencing" referred to the enclosure of land to protect crops and manage livestock. "Allowances" referred to compensation or consideration given for expenses incurred. "Leases" referred to agreements granting use of land under specified conditions. "Breeders" referred to animals kept for reproduction to sustain or increase livestock. "Green trade" referred to the supply of fresh produce such as fruit and vegetables. **Speculations** The emphasis on fencing suggests ongoing challenges in protecting crops and organising land use. The encouragement of fruit cultivation indicates an effort to diversify agricultural production. The flexible approach to labour shortages reflects practical constraints on the island. The approval of livestock management measures suggests progress in food security. The reference to population growth highlights concerns about sustaining labour and settlement.
383	371	Fourthly touching our Fortifications Buildings and Garrison Stores. The Fortifications and Buildings We have also wrote you fully about, We shall be Glad when these expensive Articles are at an end for tho' it is now peace, We know not how soon there may be a War We should have the Island so far Fortifyed as to preserve our Ships from being taken out of the road and prevent an Enemys landing and Hazarding the Place, whatsoever is absolute Necessary for that end must be done, but Consider well and don't put us to needless charge let all be done substantially that it mayn't want repairing in the while as part the 7th. of Susanna says Ruperts Fort do's being built with Mud and Mortar, Since you have good Mortar and cut stone your Necessary Store rooms must all be built, but no more than serve, the Account in your last Letters make them very great, at least describe more rooms than we apprehend there will be occasion for this startled us at reading: remember our Charge and curtail it all you can with the utmost good Husbandry. We have Complaints that your charges are much greater than they need, if so all the Council	Attention was directed to the subject of fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, it having already been addressed at length in earlier correspondence. It was expressed that these costly works should be brought to completion as soon as practicable. Although peace prevailed at the time, it was observed that the possibility of future war remained, and that the island must be sufficiently fortified to protect Company ships from being taken in the road and to prevent an enemy from landing or endangering the settlement. All works deemed strictly necessary for this purpose were to be carried out, but careful judgement was required to avoid unnecessary expense. Concern was raised that some constructions had not been executed with sufficient durability, as indicated by the report in the 7th part of the letter sent by the *Susanna*, which stated that Rupert's Fort had been built using mud and mortar. Given the availability of better materials such as proper mortar and cut stone, it was directed that essential storehouses be constructed using these, though no more buildings were to be erected than were absolutely required. It was noted that the descriptions of new rooms in recent correspondence appeared excessive, which caused concern that the scale of building works might be greater than necessary. Strong emphasis was placed on reducing costs wherever possible and exercising strict economy in all expenditures. Reports had been received alleging that expenses were higher than necessary, and it was stated that, if true, responsibility rested with the entire Council for permitting such practices. It was reiterated that no expenditure was to be made without the Council's consent, and that such consent, together with the

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		are blamable for suffering it, for we will have no disbursements without the consent of Council and that consent with the reason entred into Consultation. We have before told you We approved your Building the Storehouse by the Castle. Your proposal about Building a new Church We have - and shall be ready to compleat the part you desire of us when we can be able to Supply you with the needfull Materials for as at present	reasons for it, must be recorded in the consultation books. Approval was again confirmed for the construction of the storehouse near the Castle. Consideration was then given to the proposal for building a new church. It was stated that this proposal had been reviewed, and that support would be provided for the requested portion when materials could be supplied, with the account continuing beyond this point. **Interpretations** "Road" referred to the anchorage area where ships lay offshore. "Rupert's Fort" referred to a defensive structure on the island intended to protect against attack. "Mortar" referred to a binding material used in construction, typically made from lime, sand and water. "Consultation" referred to the formal recorded proceedings of the Governor and Council. "Garrison stores" referred to supplies held for military use, including provisions and equipment. **Speculations** The emphasis on durable construction suggests prior issues with poorly built defences. The concern over costs indicates pressure to balance security with financial restraint. The repeated requirement for Council approval reflects attempts to control local spending. The mention of peace alongside preparation for war suggests ongoing geopolitical uncertainty. The proposal for a new church indicates attention to both practical and social infrastructure on the island.
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391	379	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena - Constitution, laws and instructions 1673 - 1714 Dimensions (L) 33cm x (W) 22cm x (D) 6cm No. written pages: 377 No. blank pages: 15 Spine and cover Good condition Inside pages Several pages torn and brittle. Majority of pages in good condition. Foxing present Pages are numbered on every other page top and bottom Additional comments [top and bottom] Time taken to photograph (hours): 8 hours	