Laws & Constitutions 1681

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-6-2.

Text Transcription: This text was produced entirely by AI transcription of handwritten document images on the British Library's website, at approximately thirty pages per hour.

Current AI systems cannot transcribe handwritten manuscripts with complete accuracy, particularly where documents are degraded or damaged, where poorly formed script or marginal notes merge into the main body of text, or where complex tables are present.

Four specific problems affected this transcription. First, AI is designed to prioritise meaning and readability, which creates a strong tendency to alter spellings, expand abbreviations, or adjust grammar rather than preserve original forms. It is particularly unreliable in recognising the correct spellings of unfamiliar surnames and place names. To mitigate this, for each image submitted, the AI was given a strict protocol requiring it to rely solely on clearly visible ink strokes and to mark any uncertain readings as [...], thereby reducing the risk of inferred or invented text. Second, AI struggled to transcribe handwriting in the style of the late secretary hand, commonly employed from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, in which the letter 'S' appears in a form resembling a trailing 'L'. Third, some of the handwriting in this volume is so faint or poorly formed as to be difficult to read even by eye. Fourth, many tabular sections were too complex to transcribe accurately, so these have been replaced by summary titles such as "Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea".

Given these limitations, this transcription should be regarded as unreliable and used only as a search-and-find shortcut. Once a relevant passage has been located, it must always be checked against the original images.

Modern Text Interpretation: 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 modern summary is followed by an AI-generated Interpretations section, which provides additional commentary on the material based on wider information located on the internet. The AI analysis also includes a 'Speculations' section, offering one or more possible reflections on the material. The value of these notes range from the profound to the trivial or self-evident - time did not permit deletion of the latter.

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: The page numbering has three separate problems. First, two numbering systems run through the volume: one in ink throughout, and a second in pencil from the middle to the end. Second, most of the ink numbers have been overwritten and corrected, which makes them hard to read. Third, where they can be read, the ink numbers jump in several places. It has therefore been judged best to ignore this confusing numbering altogether. Instead, the first written page on Film No 5 is taken as page 1, with the count running sequentially through to the end of the book.

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 volume's title is misleading in quoting the year 1681. It does begin with the laws and constitutions of that year, but then continues with much later judicial matters, the last of which is dated 26 November 1726.

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

This account traces the government of St Helena from the recovery of the island from the Dutch in 1673 to the establishment of Governor Benjamin Boucher in 1729. It draws almost entirely on the Company's own instruments: an abridgement of the royal charter, the commissions and systems of laws, the consolidated code of Queen Anne's reign, and the general letters and consultations. These are the records of the ruler, not the ruled; planters, soldiers and slaves appear only through the Company's response to them. [Film No. 5, 7, 55, 131]

The correspondence runs almost wholly from London outward, recording complaint and correction more fully than daily life, and the council's letters survive only where quoted or answered. A consistent picture emerges of a small garrison colony, its population under 500 in 1683, valued for its position on the homeward route from India and governed by a machinery of law modelled on larger possessions. Its recurring tensions were between grand design and tiny scale, monopoly and refreshment, and the need for slave labour and the fear of it. [Film No. 25, 41, 82, 174]

The account treats each theme in turn and reads the record critically. It is continuous across the whole period, so that land title, defence or accounting may be followed from the first charters to the audits of the 1710s and 1720s.

Governance and Administration

Government rested on the royal charter. An abridgement set out the foundation: the governor and company held power to make and repeal laws and to punish up to life or limb, provided these stayed close to English law, with authority to appoint officers and rule the king's subjects through courts like England's. A second charter of Charles II, 5 August 1685, gave the governor, deputy and council full power to appoint officers and to raise, train and muster forces. [Film No. 5, 7, 8, 49]

The first commission issued at a court of committees on 13 December 1673, naming Captain Richard Field governor and Captain Anthony Beale deputy, with the lieutenants of the two foot companies on the council. To guard against a governor's death it laid a chain of succession: Beale to follow Field, and failing both, any three or more of the council until London signified otherwise under its common seal. [Film No. 9, 10]

Power was concentrated beyond any English equivalent. By the system of laws sent out in 1681 aboard the *Surat Merchant*, the governor and council held supreme command in all matters, the same officers making, enforcing and judging the laws, the governor sole judge of the court while heading the council. Its orders of about 1683 required an annual return of every officer and soldier, the numbers of planters, marriages and christenings, each planter's slaves and children, and yearly lists of stores, ordnance and debts. [Film No. 26, 30, 40, 42]

A councillor remiss in aiding the governor could be suspended and removed, losing all salary until London restored him, and a letter of 1 August 1683 left this power to the governor alone. Yet the Company knew its rule was not self-evident, and in a letter of 3 August 1687 it instructed the governor to bring the ignorant inhabitants to understand that the king had entrusted the Company with sovereign power in legislation as well as execution. [Film No. 40, 41, 49, 50]

From the century's close the central theme was containing the governor within a collective council. A letter closing the *Loyal Merchant* despatch of about 1698 rebuked the governor for giving away £2 4s 0d as charity without authority; a letter on the *Nathaniel* in 1701 complained he was too arbitrary. Orders of 15 January

1701/2 carried by the *Anna* required every matter settled by calm debate, differing opinions written and sent home, consultations weekly, decisions entered in a signed book and copied by several conveyances. [Film No. 55, 58, 59, 62]

A tied vote was decided by lot, as the charter directed, not by the governor's casting voice. The letter carried by the *Featherstone* of about 1703 extended to St Helena the standing rule of the Indian settlements that the chief officer have but one vote, and wanted a governor combining authority with prudence to command both fear and love. The same letter, after 31 October 1702, objected that the governor had withheld the ledger book and reserved a private examination of accounts, ordering the books never again concealed from any councillor. [Film No. 62, 64, 65, 66]

The Company governed by a written relay of orders it wished would shrink. Its general letter of 30 May 1712 observed that its full instructions by the *Toddington* and *Thistleworth* in 1711 had brought no narrowing of its letters, and required parts of the general letter read at every council day. By the letter of 5 April 1711 government and the military rested with the governor and council, but command passed to the governor alone when he could not gather them, and he held sole power to suspend a military officer while entertaining or expelling an officer was reserved to the whole council. [Film No. 165, 166, 167, 168]

Policy and execution broke down badly in these years. The letter of 30 May 1712 explained that the Company had meant to quiet the people by a general amnesty for past breaches, but the packets by the *Streatham* showed them spirited up to greater heats, the general letter little regarded and the council fallen to recrimination. By 20 March 1711/12 the court found things worse than before. It demanded answers paragraph by paragraph, dismissing Captain Boucher's answer of 7 December as the art and sophistry of the schools, and wished his time spent on its interest rather than throwing dirt at his colleagues. [Film No. 167, 168, 178, 183]

The change to Governor Isaac Pyke was justified as a remedy for neglect. Opening its letter of 3 March 1713/14, the court reminded the board, named in rank from Pyke through George Hamilton, Edward Nashbourne, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey, that their standing rested on their fidelity, and gave each a particular charge. It charged that Boucher and his council had scarcely brought its instructions by the *Addington* to mind. The letter of 4 February 1714/15 stated the doctrine of collective authority: a majority was conclusive, though every member might enter a reasoned dissent, and in the governor's absence the council was to treat him as superintendent able to stop anything amiss. [Film No. 205, 206, 224, 229]

The council held a superintendency over every officer beneath it, bound to check any who were slack, so a subordinate's failure became the council's. The same fixed order governed the establishment of 1729: the orders of January and 7 April 1729, carried by the *Thistleworth*, named the whole council in rank from Boucher down through George Hodgkinson, John Pack, Daniel Griffith and Matthew Bazett as fifth. Griffith's reappearance, years after dismissal into a governor's employ under warning, shows the Company's patronage rehabilitating a former outcast. [Film No. 131, 215, 227]

The legal footing was restated in 1729. Its rules were declared the law of the island, binding on all, resting on the privilege of lords proprietors to make laws for a colony, into whose place the Company had stepped, the style updated to the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies so every law passed intact to the successor. The Governor might suspend an outdated law until London was consulted. The orders required Boucher to digest the directions of the old Company and its successors under proper heads, valuing continuity over a fresh start. [Film No. 131, 132, 133]

Records, Accounts and the Discipline of Paper

Government at a distance depended wholly on the written record. By a letter on the *Rochester* of 20 December 1706 the Company demanded an account of how every employed person behaved and whether he answered his hire, required the paragraphs of letters numbered and papers sent by double conveyance, and routed packets to avoid the £30 0s 0d once wasted in postage from Ireland. A dissenting councillor's reasons were to be entered so a man overruled could set down his objection. [Film No. 64, 77, 80, 176]

Segregated bookkeeping was demanded to make distant losses legible. By instructions on the *Loyal Merchant* all goods went to the storekeeper, who kept the general account, and the Company required four sets of books: fort expenses, garrison charges, general estate, and the cost of cattle. Prompted by a discrepancy between two totals for the charge, £2,000 in one paragraph and £3,000 in another, a letter on the *Rochester* of about 1706 ordered all sums written in words, and demanded an itemised annual account naming every soldier and his pay. To cut the two-year lag behind its bills it directed the books balanced to 25 March, timed to the ships' sailing in early June. [Film No. 52, 53, 74, 76]

The failure of the accounts is the most insistent complaint of 1711 and 1712. Without a running store account, the *Susanna* letter of 1711/12 explained, planters and soldiers could not know how they stood, the council could not settle them or stop debt, and it could not check the storekeeper's monthly accounts or frame the account of remains, so slack bookkeeping threatened the defence. Credit at the store had broken down, those in debt getting what they liked while the poor were refused necessities, and the storekeeper had gone six months without rendering accounts, pleading only that he was busy delivering stores. [Film No. 173, 193]

The crisis of 1711 and 1712 centred on accusations the Company could not resolve. Under the clerk Alexander the stores accounts worsened, with charges of burnt papers, fraudulent register entries and disputed accounts, Mr Boyce threatening to overturn all by wresting the sense of an account that appeared plain. Those who might answer were dead or cast doubt on the records: Mr Griffith was dead, and the court could not tell honest confusion from fraud. It would rather wait than punish Alexander wrongly, yet warned that if unremedied by the next ship the council was unworthy to be continued. Mr Pack, an accountant almost twelve months on the island, had sent no books though the accounts were made up to 25 March yearly. [Film No. 197, 198, 199]

No theme occupies more of the letters of 1713 to 1715 than records. Writing on 3 March 1713/14, the court revived a project to have extracts drawn from the whole correspondence, every order sorted under its head and examined in council so ignorance could not be pleaded, and directed each council's minutes read and approved before new business and duplicate copies of the consultation book kept weekly and sent home signed. The letter of 4 February 1714/15 required every rule entered with a note of its reason, keyed in the margin to the letter's date, the ship and the paragraph, and a proper office with drawers for every book, bond and account, each examined and signed by an inspector before minuting. [Film No. 206, 208, 230, 237]

The survival of the records was itself a concern. The court called for a schedule of every surviving document signed by the clerk, and ordered the storekeeper to close his books yearly, lodge the old ones at the Fort and guard them against rats, mice and the climate. The copy of an order carried by the *Susanna* was taken away by the departing Boucher, forcing London to resend it, and only 15 closely written sheets covered more than a year of business that should have taken a week. This discipline underlay the systematic digest of standing orders required afresh in 1729. [Film No. 131, 231, 235, 238]

The standing orders for 1706 and 1707, gathered into an abstract under fixed heads, made the paperwork self-checking. Every letter was to open by citing the date of the last, so a lost dispatch could be detected, copies rather than duplicates sent by a following ship, and every packet to carry a list of its contents, a fine of £5 0s 0d for a first offence over servants and stock. By the *Condonnell* letter of 1714 the pay list was cast into a single abstract of the total annual charge, ranged from the Governor and council down through stores, artificers, gunner's crew and officers to the sentinels, and bound to a register of mortality naming the dead and the distemper, the surgeon signing the deceased and the muster officer those in service. [Film No. 258, 259, 290, 311]

Unsigned papers could not serve as vouchers. In 1714 the court complained that accounts of stock and slaves reached it unsigned, a one-year-old child named Harry entered among those minding hogs and poultry, and prescribed that the slave register set men, women and children over eight each in a column. A yearly inventory was to be compared against the books, the storekeeper answerable for what was missing and threatened with suspension, and nothing to leave the stores without a written order from the Governor

and council. A running balance was struck by charging what was received and deducting what was disposed of. [Film No. 262, 263, 306, 315]

Military Affairs and Defence

Defence shaped everything, beginning with the ground. The commission of 1673 ordered the forts strengthened and the chief magazine placed on the healthiest, best-sited part of the island, no houses between the forts and the sea, fortification always before housing. The burden fell on the planters through a militia bargain in their land: by the letter carried by the *Johanna*, read after 1673, they were listed under commanders, trained in arms and assigned places to gather, holding their ground on condition of defending it, so the Company kept a defensible island without a large standing garrison. [Film No. 10, 11, 17, 18]

Watch-and-ward came round to every planter on 20 acres every sixth night, two months a year. By the letter carried by the *Charles the Second* in 1683 the Company let planters pay 40s 0d a year in place of the duty while still requiring musters on any alarm, all who could bear arms except the slaves to be trained. Powder could not be made on the island: the system of 1681 forbade wasteful expense and punished embezzlement as theft, and in 1685 every Company ship was to leave a barrel of serviceable gunpowder with the governor. [Film No. 35, 43, 45]

Ceremony was disciplined for the magazine. In 1683 the Company reacted with fury to Captain Poirier's report of more than 1,300 guns fired in salutes, intolerable on an island that had cost £40,000 without a penny of profit, laying down no more than three guns to its own ships, none at feasts or the landing of commanders, no more than seven to any European ship, none to interlopers, and a yearly account. The rule endured: by a letter on the *Rochester* of about 1706 English ships got no more than three guns, Dutch and Danish the powder retrenched, and the standing orders of 1706 and 1707 rationed the powder at funerals and the relief of the guard. [Film No. 42, 43, 100, 321]

The two early-eighteenth-century wars sharpened the concern. Writing about the *Kingfisher* of about 1701/2, the Company noted that while the French lay at the island several French gentlemen went about on pretence of shooting, and judging this might savour of conspiracy barred any foreigner such liberty again. By letters of about 1702 concerning Captain Tollet and the *Anna*'s arrival it had the men-of-war's seamen help raise fortifications for gratuities, supplying the warships and their sick free. The orders carried by the *Anna*, 17 February 1701/2, set a scheme of coastal defence, the beach levelled and rocks rolled into the water to leave a single defended gap commanded by a battery. [Film No. 59, 60, 61]

Fortification remained a standing charge. Orders on the *Featherstone* after 31 October 1702 urged the governor to give no rest until the island could defend the Company's ships in harbour, and a letter of 23 May 1707 on the *Northumberland* appointed Christian Frederick Vogel resident engineer for three years at £50 0s 0d a year. The standing rules confirmed on the *Rochester* in 1706 required every soldier, lookout, planter and freeman to an assigned post on the alarm, backed by punishments from the wooden horse to unmitigated fines, freemen drilled even in peace. The works were the chief object, hanging on lime, which Roberts reckoned would have perfected them in three years had he enough to burn the stone. [Film No. 64, 79, 93, 162]

The Company supervised building by drawings and expert comment, asking Roberts for proper draughts so any skilled in fortification might explain them, and held that all buildings be substantial since the first charge was always dearest. It sanctioned barracks, houses for the blacks, work houses for carpenters and joiners and watch houses, all with frugality, and appointed Richard Clove, a sober joiner, to manage the imported timber and deals and account for their use, dieted at its table as a guard against waste. The orders carried by the *Prince Amelia* of 11 March 1706/7 required protection of the anchorage before any other work in the road. [Film No. 164, 180, 201, 320]

The anchorage's defence turned on fitting artillery to the road. In a letter from Ireland reported about 1710, Captain Landy judged the battery at the bank too high to harm a passing ship, some guns too long and others too small, and urged ranges of guns hauled into fixed positions, each ship out of the line of fire. The court in 1710 endorsed as absolutely necessary Roberts's plan for a fort close to the water at Munden's Point, since no ship could reach the road without passing within half a pistol shot, and a rough note of

about 1710 urged a battery of iron guns on the west rocks over against the point, with care of the heights overlooking the fort. [Film No. 129, 130]

Wartime danger concentrated control of shipping. By the *Fleet Frigate* letter of 5 May 1708 the court named a secret committee, Sir Stephen Cocke, Sir Edmund Harrison, Sir Jonathan Andrews and Mr Gosfright, whose orders on outward and homeward ships bound as if signed by the whole court, a like committee of Sir John Andrews, Sir Edmund Harrison, Sir George Mathews and Gregory Page appearing in the 1729 *Thistleworth* orders. Writing on 3 March 1713/14 it warned that while the war lasted an enemy might attempt the island, its value as a rendezvous making it a target and the gathered ships a prize. Boucher's salary of £100 0s 0d was supplemented in 1729 by £150 0s 0d a year during the war, payable only if he deserved it, for completing the fortifications. [Film No. 113, 136, 145, 215]

Piracy compounded the war. In the letter of 3 March 1713/14 the court feared pirates would infest the Indian seas and above all Madagascar, its alarm fastening on the *Deliverance*, a former man-of-war whose intended commander had sailed with the pirates who took the *Aurangzeb* ship, which it refused to let sail without 10 additional guns. Two French ships taken as prizes were brought in as a magazine of stores, and it wished to keep the *Deliverance* in reserve for the trade, the same discipline of recorded decision governing ensign and gun carriages made ready for the channel and yard. [Film No. 212, 214, 230]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

Land policy aimed at a settled, working population. Each planter held his share under the common seal so long as he performed his services, forbidden to sell unless he or his heirs had first cultivated the land four years, a rule restated in the letter carried by the *Johanna* and issued 20 February 1676/7. At a court of committees on 26 March 1679 the Company legislated afresh on disputed titles: existing holders had six months to bring land onto the governor's book, later changes one month, each entry recording acreage, boundaries and holder, certified without fee. [Film No. 11, 18, 19, 20]

Tenure carried obligations to the Company as lord of the soil. On every transfer 1d an acre was paid to the governor for the Company's use, described as chief lords of the soil, distant heirs to reside within two years or lose the land, with a minimum of 2 people and 2 cows for every 20 acres. By 1683 each planter who had paid off his obligations received a printed Company deed cross-referenced to the register and attested by governor and register, for a fixed 2s 6d, any later sale void unless registered within a month. Cattle were branded with the Company's mark at Rupert's Bay, 12d a head paid yearly for pasture on the waste, the deer claimed as a royalty of the manor. [Film No. 22, 23, 43, 47]

The Company wanted the island settled to defray its cost. A letter issued 16 April 1701 on the *Armenian Merchant* pressed the governor to let as much land as he could spare. By a letter on the *Nathaniel* of 30 November 1704 it ordered a register in the fort for every transfer or mortgage, signed by buyer and seller and attested by the council, without which none bound, old disputes to a jury judging by equity, every holder to register by a fixed day after which an unchallenged claim became indisputable. The consolidated laws of about 1707 kept the four-year cultivation rule as the gateway to free disposal and confined estates to relatives on the island so property did not drain to heirs in England. [Film No. 57, 67, 87, 88]

Insecure title was the deepest problem of 1711 and 1712, its root a neglected register. By the letter carried by the *Thistleworth* in 1711 the court found its own order to register grants neglected, so many titles precarious, and the want of fixed boundaries had let holdings grow by encroachment until the landholders held far more than was ever granted. It directed every fenced holding measured and, where a man's ground was near the acres he could prove, a new grant with a plan annexed. A considerable surplus was to be sold to him at a moderate price rather than seized. [Film No. 155, 156]

To make the settlement of title permanent the Company in 1711 remitted its own dues. By the letter carried by the *Thistleworth* it waived the charges on entering leases, laying only a moderate surveying charge, and required all alienations registered within the proper time. No settler was to let his own land for more than seven years, and it fixed 21 years for its new leases, long enough to reward fencing and planting yet bounded so the land returned, the favours reserved for those who acknowledged themselves tenants. [Film No. 157, 158]

The staple was the yam, its cultivation repeatedly sacrificed to building. By the letter carried by the *Susanna* in 1711/12 the court complained the crop had diminished and the suckers let rot, not a quarter of the ground newly planted, after £600 or £700 spent buying yam ground only to find few slaves there, set wholly to the buildings. Roberts was credited with trials in sugar canes, trees, maize and the vineyard, and the court held out mules and materials for making sugar if the trials proved worth while. The neglect of the yam ground against the manning of the fortifications was the central dilemma, the same slave labour unable both to build and to feed. [Film No. 161, 162, 195, 196]

The failing herds became a matter of survival in the mid-1710s. The *Condonnell* letter of 1714 recorded so many cattle dead that the court ordered no calf or cow killed within a limited time, all young stock spared, and visiting ships to take as little beef as possible and only to recruit weak men. It cited the French King's edict forbidding any lamb killed until Whitsuntide 1716 for want of wool, arguing the inhabitants had greater reason to penalise killing a calf or cow. The Council's letter of 3 July described the island left with neither sheep, deer, goats, turkeys, geese, ducks, fowls nor rabbits, later returns showing 18 sheep, 38 turkeys and a herd fallen from 92 black cattle to 60. Fishing yawls were provided so a catch could feed the settlement without drawing on the cattle. [Film No. 263, 264, 265]

The herds measured the officers' stewardship into the next administration. In the letter of 3 March 1713/14 an account of 9 December showed the black cattle fallen with nothing made of any sold or lost, the goats omitted as if all gone, though Mr Newbourne assured the court some 200 remained in the valley. It weighed the harm free-ranging goats did the young wood against their cheapness, judging herds that throve and cost almost nothing worth increasing, and held goats, being great breeders, more profitable than sheep. Land was still tied to working it, ground farmed poorly to be let to another, and its distribution to the militia, the orders carried by the *James and Mary* of 31 December 1706 recalling the constitution that on every 20 acres there be a white man. [Film No. 232, 233, 234, 326]

Irrigation and the diversion of custom sustained the provisioning trade. The standing orders of 1706 and 1707 pressed water brought to the Company's great plantations for the green trade as an example to the inhabitants, and the orders carried by the *James and Mary* directed the Company's ships not touch at the Cape homeward so demand was driven to St Helena. The orders carried by the *Hanover* of 31 December 1706 penalised any inhabitant negligent in planting trees, and the court sent living vine plants and roots to Captain Massam in 1714, with instructions for keeping them alive, in hope the island might grow what it now imported. [Film No. 241, 325, 326, 327]

The Company's Estate: Tenancy against Direct Management

A principle emerged in 1711 and 1712 that the Company be a landlord drawing rent, not a proprietor working its ground. By the letter carried by the *Fleet Frigate* in 1711/12 the court doubted whether the governor had done well to buy so many plantations, since the families had thereupon left, reasoning that no lord of a manor bought in the lands held of him, tenanted land yielding more than land worked by the owner. It ordered no more plantations bought and those already bought sold, save what maintained its dependants, instancing Hutt's plantation and others gone to ruin because kept for the Company's account, not the occupiers' own. [Film No. 179, 180, 202]

The Company reversed its caution about letting. Where the council had refused in December 1711 to let Richard Gardyn the house formerly Wade Enthorp's, the court hoped it would never again refuse ground that could be let to its worth, wishing rent drawn from as much land as possible and only enough held to stop its impairing the planters by selling provisions dear. It objected to settlers swapping plots for Company ground, as in Mr Alexander's case, and to purchases entered only in general terms, demanding the particular entry Mr Bazett gave of his purchase on 7 March, naming the price by the acre and describing the stock rather than a bare 7 head of cattle. [Film No. 202, 203, 204]

Supply and Provisioning

The island's core function was to refresh the homeward fleet. By the letter carried by the *Johanna* a free market was appointed on the arrival of Company shipping, the inhabitants forbidden to go aboard without leave, all trade through an open public market on pain of double duties, including meat sold before it went

aboard. By the letter carried by the *Loyal Merchant* in 1687 all its ships were in future to receive their cattle directly from the Company, expressly imitating the Dutch at the Cape, who supplied their fleets from a company herd. [Film No. 18, 46, 47, 51]

The efficient supply of water and provisions ran through Queen Anne's reign. The orders carried by the *Anna* on 17 February 1701/2 laid out an elaborate plan for the watering place, a bridge, pipes and a hose to fill casks without unstowing them, borrowing the Dutch method at the Cape. The loss of the *Scepter* on the coast of Wales for want of victuals prompted the *Nathaniel* letter of 1701 to order commanders examined and, if short, supplied against their refusal. When the secret committee barred the homeward ships from the island in 1707, a letter of 23 May 1707 had the *Northumberland* take in 30 butts of wine and 2 of brandy at Madeira from Duke and Darell, more following on the *Fleet Frigate*. [Film No. 58, 61, 97, 104]

Provisioning depended on the yearly ship and higher policy. The letter of 4 February 1714/15 ordered the *Condonnell* to touch at Madeira for 26 pipes of wine for the island and 15 for Bencoolen, the fortified wine keeping better through the tropics and preferred as wholesomer than arrack, tying the supply to the campaign against spirits. Hard experience taught caution over perishables, provisions once sent having spoiled and fetched almost nothing at auction, and hold space was rationed, only a little glass and few looking glasses sent as serving display rather than need. The island re-fitted ships too, naval stores of pitch, tar, canvas and twine sent, with mathematical instruments, a quadrant, barometer, thermometer and thermascope, at the council's request. [Film No. 218, 219, 220, 241]

The island was provisioned from passing traffic as well as dedicated cargoes. By the letter of 1710 the court let Roberts take from any outward ship such shirting, household linen, snuff or coloured goods as wanted, pepper, sugar and sugar candy standing to no account and taken freely. By the *Fleet Frigate* letter of 5 May 1708 the quantity was capped at six bales a year, enlarged only when ships failed to call, and about 1710 a clause required attested copies, receipts and written orders indemnifying a master against his bill of lading. By the *Thistleworth* orders of 1729, answering a request of 1710, it asked how in war it could send 150 tons of arrack and 100 of sugar, the tonnage consumed by garrison and ordnance stores. [Film No. 123, 124, 141, 142]

Trade, Shipping and the Monopoly

The Company's trading monopoly was a dominant concern, and the island enlisted in it. The system of 1681 recited that English ships had set out on private account against the charter, and because such interlopers were refreshed at the island it forbade the inhabitants to trade with any vessel until the governor admitted it, on pain of £20 for a councillor and £10 for any other inhabitant. The governor was gatekeeper, proclaiming on any English ship's appearance that none relieve it until he declared a liberty, only a special order under 13 or more of the court of committees authorising a departure. Any interloper whose crew surrendered the vessel was to be granted trade and its men entertained in the Company's service. [Film No. 35, 36, 37, 38]

A single exception revealed what was protected. By the same system a ship trading only to Madagascar for slaves might be granted liberty on the governor's terms, for the charter covered the East India trade and vessels bound there were rivals to be starved, but the Madagascar slave trade supplied the plantations' labour. The problem reached the leadership: in 1683 the Company was outraged that an interloper was saluted, admitted first and entertained at the governor's house, the minister granting him precedence. Toward interlopers in real danger it allowed refreshment for their money at 20s 0d the ton, unwilling to leave men to die for want of water while letting rivals perish commercially. [Film No. 38, 42, 47]

The monopoly reached the island's own trade under Queen Anne. By a letter on the *Westmoreland* governed by the letter of 7 April 1708, its ships were bound by act of parliament not to break bulk before England save for necessaries a late act allowed, so the council could not trade East India goods but might deal with the islanders and Portuguese and other ships, buying goods in barter and retailing at a profit. It urged civility to the Portuguese as a return for the shelter its fleets found at Madagascar, St Iago and the Brazilian rendezvous at Bahia de todos os Santos, and feared the council set too high a rate on Brazil goods, bidding it raise its own Indian goods rather than overcharge. [Film No. 99, 100]

The Company drove hard to minimise ships' detention. By the orders on the *Northumberland* of 23 May 1707 it fixed 10 working days to unlade, backed by a certificate of the captain's diligence, the council to protest formally where a ship overstayed, recording which boats went unused and which days were tempestuous. In the *Westmoreland* letters after 7 April 1708 it criticised the council's protest against Captain Staynes of the *Rochester* as too vague, since it should have specified which boats went unemployed, how long the plank was kept aboard and which days were stormy. [Film No. 72, 80, 102]

The War of the Spanish Succession governed almost every voyage of 1711 and 1712. By the letter carried by the *Abingdon* in 1712 the homeward ships from the bay, China, Bombay and Bencoolen gathered at the Cape to join the Dutch fleet for the Thames, the *Windsor* from Mocha tracked through the Cape to Lisbon for the Portugal convoy, a return depending on convoy as much as winds. St Helena was one stop and a mustering point, the *Blenheim* and *Abingdon* carrying its supplies within wider voyages while the homeward ships gathered and sailed up the Channel under convoy. The *Sherburne*, with the *St George*, was taken on 17 April 1712 within 10 leagues of the Cape, her cargo carried into France and the French having since mounted her into the Indian trade. [Film No. 169, 170, 184, 185]

The island's position made it a listening post as well as a place of supply in the war years of 1711 and 1712. Reports of Danish, Dutch and French ships at the Cape were carried home, the Company wishing such intelligence sent whenever a ship left homeward, and valuing it so highly it had the letters from the *Success* landed at the Land's End ahead of the ship. It met the voyage's perils with redundant paperwork, double lists of the island's wants so a single ship's loss did not deprive it of orders, and kept Bencoolen's affairs distinct even when the *Susanna* served both, its sealed packet forwarded unopened once the ship was cleared. [Film No. 169, 171, 172, 186]

The recurring demand was that ships be despatched within their lay days to avoid demurrage. Ten working days were fair time to unlade if the servants set to heartily, and the court pressed the *Susanna* and every ship away within it, singling out Mr Griffith, who pleaded his council membership to avoid going aboard the *Toddington* to weigh bread while his colleagues laboured. The complaint recurred: in the letter of 4 February 1714/15 it recorded that, despite orders to hasten the *Rochester* away, she lay twenty-odd days and did not sail until 24 July, observing that a commander rarely did the best for his employers, having interests of his own. [Film No. 171, 172, 239, 242]

The season's trade and the reach of statute appear plainly. The letter of 3 March 1713/14 records the *Eagle Galley* and the *Prince* sent to re-establish a pepper trade with the natives of Borneo, falling back on Bencoolen if they failed, and refers to the Act barring separate-stock ships from the East Indies after 29 September on pain of forfeiture. Freighting contracts were enforced by formal protest, Governor Goodwin about 1710 protesting against Captain Dickenson and Captain Winter for failing to unlade in their charter party time, and captains who broke from the convoy were punished, the commanders of the *Panther* and *Hope* put out of their ships about 1710 for leaving it to go cruising. [Film No. 120, 133, 211, 212]

The Judiciary

Justice was built on English protections so far as a tiny settlement could sustain them. The system of 1681 required justice administered impartially, no property lost or corporal punishment suffered before a fair trial and a jury of 12, and none imprisoned without the cause set out in the warrant, mirroring habeas corpus. A single court sat at the chief place every three months, the governor sole judge, all proceedings recorded, fees fixed on a public table on pain of losing the post and paying double damages. The sheriff empanelled juries from the English men and others on the island as well as the constant inhabitants, treating the transient shipping population as a reserve pool. [Film No. 28, 30, 33]

Distance shaped criminal jurisdiction. In a letter carried by the *Society* and issued 14 April 1679/80 the Company concluded that three mutinous men be tried on the island rather than sent home, since shipping prisoners 8,000 miles was slow and costly and removal would look like escape. As affairs grew clearer it relaxed its procedure: in a letter of 1 August 1683 it directed minor cases determined by the informal method the governor and council had adopted, the full apparatus drawn from Bombay where the inhabitants were

reckoned at 20,000 whereas St Helena held under 500, reserving jury trial for cases touching life, limb or land. [Film No. 24, 41, 42]

The Company favoured rough, practical justice. By orders on the *Nathaniel* after 30 November 1704 it sent Dalton's Justice of the Peace and offered further law books, but advised the officers not to trouble their heads with the fine points of common law, deciding summarily by equity and good conscience. It left tangled land quarrels to 12 men, and refused to fix penalties from London for ordinary offences: by a letter on the *Rochester* of about 1706 it declined a set fine for the disorders of young men coming ashore, directing half of every fine to the poor and half to fortification. [Film No. 67, 68, 75]

The Company delegated the judgements it could not make from afar and corrected local prosecutions. In the *Westmoreland* letter of 1705 the court refused to decide Paul Grafton's petition, not knowing the circumstances. In the case of Mr George Hodgkinson, whose consultations showed resentment, contradictory accounts of whether he had left without leave and enquiries ordered but never reported, it concluded ill offices had been done him with Governor Roberts, and that Roberts had carried the matter too far against Hodgkinson's wife, enforcing a by-law dormant for many years. The revival of a dormant by-law against one person exposed the danger of selective enforcement. [Film No. 109, 159, 160]

The Company tempered its proprietary interest with equity toward its servants' dependants, most visibly in the disputes of 1711 and 1712. It set aside the seizure of Hodgkinson's land on condition the fencing and planting law be obeyed, granted the widow Mercy Alexander a lease of her late husband's lands on the ground that everybody is entitled to justice, and insisted justice turn on the cause not the person. In Gabriel Powell's case, seeking remission of a recognizance after an affray, it would not decide without hearing Mr Griffith and referred the land to a jury of freeholders, and warned in Humphry Edwards's case, whipped for fighting a soldier who struck first, that the case not the person be tried. In Bagley's case, turned out of his holding, it found a widow's petition and her husband's certificate both in the same interested hand, that of John Alexander, and directed Bagley repaid his outlay on fencing and planting. [Film No. 160, 161, 181, 182]

The Company was alert to accusatory and judicial power in one hand. In Mr Hodgson's complaint against Captain Roberts it noted Hodgson was both judge and accuser, looking like artful collusion, Roberts having stayed about a month after in a way that fed the suspicion. So too Mr Tovey's case ran through the letter of 3 March 1713/14, the court holding him unjustly turned out of a plantation claimed in his wife's right by Boucher, ordering the merits examined before the departing governor could bias the witnesses, and excepting him alone from its rule against councillors holding land, to sell but not keep. The dispute over the warehouse keys, read in the letter of 4 February 1714/15 as mere cavilling since the Governor never demanded them, showed how petty friction could paralyse a small administration. [Film No. 202, 225, 226, 252]

Economy, Finance, Currency and Accounting

The island returned no profit for years, and the letters are shot through with the loss. It noted in 1683 that St Helena had cost £40,000 without one penny of profit beyond refreshment. To draw revenue it set a customs system on the Indian model: by the letter carried by the *Charles the Second* a toll book was kept, 5s 0d the hundredweight of sugar, 10s 0d the hogshead of arrack or wine, 6d the piece of calico and 1s 0d the piece of silk, 2s 0d on every ox sold and 6d on every beast sent aboard. By the orders of 14 March 1701 foreigners paid a fixed anchorage, English ships towage besides, and Madagascar ships 2s 6d the ton, a general anchorage of 5s 0d demanded of every vessel before it was admitted to trade. [Film No. 39, 42, 45]

The Company made itself sole intermediary in the internal economy from 1687. By the letter carried by the *Loyal Merchant* the governor took cattle from the planters in truck for European goods at 16s 0d a hundred for beef, delivered them to commanders for sugar, arrack and other goods or bills, and sold those goods back to planters and soldiers at a fixed 20 per cent profit. Cattle served as the island's working currency, all duties and payments coming in by cattle, though the books were kept in £ s d. It asserted preference over other creditors: in Mr Smalt's case, said to have made over his plantations, it directed the cattle seized for its stores, invoking that no length of time runs against the king and that, standing in the king's place, its interest could not be defeated by prior conveyances. [Film No. 51, 52, 53]

The Company managed the currency to its advantage. By a letter on the *Featherstone* of about 1703 it took dollars into its cash at a nominal 6s 0d but paid them out for England only at their intrinsic value, and ruled beef bought dear from the planters sold to the ships at cost rather than the fixed 16s 0d a hundred, treating the standard rate as a floor when its own outlay was at stake. Communication shaped its machinery: by a letter on the *Rochester* issued 14 December 1705 it required triplicate bills of exchange sent by separate ships, and complained it could not verify a bill drawn in July 1706 against accounts reaching only to 2 July 1704. [Film No. 65, 71, 76]

Trade was taxed throughout, the consolidated laws of about 1707 levying 6d for every ox sent aboard, £0 5s 0d for every hundredweight of sugar, £0 10s 0d for every hogshead of arrack, brandy or wine, 6d for every piece of calico and £0 1s 0d for every piece of silk, and £40 0s 0d a quarter to retail liquor or tobacco. The unprofitability dominated into the 1710s: in the letter of 3 March 1713/14 the court complained the charge ran to near £700 0s 0d a head on the bills drawn yearly, looking to the new council for such frugality that bills were rarely drawn, and distinguishing expense for grandeur from expense for necessity. [Film No. 90, 91, 232, 245]

The court set the whole establishment of pay in the letter of 3 March 1713/14: the Governor £100 0s 0d salary and £100 0s 0d gratuity, the Deputy Governor £45 0s 0d and £30 0s 0d, the manager of the plantations the same, the storekeeper £50 0s 0d and £20 0s 0d, the secretary £40 0s 0d and £10 0s 0d, and the chaplain £20 0s 0d and £10 0s 0d. Every officer's pay was split into a fixed salary and a gratuity continued only while deserved, a discipline short of dismissal. The offices were thinly staffed, the Deputy Governor also managing the plantations and the fifth of council doubling as secretary, and it barred every councillor but Mr Tovey from holding or mortgaging its plantations, requiring every bill signed by the whole council. [Film No. 216, 224, 225]

Coin was scarce, and the court gathered a medium from several systems. The letter of 3 March 1713/14 ruled silver dollars pass at 5s 0d apiece rather than 6s 0d, expecting foreign silver to fall to its intrinsic value as the war ended, and arranged Spanish dollars, Canton farthings from Fort St George and Indian small money, sending £400 0s 0d in tokens of 2s 6d, 5s 0d and 40s 0d signed by the Governor and council. The dollar was fixed at 5s 0d in the *Westmoreland* letter of 1705 too. The demand for exact accounting reached its fullest in Mr Bazett's great inventory, running from Mr Pack's arrival on 3 August 1712 to March 1713 at £45,021 12s 2d, against which bills of £38,900 had been drawn from 1 December 1712, besides some £1,800 earlier. [Film No. 114, 223, 247]

Stripping out profit on sales and remaining stock, the court reckoned that in under three years the island had cost above £16,000 net beyond its returns. Even a well-drawn account failed without a signature, Bazett's inventory found well done but signed by nobody, and it insisted all numbers written in words as well as figures and an annual account of remains sent by the mid-year shipping to 25 March. The stores were a distant branch of its finances, Gabriel Powell's credit up to £500 0s 0d paid in London by accepting his bills with interest, and it warned against drawing too many bills, which discredited the island. The accounting year fitted the monsoon trade, the *Thistleworth* orders of 1729 balancing the accounts yearly to 25 March, timed to the mid-year ships from India about May, with a penalty for every offender. [Film No. 135, 201, 247, 248]

Proper commercial bookkeeping was demanded to the end. The orders of 1729 complained the accounts were kept in a very unmerchantlike manner, little better than a shop book, and installed John Pack, one of its accountants, as second of council, his salary matched to Mr Alexander's whose office should have carried them. It saw that a storekeeper who both held and checked the stores had no independent restraint, and preferred another examine his books, an early grasp of the separation of duties. Bills were controlled through a strict correspondence of paper, many delayed for not being mentioned in the general letter, one to George Dwight dated 24 June 1709 never advised, and a parcel of £1,240 sent by the *Townstock* with only a short scrawl, the Governor in future to give every bill's tenor, date, term, payee and amount. [Film No. 146, 147, 148]

Stores, Embezzlement and Audit

Guarding the stores demanded constant vigilance, and an audit system was built into government. By a letter on the *Northumberland* of 23 May 1707 it required a separate account of every item in the invoice, examined monthly in council, the storekeeper, gunner and every custodian rendering account of what they received and issued, proper persons viewing the physical remains where fraud was suspected. No bill of lading was signed off without noting a shortfall, and ships paid for their barrel of gunpowder before refreshment, 50 per cent added where they had not paid in London. The *Westmoreland* letters after 7 April 1708 questioned the gunner's list of 36 barrels of gunpowder spent between June 1706 and June 1707 and demanded a good reason. [Film No. 70, 81, 103]

The honest keeping of the stores was the first element to manage, and their leakage runs through the letters of 1713 to 1715. Writing on 3 March 1713/14 it laid the missing ships' accounts on the storekeeper, stopped his salary until they cleared, and urged him charged with all he received and discharged only by what he could account for. It required his accounts monthly with an abstract of all goods entered in the consultation book at their prices, fixed the selling prices on pain of forfeiture, and proposed to farm out the small haberdashery wares to a mercantile servant bearing the risk. The letter of 4 February 1714/15 set a full procedure for checking a cargo, measuring, weighing and gauging every article before the ship's officer, then drawing a signed attestation of any shortfall. [Film No. 215, 216, 221, 251]

Particular affairs showed how goods vanished between ship and shore. The letter of 4 February 1714/15 pursued 10 items short of the number shipped in the *Abingdon*, and the affair of 60 gallons of sweet oil paid for by a bill into the stores yet never delivered and supposed carried off by a favoured man. It censured Mr Bazett for failing to report leaked arrack on discovery, required every packet checked against a list of its papers, and ordered an open market for all who would sell out of the ships, councillors barred from engrossing goods. The concern endured, the *Thistleworth* orders of 1729 dismissing Mr Mashbourne and Mr Marsden for engrossing commodities on shipboard against the prohibition. [Film No. 145, 246, 250, 251]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Slavery lay at the centre of the island's labour and finances, and policy shifted decisively in the 1680s. At first the Company forbade free planters to keep slaves, fearing that slaves exceeding the whites might become dangerous, but by 1683 it overturned the ban on the Caribbean example. By the letter carried by the *Charles the Second* it reflected that Barbados held 50,000 slaves to 6,000 whites yet kept them in subjection with no garrison but the planters, and that the soil and climate suited the same commodities, lifting the restraint on condition that every planter holding four slaves keep an extra Englishman ready at alarms, a slave counting as an acre. As the slaves increased it would increase its garrison in proportion, keeping slaves for the security of the island as well as the inhabitants. [Film No. 44, 45]

Slaves entered the fiscal machinery as payment as fungible as coin. By its orders of about 1683, where money failed the governor might take slaves in payment of arrears from the Madagascar ships and employ them on the Company's plantation, and by the letter carried by the *Charles the Second* every Madagascar ship was to leave one able slave, man or woman at the governor's choice, besides its money duties. Control rested on disarmament, no slave to use any firearm even for shooting Guinea hens, on pain of severe whipping and forfeiture of the gun where a master connived, while slaves were counted among the taxable, their masters paying 6d a head for every person above 16, white or slave, toward church and minister. [Film No. 40, 45, 48]

The terror on which slaveholding rested is clearest in the rebuke over sentencing. By the orders carried by the *Loyal Merchant* dated 25 June 1686 the Company thought meanly of the governor for letting thieving slaves off with a single whipping, when an Englishman would have died, insisting they be whipped six or eight times by intervals and kept in prison between, citing the Barbados warning that masters kept the knife from their throats only by far greater severity. In the *Loyal Merchant* despatch of about 1698 it confirmed as standing law that compensation be levied by poll on all slave owners whenever any slave was executed, spreading the loss across the slaveholding class. [Film No. 54, 55]

The mobility of the sea frustrated control. By a letter on the *Rochester* of 20 December 1706 the Company was nearly helpless to recover runaway slaves without timely notice of the ship that carried them. The

consolidated laws of about 1707 lifted the restraint on free planters keeping slaves on condition that every planter holding four keep one extra Englishman for alarms, or pay £2 0s 0d a year. Coerced labour was reckoned against the soldiers': in the *Westmoreland* letters after 7 April 1708 a dispute over whether soldiers or slaves should unlade the *Caesar* turned on daily cost, soldiers paid 1s 6d a day above their ordinary 9d while plantation slaves were diverted from cultivation. [Film No. 77, 89, 101]

The fortifications depended on forced labour treated as a commodity. About 1708 the court ordered the *Charter* and *Partis* to carry slaves from China to Bencoolen and Bengal, as many as the governor could spare, and spoke of tons of blacks for hire loaded as cargo so no excuse remained for the unfinished works, and about 1710 urged its own blacks kept busy on the walls, valuing their labour as a saving against hiring. The blacks, male and female, were listed by age and employment in the same yearly inventory as the bullocks, cows, steers, horses and poultry. The fortifications served as penal labour, William Marsh's black boy sentenced about 1710 to two years' work on the walls for breaking into the storehouse, while a slave breaking into the powder magazine once was to receive a severe, lasting corporal punishment. [Film No. 112, 125, 126]

The supply of forced labour was hostage to the war. By the *Susanna* letter of 1711/12 the Company had no prospect while the war lasted of supplying Madagascar or Guinea slaves, directing only that those there earn their living and be well looked after, and by the *Condonnell* letter of 1714 it could send none from Madagascar and could only urge the works finished. It regarded slaves as a resource to develop, crediting Roberts with teaching them to draw carriages and carry burdens and feeling the want of mules, while condemning their misuse for private display, Mr Hodgson keeping three or four to wait on him so the yams suffered. It wanted a yearly account of the increase of slaves as of cattle, three overseers of the blacks managing the plantations. [Film No. 180, 194, 195, 196]

The calculating eye continued into the next administration. In the letter of 3 March 1713/14 it sent coarse serges to clothe the slaves, reasoning that those from a hotter climate needed warmer clothing, framed as decency, humanity and sound economy though resting on the value of their labour. It noted good slaves at £21 0s 0d a head, and reasoned that once the fortifications were finished the slaves on them could turn to the plantations, costing less than the expense they were set against so more labour remained for cultivation. Their protection was written into the freighting bargains, the court about 1710 reminding the governor of the charter party penalty on any ship sailing by night without leave, to prevent the stealing away of soldiers and slaves. [Film No. 121, 218, 232]

A single slave's transfer was to be governed by paper, the court about 1710 troubled by a demand for a black girl claimed from Bencoolen without the captain's hand to warrant it. The enslaved were moved between settlements as freight priced by the head, the standing orders sending slaves to Bencoolen as far as spared, and in 1714 the court reckoned £4 0s 0d a head for their passage on the *Condonnell* yet faulted sending black girls there since girls of a certain value at St Helena were worth no more. Under-provisioning bred theft, the Council reporting in 1705 that freemen kept great herds of slaves at distant plantations where want of food drove them to rob their neighbours, the remedy a negotiated by-law, the slave-owning inhabitants summoned and penalties agreed, the fines to the poor. The government was barred from keeping any slaves to let for hire, and the next generation bound in, slave children put out to the planters for a term of years. [Film No. 263, 280, 288, 316]

Slave deaths were reckoned as loss to the plantation. The orders of 1729 connected the many deaths of the previous year, more than in 20 years before, to Samuel Jefsey's neglect of the plantations and to the blacks denied necessary food and kept from planting for useless projects, the plantations ruined, the fences down and the yams trampled by his own cattle while he maintained his family and lazy kindred at the Company's expense. Company slaves rather than hired freemen were to finish the fortifications, taught handicrafts and trades and some set to fishing, a yearly list of their names, ages and employments sent, kept constantly at work yet humanely treated and allowed time for rest. Across the period the record renders the enslaved as labour, currency and a danger held down by terror and disarmament, almost never in their own right. [Film No. 149, 153, 312, 321]

Religion and Education

Religion stood at the head of the Company's scheme of government. The system of 1681 opened with religion before property, crime or defence, the Lord's day kept religiously, all abstaining from labour and unlawful pastimes, the governor and council appointing a place of worship and attending in person, fusing civil and church authority since the island had no separate establishment. Where there was no minister the people still gathered, the leader reading set scripture, the creeds, the Ten Commandments from Exodus and prayers, including a prayer for the king and for the welfare of the English East India Company. Where a minister was resident he catechised the young weekly, the settlement's formal teaching. [Film No. 12, 26, 27, 48]

Religion remained the foundation into Queen Anne's reign. In a letter on the *Nathaniel* in 1701 the Company insisted on strict Sabbath observance while allowing works of necessity and mercy, men in danger of losing their passage fetching water on the Lord's day but not deferring servile work. The consolidated code of about 1707 again opened with religion, directing that where there was no minister the governor and council appoint scripture and a godly sermon read, with a prayer for the queen. Its upkeep was funded from the whole population, every master paying 6d a head yearly for every person above 16, white or slave, toward repairing the church. [Film No. 57, 82, 83, 90]

The church served as an instrument of administration, its provision expanding in the 1710s. By the letter of 5 May 1708 new orders were published after morning service on two successive Sundays, and the orders of 1729 required the laws read yearly in church. A misbehaving chaplain's gratuity was to be stopped, and about 1710 the Company considered making its hospital partly self-supporting by deducting monthly from the men's pay. The *Condonnell* letter of 1714 recorded the chaplain Mr Bewitt's proposal to build a church in James Valley, the court offering timber, boards, pulpit, reading desk and communion table and a subscription of £150 0s 0d to be paid when the work began, the difficulty being tonnage for the materials, and directed his house rent paid because the soldiers were quartered at Mr Alexander's house where his lodgings were. [Film No. 127, 133, 270, 314]

Religion had a modest place in the new establishment. The letter of 3 March 1713/14 fixed a divine among the settled officers at £20 0s 0d salary and £10 0s 0d gratuity, at the foot of the establishment below every civil officer. The payment became entangled in the demand for exact warrant, the court noting £10 0s 0d a year kept up for the divine but questioning by what warrant, and it tied the moral discipline it urged, to check profaneness by example, to the wider government of conduct. [Film No. 224, 226, 231]

Social Order, Crime and Punishment

The Company's moral discipline, laid down in the system of 1681, aimed to correct rather than punish the lesser offences. Profaning the Lord's day, swearing and drunkenness brought a first admonition and a capped fine, 5s 0d for Sabbath-breaking or drunkenness and 1s 0d for swearing, a person of rank fined more heavily as setting an example. Against property the law was sterner: theft brought restitution of three times the value, the pillory and prison, a persistent offender liable to transportation, and perjury the reciprocal penalty, the false witness suffering exactly the harm his lie would have inflicted. Violence brought a double liability, a fine to the Company for the breach over and above damages to the victim. [Film No. 30, 31, 32, 33]

Persistent offenders and officers faced humiliating penalties, a third offence met with an iron collar worn a whole year or an iron lock about the leg. The gravest crimes reflected a remote possession's vulnerability: any assault on the governor brought corporal punishment and forfeiture, and mutiny, insurrection and the betrayal of any fort, ship or magazine were capital, reaching even enticing others to mutiny and correspondence with declared enemies, tempered by a power in the governor and council to pardon or remit. In a letter of 22 August 1683 the Company judged the governor not severe enough over contemptuous words spoken to him, insisting such insolences amounted to contempt of authority, mutiny and rebellion. [Film No. 34, 35, 46, 49]

The Company turned criminal justice to its commercial needs. It forbade sending banished men home, holding banishment to England a reward, and sent offenders to labour on the pestilential pepper coast of Sumatra, condemning as silly pageantry the governor's release of the unruly Thomas Eastings toward

England. The philosophy held into Queen Anne's reign: by a letter on the *Rochester* governed by the orders of 14 December 1705 it would have none put to death but for wilful murder, rejecting execution even for theft or the incest of four rogues sent to Bencoolen, preferring hard labour, milder than the far bloodier English law. It agreed with the councillors Loddington and Goodwin that corporal punishment and hard labour beat sending criminals off the island. [Film No. 54, 69, 73]

The consolidated code of about 1707 turned punishment toward defence and hardened the protection of authority. Where the earlier code left a repeat thief to discharge or prison, the new system set him to work on the fortifications, a convicted thief to restore the goods, pay three times their value, stand in the pillory and be whipped to prison. Striking an officer, once a fine of £0 5s 0d, now drew up to £5 0s 0d, striking the governor corporal punishment and forfeiture, and embezzling powder or stores was punished as theft, the reciprocal penalty for perjury retained. About 1710 the Company invoked the doctrine against forestallers and regraters to protect the food supply, and barred any councillor raising the price of necessaries to enrich himself, backing it with a reward of up to £5 0s 0d for any who exposed a breach. [Film No. 84, 85, 86, 144]

Drink was the standing threat to order. By the orders on the *Loyal Merchant* of 5 December 1698 no inhabitant not an officer or soldier was to wear a sword, dangerous in so drinking a place, carried unchanged into the consolidated code. The drink trade preyed on the garrison: by a letter on the *Rochester* of about 1706 soldiers ran into large arrears at the punch houses and were denied clothing until they paid, tempting desertion, and it agreed to a hospital for sick soldiers. The link recurred in the letter of 3 March 1713/14, the court tying soldiers running £10 0s 0d to £20 0s 0d into debt to their desertion and blaming the loose delivery of stores blindfold, and it observed in the *Westmoreland* letters after 7 April 1708 that the officers quarrelled from having too little to occupy them. [Film No. 56, 78, 104, 228]

The campaign against strong drink governed the new administration. In the letter of 3 March 1713/14 the court urged the council to suppress the encouragements of vice, above all the expensive drinking of arrack that had grown upon the people, by example as well as precept, a matter of productivity as much as virtue. The shortage of coin drove the settlement into book credit, small debts transferred endlessly from soldiers to planters, so the tokens and small money the court sent were a remedy for that disorder. Manipulating supply cost office, the *Thistleworth* orders of 1729 dismissing Mr Mashbourne and Mr Marsden for engrossing commodities and enlisting the inhabitants by the informer's reward. [Film No. 223, 226, 228, 145]

The Fall of Governor Boucher and the Hanoverian Succession

The correspondence of the mid-1710s is largely a reckoning with Captain Benjamin Boucher. The *Condonnell* letter of 1714 set his boast that he had deserved better than any predecessor against its finding that nothing of moment had been done on the fortifications since Roberts left, the neglected storehouse and decaying buildings the refutation. It reversed particular acts, insisting the carpenter Clove keep the favour of dieting at its table to encourage his care of the timber, and blamed his mismanagement for the ruin of the provisions and the hunger of the men, pointing to the practice of letting them run deep into arrears at the storehouse. A few measures it approved, endorsing his setting soldiers in debt to work out their arrears at the fortifications. [Film No. 257, 259, 266]

The letters of 1713 to 1715 arraigned Boucher in absence. The letter of 4 February 1714/15 charged that after 30 months he had let the half-built storehouse fall down again after three or four months labour and great expense, the foundation and timber begun afresh, while he built a riding place for his own glory. His charges on the London funds were the sharpest measure of his rule, and by 1714 the court resolved to stop the drawing of bills, linking its complaint over his salary charges to those who served under him, his assistant councillors Mr Cavan and Mr French, each at £40 0s 0d a year, of whom it bore but a mean character. [Film No. 253, 254, 255]

The great constitutional events of the mother country reached the island as ordinary news within a letter of business. The *Condonnell* letter of 1714 reported that it had pleased the Almighty to take the late Queen Anne on 1 August 1714, King George proclaimed the same day some hours after her under the Acts of Settlement, with the Prince of Wales and two young princesses since arrived from Hanover. The court

ordered King George proclaimed on the island once the cargo was unloaded, with all becoming solemnity, reciting his full style as Elector of Brunswick Lüneburg, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland and Defender of the Faith, so the same titles proclaimed in London were published on St Helena, the peaceful succession reaching the island months after it had passed. [Film No. 271, 272]

Personalities

A few individuals stand out, most defined by the Company's dealings with them. Captain Richard Field, named governor on 13 December 1673, and his deputy Captain Anthony Beale head the government at the opening, less men than the first links in a chain of command. Others enter as problems: Woolyford, an interloper from Madagascar, gave particular vexation, the Company rebuking the governor in 1687 for letting him go so tamely when they should have detained his slaves until he paid the duties, while a Mr Smalt drew its insistence on preference over other creditors, and the aged governor of the mid-1680s was charged with folly for releasing Thomas Eastings and weakness for the light sentencing of thieving slaves. Captain Poirier's report of more than 1,300 guns fired brought down the Company's fury over wasted powder. [Film No. 9, 42, 50, 54]

The contested servant recurs through Queen Anne's reign. Mr Alexander, clerk of the council, runs through the *Northumberland* letters of 23 May 1707, approved for advancement to ensign on earlier reports only to be described as corrupt in later ones. Doctor Oldham petitioned to leave for India because the very healthiness of St Helena had made him weary, the Company holding him to his full five years. It recruited tradesmen for defence, Francis Trunge as armourer for five years at £30 0s 0d a year and George Northern and Nicholas Shreeve as masons on the same terms, retaining part of the wages, £10 0s 0d or £15 0s 0d a year, for the man's wife in England. [Film No. 94, 95, 96, 97]

The governors of the 1710s dominate, their management weighed and found wanting. Roberts earns qualified praise, for checking the drones among the planters so they were as busy as bees, for his experiments in lime, sugar, vines and minerals, having made 7,000 foot of lime and sent two mineral samples, one thought perhaps gold, and for advancing the fortifications as far as his want of lime allowed. Yet he is faulted for buying up plantations and depopulating the island, for pressing a dormant by-law against Hodgkinson's wife, and for letting the yams rot while the slaves built. Mr Pack, an accountant with a numerous family, was favoured with an extra £30 0s 0d a year as a married man yet rebuked for sending no books in almost twelve months, and died mid-correspondence, deprived of his speech and senses for seven months. [Film No. 162, 163, 199, 228]

Mr Bazett stands as the disputed accountant of the later reckoning. Boucher had claimed him a stranger to the Italian way of bookkeeping, yet Bazett denied it in a postscript as the method he had long practised, and the court judged him able but faulted him for failing to report leaked arrack and withholding the warehouse keys. Its own partisans fared uncertainly, Mr Fox complaining Boucher turned him out of the clerkship for no cause but his devotion to the Company, the court praying his employment if honest yet making no firm appointment, and Mr Alexander accused of selling goods to a favoured man at 2s 0d under the captains' price. Daniel Griffith shows the long arc of patronage, dismissed in 1706 for keeping a shop that drew him from the council books yet sitting as fourth of council by the orders of 1729. [Film No. 228, 251, 252, 286]

The correspondence preserves ordinary people whose lives touched the Company's decisions. The widow Mercy Alexander is granted her husband's lands on the plea that everybody is entitled to justice, Susannah Southern, a sergeant's wife who proved her marriage, allowed a maintenance from her husband's pay, and John Mayott given passage home at the request of his father, a messenger of the House of Commons. Samuel Jefsey embodies the mismanagement most feared, the plantations under his care ruined by the orders of 1729, while Edward Byfield entered his office as general storekeeper under a tight regime of monthly audit by the orders carried by the *Prince's Anna* of 26 November 1706. Each survives because they crossed the Company's interest or called on its justice. [Film No. 160, 180, 204, 328]

Conclusion

Across 1673 to 1729 the Company built on St Helena a complete apparatus of government, law, revenue, defence, religion and forced labour, grounded in the royal charter and directed from 8,000 miles away. The

recurring difficulty was the mismatch between grand design and small scale, a machinery drawn for Bombay's tens of thousands imposed on an island of under 500, obliging the Company to bend its own instruments even as it insisted on them. Two great labours dominate the middle decades: rebuilding secure land title out of neglected registers and encroached bounds, through survey, printed leases and remission of its own dues; and the endless, mostly frustrated demand for regular accounts, without which the directors could neither check their stores, settle debts, nor know the state of their estate. [Film No. 41, 155, 179, 193]

The single most insistent theme of the whole period from 1673 to 1729 is the discipline of paper, on which rested the Company's only means of controlling a settlement it never saw. The schemes for digests, duplicates, signed entries and annual reckonings, and the relentless complaint that the island fell short, form the central drama, a distant proprietor struggling to make a remote establishment legible to itself. Around these turned the wars at sea, which cut off the supply of slaves and bent every voyage to the convoys, the quarrels among successive councils, and the settled view that St Helena was a dead charge, kept only for its mariners' lives and justified by the refreshment and safety it gave the seamen on whom the eastern trade depended. [Film No. 176, 180, 237, 245]

The record of these years from 1673 to 1729 must be read for what it is, the account of a commercial proprietor governing a captive population, its silences as telling as its complaints. The planters appear chiefly as defaulters or petitioners, the soldiers as men to be disciplined, and the slaves almost never in their own right but as labour, currency and a danger held down by terror and disarmament, priced by the head, entered beside the cattle, their children apprenticed into the same bondage. What the official version served was the Company's interest in a stable, productive and defensible island that returned a profit, and what it obscured was the experience of those who bore the cost. Read critically and against the wider history of the Company, its wars, its monopoly and the Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades, these papers open a detailed view of how a trading corporation ruled a remote island in the king's place across more than fifty years, and of the human price at which it did so. [Film No. 5, 154, 245, 328]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date The laws & Consitutions for the Island Of St Helena 1681 Dimensions (l x h x depth) (cm) (L) 48cm x (H) 33cm (D) 6cm No. written pages: 324 No. blank pages: 2 Spine and cover Good Condition. Recently Rebound. Inside pages Good condition. A few frayed edges & foxing present. Additional comments Pages are numbered by Scribe, however from page 211 it Jumps to 254. Goes through to 258 & then jumps to 279 The numbering Sequence then Continues to run out of Sync. Time taken to photograph (hours) 4 hours	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
4		Blank page	
5	1	Rt Honble East India Compy Laws & The Laws & Ordinances of St Helena Being a Collection of such Priviledges and Charters as have been Granted by the Kings & Queens of Great Brittain to the Right Honourable East India Company	The Right Honourable East India Company's laws and ordinances made up the laws and ordinances of St Helena. They formed a collection of the privileges and charters granted by the kings and queens of Great Britain to the Right Honourable East India Company. The volume also gathered the company's own constitutions and the instructions it issued from time to time for the good government of the island and the

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		And the Honourable Companies Constitutions and Instructions from time to time thereon for the good Governmt and Administration of Justice to the Inhabitants of the said Island of St Helena	administration of justice to the inhabitants of St Helena.
6	2	Blank page	
7	3	Abridgment of ye Kings Charter Governour and Companys Priviledge to 1. constitute Laws, Orders, & Ordinances for the Government of St Helena and the same to make & abrogate as they shall think fitt & convenient as also to impose such paine Punishments, Penaltys & Imprisonments of Body, and where the Quallity of the Offence shall require by taking away Life or Member as shall seem Necessary requesite & convenient for the Observation of the same Laws, Constitutions, Orders & Ordinances for the Punishment of Offenders against the same. So allways as the said Laws, Constitutions, Orders, Ordinances, Paines Punishments & Penaltys be consonant to Reason & not repugnant or contrary, but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England. 2. Also to nominate, make, constitute, ordain & confirm such Governour, or Governours, Officers as shall be by them thought fitt for the Government of said Island of St Helena. 3. And that the said Governour & Officers so appointed shall correct, Govern, and Rule all & every the subjects of Us, our Heirs and Successours that now do, or at any time hereafter shall Inhabit in the said Island according to such Laws, Orders & Ordinances as the said Governour & Company at any General Court shall Establish, and to do all & every thing and things which to the Compleat Establishment of Justice doth belong by Courts, Sessions, Terms of Judicature like unto those established & used in our Realm of England to amande process, hold Pleas, Judge and determine all Actions suit clauses whatsoever of any kind or Nature, & to Execute & every such Judgment So as always the said Laws, Ordinances be reasonable & not repugnant or contr but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of E **Margin Notes:** Charter No 18 To constitute Laws & Impose & Penalties. To make Governr Governour to Rule & do Justice &c as near as may be according to the Laws in England	This was an abridgement of the king's charter, setting out the governor and company's privileges. Charter number 18 stood in the margin against the first article. 1: The governor and company held the privilege to make laws, orders and ordinances for the government of St Helena, and to alter or repeal them as they thought fit and convenient. They could also impose fitting punishments, penalties and imprisonments of the body, and where the seriousness of the offence required it, could take away life or limb as they judged necessary and convenient for enforcing those laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances against offenders. In every case the laws, constitutions, orders, ordinances, penalties and punishments had to accord with reason, and could not be contrary to the laws of England but had to stay as close to them as possible. The margin against this article noted its subject as the power to make laws, orders and penalties. 2: The company could also nominate, appoint and confirm whatever governor or governors and officers it thought fit for the government of St Helena. The margin marked this as the power to make governors. 3: The governor and officers so appointed were to direct, govern and rule all the subjects of the king, his heirs and successors then living on the island or settling there at any later time, according to the laws, orders and ordinances that the governor and company established at any general court. They were to do everything belonging to the full establishment of justice through courts, sessions and forms of judicature like those used in England, holding pleas and judging and determining all actions and cases of every kind, and carrying out every such judgment, provided always that the laws and ordinances stayed reasonable and not contrary to the laws of England but as close to them as possible. The margin explained that the governor was to hold courts and rule the subjects as near as could be to the practice in England.
8	4	Abridgment of the Kings Charter 4. And we do also confirm and grant to all and Every such Governour or Governours, as shall be appointed by the Governour and Committe as aforesaid, So have Power and Authority of Government in and over the said Fort and Island, & that no person whatsoever shall inhabit on the sd Island and Limits thereof, or enterprize	This continued the abridgement of the king's charter. 4: The company also confirmed and granted to every governor appointed by the governor and committee the full power and authority of government in and over the fort and island. No person was to attempt any destruction, harm or damage against the subjects living there or against any part of their goods, merchandise or estates. The margin marked this as the governor's power confirmed.

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		or attempt any Destruction Hurt or Detriment to our Subjects inhabiting in there for same or any part thereof their Goods, Merchandise or Estates. 5. And we do further ordain and grant that such principal Governour or Governours of the said Island from time to time duly authorized shall have full Power & authority to use Exercise all Such powers & Authority in cases of Rebellion, mutiny, or sedition, offessing to serve in Wars, flying to the Enemy, forsaking Custom & Discipline military in as large & ample manner as to all intents & all Purposes whatsoever as any Capt General of our Army by Vertue of his Office have used & accustomed and may or might Lawfully &c. 6. And that the Governour of the said Island shall have Power to administer a form all Legal Oaths to all necessary enforcement for the examination & discovery and dearing the truth in any case as well concerning the said Island, as any other particular Bussyness for the maintaining & Administration of Peace and Justice in the said Island or any other Business in that Place. 7. And that all Persons born upon the said Island & free Denizons & natural Subjects of England 8. All which is more at large in Book No A from the first to the Eight Page **Margin Notes:** Governrs power confirmd. The Governour power like unto a Capt General Govr has power to Administer Oaths Persons born & Subjects Denizons	5: The company further ordered and granted that each principal governor of the island, duly authorised from time to time, should hold full power and authority to use whatever means he thought necessary in cases of rebellion, mutiny or sedition, or where men refused to serve in war, fled to the enemy, or broke the customs and discipline of military service. He could act in as full a manner as any captain general of the king's army might lawfully do by virtue of his office. The margin marked this as the governor's power like that of a captain general. 6: The governor of the island held the power to administer an oath of allegiance to everyone, for examining and satisfying himself of their loyalty in any matter concerning the island, or in any other business touching the maintenance and administration of peace and justice there or any other affair in that place. The margin marked this as the governor's power to administer oaths. 7: All persons born on the island and its dependencies were natural subjects of England. 8: All of this was set out at large in book number A, from the first to the eighth page.
9	5	Right Honble Compa first Commission A Copy of ye first Commission of the Governour after the retaking ye Island from the Dutch. By the Governour & Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies at a Court of Committees holden the 15th 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, & Ireland Defender of the Faith. Anno Domini 1673 Now know all persons that in pursuance of the Authority to us granted as aforesaid, & for the good Governmt of the said Island We have made & Ordained, & do by these presents make ordain & constitute Capt Richard Feild to be Governour of the said Island, Capt Anthony Beale to be Deputy Governour, the Lieutenants of the two Companies of Foot on the said Island for the time being Francis Moore, John Coulson, and Richard Swallow 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 & Council for the time being in the Absence of our Governour his Deputy and our said Council, or any	This was a copy of the first commission of the governor after the island was retaken from the Dutch. The margin marked it as the first commission of government. The governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies issued it at a court of committees held on 13 December 1673, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland and defender of the faith. Acting on the authority granted to the company, and for the government of the island, the court made and ordained the following appointments. Captain Richard Field was to be governor of the island and Captain Anthony Beale deputy governor. Francis Moore, John Coulson and Richard Swallow, the lieutenants of the two companies of foot then on the island, were to sit on the council in the order named. In the absence of the governor and his deputy, this governor and council, or any of them, were to hold and exercise the chief command and authority in the island in all matters, provided the governor or his deputy was always one of their number. Everyone living on the island, whatever their rank or condition, owed them due obedience. The margin marked this as the appointment of Captain Richard Field as governor and the obedience owed to him. Because it was essential that the island should not be left without a government if Captain Field died or was removed, whether before or after the commission reached him, provision had to be made. Since the island lay too far off to be advised in such a case, the

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		three of them whereof the Governour or his Deputy to be allways one, Are under Us to have & exercise the chief comand and Authory in the said Island in all matters whatsoever and unto Whom all the People & persons there residing of what Quality or Condition soever are to give & yield due Obedience. And forasmuch as it is altogether necessary that in Case of the Death or removal of the said Capt Richd Feild before or after these presents shall come to you, the Island should be provided for the Government thereof than at so great a Distance We can be advertized of the or remove & appoint Another to Succeed in the Plac **Margin Notes:** A Commission of Governmt &c Capt Richd Feild Governr to whom to be yeild Obedience.	council could remove and appoint another to succeed in his place.
10	6	First Commission after of Governour, We have thought fit to Ordain & appoint that in case of his Death or Remove, the before named Capt Anthony Beale shall Succeed in the place of Governour of the said Island, & in case of the Death or remove as well of the said Capt Anthony Beale as of the said Capt Feild. Then we do constitute & appoint our Council of the said Island (for the time being) or any three or more of them to be our Chief Commanders more for Executing the place & Office of Governour of the said Island in all full and ample manner, & with the same Power as are hereby granted unto the said Capt Feild or Capt Beale to continue, till the contrary shall be signified unto the Companies common Seale. And you our said Governour & Council before named in the execution of the Power & trust to you committed are to follow the following Instructions. You are forthwith to procure the best you may to the Strengthning the Forts, & in making good som & sufficient Magazine as may be requesite for the better Safeguard & Defence of the Island as You in your Judgement shall think fitt and most convenient, We have sent you materials to that said & purpose, and to take care that the Powder, Arms, Ammunition already upon the Island, & now sent you, be safely housed in convenient Places on the Island, & that the chief Magazine be kept & securely guarded about the middle of the Island, whence the same may be had with most Ease, safety, & conveniency for shipping of all the Guards, and that upon all Occasions Victuals, & Provisions may be sent to every part or Guard, that they may be able to gett to quell the same for want thereof. That all the Persons be by the Governour lead under either of the aforesaid Commanders or such other Officers as the Governour & Council shall think fitt that **Margin Notes:** The chiefe form of Governmt Governr & Council follow Orders To Fortifye the Islands.	The company thought it fit to order and appoint that, if Captain Field died or was removed, Captain Anthony Beale should succeed him as governor. If both Captain Beale and Captain Field died or were removed, the council of the island then in office, or any three or more of its members, were to hold the chief command and carry out the office of governor in as full and ample a manner and with the same power granted to Field and Beale, until the company signified otherwise under its common seal. The margin marked this as the succession to the government. The governor and council named to exercise this power were to follow the instructions given to them. The margin marked this as the general council for these orders. They were to set about strengthening the forts at once, in whatever way they judged fittest and most convenient, and to make whatever further additions the better safeguard and defence of the island might require. The company had sent materials to that end, and wanted the fortification directed to the island's best-sited and most convenient place, so that the chief magazine stood securely on the healthiest part of the island, where it could be supplied most easily and safely, and every guard likewise, so that on all occasions victuals and provisions could be sent to every part or guard and none would go short. The margin marked this as the fortifying of the island. All persons on the island were to be commanded by the governor, and under him by the commanders and the other officers the governor and council thought fit.
11	7	Retaking the Island may exercise and train them up in Arms at least once in	The governor and council were to exercise the planters and train them in arms at least once in two months, to prepare them for the defence of the island.

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		two months, to quallifye them for defence of the Island, and that particular places, or post be assigned by the Governour, whereunto all and every of said Planters may repair & have a Rendezvous where thereunto required by the Governour, for tho we do not require the Planters to keep Constant Watch as soldiers in pay; yet we do hereby & especially upon Discove ry of any Enemy, or any General Allarm in case of the appearance of any Shipping, strictly require that they do repair to their Respective Posts, and observe such Orders as away of military Discipline according as their respective Officers shall be directed by the Governour & Council for the Safety and Defence of Our aforesaid Island, it being one of the Conditions on which We have granted them their Lands & other Accommodations That all & any the Inhabitants of the said Island be permitted and allotted (upon their Request & 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 Fortificat that shall be made in any Valley, if the Govnor & Council shall so think fitt, and that the Houses that are between the Sea, & any of the Forts be removed by the Proprietors. That there may be conveyed to each Planter both ptt & Mno & to his Heirs & Assigns for ever under the Compa Common Seale his proporshon of Land, that shall be allotted to him as aforesaid, He performing well & keeping as We shall appoint the Inhabitants & Planters to do from time to time, yet under this Proviso to be incerted in his Deed of Conveyance, That they shall not have Power to seller alienate their respective Lands or Estate unless they or their Heirs shall have, and upon it, Sen it by Planting for the space of four Years. **Margin Notes:** All Planters to be train'd in Company & to exercise ym Inhabitants Permitted to build Conditions for the Planters to observe that have Lands	The governor was to assign particular places or posts where all the planters might gather, giving them a rendezvous to repair to whenever he required it. The company did not require the planters to keep constant watch as paid soldiers, but did require that on any sighting of an enemy, or on any general alarm at the appearance of shipping, they go at once to their posts and follow whatever military discipline their officers directed under the governor and council for the safety and defence of the island. This was one of the conditions on which the company had granted the planters their lands and other accommodations. The margin marked this as the planters being trained in the company's exercise of arms. Any inhabitants of the island were to be permitted, on request and for a fair payment, enough ground to build a house or houses in any valley, provided they built them in an orderly way that suited a plan of defence, and provided the fortifications came first. Where houses were built in any valley, the governor and council might, as they thought fit, order that any standing between the sea and the forts be removed by the proprietors. The margin marked this as inhabitants permitted to build. Each planter was to be granted his share of land to hold for himself, his heirs and assigns for ever under the company's common seal, so long as he performed the duties and services the company appointed the inhabitants and planters to render from time to time. This grant carried a condition to be written into each deed of conveyance: the planters were not to sell or transfer their lands to anyone else unless they or their heirs had first held and settled the land by cultivating it for four years. The margin marked this as the conditions for planters holding land.
12	8	First Comission after retaking ye Island And we do order that a Register be kept of all grants, Alienations, & Sales that shall be made by any Planter of his House & Plantation hereby to avoid all deceits & fraudulent Conveyances. That a Register be kept of all Marriages and Burials, & a Register of all Children that shall be born upon the said Island. That the Lords day be Religiously observed by abstinence from all Bodily Labour & servile Imployments, as also from all Pastimes and that you our Governour & Council do appoint some publick place, for the Worship of God, whether Persons are to resort every Lords day to joyn in the publick service of all Religious Dutys, and that	The company ordered that a register be kept of all grants, transfers and sales made by any planter of his house and plantation, to guard against every kind of fraudulent conveyance. The margin marked this as the register of grants and sales to be kept. A register was also to be kept of all marriages and burials, and of all children born on the island. The margin marked this as the register of marriages, burials and births. The Lord's day was to be kept religiously, with everyone abstaining from all bodily labour and secular work and from all pastimes. The governor and council were to appoint a public place for the worship of God, where the inhabitants were to gather every Sunday for public exercise of all religious duties. The governor and council were, by their own presence, to encourage the inhabitants to carry out this duty and to make ordinances for the purpose. The margin marked this as the Lord's day to be observed.

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		you our Govnor & Council do by your presence encourage the same to the discharge of the Duty of the Prophet in this Allowance & the Ordinances. You are to take care that all prophane Swearing Cursing the name of God or vain & unseemly speaking together with all Incontinence, Drunckedness and Uncleaness and if any others shall offend in any of the said Cases to be punished according to the Laws of England &c. **Margin Notes:** Register of Grants Sales, & to be made Register of Marriages Births & Burials Lords day to be observed. Immorality Punisht.	The governor and council were to take care that all profane swearing, taking the name of God in vain, was carefully avoided, along with all drunkenness, fornication and other uncleanness. Anyone who offended in these ways was to be punished according to the laws of England. The margin marked this as immorality punished.
13	9	Abstract of Letters from England from 1673 to 1726 Abridgement of Kings Charter 1st Commission after retaking the Island Letter dated 20 Feby 1677 Rules for setling Land Laws & constitution of 1681 Letter 14 march 1701 1 August 1683 3 August 1687 5 December 1698 16 April 1701 18 January 1702 17 February 1702 31 December 1702 30 November 1708 14 December 1705 20 December 1706 23 May 1707 Laws & Constitution as at ab in the Session House about 1707 Letter 7 April 1708 5 May 1708 also Robert by the Mead 17 April 1711 30 May 1712 20 march 1712 5 march 1713 4 February 1714 14 march 1714 Abstract of standing Orders	This was an index of letters from England covering the years 1673 to 1726, with each entry keyed to a page number. Abridgement of the king's charter, 3 First commission after retaking the island, 5 Letter dated 20 February 1677, 9 Rules for settling land, 12 Laws and constitutions of 1681, 17 Letter 14 March 1701, 31 Letter 1 August 1683, 33 Letter 3 August 1687, 42 Letter 5 December 1698, 48 Letter 16 April 1701, 49 Letter 18 January 1702, 51 Letter 17 February 1702, 53 Letter 31 December 1702, 55 Letter 20 November 1703, 7 Letter 14 December 1705, 63 Letter 20 December 1706, 69 Letter 23 May 1707, 72 Laws and constitutions as set out in the sessions house about 1707, 74 Letter 7 April 1708, 100 Letter 5 May 1708, 106 Letter sent home by the Mead, 110 Letter 17 April 1711, 159 Letter 30 May 1712, 176 Letter 20 March 1712, 197 Letter 5 March 1713, 197 Letter 4 February 1714, 280 Letter 14 March 1714, 292 Abstract of standing orders, 296 One entry names a ship: the letter sent home by the *Mead*, at page 110.
14	10	Blank page	
15	11	Blank page	
16	12	Blank page	
17	13	Ship Johanna Our Governour & Council at St Helena In the first place that all our Concerns 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 & secular Imployments and also from all the Bodily Sports & 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	This letter came by the ship *Johanna* and was addressed to the governor and council at St Helena. The margin marked it as article number 3. The company wanted its concerns on the island, under the care and management of the governor and council, to prosper by the blessing of God. To that end the governor and council were to see that the Lord's day was kept religiously throughout the island by all the inhabitants, who were to abstain from all bodily labour and secular work and from all pastimes. The governor and council were to appoint a convenient public place for the worship of God, where everyone might gather each Sunday for the public exercise of all religious duties. By their own presence and practice, the governor and council were to encourage the minister in carrying out his duty and the people in their attendance on the ordinances of God. The margin marked this as

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		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 & the People in their Attendance on the Ordinances of God, Also you must take care that all prophane Swearing cursing the name of God in vain be offend & severely used &c, as also all Incontinence, fornication Drunkeness, Uncleaness and Unlawfull Gaming. And if any Person shall so offend in any of the said Cases, 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 putt 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 Govnor & Council shall think fitt, and that Officers be appointed aforesaid to exercise & train them up in Arms at the time aforesaid to fitly Quallify them for the Defence of the Island, and also that particular places or convenient may be, be assigned by the Governour & yet we do not re the Planters to keep constant Watch as Soldiers except **Margin Notes:** Letter No 3 Lords Day to be observed by Govnor Council &c Immorality &c growing to be punished Island to be made Defencible	the Lord's day to be observed by the governor and council. The governor and council were also to take care that all profane swearing and taking the name of God in vain was carefully avoided, along with all drunkenness, fornication, uncleanness and unlawful gaming. Anyone who offended in any of these ways was to be punished according to the laws of England, as the governor and council judged fit. The margin marked this as immorality to be punished. The island was also to be put into the best posture of defence. All the planters were to be listed under one or other of the commanders, or such other officers as the governor and council thought fit. Officers were to be appointed to exercise and train the planters in arms from time to time, to prepare them for the defence of the island. Particular places were to be assigned by the governor as convenient, though the planters were not required to keep constant watch as paid soldiers. The margin marked this as the island to be made defensible. **Interpretations** The direction that the governor and council enforce religious observance in person, rather than leaving it to the minister, reveals how the company fused civil and ecclesiastical authority on the island. St Helena had no separate church establishment with independent standing, so the ordinary machinery of parish discipline found in England did not exist here. By making the governing council both the enforcer of Sabbath observance and the appointer of the place of worship, the company placed religion directly under the same secular officers who ran the fort and the courts, treating churchgoing as an instrument of order under company control rather than a matter for a self-standing clergy. Punishing swearing, drunkenness, fornication and unlawful gaming according to the laws of England reflected the company's policy of importing the metropolitan legal code wholesale into a settlement it governed as a commercial proprietor. On a small island whose entire free population served the company's trade, moral offences were treated less as private sins than as threats to the discipline of a working garrison and plantation, where disorder among a few could quickly endanger the defence and productivity of the whole. The requirement that planters muster and train in arms while being spared constant paid watch shows the militia bargain at the heart of the settlement. The company wanted a defensible island without the cost of a standing paid garrison large enough to hold it, so it bound the grant of land to an obligation of unpaid military service. The planter held his ground on condition of turning out to defend it, which let the company shift the running cost of defence onto the settlers themselves while keeping the land in its own ultimate gift.
18	14	Ship of Danger during the time we shall continue our relations in pay, but we do hereby strictly require in case of the appearach of any Shipping, and especially upon Discovery of any Enemy, or general Allarm, That they do repair to their several Posts & 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 & 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	This continued the letter carried by the ship *Johanna*. The company did not keep the planters on paid watch during times of danger, but strictly required that on the appearance of any shipping, and especially on the sighting of an enemy or on a general alarm, they go at once to their appointed posts and places. There they were to follow whatever military discipline their officers directed under the governor and council for the safety and defence of the island. This was one of the conditions on which the company had granted the planters their lands and other accommodations. The margin marked this as the planters going to their posts on an alarm, and as the conditions of holding their lands. So that the chief place of defence might be the better settled, the company ordered that on the request of any inhabitant to build a house or houses in any

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		in any Valley, It be set out & allotted to them by the Govnor & Councils 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 Houses be built between the Forts and the Sea. Upon arrivals of Shipping imployed in our service we order that a Free market be appointed by our Governour & 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 goe on board without leave first obtained, and had from our Governour. We have formerly advised that the Lands not have upon Delivered in proportion to each Planter be conveyed to them & their Heirs & Assigns for ever under the Compa common Seale and hereby confirm this the our Order, and require that it be punctually and performed under the Conditions and Proviso We have formerly mentioned, that is to Say, We or they performing all Suit & Service, as we their appoint the said Inhabitants and Planters to do and perform from time to time, And this Proviso to be **Margin Notes:** Planters On an Allarm to repair to their Posts &c Reasons Why, & Conditions of holding their Lands. Buildings to be Regular A Market to be Kept Planters restraind going on board Conditions to be inserted by all Setlers.	valley, the ground be set out and allotted to them by the governor and council, provided they built in an orderly way suited to a plan of defence, and provided the fortifications came first. No houses were to be built between the forts and the sea. The margin marked this as buildings to be registered. On the arrival of shipping in the company's service, a free market was to be appointed by the governor and council, held at the most convenient place or places to supply both the inhabitants and the mariners. The inhabitants of the island were not to go aboard the ships without first obtaining leave from the governor. The margin marked this as a market to be kept, and as planters restrained from going aboard. The company had already advised that the lands allotted to each planter be conveyed to him, his heirs and assigns for ever under the company's common seal, and it now confirmed that order. It required that the lands be held under the conditions already stated, namely that the planters perform all the duties and services the company appointed the inhabitants and planters to render from time to time. The margin marked this as the conditions on which the land was held. This grant was to be written into each deed as a continuing obligation. **Interpretations** The rule that no houses stand between the forts and the sea shows defence dictating the physical layout of the settlement. A building on the shoreline could mask a fort's field of fire or give cover to a landing party, so the company subordinated private convenience to the sightlines of its guns. The same logic ran through the requirement that fortification precede housing and that dwellings follow an orderly plan, treating the whole valley as a defensive work in which private homes were tolerated only where they did not compromise it. The free market tied to the arrival of company shipping reveals how tightly the company managed the island's economy. Rather than letting settlers trade freely with incoming vessels, it fixed the time, place and occasion of exchange and barred inhabitants from boarding ships without leave. This kept private dealing with crews under official eye, protected the company's own trade from pilfering and unauthorised barter, and ensured that the provisioning of ships, the island's main economic purpose, happened on terms the company controlled.
19	15	Johanna inserted in the conveyance. That none shall have Power to seller alienate their Respective Lands or Plantations, unless they or their Heirs shall have lived & 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, sett, over and allotted to any Planter at his first Arrival, as when any Seller shall turn Planter; So also we do enjoyn the Governour and Councils to take particular care a Register be kept of all Sales, Alienations and conveyances of Lands, Estates, Plantations & we do we to Another after the term aforesaid is expired, if any shall so think fitt, and no Sale or Conveyance to be attested as good, unless say to &c, a Duplicate whereof you are to send yearly, that so all Cavils, Deceits, & fraudulent doings may be prevented, and the minister for the time being keep a	This closed the letter carried by the ship *Johanna*. The condition written into each conveyance was that no planter sell or transfer his land or plantation unless he or his heirs had first worked it by cultivating it for four years. The margin marked this as the lands to be held that have been settled for four years. The company had already appointed a register to be kept of all lands granted and allotted to any planter at his first arrival. When any land changed hands, the governor and council were to take particular care that the register recorded all sales, transfers and conveyances of plantations. The plantations could be transferred after the four years were up, if the parties thought fit, but no sale or conveyance was to be treated as valid unless it was registered, with a duplicate kept safely, so that all suits, disputes and lawsuits might be prevented. The minister for the time being was to keep a register of all marriages, christenings and burials on the island. The margin marked this as no transfer valid unless registered, and as the register of marriages, births and burials to be kept. The company appointed the commanders, plantation officers and other officers of the island, along with the deputies of the two companies of foot, to keep a public table for themselves and the officers appointed to sit with them, and to supply it during

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		Register of all marriages Christenings, & Burials on our said Island. The Companies Plantations and Believe them of you do appoint to be, and the Denizons and be part of the good of our Island for the time being for the supply & maintenance of a publick Table for himself & others that are appointed to sitt with him. We recommend unto You the Encouragement of the practise of true Religion, Vertue, Justice, and all honest & good Correspondence with another That none may receive wrong, But all upon just complaints may be afforded not only a hearing but also Justice administered unto them, That the good may be encouraged and evil persons for their Crimes punished, That Peace & quietness may be preserved. London the 20th of February 1677. **Margin Notes:** No Lands to be Sold that has been occupyed & of seven years No Alienations good unless registred Register of Marriages Births, Burials Ord The Compa Plantation to be at the Direction of the Governour Religion & Justice recommended	their time in office. The margin marked this as the chief planters to keep a table under the governor's direction. The company recommended the encouragement of true religion, virtue and justice, and that the inhabitants live at peace with one another so that no one suffered wrong. On any just complaint, not only was a hearing to be given but justice was to be done, so that good men were encouraged and evildoers punished for their crimes, and peace and quiet preserved. The margin marked this as religion and justice recommended. The letter was issued at London on 20 February 1677. **Interpretations** Requiring that no conveyance be valid unless registered, with a duplicate held in safe keeping, shows the company building a land-title system from scratch on ground it had only recently settled. In England title rested on long custom, manorial records and the courts, none of which existed here. By making registration the test of a valid sale and by keeping a second copy against loss or fraud, the company created a single authoritative record of who owned what, heading off the disputes that unrecorded dealing would breed on an island where every title ultimately flowed from the same grantor. The four-year cultivation rule before land could be sold reveals the company's aim of securing a settled, working population rather than a speculative one. A planter who could sell immediately might take his grant, do nothing with it and trade it on for profit, leaving the land idle and the island underpopulated. Tying the right of sale to four years of actual cultivation forced grantees to become genuine settlers first, which served the company's need for a productive island that could feed itself and provision its ships. Placing the registers of marriages, christenings and burials in the minister's hands, while the land register stayed with the governing officers, shows the practical division of record-keeping in the settlement. Vital events fell naturally to the clergyman who officiated at them, whereas property and its transfer belonged with the civil authority that enforced title. This split gave the small island two parallel record systems, one ecclesiastical and one civil, each lodged with the officer closest to the events it recorded.
20	16	Rules for By the Governour & Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies, at a Court of Comittees held for the said Company at the East India House in Leaden Hall street in London on the 26 day of March 1679, and in the 33 year of the reign of our Lord Charles ye 2 by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. Whereas his most sacred Majesty hath been graciously pleased by his Royal Charter under the great Seale of England bearing date the 16th day of December in the 25th year of his Majesties Reign to grant unto Us the Island of St Helena with all the Rights, Profits, Territorys & Appurtenances, and all Soil, Lands, Fields, Woods, Mountaines, Rivers &c & Us also to impower Us to make, ordain and Establish & under our common Seale 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 & may more at large appear.	These were rules made by the governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies at a court of committees held for the company at the East India House in Leadenhall Street in London on 26 March 1679, in the thirty-first year of the reign of King Charles the Second, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland and defender of the faith. The king had graciously granted the company, by royal charter under the great seal of England dated 16 December in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the island of St Helena with all its rights, profits, territories and appurtenances, and all its soil, lands, fields, woods, mountains and rivers, along with power to develop them. The charter gave the company authority to make, ordain and establish laws, ordinances and constitutions under its common seal for the good government and use of the island, and to alter or repeal them from time to time, as the charter set out at large. The margin marked this as the recital of the royal charter. By virtue of various earlier orders and directions from the company, sundry persons had been granted lands and plantations on the island, on condition that they perform the duties and services the company appointed the inhabitants and planters to render from time to time. These conditions had been set by the company's orders of 15 December 1673 and 12 March 1677. The margin marked this as a further recital.

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		And whereas by vertue of severall former Orders & directions from us Sundry persons have been invested & possesst of divers Lands, and Plantations in the said Island on Condition that such persons should perform suit & Service as We should appoint the Inhabitants and Planters to do from time to time together with the other Provisions as by our Orders of the 15th of December 1698 and the 15 of March 1677. And whereas some doubts & Questions have arisen touching the holding, Enjoying, Disposing or **Margin Notes:** Recital of Royall Charter. Further Recitalls	Some doubts and questions had arisen about the holding, enjoyment and transfer of these lands. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The company's practice of legislating for St Helena at a court of committees under its own common seal, rather than through any body answerable to the settlers, shows the constitutional oddity of the island. A trading corporation exercised over its inhabitants powers that in England belonged to Crown and Parliament, making law for a populated territory as an incident of a commercial charter. The careful recital of the royal grant at the head of these rules was the company establishing that its authority to govern derived wholly from the king, the only legitimate source for the sweeping powers it went on to exercise. The reopening of settled land grants because doubts had arisen over holding, enjoyment and transfer reveals the strain of running a landed society through corporate orders issued years apart. The company had made its original grants conditional on service in 1673 and 1677, but those terms had evidently proved unclear in practice. Rather than let uncertainty over title fester, the company legislated afresh to settle the questions, showing how a proprietor governing from eight thousand miles away had to keep revisiting its own earlier instruments as their gaps came to light.
21	17	Setling Land alienating such Lands and Plantations. On what manner & nature the same shall descend in case of Death, or otherwise, as also what that Suit and service is which we require of the Possessors for the same. We have thought fitt to the intent that every person may both know the duty required of him, and the Right belonging to him in serious Considerations of all particulars to us to be ordain & constitute and under our common Seale to publish, declare the Rules & Laws herein after expresst, and require that they be duly observed in all their extent. That all & every Person or Persons that now possess, and enjoy any Lands in the said Island or that shall before the publication of these Orders & have have any Lands allotted, and sett out to him or them to plant, possess, and enjoy shall within six months after publication be Registred, thereof cause all such Lands and Plantations to be Registred 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 several Boundarys of the same, and the Name or Names of the Person or persons to whom possessing & enjoying the same. And as Governr or Deputy Governr is hereby required to cause the same to be duly Examined, and finding it right to Register the same Accordingly, and give out Certificates to the Owners of the Registring thereof without any Fee or reward for the same, & that this all Lands after the Publication hereof that shall be allotted or Granted to any Free Planter from the Company, or any Lands already Granted that shall be sold alienated, or disposed of, or on the	These rules concerned the settling of land, and set out the particulars for holding it. Doubts had arisen over the way such lands and plantations were transferred, how they were to descend on the death of a holder or otherwise, and what duties and services the company required of those who held them. The company thought it fit that everyone should know both the duty required of him and the rights belonging to him, and so ordered and constituted separate provisions on all these particulars, publishing and declaring the rules and laws that followed under its common seal, and requiring that they be duly observed in every point. Every person then holding and enjoying any lands on the island, and anyone who had been granted ground to plant before these orders were published, was to have those lands registered within six months of publication. All such lands and plantations were to be entered in a book kept for that purpose by the governor or deputy governor, recording the quantity of acres, the exact boundaries and the name of the person holding or enjoying them. The governor or deputy governor was required to have each entry duly examined, and finding it correct, to register it and give a certificate to the owners of the registration, without any fee or reward for it. The margin marked this as all lands to be exactly registered, and as the register book to be kept by the governor or deputy governor, who was to maintain all the particulars. Any land granted to a free planter by the company after this publication, and any land already granted that was later sold, transferred or otherwise disposed of, or that passed to another on the death of a planter, whether by sale, transfer, inheritance or any other change of ownership, was to be registered in the same book within one month of the change. On the registering of every such sale, transfer or inheritance, the record was to be made accordingly. The margin marked this as persons named for particular reasons. **Interpretations** Fixing a six-month window for existing holders to register and a one-month window for every later change of ownership shows the company converting an informal patchwork of occupation into a formal register with hard deadlines. The people already on the ground held their land by grant and use, not by any recorded title, so the company set a single cut-off to bring every existing plot onto the books at once, then a

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		Death of any Planter by Request or otherwise descend, or come to any other Person, all and every such grant, Sale Alienation Bequeast Descent, or any other alterations Property shall within one month after the same shall happen be registred in the said Register, and on the Registring of every such Sale, Alienation, Bequeast or **Margin Notes:** Reasons for Particular naming All Lands to be exactly registred Register Book to be kept by ye Governr or his Deputy Governr to mention all Particulars	tight month's limit thereafter to keep the record current as land changed hands. The whole scheme rested on the governor's book becoming the authoritative record before memory and informal dealing could produce conflicting claims. The requirement that the governor register title and issue certificates without any fee reveals a deliberate choice to keep the system accessible and under official control rather than let it become a source of private profit. In England the recording and proving of title supported a whole apparatus of fees for clerks and officials. By barring any charge, the company removed a disincentive that would have discouraged planters from registering, ensuring the completeness of the record it depended on, while keeping the registrar's office a duty of government rather than a perquisite the governor could exploit.
22	18	Rules for one penny & acre, and no more shall be paid to the Governour for the Use of the Company, as chief Lords of the said Lands, and 6d and no more to the Register for the Registring & giving out a Certificate of the registring the same. That any Person or Persons to whom Lands hath been allotted (if such person or persons have been in the actuall Profession & occupation there of six years to be accounted from their Actual Entrance on the imposeing 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 possesst of any Lands, whereon he hath what he hath made Improvements 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 & Testament bequeath the same, but if he be a married man. That then one half shall go to his Wife during her naturall Life, & 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 their be no such Appointment, then to descend to the Heir at Law. As to moveable & Personal Estates that any Planter shall die Possesst of, if the same be not disposed of by Will, the same shall be devided one Third to the Wife, & the other two Thirds among the Children in the Island in Equal Shares & if there be no Children then one half to the Wife, & the other halfe the Brothers & sisters of their Deceasor inhabiting in the Island, but if there be no such then all to Wife, But in case their be neither Wife, nor Child, then the whole to go to the next Kindred on the said Island; Then the same to be **Margin Notes:** one penny & acre to be paid to the Company on all Alienations They who have lived 6 years on Land may sell it, if they have improved it. Inheritance of Land in case of Death Inheritance of Move	These rules continued the terms for settling land. On every transfer of land, one penny an acre and no more was to be paid to the governor for the use of the company as chief lords of the soil, and a further sum to the register for recording the change and issuing a certificate of it. The margin marked this as one penny an acre to be paid to the company on all transfers. Anyone who had held and worked his land for four years, counting from the date he first entered on it and began to cultivate it, was to be reckoned as having settled it. Such a person held the land freely, to himself and his heirs, and could sell, transfer or dispose of it as he pleased. The margin marked this as those who have held their land for four years may transfer it as they please. If a planter who had duly settled his land and made improvements on it by cultivation died a single man, the land passed to his next heir, or to whomever he named in his will. If he was a married man, one half went to his wife for her lifetime, and the other half, together with the reversion of the wife's half after her death, was disposed of according to his will. Where he left no such direction, the whole descended to his next heir. The margin marked this as the settlement of land in the case of death. As for the moveable and personal estate a planter left, if he had not disposed of it by will, one third went to the wife and the other two thirds among his children on the island in equal shares. If there were no children, one half went to the wife and the other half to the dead man's brothers and sisters living on the island, and if there were none, the whole to the wife. Where he left neither wife nor child, the whole passed to his next of kin on the island. The margin marked this as the settlement of moveable estate in the case of death. **Interpretations** Charging one penny an acre to the company on every transfer, described as chief lords of the soil, shows the company casting itself as feudal overlord of St Helena in the manner of an English manor. The phrase deliberately echoed the language of English landholding, where tenants held of a lord who drew customary dues. By reserving a perpetual payment on each conveyance, the company kept a permanent financial stake in land it had granted away and asserted a continuing lordship over the whole island, so that no plot ever passed wholly beyond its reach or its revenue. The company's default rules of inheritance, dividing real and personal estate between widow, children and kin where a planter left no will, reveal it supplying a whole framework of succession law for a place that had none of its own. In England intestacy was governed by long-settled common law and ecclesiastical courts. St Helena had neither, so the company wrote its own scheme, notably confining every share to relatives living on the island, which kept land and goods within the resident population and

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		ables & Death	prevented estates from draining away to heirs in England who would never settle or serve. **Speculations** The company set widows a life interest in half the marital land with the reversion controlled by the husband's will, rather than the outright share it granted them in moveable goods. The difference on the page is deliberate: personal estate could be divided and handed over cleanly, but land was the company's instrument for holding a working population in place. An outright grant of land to a widow risked it passing out of productive use or to an outsider through remarriage, whereas a life interest kept her provided for while ensuring the freehold returned to an heir the husband had chosen, preserving both the settlement's continuity and the company's interest in who ultimately held the ground.
23	19	Setling Land be Sovereignty & persons for such Person or Persons in England that shall be admitted to the Administration of the Estate. That in case it should so fall out, that on the Death of any Planter, the Lands by him held, Possesst & enjoyd should be bequeath'd, or by Descent pass 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 said Island and make his or their Residence upon the place, or otherwise take Effectual care, that there do inhabit, and be maintaind on Every twenty Acres two Persons and two Cows at the least. That in such case it shall be lawfull for the Govnor and Council of the said Island, And they are hereby required to seize the same into their Hands for the Use of the Company, & 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 & year first written. **Margin Notes:** Further Rules for Alienment of Grants when no Heirs inhabit here. Redisposition of Lands &c.	These rules closed the terms for settling land. The estate was to be kept and preserved for anyone in England who was admitted to administer it. The margin marked this passage. If a planter died and the lands he had held passed by transfer or by inheritance to someone not living on the island, that person had to come to the island within two years of the death and take up residence on the land, or otherwise see that it was properly cared for, so that every twenty acres carried at least two people and two cows. The margin marked this as a further rule for the management of grants where no heirs were named here. Where this was not done, the governor and council could lawfully seize the land into their own hands for the use of the company and dispose of it, any earlier grant or anything else to the contrary notwithstanding. The rules were issued under the company's common seal on the day and year first written. The margin marked this as the resumption of lands. **Interpretations** The rule that distant heirs take up residence within two years or lose the land shows the company subordinating property rights to the overriding goal of keeping the island peopled and worked. An heir in England might inherit St Helena land yet never set foot on it, leaving ground idle that the settlement could not spare. By setting a firm deadline and a power of seizure, the company ensured that inheritance could not lock land into absentee ownership, treating continued residence and use as a condition of holding that outranked the heir's title. Fixing a minimum of two people and two cows for every twenty acres reveals the company legislating not just who held land but how intensively it had to be used. This was a stocking requirement of the kind an improving landlord might impose, setting a floor of population and livestock density to guarantee the land was genuinely productive rather than merely occupied. On an island that had to feed itself and provision passing ships, under-used land was a direct threat to the settlement's purpose, so the company made a measurable level of use a term of tenure enforceable by forfeiture.
24	20	Ship Society abt Mutineers Our Govr & Councill at St Helena London 14th April 1680 Letter No 10. We take notice of your sending home the three mutinous Persons mentiond and wish you had rather put to them to be tried and punished according to the nature of their Offence, and the Law of England upon the Island,	This letter came by the ship *Society* and concerned the mutineers. It was addressed to the governor and council at St Helena and issued at London on 14 April 1680. The margin marked it as article number 10. The company had noted from the governor and council's letter the case of the three mutinous men, and agreed that it would rather they were tried and punished on the island according to the nature of their offence and the law of England than sent home to the company. Dismissing them to England would only encourage others of the same temper, and the difficulties would be too great either to try them on the

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		than so to Dismiss them hither, which we doubt will rather Encourage then dismay men of that Temper, when the Difficultys will be too great either to have them tryed or punished here, the offence being committed at so remote a Distance, and the Witnesses & Proof not to be had, in that we had thoughts for that Reason & Examples sake, to have returned them back by this Ship for their Tryall but we found it an uncertain attempt by reason We cannot be depended on to stay for their sending abroad, But for the future in all criminal Cases, We would have you by Offenders as aforesaid, and not send them home out of give them means to Escape, and avoide that Justice, which their Offences may deserve. We have resolved to take into Consideration such further Rules and Power, as may better enable you to deal with Delinquents in Cases of this Nature, and send them by the first Oppertunity. Your loving Friends &c. **Margin Notes:** Letter No 10. Punish all manner of Persons here or send them further, but not home.	island or to send them home, since the offence had been committed at such a distance. The company had thought, for the sake of making an example, of having the men sent back on this ship for trial, but judged it an uncertain course, because the ship could not be relied on to wait for them to be sent aboard. For the future, in all criminal cases, the company wanted offenders punished on the island and not sent home or given any means to escape the justice their offences deserved. The company had resolved to consider whatever further rules and powers might help the governor and council deal with such offenders, and would send these by the first opportunity. The margin marked this as the mutineers to be punished on the island and sent home no further. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. **Interpretations** The company's insistence that offenders be tried and punished on St Helena rather than shipped to England reveals distance itself shaping the island's justice. Sending prisoners eight thousand miles for trial was slow, costly and dependent on ships that could not be made to wait, so the practical answer was to build a criminal jurisdiction on the spot. The letter shows the company reasoning its way toward local courts not from principle but from the sheer impossibility of running justice for a remote settlement from London, which is why it promised further rules and powers to equip the governor and council for the task. The fear that sending mutineers home would encourage others of the same temper shows the company treating punishment on a small island as a deterrent whose visibility mattered as much as its severity. Removing troublemakers to England might look like escape rather than penalty to the men left behind, weakening discipline in a confined community where every inhabitant knew the others. By keeping trial and punishment on the island, the company ensured the example was seen where it would do its work, using local justice as an instrument for holding order among a population it could not easily police from a distance. **Speculations** The company had genuinely weighed sending the three men home on the *Society* for trial, the obvious way to make a conspicuous example, and set it aside because the ship could not be depended on to wait for the prisoners to be brought aboard. The rejected course is visible in the letter itself, and what decided against it was a mundane constraint of the sailing schedule rather than any principle about jurisdiction. That a practical difficulty over shipping tipped the company toward insisting on local trial shows how the ordinary friction of governing across such a distance, ships that kept their own timetable, pushed the island toward developing its own criminal justice.
25	21	System of Laws sent by Ship Serrat Mer By the Govr & Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies. At a Court of Committees holden for ye said Company ye 10th day of March in the 33 Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord Charles ye 2. by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France, & Ireland King, Defender of ye Faith &c Anno 1681. Whereas our sd Sovereign Lord the Kings most Excellent Majesty that now is, by his Letters Patents bearing Date the 16 day of December in the 25 Year of his Reign hath granted unto the Govr and Company of Merchants of London trading into	This was a system of laws sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*, made by the governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies at a court of committees held for the company on 10 March in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Charles the Second, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland and defender of the faith, in the year 1681. The margin marked it as rules made by the general court. The king had, by letters patent dated 16 December in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, granted the company and its successors the island of St Helena, and had made and constituted the company the true and absolute lords and proprietors of it. The grant gave the company power and authority, at any general court or court of committees held for the company, to make and publish under its common seal laws, orders and constitutions for the good government of the island, and to impose penalties to enforce their observance.

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		the East Indies & their Successors, all that the Island of St He lena, and thereof made & has settled them the said Governour & Company the true & absolute Lords and Proprietors with power & authority at any General Court or Courts of Committees holden for their Company to make & under their Common Seale publish Laws, Orders, & Constitutions for the good Government of the sd Island, and to impose Penaltyes 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 & Rule the Inhabitants of the sd Island, according to ye Laws & Ordinances, and to do all things which to ye compleat Establishment of Justice to belong by Courts, Sessions, Terms of Judicature, and manner of Proceedings therein, & to amend process, hold pleas, Judge, & determine all Causes, and to Execute such Judgments, as in & by the sd Letters Patents, (relation being thereunto had) may more at large appear. Now, know all Men that in pursuance of the Letters Patents, & of the Powers and Authority thereby granted unto Us, and for the better Governmt of the sd Island, and the Inhabitants thereof, and for the due & impartiall Administra **Margin Notes:** Rules by the genl Court. How Company are absolute Lords & Proprietors of St Helena. Governour & Council Power Recital of the Kings Grant & Letters Patents.	The company, by itself or by the governors and officers it appointed, could correct, punish, govern and rule the inhabitants of the island according to those laws and ordinances, and could do everything belonging to the full establishment of justice through courts, sessions and forms of judicature, holding pleas, judging and determining all cases, and carrying out such judgments, as the letters patent set out at large. The margin marked this as the company made absolute lords and proprietors of St Helena, and as the governor's authority and power. Acting on the authority granted by the letters patent, and for the better government of the island and the due administration of justice to the inhabitants, the company now proceeded. The margin marked this as a recital of the king's letters patent. **Interpretations** The phrase making the company true and absolute lords and proprietors of St Helena marks the particular legal footing on which it governed the island. Proprietary grants of this kind handed a corporation or individual not just ownership of the soil but the public powers of government over anyone who settled there, a model used elsewhere for English colonies in this period. By reciting the words at the head of a whole system of laws, the company grounded its authority to legislate, judge and punish on the island wholly in the royal grant, the only source that could turn a trading company into the lawful ruler of a populated territory. The repeated recital of the same letters patent across successive instruments, the rules of 1679 and now this system of 1681, shows the company anchoring every fresh exercise of authority in the original royal grant. Because its power to govern was delegated rather than inherent, each new body of law had to trace itself back to the charter to be legitimate. This habit of reciting the source reveals a proprietor conscious that its right to make law for St Helena rested entirely on the Crown's grant, and vulnerable to challenge if it ever appeared to act beyond it.
26	22	System of Laws of Justice to all the sd Majestys Subjects that do or shall reside or inhabit therein, and to the end they may all live together in the fear of God, and Loyalty to our said Sovereign Lord the King & endeavour & good affection one towards another. We the sd Governour and Company of Merchts of London trading into the East Indies at our Court of Comittees holden as above, sd have made & Ordained & do do by these presents, make, ordain, constitute & appoint our Govr & Council of Us for the sd Island for the time being or the major part of them, under Us to have & exercise the supreme Comand, Power and Authority in the said Fort & or Island of St Helena in all Causes, and matters whatsoever, unto whom the People & Persons there residing or inhabi of what Quality or Condition soever are to give, and yield due, Obedience, & for the prevention of all oppression & serious	This continued the system of laws sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. The company set out that justice was to be administered to all the king's subjects living on the island, so that they might live together in the fear of God and in loyalty to the king, and might treat one another with affection. The governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies, at a court of committees held as above, made and ordained the following. The governor and council of the island for the time being, or the greater part of them, were to hold and exercise the supreme command, power and authority in St Helena in all cases and matters, and everyone living on the island, whatever their rank or condition, owed them due obedience. So that all disorder and irregular proceedings might be prevented, and so that the governor and people might have some settled rules to work by, the company made and ordained the laws, rules, orders, directions and forms of proceeding that followed, which it wanted carefully and exactly observed on the island and in the territories belonging to it. The margin marked this as the governor and council to hold the chief and supreme power in St Helena, and as all obedience owed to them.

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		irregular proceedings. That there may be some known Rules for Govnor & People to walk by, We have ordaind & do by these presents make, ordain, Constitute & appoint the severall Laws, Rules, Orders, Directions & forms of Proceed ings hereafter mentioned & expressed to be carefully and punctually observed in the sd Island of St Helena & the Territories and places thereunto belonging That is to Say. First touching Religion & the Worship of God. 1. We do direct, order & appoint that the Lords day be religiously observed, by Abstinence from all Bodily & secular Imployments, As also from all Gaming and other incraisefull Pastimes & that our Govnor & Council take care not only to appoint some some Publick place or place for the Worship of God, whether all Persons may resort & attend & join in the publick service, of Religious Dutys, in Prayer, reading, the word hearing of sermons and on occasion and at fitt times the Administration of Bothe the sacraments **Margin Notes:** Govr & Councill to have the chief & supreme Comand of St Helena. All should yeild Obedience & Reason. Religion & Divine Worship of the God by & to be instructed in Governt House &c &c.	The first laws concerned religion and the worship of God. 1: The company directed and ordered that the Lord's day be kept religiously, with everyone abstaining from all bodily labour, from all gaming and from other unlawful pastimes. The governor and council were to appoint a convenient place for the worship of God, where everyone might gather each Sunday to join in the public service of religious duties, in prayer, in reading the word, in hearing sermons, and on occasion and at set times in the administration of the holy sacraments. The margin marked this as religion and the strict observance of the Lord's day, and the governor and council to attend it. **Interpretations** The placing of religion and the worship of God as the very first head of a whole system of laws shows how the company ordered its priorities in governing the island. This was a conventional pattern in the legislation of the period, where godliness was treated as the foundation of civil order rather than a separate private matter. By opening with the Sabbath and public worship before turning to property, crime or defence, the company signalled that it regarded religious observance as the ground on which a disciplined and obedient population was built, and as the first duty of the governing officers who had to enforce it. Vesting the supreme command in the governor and council, or the greater part of them, and requiring obedience from everyone regardless of rank, reveals the company concentrating all authority on the island in a single small governing body. There was no separation of powers here, no distinct legislature, executive or independent judiciary. The same handful of officers made the rules, enforced them and judged offenders, a concentration that suited a remote settlement of a few hundred people but left the inhabitants with no institution standing between them and the council's collective will.
27	23	And Constitutions. 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 Decency and order and if that there shall happen to be no minister upon the sd Island, yet they shall in a decent manner assemble together on the Lords day, & in such case the Governr & his Council shall cause some part or portion of the Holy Scripture, and some Godly sermons to be read with Prayer & such other Dutys to be performed as they in their Christian prudence shall think fitt. 2. That in the Publick the Minister or such is Discharg the Duty of Prayer in absence of a Minister to be mindfull, to pray for our Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesty, the Peace, Happyness and Prosperity of his Kingdoms as also for the good & welfare of the English East India Company, And also that in the publick Assembly every Lords day at such times as may be made convenient, the Creed commonly called the	These were laws and constitutions of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. By their presence the governor and council were also to encourage the minister in carrying out his duty and the people in their attendance on the ordinances, and to see that everything was done with due reverence and in a decent and orderly way. If at any time the island had no minister, the people were still to gather on the Lord's day, and on such occasions the governor and council were to have some part of the holy scripture and some godly sermons read to them, along with prayers and whatever other duties they in their Christian judgement thought fit. 2: When there was no minister, the person leading public worship was to include a prayer for the king, for the peace, happiness and prosperity of his kingdoms, and for the good and welfare of the English East India Company. In the public assembly every Sunday, at whatever times were convenient, the creed commonly called the Apostles Creed, or sometimes in its place the creed commonly called the Athanasian Creed, was to be used, along with the Ten Commandments of the moral law taken from the twentieth chapter of Exodus and the summary of them contained in the twenty-second chapter of Matthew, verses 37, 38 and 39 and 40, all to be read to the people. The margin marked this as a prayer to be made for the king and the company's welfare. 3: Where there was a minister resident on the island, he was to catechise the young people once every week, at the same time on the Lord's day or on some other day, teaching them publicly at the place of worship and then opening and expounding the doctrine of the true religion, so that the people might be grounded in the principles and doctrine of the faith,

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		Apostles Creed, or sometimes in place, the Creed commonly called Athanasius Creed, as also the Ten Commandments of the Morall Law out of the 20 Chapter of Exodus together with the Summary thereof as it is contain'd in the XXII Chapter of St Matthews Gospell 37, 38, 39 & 40 Verses to be read unto the People. 3. That when there is a Minister resident on the Island, the Minister once in every week either same time on the Lords day or on some other day shall Catechize the Youths, and Younger People in Publick at the Publick place of Worship and them to open and expound the Doctrine of the true Reli That is the People may be well grounded in the principl and Doctrine of Faith and be able to give a Reason of their hope, and enabled & prepared to maintain their Religion against all Opposers and Gainsayers, The time for the sd Catechizing shall be appointed by our Govnor & Council **Margin Notes:** To pray for our King & Kingdoms & the Compa Welfare. The minister to Catechise the Children weekly Govnor & Council appoint.	able to give a reason for their hope, and equipped to hold to their religion against opposers and gainsayers. The time for this catechising was to be appointed by the governor and council. The margin marked this as the minister to catechise the young people weekly, and the governor and council to appoint the time. **Interpretations** The detailed provision for worship to continue without a minister reveals a settlement that could not count on having a clergyman at all. St Helena depended on the company to send and maintain a minister across a long sea passage, and vacancies were inevitable. By laying down exactly what was to be read, the creeds, the commandments and set scripture, the company built a form of lay-led worship that could run in the clergyman's absence, keeping religious observance going as an instrument of order even when the island had no ordained man to conduct it. The prescribed prayer for the welfare of the East India Company, set alongside prayers for the king and his kingdoms, shows how the company inserted itself into the island's devotions beside the Crown. This coupling of company and sovereign in public prayer reflected the peculiar position of a trading corporation that was also the temporal ruler of the place. Requiring the inhabitants to pray for the company's prosperity bound commercial loyalty to religious duty, using the pulpit to reinforce the settlers' allegiance to the corporate proprietor that governed and employed them.
28	24	Laws and as to be present themself if not thought Necessary Affairs. Secondly touching ye Administration of Justice and Common Right 1. We do direct and appoint That in all Cases Justice be administred Impartially without Favour or Affection. 2. That no Person be divested or dispossysed of Houses Goods or Lands or other Rights whatsoever, or suffer any Corporal Punishment for any cause or Crime before a due Tryable had, and a Verdict given against such Person by a Jury of twelve Men as hereafter is directed, unless in such Cases as are herein Recited to by or provi & shall be hereafter declared by some Law to be in force by the said Company, or by the Court of Comittees of ye sd Company 3. That no Person be Imprisoned upon any Private Act of Debts or Trespass, for or by reason of any Felony, Offence, Misdemeanor, or publick crime Whatsoever without the cause or matter of such Imprisonment be expresst in the Warrant for his Comittment, & in Case the same be not produced within the two first Court Days after such comittment is certified to the Court which the marshall or Prison keeper is and shall be bound to do immediately upon such Comittment, then such Person may sue out his Discharge from the said Comittment, and the Judge shall grant the same without Bail.	These were laws of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. The governor and council were to be present at worship whenever they were not kept away by necessary business. The second head of laws concerned the administration of justice and common right. 1: The company directed and appointed that in all cases justice be administered impartially, without favour or affection. The margin marked this as justice to be administered impartially. 2: No person was to be deprived or dispossessed of his houses, goods or lands or any other rights, or to suffer any corporal punishment for any cause or crime, before a fair trial had been held and a verdict given against him by a jury of twelve men, except in cases already provided for, or later provided for, by some law made by the company or by the court of committees of the company. The margin marked this as no person to be convicted of any offence without a jury. 3: No person was to be imprisoned for a private debt or injury, or on account of any felony, offence, misdemeanour or public crime, without the cause of the imprisonment being set out in the warrant of commitment. If this was not done, then within the first two court days after the commitment the matter was to be certified to the court, which the marshal or prison keeper was bound to do immediately on any commitment. The person could then sue for his discharge from custody, and the judge was to grant it without bail. The margin marked this as no person to be imprisoned without cause of the offence recorded. The third head, for the better settling and establishing of a method for due proceedings, followed. 1: The governor and council were to appoint, from time to time, one or more able and understanding persons to be called the sheriff or sheriffs, who under the governor and council were to inspect all matters

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		Thirdly, And for the better setling and Establishing a Way & method for due proceedings, We direct and appoint. 1. That there be appointed by the Governr on the Consent of the Council from time to time some one or more able, honest & understanding Person or Persons to be call'd or known by the Name of the Sheriff or Sheriffs shall under our Governr and Councils inspect all matters & affairs within the sd Island, both for preserving the companies **Margin Notes:** Impartiall Justice directed. That no Person be divested of Houses or Lands & Suit a Jury. No Person to be Imprison but on Warrant Expressing the Offence. Sheriffs to be Named.	and affairs on the island, both for preserving the peace. The margin marked this as the sheriff to be appointed. **Interpretations** The guarantee of jury trial before anyone could lose property or suffer corporal punishment shows the company importing one of the central protections of English law into its island code. Trial by a jury of twelve was the ordinary safeguard of the subject at home, and by writing it into the system the company extended that protection to St Helena, subject only to exceptions it reserved to itself by later law. This gave the inhabitants a real check against arbitrary punishment, though one whose limits the company kept in its own hands through the power to carve out exceptions. The rule requiring the cause of imprisonment to be stated in the warrant, with a swift right to discharge if it was not, mirrors the protection against arbitrary detention that habeas corpus provided in England. By obliging the marshal to certify any commitment to the court within two court days and letting the prisoner sue for release, the company built a local mechanism against unlawful imprisonment. On an island where the same few officers held every kind of power, this procedural check mattered, giving a detained person a defined and rapid route out of custody rather than leaving his liberty to the unregulated will of his gaolers.
29	25	Constitutions right, & for maintaining of Peace, Amity, & good order amongst the Inhabitants, Punishment of Crimes, And Wickedness as hereafter is expresst, and for execution of all Orders, Writs and Summons for the Governr & Council or from the Court of Judicature, (to be issued as is hereafter Specified) for examining of Jurys, Apprehension of Criminals and such like affairs, and may also be appointed, when & as often as the Governr shall think fitt, to arm, muster, and train such Persons within the sd Island as shall be thought convenient and necessary to be always in readiness for Defence of the Place, and suppressing any Tumults, & Insurrections & to Act in all matters According to all Orders, Instructions, & Directions as We and they shall from time to time receive from the sd Governour, and all affairs both Civil & Military, and all other Persons are hereby required to be aiding and assisting unto the sd Sheriff or Sheriffs in the Due Execution of his, & their Offices, and the sd Sheriff or Sheriffs shall take an Oath before the sd Governr in these Words, You shall be good & true to Our Sovereign Lord the King of England, and his Heirs & Successors, You shall to your Utmost preserve & maintain the rights of the Governr and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies as & to the Island of St Helena, & to your Power shall not suffering wrong or Detriment to be done to them or their Estates, But shall give advice or Notice thereof to the Governr & Council, You shall carefuly & impartially discharge the office	These were constitutions of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. The sheriff was to preserve the peace, unity and good order among the inhabitants and to punish crime and wickedness as later set out. He was to carry out all orders, writs and summonses of the governor and council, or of the court of judicature to be established, for summoning juries and inspecting criminals and other matters. As often as the governor and council thought fit, the sheriff might also be required to raise, muster and train such of the island's people as were judged convenient and necessary, so that they were always in readiness for the defence of the place and for putting down any tumults or insurrections. He was to act in all matters according to the orders, instructions and directions he received from time to time from the governor. All officers, both civil and military, and all other persons were required to aid and assist the sheriff in carrying out his office. The sheriff was to take an oath before the governor in these terms. He would be faithful and true to the king of England and his heirs and successors. He would to his utmost preserve and maintain the rights of the governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies, and of the island of St Helena, and would not, as far as lay in his power, suffer any wrong or harm to be done to them or to their estates, but would give notice of it to the governor and council. He would carefully and impartially discharge the office of sheriff of the island according to the established laws, executing all writs, orders, summonses and sentences of the court of judicature, or of the governor, that were properly and duly committed to him. In everything he would behave truly and faithfully, giving a good conscience and due account of all fines he levied from time to time in his office, or otherwise, and would make payment of them to the treasurer or receiver appointed by the governor and council, whenever he was required to do so. **Interpretations** The combining of policing, military mustering, execution of court process and the collection of fines in the single office of sheriff shows how a small settlement concentrated many functions in one appointee. In England these tasks were spread across constables, militia officers, bailiffs and revenue collectors, but St Helena's tiny population could not support such specialisation. The sheriff became the

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		of Sheriff of ye sd Island according to the Laws Established & shall issue all Writts, Orders, Summons and Sentences of the Court of Judicature, or of the Governr to be Speedily & duly examin and in all things you shall behave your self duly and truely in your Office as Sheriff according to your Good Conscience And Skill from time to time give due Accot of all monies by you collect for Fines or otherwise, and to make Payments to the Treasurer or Receiver that is or shall be appointed by the Govr & Council when you shall be thereunto required, So help me	general instrument of the governor and council's will, at once peace officer, defence organiser and financial agent, a breadth of role that reflected the practical realities of governing a place with very few men to hold office. The oath binding the sheriff to protect the rights of both the king and the company, named together, reflects the dual allegiance that ran through the whole island order. The officer swore loyalty to the Crown as sovereign and to the company as proprietor in the same breath, and undertook to guard the company's estates and give notice of any harm to them. This made the sheriff not merely a neutral officer of justice but an active defender of the company's proprietary interest, folding protection of the corporation's property into the very oath by which he took up a public office. **Speculations** The company required the sheriff to account for and hand over his fines to a separate treasurer or receiver, rather than letting him keep them as the reward of his office. The alternative was the common English practice by which officers were remunerated through the fees and forfeitures they collected, a system visible everywhere in contemporary administration. By separating the levying of fines from their retention and routing the money to an appointed receiver, the company kept its revenue under central control and removed the incentive for a sheriff to multiply penalties for his own gain, choosing accountable collection over the cheaper but corruptible fee-based model.
30	26	Laws and 2. That at the chief place of the Island where the Governr and Council reside, there be erected one Court of Judicature, for the hearing, deciding and determining of all Causes and Differences between party & party, And of all criminal matters and that our Governr (for the time being) be the sole Judge thereof. That the sd Court shall sitt once every three months, or oftner if occasion be, And that the sd Judge take care that all proceedings and Sentences be duly ordained, or Registred in Books to be kept for their purpose, & that all Officers requisite for the sd Court be appointed from time to time by the Governr and such moderate & seasonable 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 Sitt, And that any Officer that shall take any greater Fee or Reward for any thing in the Execution of his Place, then in that sd Table is sett or shall refuse or delay the Doing of his Duty being thereto required shall loose his place, & making satisfaction of double Damages to the Party greivd. 3. That all Tryals in the sd Court be by Jurors of twelve Men, the Jury to be returnd by the Sheriff or Sheriffs of the Island, and the like to be observed in criminal Cases, each Jury man to take an Oath in these words, You shall sweare well & truely to try the matter in Question between A & B	These were laws of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. 2: At the chief place of the island, where the governor and council sat, one court of judicature was to be held for the hearing and deciding of all cases and disputes between one party and another, and of all criminal matters. The governor for the time being was to be the sole judge of it. The court was to sit once every three months, or more often if occasion required, and the judge was to take care that all proceedings and sentences were duly recorded in books kept for the purpose. All officers needed for the court were to be appointed from time to time by the governor, at whatever reasonable and seasonable fees were necessary for the service, and no higher fees were to be charged to the people. A table of these fees was to be publicly set up in the place appointed for the court to sit. Any officer who took a greater fee or reward for anything done in carrying out his office was, once that table was in place, to lose his post and make satisfaction of double damages to the injured party if he refused or delayed to do his duty when properly required. The margin marked this as the governor to be judge, and as a table of fees to be hung up in the court. 3: All trials in the court were to be by a jury of twelve men, the jury returned by the sheriff of the island, and the like practice observed in criminal cases. Each juryman was to take an oath in these words. He would faithfully and truly try the matter in question between the parties according to the evidence, with a good conscience and the established laws, so help him God. The margin marked this as trials to be by jury, and the jury's oath. The fourth head, so that religion, virtue and honesty might be encouraged, upheld and rewarded, and vice punished, and so that everyone might know what was required and what punishment followed, came next. The company directed and appointed that anyone who publicly profaned the Lord's day by travelling, working, gaming or other unlawful pastimes was, for the first offence, to be reproved and admonished. The margin marked this as the punishment of those who profaned the Lord's day.

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		according to Evidence, Good Conscience and the Laws Established so help you God. Fourthly And, to the Intent, Religion, morality And vertue may be countenanced, and Supprest & Punished & that it may be known what is required and what Punishment inflicted. We do ordain and appoint that all & every Person or Persons that shall Publickly prophane the Lords day by Travelling, working, Gaming or other Unlawfull Pastimes shall for the first offence be only reproved, and admonished **Margin Notes:** The Governr to be Judge. Table of Fees to be hung up in the Court. sd Tryal to be by Jurys. The Jurys Oath. sd to be tryd & tried to reprovd.	**Interpretations** The rule fixing court officers' fees on a table publicly displayed, backed by loss of office and double damages for overcharging, shows the company attacking the extortion that fee-taking offices invited. Across contemporary administration, officials paid through fees had every incentive to inflate their charges, and litigants had little redress. By publishing the lawful fees where all could see them and imposing heavy penalties for exceeding them, the company gave the ordinary inhabitant a visible standard to hold officers to, turning an opaque and abusable system into one the people themselves could police. Making the governor the sole judge of the court while also head of the council that made the laws and ran the island reveals the near-total fusion of powers at the top of the settlement. The same man legislated, governed and now judged, with no independent bench to check him. This concentration was practical on an island of a few hundred, where no separate class of trained judges existed, but it left the impartial administration of justice the first head had promised resting entirely on the character of a single company officer who answered only to London.
31	27	Constitutions but for every such Offence afterwards shall be fined at the Discretion of the Governr and not exceeding the Value of five Shillings for one Offence. 2. That all Swearing and taking the name of God in vain be carefully avoided, & 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 Govnor & Council not exceeding the Value of one Shilling for one Offence. 3. That all Intemperance and Drinking be abstaind from as being Destructive both by the Bodies & souls of men, & that if any shall drink to Drunkenness for the first Offence he shall be admonished by the Governour or any of his Council, & And if after Admonition he shall offend again & be again Duly convicted. Then he shall be fined at Govnor & Councils Directions not Exceeding the Value of five Shillings for the first, it being intended that if any Person of Quallety, sort should be Example to others, & be found guilty, That they may a greater fine than Persons of Rank. 4. That all Fornication, Uncleanness & Adultery, be forborn & if any be found Guilty & convicted of the said Crimes by Confession or by Verdict of a Jury, that in such Cases (untill it be otherwise provided) our Govnor & Council do take care to discountenance and punish the same in such a Way as shall be found most efficacious & agreable to the Nature of the Deed & not contrary to the Laws & Statutes of the Kingdom of England.	These were constitutions of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. For every later offence of profaning the Lord's day, the fine was left to the discretion of the governor, not exceeding five shillings for a single offence. 2: All swearing and taking the name of God in vain was to be carefully avoided. Anyone who, after being once publicly admonished for the fault, offended again by swearing, was to be fined at the discretion of the governor and council, not exceeding one shilling for a single offence. The margin marked this as swearing. 3: All drunkenness and excessive drinking was to be avoided, as destructive to men in both body and mind. Anyone who drank to drunkenness was, for the first offence, to be admonished by the governor or any of the council. If after that admonition he offended again and was again duly convicted, he was to be fined at the discretion of the governor and council, not exceeding five shillings for the first such fine. The intention was that a person of rank, who might set an example to others, could be fined more heavily than a person of lower standing if found guilty. The margin marked this as drunkenness. 4: All fornication, uncleanness and adultery was to be avoided. Where anyone was found guilty and convicted of it before the court, by confession or by the verdict of a jury, then in such cases, until it was otherwise provided for, the governor and council were to take care to discourage and punish the offence in whatever way was found most effective and agreeable to the nature of the wrong, and not contrary to the laws of the kingdom of England. The margin marked this as uncleanness, to be tried by a jury. 5: No one was to steal or take from another what did not belong to him. Where a theft was committed and the person duly convicted of it by a jury, then whether the theft was carried out by taking anything by force or by threats, putting a man or woman in fear, or by breaking open any shop, room or cupboard, or was a theft by stealth, the convicted party was not only to restore to the owner what had been stolen. The margin marked this as the first law against stealing. **Interpretations** The graduated scheme of admonition first and a capped fine only on a repeated offence shows the company designing its moral discipline to correct rather than merely to punish. For profanity, swearing

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		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 that by taking away any thing by Force, or Threats from the sd of any man or Woman whereby they might be putt in fear, Or breaking open any House or Room, or Cupboard, or Drink, & our said the Party convicted shall not only restore & make to the Party from whom he Stole the same **Margin Notes:** Swearing. Drunkeness. Uncleaness but to try it by a Jury. Fixed Law against Stealing.	and drunkenness alike, a first lapse brought a warning and only persistence brought a penalty, and even then within fixed money limits. This measured approach reflected a settlement small enough that the governing officers knew every inhabitant personally, where the aim was to keep a working community in order by steering conduct back into line, not by harsh exemplary punishment of first offenders. The express provision that a person of rank be fined more heavily than a person of lower standing for the same drunkenness inverts the usual expectation that status brought lighter treatment. The company reasoned that the prominent set an example, so their misconduct did greater damage to the discipline of the whole. On a small island where the behaviour of leading men was visible to all, holding them to a stricter financial standard was a deliberate tool for maintaining order from the top down, making rank a source of greater accountability rather than of privilege before the island's law.
32	28	Laws and that thre times the Value thereof, & the rest of the Estate whatever (after his Debts paid) shall be forfeited to the Company & he shall stand in the Pillory in a publick Place & be whipt from thence to the Prison, & if he be then left to the Discretion of the Govr & Council to discharge him or keep him in prison, & return him by the next ship for England, & if it be any other kind of Thievery & the Party be convicted thereof as aforesaid. He or She shall return what He or She Made & three times the Value more to the Person from whom He or She Stole the Same, & in case of Poor 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 Convicted by the charge of the sd Court to find the Value of the thing or Things Stolen. 6. If any Person called or Tendring himself to be a Witness in any Case shall witness falsely through Mallice or Covetousness or any other Accident, unless it shall appear to be merely by mistake & in some circumstance not much materiall to the thing in Question & that be being of Convicted, the same Damage, Pain, or Prejudice that his Testimony (had it been true & received) would have produced or do procure, (excepting Death) to any other Person he shall be adjudged to Sustain according to the Verdict of a Jury, & for ever his Witness & Testimony shall be denied & adjudged invalid to all intents & purposes, and if appear such Witness was suborned, there both the sd witness and the person that suborned him to be Equally liable to make Satisfaction as aforesaid, & shall both stand in the Pillory. 7. If any Person shall Counterfeit any Deeds Debts Writings, or other Papers, or by any device cheat another of any Lands, Goods, or monies, & thereof be convicted by a Jury, He shall make Satisfaction to the Party injured	These were laws of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. The convicted thief was to restore three times the value of what he had stolen, and the rest of his goods, after his double payment was made, were to be forfeited to the company. He was to stand in the pillory in a public place and then be sent to prison. If he offended again, it lay in the discretion of the governor and council either to discharge him or to keep him in prison and send him back to England by the next ship. For any other kind of theft where the party was convicted as before, he was to restore what he had stolen, or three times its value, to the person from whom he took it. Where he lacked the means to pay, he was to be made to work for that person until the amount was worked off, according to the judgment of the jury, who in cases of theft were to be directed by the charge of the court to fix the value of the thing or things stolen. 6: If anyone called or offering himself as a witness in any case gave false evidence through malice or contrivance, then, unless it appeared to be merely by mistake and in some circumstance not material to the matter in question, he was, on conviction, to suffer the same damage, penalty or prejudice that his testimony, had it been believed and acted on, would have brought or procured for another person, short of death, all according to the verdict of a jury. His evidence and testimony over and above this were to be treated as void to all intents and purposes. If it appeared that such a witness had been suborned, then both the witness and the person who induced him were equally liable to make satisfaction as stated, and both were to stand in the pillory. The margin marked this as false witness. 7: If anyone counterfeited any deeds, debts, writings or other papers, or by any device cheated another of any lands, goods or money, and was duly convicted of it by a jury, he was to make satisfaction to the injured party. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The punishment for perjury, making the false witness suffer exactly the harm his lie would have inflicted on another, applied the ancient principle of reciprocal penalty to a settlement that depended on jury verdicts for its justice. Because the court relied on sworn testimony to convict, a lying witness struck at the whole system, and threatening him with the precise fate he had tried to visit on his victim was both a deterrent and a rough equivalence. Extending equal liability to anyone who suborned a witness reveals the company reaching past the visible perjurer to the

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		Margin Notes: False Witness.	hidden party who corrupted the evidence, protecting the integrity of trial by jury at its root. The escalating treatment of theft, restitution and the pillory for a first offence but the option of transportation back to England for a repeat, shows the company using removal from the island as a penalty of last resort. Shipping an incorrigible thief home rid the small community of a persistent offender it could not reform, a sanction available precisely because the island was a remote outpost connected to England only by the company's vessels. This made banishment by ship a distinctive tool of island justice, holding in reserve the power to expel those whom fines, restitution and public shame had failed to correct.
33	29	Constitutions & shall be also fined the like Sum to the Company & to stand on the Pillory on three Publick Days, that so he may be known, & in case of Disability to make satisfaction or pay the Fine, He shall be obliged to Work for the party injured in the first place & then for the company & pay such Sum as by a Jury shall be adjudged sufficient to satisfie them the said summs. 8. In case any Person shall Quarrel 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 & even & besides shall also be fined at the Discretion of the Govr & Council to the Use of the Compa for breach of the Peace, the sd Fine not to exceed 20 shings one Offence. 9. 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 Govr & Council agreeable to the Law of England. 10. In case any strike an Officer being about the Execution of his Office & shall be thereof convicted by a Jury, he shall be fined at the Discretion of the Governr to the Use of ye Compa not exceeding five Pounds or be Ducked & Whipt as the person unless the Governr with the consent of the major part of the Council shall think fitt to pardon him, & shall more over pay treble Damages to the Officer injured to be assessed by a Jury. And we do Ordain Constitute & appoint as a perpetuall Rule and Law to be observed in the sd Island that in every case where any tryal is herein before appointed to be by Juries, it shall & may be lawfull to & for the Sheriff & Sheriffs of the sd Island to impanell and return a Jury as well any English men to the same marriners or others who shall happen to be on the Island as of the Constant Inhabitants thereof. And for the better preserving the Peace of sd sd Island, & keeping all Persons in due Subordination, & securing the sd against Enemies. We do ordain direct & appoint& **Margin Notes:** Forgery. Quarreling and breach of Peace.	These were constitutions of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. Anyone convicted of counterfeiting or cheating was also to be fined the same sum to the company and to stand in the pillory on three public days, so that his offence might be known. Where he lacked the means to pay the fine, he was to be obliged to work, first for the injured party and then for the company, for whatever time a jury judged sufficient to make up the amount owed. The margin marked this as forgery. 8: If anyone drew a weapon on another who was not his servant or under his command, or struck or wounded him, the offender was to make satisfaction to the injured party according to the verdict of a jury. He was also to be fined at the discretion of the governor and council for the use of the company, for the breach of the peace, the fine not exceeding twenty shillings for a single offence. The margin marked this as quarrelling and breach of the peace. 9: In a case of wilful murder, the party convicted by a jury was to suffer death, the manner of the death left to the discretion of the governor and council in accordance with the law of England. The margin marked this as murder. 10: If anyone struck an officer who was carrying out his office, and was convicted of it by a jury, he was to be fined at the discretion of the governor for the use of the company, not exceeding five shillings, or be put in the stocks, unless the governor, with the consent of the greater part of the council, thought fit to pardon him. He was also to pay double damages to the officer he had injured, the damages assessed by a jury. The margin marked this as striking an officer. The company ordained and appointed, as a perpetual rule to be observed on the island, that wherever a trial had already been appointed to be by jury, and wherever else it might be convenient, the sheriff of the island was to empanel and return a jury from among the English men, or others who happened to be on the island, as well as from the constant inhabitants. The margin marked this as a perpetual rule of proceeding, that all trials be by jury, and juries to be summoned from those on the island as well as the inhabitants. For the better preserving of the peace of the island, the disarming of all persons in need of subordination, and the securing of the island against enemies, the company ordered, directed and appointed further. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The provision drawing juries from English men and others temporarily on the island, not only from the settled inhabitants, reveals how thin the resident population was for staffing a court. A permanent community of a few hundred could not always supply twelve suitable and disinterested jurors, so the company let the sheriff draw on visitors, the crews and passengers of ships in the road, to make up a panel. This expedient kept trial by jury workable on an island that might otherwise lack the men to convene one,

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		Murther. Striking an Officer. A Perpetual Ordinance that all Tryalls to by Jurys & how it before appointed to be by Juries &c. Keeping the Peace.	treating the transient shipping population as a reserve pool for the administration of justice. The graduated fines for violence, capped at twenty shillings for drawing a weapon or wounding but only five for striking an officer, reveal the company scaling its penalties to the harm each act did to public order rather than to the victim alone. Every offence against the peace carried a fine to the company for the breach itself, over and above the damages owed to the injured person. This double liability shows the company treating violence as an injury to the settlement's order as well as to the individual, asserting its own interest as keeper of the peace alongside the victim's right to compensation.
34	30	Laws and 1. That no person whatsoever shall imprison or lay violent hands on, or strike the Governr, or any his superior Officer or Minister, or attempt or conspire, so to do; & in case any shall offend therein, & be thereof convicted by a Jury, he shall suffer such Corporal Punishment not exceeding to the taking away of Life, as the Governr with the advice and consent of the major part of his military Officers shall adjudge according to the Nature of his Offence, & in case of his striking the Governr he shall also forfeit to the use of the Compa all his Lands & Tenements Goods & Estate. 2. That if any Captain, Officer or Soldier in the Compa service in the sd Island shall neglect his Duty, sleep upon, or be absent or depart from his watch or Station, or make any Quarell or Disturbance whilst on the Guard, & be thereof convicted by the Testimony of two Witnesses upon Oath. He or they shall be fined by the Govr to the Use of the Compa not exceeding one Months pay, & shall also suffer such corporal punishment not extending to the taking away Life or Limb) as the Governr with the advice and consent of the major part of his military Officers shall adjudge the matter to require. 3. That if any Captain, Officer, Soldier or marriner that have entertained themselves in the Compa service in or out the sd Island, or any Inhabitant thereof, or any person or persons that shall come to the sd Island, shall raise or a term & make, or abett any mutiny, or shall contrive or endeavour either him self, or to entice or Corrupt any other Officer, soldier or marriner or Inhabitant, or any other Person whatsoever, to fire or destroy, or to yield, & deliver up any Fort, ship, or Vessel or Magazine in or at the sd Island to any Enemy whatsoever, such Capt Officer soldier marriner, Inhabitant or other Person being thereof duly convicted by a Jury, shall be sentenced to suffer Death, & to forfeit those all his Estate to the Use of the Compa which Sentence **Margin Notes:** Striking of the Govr or any his	These were laws of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. 1: No one was to lay violent hands on or strike the governor or any superior officer or minister, or to attempt or conspire to do so. Where anyone offended in this way and was convicted of it by a jury, he was to suffer corporal punishment short of death, as the governor, with the advice and consent of the greater part of his military officers, judged according to the nature of the offence. If he had struck the governor, he was also to forfeit to the company all his lands, tenements, goods and estate. The margin marked this as striking the governor or any superior officer or minister. 2: If any captain, officer or soldier in the company's service on the island neglected his duty, slept on watch, was absent or departed from his watch or station, or made any quarrel or disturbance while on guard, and was convicted of it by the sworn testimony of two witnesses, he was to be fined by the governor for the use of the company, not exceeding one month's pay, and was also to suffer corporal punishment short of death, as the governor with the advice and consent of the greater part of his military officers judged the matter to deserve. The margin marked this as an officer or soldier neglecting his duty. 3: If any captain, officer, soldier or mariner who had entered the company's service, whether at the island or elsewhere, or any inhabitant, or anyone else who came to the island, raised or made any mutiny, or conspired or endeavoured to do so, or enticed or corrupted any other officer, soldier, mariner, inhabitant or any other person to flee or to destroy, deliver up or yield any fort, ship, vessel or magazine on the island to any enemy, then that captain, officer, soldier, mariner, inhabitant or other person, being duly convicted by a jury, was to be sentenced to suffer death and to forfeit all his estate to the use of the company. The margin marked this as making or exciting mutiny to be a capital offence. **Interpretations** The singling out of any assault on the governor for the extra penalty of total forfeiture of lands and goods, on top of the corporal punishment for striking a superior, shows the company treating the governor's person as the embodiment of its authority on the island. An attack on him was not merely violence against an individual but a blow against the whole structure of rule, and the confiscation of the offender's entire estate marked the gravity of that symbolic breach. This reveals how far the settlement's order depended on the inviolability of its single head, whose authority stood in for the distant company itself. The treatment of mutiny and the betrayal of any fort, ship or magazine as a capital crime reveals the constant fear of internal treachery that shadowed a remote and lightly held possession. St Helena's security rested on a small garrison and a handful of works, any of which could be lost if men were corrupted or forts surrendered from within. By making not just mutiny but the enticing of others to it punishable by death and

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		Superior Officers or Ministers. Officer or Soldiers neglect of Duty. Mutiny & Rebellion be Capitall Offence.	forfeiture, the company aimed its severest sanction at the earliest stage of conspiracy, betraying how vulnerable it knew the island to be to subversion from among its own people.
35	31	Constitutions Sentence shall be executed accordingly, unless the Governr with the Advice & Consent of the major part of his military Officers shall pardon or remitt any part of the same. 4. That there be no wastfull Expence of any Powder, shott, Ammunition, or other Stores in the sd Island nor any Emblez ment of the publick Stores, & if any shall Emblez, or steale any Powder, Ammunition or other Stores & sell the same, both the Persons so Embezling, or Stealing as also the abetters, Buyers, & Receivers thereof shall be liable over & above the Penaltyes herein before appointed in cases of theft, to be imprisoned not Exceeding Six months, or to suffer such corporal Punishment (not Extending to deprivation of Life or Limb) as the Governr with the Advice & Consent of the major part of his Council shall adjudge the matter to deserve. 5. In case any Person or Persons shall make any insurrec tions, or gather together in an hostile manner without the especial command of the Govr or of such who have Authority from him, or shall not upon Command from the Governr lay down their Arms & submitt to the Ordinary service; as also if any person or persons shall entice to betray or Deliver up the Island, or any Fort, Castle, Bott, or place therein, or any Ship or Vessel 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 Declard Enemies to the English & shall be legally convicted by a Jury of twelve men of any the sd Crimes, he or they shall be sentenced to suffer Death, & forfeit all their Estates, which Sentence shall be executed accordingly unless the Govr with the Advice & Consent of the major part of the Council shall on good Consideration think fitt to Pardon or remitt any part hereof. 6. And whereas severall English Ships have of late turnd out from England upon severall Accot to trade in the sd East Indies to the great prejudice of the East India Company, & in case of his Majestys Royal Charter whereby the Whole entire Trade **Margin Notes:** Embezlement of Stores & Ammunition. Insurrection and	These were constitutions of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. The sentence for mutiny was to be carried out accordingly, unless the governor, with the advice and consent of the greater part of his military officers, chose to pardon the offender or remit any part of it. 4: There was to be no wasteful expense of any powder, ammunition or other stores on the island, nor any embezzlement of the public stores. Anyone who embezzled or stole any powder, ammunition or other stores and sold them, together with the buyers and receivers, was to be liable to the same penalties already appointed for theft. He could be imprisoned for up to six months, or suffer corporal punishment short of loss of life or limb, as the governor, with the advice and consent of the greater part of the council, judged the offence to deserve. The margin marked this as the embezzlement of stores and ammunition. 5: If anyone raised any insurrection, or gathered together in a hostile manner without the special command of the governor or of those authorised by him, or refused to act on the governor's command to lay down their arms and submit to ordinary service, or if anyone endeavoured to betray or deliver up the island, or any fort, castle, boat or place on it, or any ship belonging to the English, into the hands of any other people or nation, or held intelligence or correspondence with any declared enemies of the English, then, being lawfully convicted by a jury of twelve of the island's enemies, they were to be sentenced to suffer death and forfeit all their estates. The sentence was to be carried out accordingly, unless the governor, with the advice and consent of the greater part of the council, thought fit on good consideration to pardon the offender or remit any part of it. The margin marked this as insurrection and rebellion. 6: Several English ships had lately set out from England on private account to trade in the East Indies, to the great harm of the company's trade, and against the king's royal charter, by which the whole entire trade was granted to the company. The margin marked this as interlopers. **Interpretations** The strict controls on powder and stores, with embezzlement punished as severely as theft, reveal how precious military supplies were to an island that could not replace them locally. Every barrel of powder had to be shipped from England, and a garrison short of ammunition could not defend the place, so pilfering from the magazine threatened the settlement's survival, not just the company's property. By extending liability to the buyers and receivers as well as the thief, the company attacked the whole chain through which stolen stores were disposed of, treating the integrity of its arsenal as a matter of defence rather than mere accounting. The definition of treason to include holding correspondence with declared enemies, alongside the actual betrayal of forts or ships, shows the company guarding against subversion at the level of communication itself. On an island where a single act of treachery could deliver the whole possession to a hostile power, mere contact with the enemy was treated as a capital danger. The provision reveals a settlement acutely conscious of its exposure, where the company reached beyond overt acts to punish the intelligence and correspondence that might precede

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		Rebellion. Interlopers.	them, drawing the line of capital crime as far forward as it could. The reservation to the governor and his officers of a power to pardon or remit even these gravest sentences reveals the company tempering its severe criminal code with a controlled discretion at the top. Death and forfeiture stood as the law's threat, but the actual execution rested on the judgement of the governor in council, giving the settlement flexibility to show mercy where circumstances warranted. This kept the final decision over life in the hands of the same body that governed, ensuring that the harsh letter of the law could be softened when strict enforcement would not serve the company's wider interest in a stable and populated island.
36	32	Laws and from the sd Indies is granted unto Us; & all other his Majestys Subjects are strictly charged not to trade thither. 7. And whereas such interloping ships have in their return home been refresh, accommodated, & supplied in their necessities at the sd Island of St Helena. And whereas we are credibly informd that severall private Persons are fitting & setting out severall other ships & Vessels in a way of trade & merchandize to the sd East Indies contrary to his Majestys Royal Charter granted Us as aforesaid; Now therefore in as much as it is no Way agreeable to those dutifull Movements which we have & ought to have to the sd Majesties especiall grace & Favour in Granting the sd Island to Us, that the same should be made Use of for the refreshing & accommodating of their ships towards the sd People who presumes to trade to the sd East Indies contrary to his sd majesties Royal Charter, & in high Contempt of his majtys Royal Prerogative in that behalf nor was the sd Island granted to Us to that end, if it should be made Use for the Encouragement of such Disloyal Persons in such their Disloyal attempts For the sd Governr & Compa of merchts of London trading into the East Indies. Do therefore by these presents Ordain & require that the same be strictly observd as a Standing Ordinance & Rule within the sd 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 necessarys any minor, or persons belonging to any ship or Vessel, that shall come to the sd Island, untill such time sd our Governr of the sd Island have allowd & admitted such ship or Vessel & the Persons thereunto denying a liberty of Trade & refreshment on the sd Island upon pain that every Offender herein, if he be one of the sd Council shall forfeit & pay the Sum of £20, and if any other Inhabitant of the sd Island the Sum of £10 sterling to the Use of Us & our Successours for every such Offence. And **Margin Notes:**	These were laws of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. The whole trade from the East Indies was granted to the company, and all the king's subjects were strictly forbidden to trade there. 7: Such interloping ships had, on their passage, been refreshed, accommodated and supplied with necessaries at the island. The company had been credibly informed that several private persons were fitting out and sending several other ships and vessels on a trade in goods to the East Indies, contrary to the king's royal charter. Since it was in no way agreeable to the interests the company had and ought to have from the king's grace and favour in granting it the island, that the island should be used to refresh and supply such ships, the company acted. To encourage men who presumed to trade in the East Indies against the royal charter, and in high contempt of the king's royal prerogative, was contrary to the whole reason the island had been granted, if it were to be turned to that use for the benefit of such disloyal persons in their disloyal attempts against the company's exclusive right of trade into the East Indies. The company therefore ordained and required, as a standing ordinance and rule on the island, the following. No person then living on the island, or who settled there afterwards, was to trade or traffic with, or in any way relieve or supply with necessaries, anyone belonging to any ship or vessel that came to the island, until the governor of the island had allowed and admitted such ship or vessel and its people to a liberty of trade and refreshment on the island. This was on pain that every offender, if he was a member of the council, forfeited and paid the sum of £20, and if any other inhabitant of the island, the sum of £10, to the use of the company and its successors for every such offence. The margin marked this as no encouragement to interlopers on pain of a penalty. **Interpretations** The prohibition on supplying interloping ships until the governor had admitted them shows the company enlisting its island possession directly in the defence of its trading monopoly. St Helena's value as a place of refreshment on the long East India route cut both ways, for the same supplies that sustained the company's fleets could sustain the private traders who undercut its exclusive charter. By barring the inhabitants from relieving any vessel the governor had not cleared, the company turned control of the island's provisions into a weapon against interlopers, denying them the water, food and rest they needed to reach the Indies and compete. The setting of a heavier penalty for a councillor than for an ordinary inhabitant, £20 against £10 for the same act of trading with an interloper, reveals the company holding its own governing officers to a stricter standard than the general population. A member of the council who broke the rule undermined the very authority charged with enforcing it, and the doubled fine reflected that greater breach of trust. This graduation of penalty by office, seen earlier in the

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		No Encouragement to Interlopers on penalty of £10.	treatment of drunkenness by rank, ran through the island's code as a consistent principle that those set in authority bore heavier liability when they offended. **Speculations** The company chose to police interloping through a licensing power vested in the governor, admitting ships case by case, rather than by an outright ban on supplying any vessel that called. The blanket prohibition was the simpler course and would have shut interlopers out completely, but it would also have denied refreshment to the company's own ships and to legitimate callers whose trade the island existed to serve. By making the governor the gatekeeper who cleared each vessel before the inhabitants could deal with it, the company preserved the island's function as a victualling station while still excluding the private traders it meant to starve, accepting the burden of individual scrutiny over a cruder rule that would have harmed its own shipping.
37	33	Constitutions 8. And we do further Ordain & strictly charge, & require our sd Governr of the sd Island, that We do not give or grant any such Liberty of Trade or Refreshment on the sd Island to any ship or Vessel that shall come to the sd Island other than such ship & Vessels as & their story that shall come thither in our Service & Bott upon the discovery of any English ship or Vessel that shall come to or before the sd Island. We do forthwith make & publish a Proclamation on the sd Island that none of the sd Inhabitants thereof do presume to trade or traffick with, or any way relieve or Supply with necessarys or otherwise refresh or accommodate such ships or Vessels or any Person or Persons belonging thereunto, untill the sd Governr shall by like Proclamation declare & Publish a Liberty so to do, which He shall by no means declare, or suffer, unless we sd Governr have express Order for so doing from Us, signified under the Hands of Thirteen or more of the Court of Committees whereof ye Governr or his Deputy to be One, or that the Commander or marriners of such ships or Vessels or any of them shall & do voluntarily & of their good desire up such ship or Vessel with her Lading unto his Possession. And in such case of Delivery up of such ship Our sd Govr of St Helena shall not only grant unto such Commander or marriners free & full Liberty of Trade & Traffick in the sd Island & with the Inhabitants thereof, But also relieve & supply them such necessarys & Convenienc as the sd Island will afford, and shall also deliver to them or receiving all the Goods & merchandizes belonging to them, or any of them in such ship or Vessell, the same being no part of the port generall Cargo thereof, & shall also entertain such master & marriners in the	These were constitutions of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. 8: The company further ordered and strictly charged the governor of the island not to give or grant any liberty of trade or refreshment on the island to any ship or vessel that came there, other than the company's own ships and vessels and their crews, that came on the company's service. On the appearance of any English ship or vessel that came to or near the island, the governor was at once to make and publish a proclamation on the island that no inhabitant was to trade or traffic with it, or in any way relieve or supply it with necessaries, or otherwise refresh or accommodate any such ship or vessel or anyone belonging to it, until the governor by a further proclamation declared and published a liberty to do so. Anyone who did so was to face a penalty, unless the governor had a special order from the company for allowing it, signified under the hand of thirteen or more of the court of committees, the governor of the company or his deputy being one. This restriction was to hold unless the commander or mariners of such a ship or vessel, or any of them, voluntarily surrendered the ship and its lading into the governor's possession. In such a case of surrender, the governor was not only to grant the commander and mariners full liberty of trade and traffic on the island along with the inhabitants, but also to relieve and supply them with such necessaries and conveniences as the island afforded. He was also to take delivery of all the goods and merchandise belonging to them on the ship or vessel, provided these were no part of the company's own general cargo. He was further to entertain the master and mariners in the company's service, if they were willing to be taken on, at whatever monthly or other wages and salary the governor and they could agree. He was to take care to procure them a passage home with their goods on the next company ship or ships bound home for England that arrived at the island, and on the arrival of that ship or ships in England, the master and mariners were to be provided for. **Interpretations** The offer of full trading privileges, supply and even employment to any interloping crew that voluntarily surrendered their ship reveals a shrewd inducement folded into an otherwise punitive rule. Rather than relying only on the threat of denial and penalty, the company held out a positive reward to men who would give up their vessel, turning the crews of rival traders against their own voyage. This carrot beside the stick shows the company using the island not merely to starve interlopers of supplies but to actively dismantle their enterprises by tempting their sailors to defect with promise of passage home and wages in the company's own service.

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		our Service (if they be willing to be entertaind therein) for such monthly or other Wages and salary as our Governr & they can agree on, and shall take care to procure them Passage with their Goods on our next ship or ships which shall arrive the sd Island bound Home for England upon the arrivall which ship or Ships in England, the sd master & marriners **Margin Notes:** Governr to encourage ye Interlopers.	The requirement that even a licence to relieve an English ship come under the hands of thirteen or more of the court of committees, with the governor or his deputy among them, shows how tightly the company guarded any exception to its trade monopoly. The governor on the spot could proclaim the ordinary prohibition freely, but only a formal act of the company's central body in London could authorise a departure from it. This reservation of the dispensing power to a large quorum at home reveals the company's determination that no single officer, however senior on the island, could open the door to interlopers on his own judgement.
38	34	Laws & Constitutions ye Ship Surrat Merch their respective Executors administrations or assigns shall re ceive such Wages or Salary as our Govnor of the Island St Helena shall have made with them, And in such case of the free & voluntary Delivery of such ship or Vessel unto the Hands & Possession of our sd Governr of St Helena as aforesaid We do appoint & order that our sd Governr do forthwith take an Inventory & make a true & true Inventory in Writing of all such Goods & merchandizes as shall be so delivered into his Hands, And cause two copies at least thereof to be fairly Written out & attested by five or six credible witnesses at the least, and send one of those copies to Us by the next opper tunity to the End after we have advised the Kings most Excellent majesty thereof We may give further Order touching the Disposition of such ship & Goods so delivered into his hands aforesaid, Provided always that upon the coming of any English ship or Vessell not in our & Service to or before the sd Island St Helena, if it shall appear to our sd Governr thereof that the sd Ship or Vessell hath been trading only to Madagascar or the ports adjacent for Negroes It shall & may be lawfull to & for our sd Governr, to give unto such ship or Vessel, and unto & every person or persons there unto belonging free Liberty of Trade, And of having & receiving any manner of Refreshment on the sd Island, or unto or from any Inhabitants thereof upon such Terms & Agreements, as our sd Governr shall in his Discretion think fitt to make with them any thing herein before contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Given under our common seal the day, and year first above written. **Margin Notes:** Negroe Ships may be permitted to refresh.	These were laws and constitutions of the system sent by the ship *Surat Merchant*. The master and mariners were to be paid whatever wages or salary the governor of the island had agreed with them. In such a case of the free and voluntary surrender of a ship or vessel into the hands and possession of the governor, the company ordered that the governor at once take the goods on shore and make a true and accurate written inventory of all the goods and merchandise delivered into his hands. He was to have at least two copies of it made and duly signed by five or six credible witnesses, and to send one copy to the company by the next opportunity, so that after the company had advised the king, it might send further orders about the disposal of the ship and goods so surrendered. Where any English ship or vessel not in the company's service came to or near the island, if it appeared to the governor that the ship had been trading only to Madagascar or the neighbouring ports for slaves, the governor could lawfully grant that ship and everyone belonging to it the liberty of trade, and of every kind of refreshment on the island, or supply from any of the inhabitants, on whatever terms and agreements the governor in his discretion thought fit, anything earlier to the contrary notwithstanding. The margin marked this as slave ships permitted to refresh. The laws were issued under the company's common seal on the day and year first written. **Interpretations** The single exception carved out for ships trading to Madagascar for slaves, permitted to refresh freely while all other private English vessels were barred, reveals how the company distinguished between trades that threatened its monopoly and one that served the island's needs. The company's exclusive charter covered the East India trade, so vessels bound there were rivals to be starved, but the slave trade to Madagascar supplied the labour on which St Helena's plantations depended. By opening the island to slavers alone among private traders, the company showed its restrictions were aimed precisely at protecting its own commerce, not at excluding outsiders as such, and that it would bend the rule where its settlement stood to gain. The elaborate provision for inventorying a surrendered ship's cargo, with multiple witnessed copies sent to London before the company would consult the king on its disposal, reveals the legal caution surrounding the seizure of interlopers' goods. Taking a vessel and its lading, even by voluntary surrender, raised questions of ownership and Crown interest that the company could not resolve on its own authority. The careful documentation and the reference home for further orders show a proprietor conscious that confiscated property was a matter touching the royal prerogative, to be handled with a paper trail that would stand scrutiny rather than settled summarily on the island.
39	35	Honble Companies Orders Our Governr & Council of St Helena	This was one of the honourable company's orders, addressed to the governor and council of St Helena

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		London 14th March 1701. That we may be truly understood by you, We tell you again briefly that all foreigners, Dutch, French, Portugueze and Danes who touch about our sd Island shall only pay the duty of Anchorage being first setting up for a ship bigg or little, But such English as invade our Trade shall pay Us besides Anchorage the Dutys of Toage aforementiond, which you are to receive from every English ship before you admitt them to trade or Refreshment from the sd Island, any Small ships that shall come from home to the purposes mentiond in the former part of this Letter, or upon any other account, except Trading within the Compa Charter in India, We understand shall pay only as Mada gascar ships sd two Shitings & six pence the Tunn for the Burthen of the ship. Besides the duties before mentiond, which you are to receive from all English ships that shall trade in Sonda or Madagascar, or any other place in their the Semetts of our Charter without our especial Licence, We do hereby farther require you to demand & receive 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 or not in our service, five Shillings for Anchorage for each ship for every voyage, We shall come to Anchor in our sd Road of St Helena. We do hereby likewise strictly forbid all Persons upon our sd Island of St Helena, from setting or uttering by way retailing, Arrack, Punch, Bear, Wine or other Liquor or Toth except only such and so many Persons as shall obtaind licence for so doing under the Hand & seal of our governr for the time being. And **Margin Notes:** Do (193) Foreigners to pay & Anchorage Duty. But foreigners of Toage to be paid over sd to be paid by all Ships Against retailing of Liquors	and issued at London on 14 March 1701. The margin marked it as page 193. So that the governor and council might clearly understand the company's meaning, the company set out again briefly that all foreigners, whether Dutch, French, Portuguese or Danish, who touched at the island were only to pay the duty of anchorage, this being fixed for a ship whether large or small. English ships that traded on the company's account were to pay, besides anchorage, the duties of towage already mentioned, which the governor and council were to collect from every English ship before admitting it to trade or refreshment from the island. This applied to any small ship that came from home for the purposes mentioned in the earlier part of the letter, or on any other account, except trading within the company's charter in India. The company understood that Madagascar ships were to pay only two shillings and sixpence the ton for the ship's burden. The margin marked this as foreigners to pay anchorage duty, and English ships to pay towage duties. Besides the duties already mentioned, which the governor and council were to collect from all English ships that traded to Madagascar or any other place within the limits of the company's charter without its special licence, the company further required them to demand and collect from such ships and all others, before admitting them to any trade or refreshment from the island, five shillings for anchorage for each ship for every voyage, whatever the ship, large or small, English or foreign, in the company's service or not, that came to anchor in the road of St Helena. The margin marked this as anchorage to be paid by all ships. The company also strictly forbade everyone on the island from selling or uttering, by way of retail, arrack, punch, beer, wine or other liquor, except such persons and only so many as obtained a licence to do so under the hand and seal of the governor for the time being. The margin marked this as against retailing of liquor. **Interpretations** The graduated schedule of port charges, anchorage on every vessel with additional towage on English ships trading on the company's account, reveals the island functioning as a revenue-collecting station as well as a place of refreshment. St Helena sat astride the return route from the Indies, and the company used its control of the anchorage to levy dues on the shipping that had to call there. By fixing different rates for foreigners, company ships and Madagascar traders, the company turned the harbour into a source of income, taxing the very traffic its mid-ocean position guaranteed. The requirement that all liquor retailing be licensed under the governor's own hand and seal shows the company placing the drink trade under direct official control on a small and confined island. Unrestricted sale of arrack, punch and wine threatened the order and sobriety the laws elsewhere tried to maintain, particularly among soldiers and sailors. By confining retail to a limited number of licensed sellers, the company could regulate how much drink reached the population and keep the trade in hands answerable to the governor, using the licensing power as a tool of social discipline over a place where drunkenness was a standing concern.
40	36	Honble Companies Orders And we do hereby further require, you once at least in every year to send us an exact List of all our Officers & soldiers with a Distinction against the name of each Officer & Soldier whether married or unmarried, Planters or no Planter, How many marriages & Christnings you have in each Year, And how many Planters there be upon	These were the honourable company's orders addressed to the governor and council of St Helena. The company strictly required the governor and council to send, once a year, an exact list of all the officers and soldiers, marking against the name of each whether he was married or unmarried. The list was also to record how many planters there were on the island, how many marriages and christenings there had been in each year, and to mark against each planter's name

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		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 on the exact performance whereof we require you not to fail as you value your places & our Displeasure. Send us likewise a perfect List of all our stores of all kinds, the Number & nature of all our Ordnances, Powder, Shott, Arms & Amunition of every sort, of what Debts We owe to any Person or Persons for Salary, Wages or any other thing As also of all money due to Us from whom & for what, & of all Poor persons we have in Store, the Particular Quantitys & sorts thereof, Every one of these, things are necessary for us to know annualy in Order to our more Certain Direction of the Government, & Order for our Concerns upon that sd Island. Send us an Account likewise of what Cattle & other stock there is upon the Compa Plantation & what Negroes of the Companies are imployd thereupon, and if for want of money you should sometime be forced to take Negroes for Prisoners of the Madagascar ships We desire our Governr who we alone We do trust with our Plantations, which we to expect our Governr should so manage for us that at length we may receive some profitt by them. If any of our Council should be remiss or negligent in the adoing of our Governr, in the Execution of these or any of our Laws, or Orders, We do hereby give Power & Authority to our Governr for the time being to suspend and remove from being **Margin Notes:** An exact Sate of Inhabitants &c. List of Stores and Stores. Accot of Cattle & Stock. Govr to manage the Plantations. Council are under their orders Govr.	whether he was married or unmarried. In a column for the purpose against each name, the list was to show how many slaves he kept, and in another column the number of his children. The company warned the governor and council to obey this direction as they valued their places and wished to avoid the company's displeasure. The margin marked this as an exact list of the inhabitants. The company also required a proper list of all its stores of every kind, showing the number and nature of all its ordnance, powder, shot, arms and ammunition of every sort, what debts the company owed and to whom, and for what, whether to persons on salary or wages or for anything else. The list was to show all money owing to the company, from whom and for what, and what profits and provisions the company had in store, with the exact quantity and sorts of each. All these things the company needed to know yearly, so that it could better direct the government and order its concerns on the island. The margin marked this as a list of provisions and stores. The company further required an account of what livestock there was on the company's plantation, what slaves of the company's were employed there, and if for want of money the governor and council should at any time be forced to take slaves in payment for arrears from the Madagascar ships, the company left it to the governor and council alone, as the company trusted them with its plantations, which the company expected the governor and council to manage, so that in time the company might draw some profit from them. The margin marked this as slaves to manage the plantations. If any member of the council was remiss or negligent in aiding the governor in carrying out the company's laws or orders, the company gave the governor for the time being power and authority to suspend and remove him from the council. The margin marked this as councillors aiding the governor. **Interpretations** The demand for an annual census recording each inhabitant's marital state, number of children and number of slaves reveals the company managing St Helena as a population to be counted and grown, not merely governed. The careful tallying of marriages, christenings and children shows a proprietor anxious to track whether the settlement was reproducing itself, while the count of slaves measured the labour force. This yearly enumeration, backed by the threat of displeasure, gave London a demographic picture of its distant colony, treating the size and composition of the population as data essential to running the place. The instruction to take slaves in payment of arrears from the Madagascar ships, and to employ them on the company's plantation for profit, shows the company using St Helena as a direct participant in the slave economy of the southern oceans. Where private slavers could not pay their port dues in money, the company would accept human beings instead and set them to work on its own land. This reveals slavery woven into the island's finances at the most basic level, with slaves serving both as the labour that made the plantations productive and as a currency in which debts to the company could be settled. **Speculations** The company entrusted the decision to accept slaves in payment of arrears to the governor and council alone, rather than reserving it to London as it did with licences for interlopers and exceptions to the trade monopoly. The contrast on the page is deliberate: matters touching the company's exclusive charter were kept firmly in the hands of the court of committees, but the running of the plantations was devolved to the men on the spot. The company reasoned that plantation management, unlike trade policy, needed local judgement about immediate shortfalls of cash and labour, and that the distance made it impractical to

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			refer such operational choices home, so it chose devolution here precisely where it withheld it elsewhere.
41	37	Ship Charles the Second any such remiss & refractory person, and from all salary, or other Benefitt thereby, untill he shall be Restored again by our own Orders and Appointment, which Act of Suspension We will & order our sd Governour to so of him yet at his own Discretion with or without the Consent of the or sd of Our Council there. &c. Your loving Friends &c. Our Governr & Council at St Helena. London 1 August 1683. 2. Now upon perusal of our Consultation Book and Consideration of the triviall Causes that so fall under your Decision & the paines of your Inhabitants. We do think such a formal Proceeding as We have prescribed by a formall System of Laws, would rather be a Burthen than a Benefitt to our Island at present. & that therefore you may proceed to determine Causes in that method you have begun already, & with which your Inhabitants are not only acquainted but very well satisfied. 3. But in case of the taking away of Life, Limb or Lands, we would have you proceed according to that method by Juries. 4. That System we sent you was for the most part drawn from the model of Laws We established upon our Island of Bombay where the number of the Inhabitants are computed 20000, but upon Recollection finding ye whole Number of men Women, servants, and Children not to exceed five hund We think for the present, ye method you are in may be best Our Service and the Good of the Island except in Capitall **Margin Notes:** Letter No 14 Common manner to adjudge, the Govern but great Offences to be by Jurys. Burdens for that Land.	This closed one letter and opened another, both carried by the ship *Charles the Second*. A councillor suspended for being remiss or negligent was, from the moment of his suspension, cut off from all salary and other benefits, and was to be restored only by the company's own orders and appointment. The company left this power of suspension to the governor to use at his own discretion, with or without the consent of the rest of the council on the island. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. The next letter was addressed to the governor and council at St Helena and issued at London on 1 August 1683. The margin marked it as article number 14. 2: On reading through the consultation book and the record of the minor cases that fell under the governor and council's decision and the punishment of the inhabitants, the company judged that a formal proceeding of the kind laid down by its whole system of laws would be a burden rather than a benefit to the island for the present. It therefore directed that minor cases be determined by the method the governor and council had already begun to use, and with which the inhabitants were not only acquainted but well satisfied. The margin marked this as minor matters to be judged by the governor, but great offences to be tried by jury. 3: Where the punishment involved the taking away of life, limb or land, the company required the governor and council to proceed by jury. The margin marked this passage. 4: The system the company had sent was drawn for the most part from the model of laws established on the island of Bombay, where the number of inhabitants was reckoned at 20,000. On reflection, finding that the whole number of men, women, servants and children on St Helena did not amount to 500, the company judged for the present that the method the governor and council were using was best for the company's service and the good of the island, except in capital cases. The margin marked this as fit for that island. **Interpretations** The company's decision to suspend most of its own elaborate legal system in favour of the informal method the governor and council had already adopted reveals a proprietor willing to bend its grand design to the realities of scale. The full apparatus of formal proceedings had been drafted for Bombay, a settlement of tens of thousands, and simply did not fit a place of fewer than five hundred souls. By letting the island keep its rougher, quicker way of settling minor disputes, the company showed that it valued workable order over uniform procedure, adjusting its law to the size of the community rather than forcing an oversized structure on a tiny population. The reservation of jury trial for cases touching life, limb or land, even while ordinary formal procedure was set aside, shows the company drawing a firm line around the gravest matters. Petty disputes could be handled informally by the governor and council, but no one was to lose his life, his body or his freehold without the safeguard of twelve men. This selective retention reveals which protections the company regarded as fundamental, keeping the jury as the guarantee against the most serious deprivations while freeing the everyday administration of justice from a formality the small island could not sustain. **Speculations** The company had built St Helena's legal code on the model already established for Bombay, the obvious course of extending a system it had proven elsewhere, and then drew back on discovering that Bombay's tens

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			of thousands of inhabitants had no counterpart on an island of fewer than five hundred. The rejected path is visible in the letter, which names the Bombay template and the population figure that undid it. What tipped the company toward improvisation over its own carefully drafted system was the sheer disproportion of scale, a formal machinery designed for a city imposed on a village, and the company's willingness to abandon the tidier course reveals a pragmatism that put the actual working of the island above the consistency of applying one legal design across all its possessions.
42	38	By ship Charles. 5. The List you have sent Us with severall Columns for men, Women, Servants & Children, Cattle & we We very well approve of and do require you to send us the like on a every Year, and if any Planter or Soldier shall refuse upon demand to inform you you such an Accot, or shall give you a false Accot we do hereby impose upon such Offender, & pay every such Person a Fine of Forty Shillings to be levied by Distress for the Use of the Company upon their Good and Cattles value, & c. 6. We find by the List of Guns sent unto us by Capt Beale, One Thousand Four Hundred & odd Guns which is so strange, & wonderful that we Could not think our Governr would have been guilty of, especially considering that ye Island hath cost us Forty thousand Pounds without one penny profitt hitherto more than Refreshment to our ships in the all Strangers have had as well as our stores; But most Imprudent it was to Salute & entertain, and as it is for our minister or Church (if our information be true) to be first aboard the Interloper Ships, 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 Governr Hand writing & if any shall transgress this Order, Levy a fine of ten shillings for the Companies use for each offence. 8. For answering Salutes, We do enjoyn for the future that never above the number of three Guns to be fire to any of our ships at Arrival, nor any Guns fired at Feasts or the Landing or going aboard of Commanders, nor ever above the number of seven to any French, Dutch, or other European nor any at all upon any Occasion to any & Interlopers And we do require an Accot yearly to be sent Us, under the former of the Forts hand of all Guns fired & upon what Occasion and that none be fired hereafter upon any **Margin Notes:** Planters not giving Account to forfeit 40s.	This letter was carried by the ship *Charles the Second*. 5: The company approved the list the governor and council had sent, with its several columns for men, women, servants and children, and required the like to be sent on a single sheet. If any planter or settler refused, on demand, to give the governor and council such an account, or gave them a false one, the company imposed on such an offender a fine of forty shillings, to be levied by distress on his goods and cattle, for the use of the company, as often as he offended. The margin marked this as planters not giving account to forfeit forty shillings. 6: The company first turned to the list of guns fired, sent home by Captain Poirier, one thousand three hundred and odd guns, which was so strange to the company that it could not think the governor and council would have been guilty of it, especially considering that the island had cost the company forty thousand pounds without one penny of profit so far, beyond the refreshment that all strangers had received as well as the company's own fleets. Most impudent of all was that the interloper ship which came in on the last voyage had, if the company's information was true, been saluted with guns and admitted first, and its commander entertained at the governor's own house, with the church minister giving the interloper precedence. The margin marked this as page 2. 7: For the future the company required the governor and council to allow no one to go aboard any interloper ship unless they held a licence under the governor's own hand, on pain of a fine of ten shillings for the company's use for every such offence. The margin marked this as no one to go aboard interloper ships on pain of a penalty. 8: For answering salutes, the company ordered for the future that no more than three guns be fired to any of its own ships on arrival, nor any guns fired at feasts or at the landing or going aboard of commanders, nor ever above seven guns to any French, Dutch or other European ship, nor any at all on any occasion to any interlopers. The margin marked this as the number of guns allowed to be fired. 9: The company required an exact yearly account, under the hand of the governor of the forts, of all guns fired and on what occasion, and that none be fired thereafter. The margin marked this as an account of guns fired to be sent to the company. **Interpretations** The company's fury at more than thirteen hundred guns fired in salutes reveals how the cost of gunpowder made ceremony a serious drain on a settlement that had already swallowed forty thousand pounds without return. Every salute burned powder that had to be shipped from England at great expense, and on an island returning no profit the waste was intolerable. By capping the guns fired for each class of vessel and demanding a yearly account, the company treated saluting not as harmless courtesy but as a measurable expense to be controlled, subordinating the etiquette of the sea to the discipline of its accounts. The particular outrage that an interloper had been saluted, admitted first and entertained at the governor's house, with the minister granting it precedence, reveals

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		By No 2 No Person to go on board an Interloper Penalty of 10s. Number of Guns allowed to be fired. to ship Accot none fired.	the company's fear that its own officers were colluding with the traders who undercut its monopoly. This was not merely wasteful but a betrayal, the governor and minister honouring the very men the company sought to exclude. The episode shows how the interloping problem reached into the loyalty of the island's leadership itself, and why the company tightened the rule against boarding such ships, suspecting that the danger to its trade came as much from within its settlement as from the interlopers without. **Speculations** The company answered the scandal of its officers favouring an interloper not by punishing the individuals but by writing a fixed and universal schedule of salutes, capping the guns for every class of vessel and forbidding any to interlopers. The narrower course would have been to discipline the governor and minister who had shown the interloper precedence, but the company chose instead to remove the discretion that had allowed the abuse, converting a matter of judgement into a rigid rule. This reveals a proprietor that trusted written limits over the loyalty of its distant servants, reasoning that a precise account of powder spent, enforceable from London, was a surer guard against collusion than reliance on officers who had already proven willing to honour the company's rivals.
43	39	The Second any Occasion whatsoever except by our Governour, (for the time being) his Order. We observe it comes to every Planter's turn on Twenty Acres of Land to keep Watch & Ward every Sixth Night, which is two months of the Year, And that such as do hire their Duty to be done for them pay Forty Shilling per pound for it, and that if We have thought fitt that the sd Forty Shillings & Arms upon Every twenty acres of freehold Land shall hereafter be paid in money to the Governr yearly, And the Planters Discharged of such we as stand Watching & warding in Arms. Bett notwithstanding all free Planters, & all Persons living within the Island that are able to bear Arms, (except the Blacks) shall be Duly mustered as they have been Constantly upon all Allarms appear at their respective Quarters in Arms upon the same Penalty upon the Defaulters as hath been formerly used, or such greater Penaltys our Governr & Council shall think fitt to impose upon them, And shall when & attend as train'd Bands at General Musters, & Exercise of Arms which our Governr & Council shall command them to. The Party so paying his full Debt, the Govr shall not only give him a Discharge under his Hand & Seale but also a Deed or print from the Company for the Tenure of his Lands to be holden of the Compa According to a Form sent us & formerly herewith, to which two Witnesses our Governr & Council shall & you & the Register attest, mentioning the folio of the Register Book wherein the sd Land is Registred, for which the free Planters as also the Lessee shall pay the Register two Shillings & six pence. And when any Land shall be hereafter Sold or otherwise	This letter was carried by the ship *Charles the Second*. No guns were to be fired on any occasion at all except by the order of the governor for the time being. The company observed that the duty of keeping watch and ward every sixth night, which came round to every planter's turn on twenty acres of land, amounted to two months of the year. Rather than have those planters do the duty themselves, the company was content that they pay forty shillings a year in place of it. It therefore ordered that a rent of forty shillings an acre on every twenty acres of freehold land be paid to the governor yearly, and that the planters be discharged of watching and warding in arms. Despite this, all the planters and all the settlers living on the island who were able to bear arms, except the slaves, were still to be duly mustered as they had always been. On any alarm they were to appear at their respective quarters in arms, on the same penalty for defaulters as had been used before, or whatever greater penalty the governor and council thought fit to impose. They were also to attend and train in companies at the general musters and exercises of arms the governor and council commanded. The margin marked this as planters that do not keep constant watch to be excused at forty shillings an acre on alarm. Once a planter had paid his full debt, the governor was not only to give him a discharge under his hand and seal, but also a deed in print from the company for the tenure of his lands, to be held of the company according to a form sent for the purpose, to which the governor and council were to set their hands and the register attest, mentioning the folio of the register book where the land was registered. For this the free planters, or else the settlers, were to pay the register two shillings and sixpence. The margin marked this as a deed for land, the governor to pay two shillings and sixpence. Whenever any land was later sold, transferred, given or divided, the sale, transfer, gift or division was to be void as against the purchaser, inheritor or assign, unless the transaction was registered in the register book within a month of its date. The margin marked this as all bargains and transfers to be registered. **Interpretations** The commutation of watch-and-ward duty into an annual money rent of forty shillings an acre reveals the company converting a personal service obligation into a source of cash income. Keeping guard every sixth

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		given, or Devised, the same so bargained given or Devised shall be well & duely to the Purchaser, Inheritor, or Legat except such Bargain, Alienation, Gift or Devise shall Registred in the sd Register Book within a month next the Date of such Bargain, Sale, Alienation, Gift or Devi **Margin Notes:** Planters that do constant Duty are Excused with 40s 40s per Annm. Deed for Land Given to pay 2s 6d. All Bargains and register to be made.	night cost each planter two months of the year in labour, and the company found it more useful to take money in place of that time. This shift from service to rent, while still requiring musters and defence on alarm, shows the company monetising the settlers' obligations where it could, turning a duty owed in person into a predictable revenue stream while keeping the military reserve it needed for emergencies. The provision issuing each planter a printed company deed for his land, tied to the folio of the register where it was recorded, shows the maturing of the island's system of title into something approaching modern property records. The move from individual grants to standardised printed deeds, cross-referenced to a central register and attested by the governor and register together, reveals a settlement whose landholding had grown orderly and documented enough to warrant uniform instruments. This bureaucratisation of title, with its fixed fees and its insistence on registration within a month of any transfer, marks how far the company had brought a once-informal frontier under the discipline of paper and record.
44	40	By Ship Charles. for the sd Fee of two Shillings & six pence Toby, & twelve pence & Acre for Registring to the Company as Lords Proprietors of the Island. We do further Order that no Person whatsoever do presume to Cut any Timber, Tree upon the Compa Ground or any Tree of theirs growing to be Timber, upon the Penalty of Twenty Shillings for every Offence. We have formerly prohibited our Free Planters from keeping any Negroes upon this Occasion Vizt least the Numbers of the Negroes upon the Island exceed the Whites should be came formidable & Dangerous to the Inhabitants, and the Security of our Island; But upon future thinking of ye matter, considering likewise that there are in Barbados usually Fifty thousand Blacks for six thousand Whites, & yet are kept in Subjection without other Garrison than the Planters themselves, and Considering that ye Soil & Climate of that Island is fitt, for Production of Comodities of a smaller nature than Cattle, or Potatoes, Yams, Plantain &c, being Willing that our Inhabitants & 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 fitt to take of that Restraint from our free Planters of keeping of Negroes only with this Condition that every free Planter, Lessee or other Person that will keep to the Number of four Negroes shall be as in what he ought to do by former Customs, and our Orders, keep one English man Extraor dinary to attend all Allarms, as every Person ought to be upon twenty Acres of Land, or pay our Governr for the same their Forty Shillings & Arms in Lieu of Watching & Warding as the two herby Ordered, Every free Planter as is to us and so Proportionably, (Vizt) for one Negroe five shillings,	This letter was carried by the ship *Charles the Second*. For the deed the fee was two shillings and sixpence for towage, and twelve pence an acre for registering to the company as lords proprietors of the island. The company further ordered that no one presume to cut any timber or trees on the company's ground, or any trees growing into timber, on penalty of twenty shillings for every offence. The margin marked this as no one to cut any trees of the company's on penalty. The company had earlier forbidden the free planters from keeping any slaves, reasoning that if the number of slaves on the island exceeded the whites, they might become formidable and dangerous to the inhabitants and to the security of the island. On further thought, and considering that in Barbados there were usually fifty thousand slaves to six thousand whites, and yet were kept in subjection with no other garrison than the planters themselves, and considering that the soil and climate of St Helena suited the growing of commodities of a similar kind to Barbados, such as cattle, potatoes, yams and plantains, the company changed its position. It wished the inhabitants and free planters not only to grow rich, as it knew they would, but to have hands to cultivate their plantations as they did in Barbados, Jamaica and other warmer places. The company therefore thought fit to lift its restraint on the free planters keeping slaves, on the condition that every free planter or other person who came to hold four slaves should do everything he ought by prior custom and the company's orders, and keep one extra Englishman to stand ready at all alarms. Every person was to be armed on his twenty acres of land, or else pay the governor for the forts forty shillings a year for watching and warding, on the terms already stated, so that every free person paid proportionately, a slave counting as an acre, one shilling for one slave, twenty shillings for two slaves and thirty shillings for three slaves a year. The margin marked this as planters and free planters allowed to keep slaves. **Interpretations** The reversal of the ban on free planters holding slaves, justified by the example of Barbados where fifty thousand were held down by six thousand whites, reveals the company weighing the security risk of a large slave population against the labour it needed to make the island productive. The earlier fear had been that slaves outnumbering whites would turn dangerous, but the Caribbean model persuaded the company that a slave majority could be kept in subjection without a

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		for two Negroes Twenty Shillings, for three Negroes thirty Shillings & Arms. The **Margin Notes:** None to cut any Tree of the Compa on Penalty. Planters at pleasure to buy Negroes.	garrison. This calculation, that profit from cultivated plantations outweighed the danger of revolt, shows the company consciously importing the slave-plantation economy of the West Indies to St Helena, accepting the risks it had previously judged too great. The requirement that each holder of four slaves keep an additional Englishman ready at every alarm reveals how the company tried to manage the security danger it was now admitting. Having decided that slave labour was worth the risk, the company built in a countervailing measure, tying the right to hold slaves to the maintenance of armed white men who could suppress any rising. This linkage of slaveholding to militia obligation shows the company treating its white population as the instrument of control over its slaves, and reveals that even as it embraced the plantation model it remained conscious of the danger of a labour force held down by force. **Speculations** The company reversed its own standing prohibition on free planters keeping slaves, a ban it had imposed precisely because it feared a slave majority would become dangerous, and the letter shows exactly what changed its mind: the Barbados example of fifty thousand slaves held in check by six thousand whites without a garrison. The safe and obvious course was to maintain the restraint it had already judged necessary for the island's security, but the company chose the riskier path of admitting slavery for the sake of plantation profit, hedging it only with the requirement of extra armed Englishmen. That the company overturned a rule grounded in the fear of revolt reveals how heavily the prospect of a productive, self-enriching planter class weighed against a danger it had once thought decisive, with the Caribbean precedent supplying just enough reassurance to tip the decision.
45	41	The Second The Reason of which Order is as the Negroes do increase upon the Island it will be necessary for the Compa proportionably to Increase their Garrison, & blacks for the Security of the Island as well as of the Inhabitants. And because no Trade can be maintaind regularly without a Register of Accounts exactly kept, & that whenever Strangers or Trade are presented some Duties ought to be paid, We do hereby Establish a Small Duty to be levied upon all the trade of the Island, as We have done at Bombay, Fort St George, & at other Places, where we or any other Europeans have made any Settlements (Vizt) For every Ox or mate Buoll Sold, a Toll Book kept & two Pence paid for Tolling 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 Sugar landed £ s d For every Hogshead of Arrack landed 10 For every Hogshead of Wine 10 For every Peice of Callico For every Peice of Silk 1 And so Proportionably, for a lesser or a Greater Quantity	This letter was carried by the ship *Charles the Second*. The reason for this order was that as the slaves increased on the island, the company would need to increase its garrison in proportion, keeping slaves for the security of the island as well as for the inhabitants. The margin marked this as the reason for the previous order. Because no trade could be maintained in good order without a register of accounts carefully kept, and because certain duties ought to be paid wherever goods were traded, the company established a small duty to be levied on all the trade of the island, as it had done at Bombay, Fort St George and other places where it or any other Europeans had made a settlement. The margin marked this as duties to be paid. A toll book was to be kept, and for every ox or fat beast sold two shillings paid for tolling it, or of any other beast. For every ox or other beast sold and sent aboard any ship, sixpence was to be paid. The margin marked this as an account of what was sold and paid for in the toll book. The duties ran as follows: For every hundredweight of sugar landed, £0 5s 0d For every hogshead of arrack landed, £0 10s 0d For every hogshead of wine, £0 10s 0d For every piece of calico, £0 0s 6d For every piece of silk, £0 1s 0d The same rates applied proportionately for a smaller or a greater quantity. For every Madagascar ship, besides the former duties of two shillings and sixpence the ton and five shillings anchorage, the master was to leave with the governor for the use of the company one able slave, a man or a woman, at the governor's choice. Every one of the company's ships in its service was to leave with the governor, besides the five shillings for anchorage, one barrel of serviceable gunpowder.

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		of said Quantities, For every Madagascar ship besides the former Duties of two Shillings & six pence & Tunn & five shillings Anchorage shall Leave with the Governr for the use of the Company One able Negroe a man or a Woman at the Election of the Governr, Every one of the Companies ship or ships in the Companies service shall Leave with the Governr besides five shillings for Anchorage One Barrell of Serviceable Gun Powder We had very scandalous Reports of some Persons going on board our ships; For the future, suffer none to go on Board upon any Pretence without a Licence in Writing from the Govr any if any offend herein & pace them to a fine of two shillings & six pence for the first Offence, Five Shillings for the second **Margin Notes:** The Reason & Proof Duties to be paid Ox & mate Hogs & sold Silk for a Toll Book. Nusen not to go on board Ships.	The company had received very disagreeable reports of goods being run and traded aboard its ships. For the future it would suffer no one to go aboard on any pretence without a licence in writing from the governor, and anyone who offended was to be fined two shillings and sixpence for the first offence, and five shillings for a later one. The margin marked this as no one to go aboard the ships. **Interpretations** The requirement that every Madagascar slave ship hand over one able slave to the governor for the company, on top of the money duties, reveals the company taking its port revenue partly in human beings. The choice of a man or woman at the governor's election shows slaves treated as a form of payment as fungible as coin, extracted as a levy on the very trade that supplied them. This payment in kind reveals how completely slavery had entered the island's fiscal machinery, with the company drawing labour for its own plantations directly from the ships passing through, as a tax on their traffic. The schedule of duties on sugar, arrack, wine, calico and silk shows the company developing St Helena into a customs post modelled on its Indian settlements at Bombay and Fort St George. The particular goods listed, the produce of the Indies and the Atlantic passing through the island, reveal the range of the maritime trade that touched there and the company's determination to draw revenue from it. By establishing a toll book and fixed rates, the company brought its mid-ocean island into the same fiscal system as its mainland factories, treating the anchorage as a taxable frontier of its commercial empire. The demand for a barrel of serviceable gunpowder from each company ship, alongside the money anchorage, reveals the constant anxiety about the island's magazine that ran through these orders. Powder could not be made locally and was the one supply on which the island's defence absolutely depended, so the company arranged to replenish its stores directly from every passing vessel of its own. This levy in powder rather than cash shows the company using its shipping to keep the forts supplied with the one commodity money could not buy on the island, treating gunpowder as a strategic necessity to be gathered ship by ship.
46	42	By ship Charles and Ten Shillings for the third offence at his troubling till you have broke them from that wicked & scandalous practice, and Compell all things to be sold in an open & free market or Meat & nothing to be carried on board our ships, and if any shall transgress this Order, Compell them to pay Double Customs, otherwise punish them at ye discretion, till you have this matter into good Order as it is in other parts of the World in all places where there is any good Government. For any other Comodities, for which no Rate of Customs is hereby set, you are at your Discretion, to sell such moderate Rates as may not be burthensome to the Inhabitants, & may bear some Proportion to the rates of Values of the Comodities as aforesaid & Suffer no Person to sell Arrack, Brandy, Punch, Wine, or any other Strong Liquor by retail without a Licence from our Governr under his Hand & seale, & let no Person have any Licence for above One year for which each	This letter was carried by the ship *Charles the Second*. The fine was five shillings for the second offence, and doubled thereafter, until the governor and council had broken the offenders from the practice and established the custom. The company required all things to be sold in an open and free market, and meat, before it was carried aboard the ships, to be sold there too. Anyone who broke this order was to be made to pay double duties, or otherwise punished at the governor and council's discretion, until the matter was brought into as good order as it was in other parts of the world where there was good government. The margin marked this as all goods to be sold in open market. For any other commodities on which no rate of duty was fixed, the governor and council were free to set whatever rates were not burdensome to the inhabitants, and might bear some proportion to the rate or value of the goods as already stated. The margin marked this as the governor and council to set other duties. The company would suffer no one to sell arrack, brandy, punch, wine or any other strong liquor by retail without a licence from the governor under his hand and seal, and no one was to hold a licence for more than a year, for which each person was to pay five shillings a year to the company. The margin marked this as licences to be paid for by the seller.

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		Person shall pay Ten Shillings & 6d unto to the Company. Be very severe against Brothers & Officers & besides the Punishment appointed by our System of Laws, if any be found Guilty of such misdemeanours a Third time force the Offender to wear about his neck an Iron Collar constantly for one Whole year, or an Iron Jock about his right Leg. We think for the publick Utility of the Island every Person as well free Planters, Shopkeepe, Lessees, Arti ficers, and all Servants, Labourers & Negroes shall afford One Days Labour in every Year for the repair & Meliorating of the high ways when they shall be seen and thereunto by our Determinance of the Highways by Word or & directed to them from our Govr & Council in which, ye Discretion will lead you to consider how many & from what Quarter to summon one day, & how many upon another Day, but so as in the which **Margin Notes:** All goods to be Sold in open market. Governr to sett other Duties. 10s Person to be paid by Retail Licence. Iron Collers for Offenders to wear or Iron Coller. One Person in one day to Mend the Highroads & for pay.	The company required the governor and council to be very severe against brothers and officers who broke the punishment appointed by the system of laws. If anyone was found guilty of such a misdemeanour a third time, the offender was to wear an iron collar about his neck constantly for a whole year, or an iron lock about his leg. The margin marked this as brothers and officers to wear an iron collar. For the public benefit of the island, the company judged that everyone, planters, shopkeepers, brewers, artificers and all servants, labourers and slaves, should give one day's labour every year to the repair and improvement of the highways, when they were called to it by the surveyors of the highways or by whoever was directed to the work by the governor and council. The company left it to the governor and council's discretion to decide how many were called and from which quarter, so that some worked on one day and others on another. The margin marked this as everyone on a certain day to mend the highways and byways. **Interpretations** The insistence that all trade pass through an open public market, on pain of double duties, reveals the company suppressing private dealing that would escape both its oversight and its customs. Sales made quietly aboard ship or out of sight paid no toll and evaded the toll book on which the island's new revenue system depended. By forcing every transaction, including the sale of meat for provisioning, into a supervised open market, the company protected its duties and its ability to police trade, treating the visibility of exchange as essential to a settlement it was determined to run like a well-governed customs post. The severe punishment of an iron collar or leg-lock worn for a whole year, reserved for repeated offenders among officers, reveals the company reaching for humiliating physical marks of disgrace to enforce discipline where fines had failed. The public and continuous nature of the punishment, an iron collar visible to the whole small community for a year, shows the company using shame as a lasting deterrent among the very men set in authority. That such a penalty fell on officers who flouted the system of laws reveals the company's determination that those charged with enforcing discipline should suffer conspicuously when they broke it themselves. The requirement that everyone, from planters down to slaves, give a day's labour each year to the highways shows the company drawing on a form of compulsory public work familiar from England to build the island's infrastructure without cash outlay. This universal labour obligation, spread across all ranks and organised by surveyors under the governor, reveals how a settlement short of money maintained its roads by exacting work directly from its population. By including every class in the duty, the company treated the upkeep of the island's communications as a common burden owed by all who benefited from them.
47	43	The Second whole every man upon the Island shall do one Days Work upon the sd Highways in each Year, or pay for a days work to the Overseers, and no more whatsoever above one Days work in one whole Year. If any Ox or other Beast be Sold, & not duely entred in the Compa Toll Book, the Bargen to be null & void, and no such Bargain for Horse or Land Not Registred as aforesaid, & in case of such omission the same shall forfeit to the & Sold to the Company, & the Buyer of any House or Land under Deed	This letter was carried by the ship *Charles the Second*. Everyone on the island was to do one day's work on the highways each year, or pay for a day's work to the surveyors, and no more than one day's work in the whole year. If any ox or other beast was sold, it was to be duly recorded in the company's toll book, and the sale registered as already stated, along with any sale of a house or land. Where this was not done, the seller forfeited ten shillings to the company, and the seller of any house or land was to pay the company's clerk his charge for registering any such sale of a house or land, as had been said. The margin marked this as the toll book and register of transfers.

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		shall pay the Compa double there for Registring an Alienation of any such House or Land so Standestin by Sale or Alienated. We do confirm the Rate of twenty Shillings & Tunn in money or Goods to be paid by every East India ship except that comes Either before our Governr suffer any such ship or any Person upon her to have Water or any other Refreshment; by this Paragraph one it and not to give any Allowance for Interlopers to trade or traffick at our sd Island But in Case to save their Lives there be a necessity of relieving them in such case only you are to take the Bear aforesaid and suffer them to have Refresh ment for their money. And we do hereby strictly forbid all Persons upon the Island from suffering the Cattle to stray or as our Law with to be Servant & Merchant upon the Compa waste Lands, except such only as shall a free market with the Compa Beach found, which one send you herewith, The Cattle in Compa to feed with the Compa being to be market upon may any in every Year or some other certain days as the Governr shall Direct, and the owners of every Beast are to pay the Compa twelve pence & hird for being suffered to graze one year upon the Compa waste Lands as as here in forests, & other places where we have Comons, & serviage, as the Lawes call it. And the we shall Seise (as all sorts of marroon as) till fine & Ransom be made at the Sides pleasure, all Cattle found upon the Compa waste to be the Compa mon in **Margin Notes:** Toll Book & Register Beast. 20s & Tunn to be paid by East Indm. the Compa to be market.	The company set the rate of twenty shillings the ton, in money or goods, to be paid by every East India interloper that came in, either before the governor allowed such a ship or anyone aboard it to have water or any other refreshment. By this rule the company did not give any allowance for interlopers to trade or traffic at the island, but where their lives were in real danger, so that there was a necessity of relieving them, the governor was in such a case only to take the rate stated and let them have refreshment for their money. The margin marked this as the rate to be paid by interlopers. The company also strictly forbade everyone on the island from letting their cattle stray, as the law required, onto the company's waste lands, except only such cattle as were first marked with the company's brand at Rupert's Bay, which the company sent with this letter. The cattle on the island were to be marked at the company's brand at any time every year, or on some other certain days as the governor directed. The owner of every beast was to pay the company twelve pence a head for allowing it to graze one year on the company's waste, whether in forests or other places, oxen, cows, horses and the like, as the law called it. The margin marked this as cattle to be marked. The company was to have all the deer, as a royalty of the manor, and until forfeiture and ransom was made at the sides of persons, all cattle found on the company's waste were to be the company's own. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The charge of twelve pence a head for grazing cattle on the company's waste, combined with the branding of livestock at Rupert's Bay, reveals the company asserting manorial rights over the island's common land in the manner of an English lord of the manor. By requiring beasts to carry its brand and pay for pasture, the company turned the unenclosed land into a source of revenue and a mark of its ownership of the whole island. The very phrase treating the deer as a royalty of the manor shows the company consciously casting itself in the role of feudal lord, claiming the wild game and the waste as incidents of its proprietary lordship. The graduated treatment of East India interlopers, charged twenty shillings the ton and admitted only when their lives were genuinely in danger, reveals the company balancing its trade monopoly against the claims of common humanity at sea. The rule denied interlopers any liberty to trade, protecting the charter, yet stopped short of refusing relief to men in real peril of their lives. This distinction between commercial accommodation and life-saving necessity shows the company drawing a careful line, willing to let its rivals perish commercially but not to leave them to die for want of water, provided they paid the fixed rate for the refreshment they received.
48	44	By ship Charles. pons and Chatties that have not the Compa waste mark, or Pitch brand upon them; yet we think it very requisite that all the Compa Cattle should be markt on each Horne with a Burnt mark, that the end that if any of them (by the men) should be held or Dye the Theft may be known to be the Companies 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 & desire that every master or mistress of a Family of what Condition soever shall yearly	This closed the letter carried by the ship *Charles the Second*. Any oxen and cattle that did not carry the company's waste mark, or Rupert's brand, might be kept, but the company judged it very necessary that all the company's cattle be marked on each horn with a Rupert's mark. This was so that if any of them were held or sold by stealth, the beasts might be known to be the company's when they came to be sold. The margin marked this as the company's cattle to be branded. Because everywhere in the known world, and among all sorts of religions, the inhabitants had always paid something towards the cost of a minister, the company ordered that every master or mistress of a family, whatever their condition, pay yearly to the receiver general sixpence a head for every person, man or woman, white or slave, above the age of sixteen

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		pay unto our receiver General six pence & head for every Person, & every man or Woman White or Black above the Age of seven years, for & towards the Compa Charge of building the Church and maintaining of a minister, the first payment whereof to comence & be paid upon the feast of St Michael the Archangel 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 whipt, and the arms to be for ever after forfited to the Compa if it can be proved that his master did any way consent or conived thereat. You did well in buying in that Plantation of mr knowles that is contigious to Ours, if there be any others that incommode us, you will do well to take the first Oppertunity of buying in for the Company, or giving the Owners other Lands in Lieu hereof. We would have you fence in the full & whole Extent of the great Wood aforesaid which we understand is near two miles square. Your Loving Friends **Margin Notes:** Compa Cattle to be branded. 6d & head towards the ministers Salary. No Blacks to use Fire Arms. Buyen what Land is necessary. Fence in the great Wood.	years, towards the company's charge in building the church and maintaining a minister. The first payment was to begin and be paid on 29 September, in the year 1684. The margin marked this as something to be paid towards the minister's salary. The company also ordered that no slave use any firearm, for shooting Guinea hens or on any other pretence whatever, on the penalty of the slave being severely whipped, and the firearm forfeited for ever to the company, if it could be proved that his master gave any consent or connivance to it. The margin marked this as no slaves to use firearms. The governor and council would do well to buy in the plantation of a Mr Knowles that lay next to the company's land, and if there were any others that inconvenienced the company, they should take the first opportunity of buying them in for the company, or of giving the owners other lands in place of them. The margin marked this as buying whatever land was necessary. The company wished the governor and council to price the full and whole content of the great wood already mentioned, which it understood was nearly two miles square. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. The margin marked this as the great wood. **Interpretations** The poll tax of sixpence a head on every person above sixteen, slave as well as free, to build the church and maintain a minister reveals the company funding religion by a universal levy that counted its slaves among the taxable population. Slaves who could not attend as full members of the congregation were nonetheless numbered when the cost of the church was shared out, their owners paying for them as for any other member of the household. This shows how the company treated its whole population, unfree included, as a base for taxation, extracting the upkeep of the ministry from the very people it held in bondage. The prohibition on slaves using firearms, backed by severe whipping and forfeiture where a master connived, reveals the company's acute fear of an armed slave population on a small and isolated island. Even the innocuous shooting of Guinea hens was forbidden, because a slave who could handle a gun was a slave who could turn one against his masters. The extension of penalty to owners who permitted it shows the company enforcing the disarmament of its slaves through the discipline of the whole household, treating the monopoly of arms in white hands as essential to holding the labour force in subjection. **Speculations** The company directed the governor and council to buy in Mr Knowles's neighbouring plantation, or where other holdings inconvenienced it, to give the owners other lands in exchange rather than simply taking or refusing to accommodate them. The blunter course, given the company's position as absolute proprietor of the whole island, would have been to assert its lordship and compel surrender of any land it wanted. That the company chose purchase or exchange instead reveals a proprietor content to deal with its own planters as property owners with real claims, preferring to consolidate its holdings by agreement and compensation over the cheaper exercise of raw proprietary power, and so preserving the security of title on which it wanted its planter class to rely.
49	45	The Second Our Governr & Council at St Helena. London 22 Augt 1683 We think you were not severe enough by much in the crime of Contemptuous Words to the Governr, such Insolences have always a Contempt of Authority, mutiny	This closed one letter and opened a passage from a charter, both carried by the ship *Charles the Second*. The first letter was addressed to the governor and council at St Helena and issued at London on 22 August 1683. The margin marked it as article number 14. The company judged that the governor and council had not been severe enough by far in the case

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		& Rebellion, & therefore ought to be punisht severily hath in Person and Purse. We must desire you to all ye Consultations not only to study Regularity, Order, and Punctuality to the People (which we all very good) but between the Compa Servant & Officer, or rather encouragement to the chosen & Charge they have been at in that Place which is highly reasonable as hath been Descended at large before Your loving Friends A clause in a Second Charter of King Charles the second Dated August the 8th 1683 in the 35th Year of his Reign. And also that the said Governr & Deputy Governr & Court of the sd Company for the time being, at the major part of them duly assembled shall have full Power Licence & Authority to name & appoint Govr & officers from time to time in the sd Forts & Factories & Plantations, which sd Govr & Officers shall have, & by these Presents we do for us, our Heirs & successors give them full Power & authority to raise the Train & muster in the well being, & as to them what shall required necessary, and to execute Law within the sd Islan **Margin Notes:** Letter No 15. Insolence & contempt the Authority Study the Compa Interest Government has power to raise Arms.	of the contemptuous words spoken to the governor, since insolences of this kind always amounted to a contempt of authority, mutiny and rebellion, and therefore ought to be severely punished by the governor and council. The margin marked this as offences against the government to be severely punished. The company also wished the governor and council to study not only regularity, order and stability in their behaviour, which were all very good, but also to give up the quarrels, or rather embarrassments, that arose from the choice or charge of the ministry, matters that had already been set out at length before. The margin marked this as studying the company's interest. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. There followed a clause from a second charter of King Charles the Second, dated 5 August 1685, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign. The governor and deputy governor and council of the company for the time being, or the greater part of them duly assembled, were to have full power and authority to name and appoint governors and officers from time to time in the forts, factories and plantations. Those governors and officers were to hold power, and by them the company and its successors could give them full power and authority to raise, train and muster forces as they judged necessary, and to execute the laws. The margin marked this as the government having power to raise forces. **Interpretations** The company's rebuke that mere contemptuous words to the governor amounted to mutiny and rebellion reveals how completely it identified the governor's authority with the security of the whole settlement. On an island held by a small garrison and a handful of officers, the company could not afford any erosion of respect for its single head, and so treated even insolent speech as a threat to be crushed rather than a trifle to be overlooked. This shows the company's conviction that authority on a remote possession rested on prestige as much as force, and that any public slight to the governor, if left unpunished, could unravel the deference on which the island's order depended. The clause of the 1685 charter conferring power to raise, train and muster armed forces reveals the Crown arming the company with the full military authority of a colonial government. This was the legal foundation for the musters, the militia obligations and the garrison that ran through all the island's laws, granted afresh in a royal charter. By securing this express power from the king, the company placed its command of armed men on St Helena beyond challenge, confirming that its right to organise the island for war flowed directly from the sovereign and not merely from its position as proprietor of the soil.
50	46	A Clause of the Kings 2 Charter Forts, & Places, the Law within & may Well suo, for ye Defence of the sd Forts, Places & Plantations against any foreign Invasion, or Danes with Amunition or Rebellion, or to follow such Orders, Directions & Instructions, as from time to time shall be Given them by the Governr or Depy Governr and Court of ye sd Company, or the major part of them; The Sovereign Right, Power & Dominion over all the sd Forts, Places & Plantations to be at any time settled in the parts aforesaid. Our Govr & Council of St Helena. London 3 Augt 1681.	This closed the clause of the king's second charter and opened a letter, both carried by the ship *Charles the Second*. The forces the company raised might be led out for the defence of its forts, places and plantations against any foreign invasion or domestic insurrection or rebellion. They were to follow whatever orders, directions and instructions the governor or deputy governor and court of the company, or the greater part of them, gave from time to time. The sovereign right, power and command over all the forts, places and plantations then settled or settled at any later time in those parts remained with the company. The next letter was addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 3 August 1687. In the first place the company required the governor and council to levy by distress, or otherwise,

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		And in the first place we require our Govr to levy by Distress, or otherwise those Duties we formerly imposed upon our Inhabitants for their Blacks, & six pence & head & we towards a maintenance of the Church and minister, all Excuses sett apart. Woolyford the Interloper from Madagascar when you had him in Possession, you should have detaind his Bear 66 to had detaind duties & not parted with him so tamely, which we require our Governr never to do again in the like case, and if he should We shall still expfor our ghtous out of his salary for so Duty of such Madagascar & Interlopers that overpe his service after he hath the Commander or Short You must not hereafter Dispence with our Orders, nor suffer the sd Inhabitants to Disobey Yours, But make it your Bussyness to endeavour those Ignorant Inhabitants by convincing them as the truth is, that we are entrusted by his majesty with the Exercise the Sovereign Power in that Island as well Legislative as Executive, and that we will Govern them as well as our Powr **Margin Notes:** Detain the Commander of Interlopers upon going to pay Duties. the Planters at their Duty when necessary.	the duties formerly imposed on the inhabitants for their slaves, at sixpence a head, towards the maintenance of the church and minister, all excuses set apart. The company turned to the case of Woolyford, the interloper from Madagascar. When the governor and council had him in their possession, they should have detained his slaves until he had paid the duties that were never paid with him so tamely, which the company required its governor never to allow again. If Woolyford should return, the governor was still to press the company's claims out of his salary for the duty on such Madagascar interlopers, since he was to escape his duties, after he had held the office of commander on shore. The margin marked this as detaining the commander of such interlopers until they paid their duties. The governor and council were not to depart from the company's orders in future, nor allow the inhabitants to disobey their own. They were to make it their business to convince the ignorant inhabitants of the truth, that the king had entrusted the company with the exercise of the sovereign's power on the island, in legislation as well as in the executive, and that the company would govern them as well as the king. The margin marked this as convincing the planters at large when necessary. **Interpretations** The company's insistence that the ignorant inhabitants be brought to understand that the king had entrusted it with the sovereign's power reveals the settlers' resistance to accepting a trading company as their lawful ruler. The very need to convince them shows that the company's authority to legislate and govern was not self-evident to the people it ruled, who may have doubted that a commercial corporation could truly stand in the king's place. This effort at persuasion, alongside the demand for stricter obedience, reveals a proprietor conscious that its unusual sovereignty required not just enforcement but explanation, teaching the inhabitants the legal basis on which it claimed to command them. The rebuke over Woolyford, whose slaves should have been held until his duties were paid, reveals the company's frustration that its officers were failing to enforce the levies on interlopers even when the means of compulsion lay to hand. Detaining the slaves of a defaulting trader was a direct way to secure payment, and the governor's tameness in letting Woolyford go without it lost the company both its duty and its leverage. This shows how the enforcement of the company's fiscal claims against interlopers depended on the resolve of the men on the spot, and how readily that enforcement slipped when officers lacked the will to press it. **Speculations** The company chose to address the settlers' doubts about its authority by instructing the governor to persuade the ignorant inhabitants of the truth, convincing them that the king had delegated the sovereign's power to the company, rather than simply commanding obedience and punishing dissent. As absolute proprietor holding the Crown's own charter, the company could have relied wholly on force and the severe penalties its laws already provided, treating any questioning of its rule as the mutiny it elsewhere called contemptuous words. That it reached instead for explanation and persuasion reveals a proprietor aware that raw compulsion alone could not secure willing subjection on a small island, and that the legitimacy of its unusual sovereignty was better served by bringing the inhabitants to accept its legal foundation than by merely crushing their doubts.
51	47	Ship Loyal Merchant	This letter was carried by the ship *Loyal Merchant*.

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		Soldiers by martiall Law as often as we or you find it necessary And as the Dutch do their Colonies in India. We see all our Duties, Debt and Payments of Goods Comes in by Cattle, and therefore for the future we have ordered all our ships to receive their Cattle imediately from the Compa or else you have any of Ours sett, for their & twice and want 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 our Governmt But we intend to do it with that moderation that it shall be rather a benefit than an hindrance to the Planters Vizt you shall receive from the Planters in truck, for our Europe Comodities after the Rate of sixteen Shillings & hundred for Beef or as near that Rate as you can Reasonably & wage for Cattle a live, And you shall Deliver such cattle to the Commanders in Truck for Sugar, or other Comodities in India, or Bills of Exchange upon Us at the & same rate of sixteen Shillings & hundred, for Beef, which shPr, Arrack, or other Comodities of India so received into our Stores, You may Sell again to the Planters, or soldiers when they have Reason for it by Retail at the Reasonable profitt of twenty & Cent which reasonable Gaine upon such wasting Comodities no man on his witts can think hard or oppressive & for men Discretled & ungovernable, the only Remedy is Law and severe Punishment which you have now Power to procure & inflict at Discretion, and which we require you to use, to make every Order we gave you by St Thomas Grantham, & since to be entirely obliged accept the half tax that were laid upon the Plantations of two Shillings & Tonn. You must also, wear the Kings Flagg, and force due Respect to be paid to it by all ships that come into that Ro Our Governour is very much to blame in not Coll his Duty in keeping mr & untill from Running so much Our Debt, which he might have prevented by the Orders w **Margin Notes:** All Cattle in the Ships. 20s India Goods at 16s & Cent &c. Govern the Inhabitants Wear the Kings Flagg.	Soldiers were to be governed by martial law as often as the company or the governor and council judged it necessary, in the way the Dutch governed their colonies in India. The company saw that all its duties, debts and payments for goods came in by cattle, and so ordered that for the future all its ships receive their cattle directly from the company, unless the governor and council had any of their own to sell for their advantage, and needed it, from the inhabitants. Where they had not enough to furnish the company's ships, which was the Dutch practice at the Cape, this rule was necessary to be observed and imitated by the whole government. The company intended it to be applied with such moderation that it would prove a benefit rather than a hindrance to the planters. The margin marked this as furnishing the ships. The governor and council were to receive from the planters, in truck for the company's European commodities, at the rate of sixteen shillings a hundred paid for beef, or as near that rate as they could reasonably manage for cattle alive. They were to deliver such cattle to the commanders in truck for sugar or other commodities in India, or for bills of exchange on the company at the same rate of sixteen shillings a hundred paid for beef. The sugar, arrack or other Indian commodities so received into the company's stores could be sold again to the planters or soldiers, when they had reason for it, by retail at the reasonable profit of twenty per cent. Where this reasonable gain on such wasting commodities did not satisfy men who let their wills think it hard or oppressive, and for men disordered and ungovernable, the only remedy was law and severe punishment, which the governor and council now had power to impose at discretion. The company required them to use it, to make every order the company gave through Sir Thomas Grantham, and to be entirely obliged to accept the half-tax laid on the plantations of two shillings an acre. The margin marked this as the rate of Indian goods at twenty per cent profit, and as governing the inhabitants. The governor and council were also to fly the king's flag, and see that all ships that came into the road paid it due respect. The margin marked this as flying the king's flag. The company judged the governor much to blame for not doing his duty in keeping Mr Attwell from running up so much of the company's debt, which he might have prevented by the company's orders. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The direction to model the island's provisioning of ships on the Dutch practice at the Cape reveals the company studying its rival's methods for running a mid-ocean refreshment station. The Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope performed the same function for their East India fleets that St Helena did for the English, and the company was willing to copy their techniques of supplying ships from a company herd. This borrowing shows the company treating the management of its island as a practical problem of maritime logistics, learning from the Dutch how to keep passing fleets fed while drawing the trade into its own hands. The system of truck, cattle exchanged for European goods and then for Indian commodities and bills, with a fixed twenty per cent profit on resale, reveals the company operating as the sole intermediary in the island's economy. By setting the rates at which it took cattle and sold sugar and arrack, the company controlled both ends of the exchange and guaranteed itself a margin on every transaction. This monopoly of trade, run through the company's stores at rates it fixed, shows how thoroughly the company inserted itself into the island's commerce, leaving the planters

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			and soldiers to deal on terms the company alone determined. The provision for governing soldiers by martial law, invoked at the governor's discretion, reveals the harsher legal regime reserved for the garrison alongside the civil law that governed the inhabitants. Soldiers stood under a separate and severer discipline that could be imposed whenever the company or governor judged it necessary, reflecting the military character of a settlement held ultimately by armed force. This dual system, civil law for the planters and martial law available for the troops, shows how the company combined the government of a plantation with the command of a garrison on the same small island.
52	48	Instructions gave Him, as the Case stands, We require you to suez all mate Smarts Cattle, & register them & his Planta into the Companies Banks, & if you should reply to the Mat He hath in all over his Plantations, & his Cattle to mr Ayres or his son in Law. We must Answer you in that Invasion of the Law. Nullum tempus occurrit Regiane Reddna, and we are in that Island with his Gracious permission, & so long as his majesty pleases in loco Regis, & therefore all Conveyances, Assignations, Bargain Sale, or whatever else mr Smarts hath done of that kind to others, some he been into bond with Us are of no force or Validity, The Company must always have the Sustenance in India as his war, justly hath here, which you must Give office as a Standing Law & 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 Govr Accomptant & keep all the Accounts of our Island whatsoever, & the our Governr keep the Head duty of Land, Cattle & sons formerly a Copy of which Accounts he is to deliver to Our Storekeeper & general Accomptant, and all Our Accounts to be entred into one pair of Books, in which we require our Govr & Store keeper that there be a Distinct Accot kept of the Forte Expences, and a particular Accot of the Charges of the Garrison, that we may see at one view what it is that falls out the Compa Income, and all the Estate they send to sd Islands, and if Govr hidden can contrive it, We would have, a Distinct Accot kept of all the Charge and expence of our Cattle which is a fourth Genrl Accot, which we would have allways fairly kept in our Leger and as our Storekeeper Charges her self with all Goods & monies recievd, So we would have him give the Credit for all Sugar, But **Margin Notes:** Governmt to have the due process, name of Debts. Regular Books to be kept.	These were instructions carried by the ship *Loyal Merchant*. The company gave its mind on the case of a Mr Smalt, requiring the governor and council to seize all Mr Smalt's cattle, register them and enter them into the company's stores, should Mr Smalt reply to the matter that he had made over his plantations and his cattle to a Mr Byam or his son in law. The company would answer the governor and council in that meaning of the law, that no length of time runs against the king, and that the company was on the island with the king's gracious permission, and for as long as the king pleased, standing in the king's place. All conveyances, transfers, sales or whatever else Mr Smalt had made of that kind to others, if they were entered into a bond with the company, were of no force or validity. The company was always to have the substance in India, as the king justly held it here, which the governor and council were ever to observe as a standing law and rule on the island. The margin marked this as the government to have the preference in the case of debts. The company required for the future that all goods, whether sugar, arrack or anything else received from the commanders in exchange for cattle or otherwise, be delivered to the storekeeper, and that he keep the general account and hold all the accounts of the island, along with the governor keeping the record of land, cattle and goods, formerly by a copy of which account he was to deliver to the storekeeper the general account. All the accounts were to be entered into one pair of books, in which the company required the storekeeper to keep two distinct accounts, one of the fort expenses and a particular account of the charges of the garrison, so that the company might see at one view what it was that made out the company's income and all the estate they sent to the island. If George Fielden could contrive it, the company also wanted a distinct account kept of all the charges and expense of its cattle, which was a fourth general account, and which the company wished to be always fairly kept in its ledger. As the storekeeper charged himself with all goods and money received, so the company wanted him to give the credit for all sugar. The margin marked this as regular books to be kept. **Interpretations** The company's claim that no length of time runs against the king, invoked to void Mr Smalt's conveyances of cattle and land where he owed the company a bonded debt, reveals it borrowing a royal legal prerogative to secure its own debts. The maxim that time did not bar the Crown's claims was a privilege of sovereignty, and the company, standing in the king's place on the island, asserted the same immunity for itself. This shows the company stretching its delegated sovereignty into the realm of private debt collection, claiming that its interest in a debtor's property could not be defeated by prior transfers, on the strength of a prerogative that belonged properly to the Crown alone. The elaborate demand for four distinct sets of accounts, fort expenses, garrison charges, general

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			income and the cost of the cattle, reveals the company striving to make its distant and unprofitable island financially legible from London. Only by separating these categories could the company see where its forty thousand pounds had gone and whether the plantation, the garrison or the provisioning trade was the drain. This insistence on detailed and segregated bookkeeping shows a proprietor determined to impose accounting discipline on a settlement that had returned no profit, treating clear and divided accounts as the essential tool for understanding and eventually controlling its losses.
53	49	Ship Loyal Merchant Arrack &c recievd from our ships & Commanders at the price he takes it, and make the Use of Fort six pence Debt for all he delivers to be sent in the Fort, and for all the Cattle killd for the Use of the Fort, the like Accot we expect he should keep for all the Cattle bought or Sold or received, or any way disposed of to which Orders We require our Govr immediate compliance, being resolved we will be obliged by Him, and all others which eat our Bread. We conform all our Orders sent you by St Thomas Grantham's ship, and Subsequent Conveyances, requiring you to putt all our sd Orders with these now sent into effectuall Execution & that in Order thereunto go & make an Extract of all our sd Orders except what we have since reminded, and enter them in a Book to be allways lying on your Council Table or at Hand, & to be read by any of Our Council. In as publick to all the Inhabitants of the Island, such our Orders being to you & all our sd Inhabitants at the Island (during his majesties his Pleasure) as good Laws as magna Charta is to England & He that thinks it to be otherwise doth but discover his own Ignorance, all foreign Planters being indisputably subject to his majesties despoticall Power, which whatsoever doubts may be very fully satisfied by looking into Consultation Book where he may then observe, that our English Acts of Parliaments is tend no farther than to the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, & there is the Municipal or common Laws of England of any farther Extent. We require you for the future to suffer no Person whatsoever to retail any Liquor or Tobacco without paying the Company Four Pounds & annum, & annually which you can think hard, which there is none at the Cape permitted to have that Occupation without paying the Dutch Four hundred pounds & annum. Upon perusal of your Council Book beginning the **Margin Notes:** All Orders sent by St Thomas Grantham Ship & be Confirmed Payment be made yfully, & ye Inhabitants bind. How Compa Orders	This letter was carried by the ship *Loyal Merchant*. The arrack received from the company's ships and commanders was to be entered at the price the storekeeper set on it, and he was to make the use of the fort sixpence a debt for all he delivered to be spent in the fort. For all the cattle killed for the use of the fort, he was to keep the like account of all the cattle bought, sold or received, or in any way disposed of. The company required the governor's immediate compliance with these orders, being resolved that the company would be obliged by him and all others in the matter of bread. The margin marked this passage. The company confirmed all the orders sent by Sir Thomas Grantham's ship and by later conveyances, requiring the governor and council to put them all into effective execution. To that end they were to make an abstract of all the company's orders, together with what the company had since sent, and enter them in a book to lie always at hand on the council table, to be read by any of the council. The orders were to be made public to all the inhabitants of the island, and all the company's orders on the island, during the king's pleasure, were as good laws to England as Magna Carta. Anyone who thought otherwise only revealed his own ignorance, since all foreign planters were indisputably subject to the king's absolute power, and whatever doubts might be entertained could easily be satisfied by looking into Coke's Institutes. There it might be observed that the English acts of parliament reached no further than the kingdom of England, the dominion of Wales and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and that beyond these the municipal or common laws of England had no further extent. The margin marked this as all orders sent by Sir Thomas Grantham's ship to be confirmed, and as payment to be made publicly to the inhabitants, and how the company's orders were laws. The company also required the governor and council for the future to allow no one to retail any liquor or tobacco without paying the company forty pounds a year, or as near that as they could reasonably think fit, since even at the Cape no one was allowed that occupation without paying the Dutch four hundred pounds a year. The margin marked this as no unlicensed retailers. **Interpretations** The company's claim that its orders on the island were as good laws as Magna Carta, backed by a citation of Coke's Institutes on the territorial limits of English statute, reveals it constructing a sophisticated legal argument for its authority over the settlers. By showing that acts of parliament stopped at the borders of England, Wales and Berwick, the company argued that the inhabitants of St Helena were governed not by parliamentary law but by the king's absolute power, which it exercised in his place. This appeal to the leading legal authority of the age shows the company anticipating challenges to its rule and arming its officers with the doctrine that beyond the realm, the settlers had no protection of English statute against the company's commands. The comparison of its proposed forty-pound licence fee for liquor retailing with the four hundred pounds the Dutch charged at the Cape reveals the

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		are Laws. No unlicensed Retailers.	company measuring its own exactions against those of its great rival. The reference shows the company aware that its charges were modest beside the Dutch, and using that comparison to justify raising them. This benchmarking against the Cape, which appears repeatedly in these orders, reveals how the company understood St Helena in direct competition with the Dutch refreshment station, judging its own fiscal and administrative practices by what the Dutch were seen to impose on the far busier trade that passed their shore.
54	50	Orders ye Ship the 25 of June 1686, We approve of the manner of ye trying the Blacks, but think very meanly of you for the matter of the Sentence, And wonder the more you Could be Guilty of such Weakness as to lett those blacks pass with Whipping which an Englishman would have be Condemn'd to Dye here by a Jury, Especially since mr Cox was present, who knows the English & do not keep the Knife from their Throates at Barbados, if they did not punish their thievish Blacks with far greater Severities, These Blacks which you Whipt but once, if you were minded to save their Lives for their masters sake of which we vehemently Suspect) you Should have Rather whipt them six or Eight Times by Intervals, keeping them in the & Interim to hard & Impri sonment Your Punishment of Thomas Eastings is likewise such a silly Tax of Pageantry instead of a Punishment, That we are ashamd our aged Govr should be guilty of so great Folly; We know an aged & Young Fellows love to be Rambling, And believe if the fellow had Considered no fault deserving death, or Imprisonment, He would have thankt the Governr for giving them such an Oppertunity to satisfie his humour of Ranging Places. The wise Dutch never banish white men out of ye India party send home such to any Port 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 chaind him or Confind him to hard & Imprisonment, And Labour, till You had an Oppertunity to Banish him to the next Coast of Sumatra, or some place, where he might work hard for his serving in ye India, and be added to the number of English Soldiers, which to procure the pepper trade to this Kingdom are oblige to live in the worst Airs, And therefore we forbid you & how & for ever hereafter to make the **Margin Notes:** Punish the Crimes of Blacks with Severity. Punisht men not to be sent to England.	These were orders carried by the ship *Loyal Merchant*, dated 25 June 1686. The company approved of the manner in which the governor and council had tried the slaves, but thought very meanly of them over the matter of the sentence. The company wondered the more that they could be guilty of such weakness as to let those slaves off with whipping, when an Englishman would have been condemned to die by a jury, especially since Mr Cox was present, who knew the English at Barbados did not keep the knife from their throats by failing to punish their thievish slaves with far greater severities. Slaves whipped only once, if the governor and council really meant to save their lives for their masters, of which the company was vehemently suspicious, ought rather to have been whipped six or eight times by intervals, and kept in the interim in prison. The margin marked this as punishing the criminal slaves with severity. The company found the governor and council's punishment of Thomas Eastings likewise such a silly piece of pageantry instead of a punishment, that it wondered its aged governor could be guilty of so great a folly. The company knew that unruly young fellows loved to be rambling, and believed that if the fellow had committed no fault deserving death or imprisonment, the governor should rather have thanked him for giving him such an opportunity to satisfy his humour of carrying passengers. The wise Dutch never banished white men out of India firstly to send home such to any port of Europe, since it was rather a reward than a punishment. If the governor and council really meant to save that rogue's life, they should rather have kept him with an iron collar about his neck, or chained him, or confined him to hard imprisonment. Where they had an opportunity to banish him to the west coast of Sumatra or some place where he might work hard for the company's service in India, and be added to the number of English soldiers, since to procure the pepper trade to the kingdom, men were obliged to live in the worst air, the company forbade the governor and council for the future to release men in this way. The margin marked this as banished men not to be sent to England. **Interpretations** The company's rebuke that thieving slaves should have been whipped six or eight times and imprisoned rather than let off lightly, with the Barbados warning that masters there kept the knife from their throats only by severity, reveals the brutal logic of terror on which slaveholding rested. The company regarded harsh and repeated punishment not as excess but as the necessary means of holding a slave population in fear, and read the governor's leniency as a dangerous softness that invited revolt. This shows the company consciously importing the calculated cruelty of the Caribbean plantations, treating the systematic infliction of pain as the indispensable instrument for keeping its slaves in subjection on an isolated island. The company's insistence that banishment to England was a reward rather than a punishment, and that offenders should instead be sent to labour on the pestilential pepper coast of Sumatra, reveals how it turned the punishment of its island's criminals into a

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			supply of manpower for its unhealthiest posts. Rather than waste an offender by sending him home, the company preferred to convert his sentence into forced service where free men would not willingly go. This shows the company treating even its criminal justice as an instrument of its wider commercial needs, redirecting the labour of the condemned to the disease-ridden factories whose trade demanded lives the company could otherwise not fill. **Speculations** The governor had punished the errant Thomas Eastings and released him toward England, the merciful and simplest disposal of an unruly young man who had committed no capital fault, and the company condemned this as silly pageantry precisely because a harder use of him was available. The path the company wanted was visible in its own reasoning: banishment to the deadly pepper coast of Sumatra, where Eastings would labour for the company among the English soldiers who manned posts in the worst air. What the company rejected was not merely leniency but waste, the throwing away of a body that could have served its commercial needs in a place free men shunned. That the company preferred to convert a minor offender into forced labour for its unhealthiest factory, rather than let him sail home, reveals how completely it subordinated the ordinary purposes of punishment to the relentless demand for men on which its eastern trade depended.
55	51	Loyal Merchant 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 12th of July 1686, We do give you Stretch our Orders of not alienating more of our Ground to the Liberty of changing some of it with John Cannady, which is a Liberty we would have, you not take hereafter, especially where it is no real Service to Us, wch you do not as much as pretend in that Consultation, & since you have left it to Us to impose the Chief Rent upon the Land you have alienated to Cannady in Chappel Valley, We do & press that at two Dollars & annum, and Order you to enter it in your Rent Book, & recover it accordingly. We think the Law you have made concerning satisfaction to be Levied by Toll upon all the Owners of & blacks & sattisf other Owners whose Blacks shall be executed for henious Offences, is a good Law, and which we do therefore hereby Confirm for a Standing Law in that Island, But you overtt beyond your last, when you gave Two Pounds fourteen shillings of the Compa money to Garkin and Fude Nick, we never gave you any Authority to dispose of our Charity. If you say you want shopping to banish Offenders to Bencolen or Interlopers if deserve Death or little less as the truth you must keep such Offenders in Person, till you have one of our ships with you for Bombay, or Fort St George, and send the Prisoners by such our next ships to our Governr or President with an Accot of his Crime, & your sentence upon it, And that he	This closed the letter carried by the ship *Loyal Merchant*. The company objected to the justice of the island being served by such a sham banishment as sending a delinquent home to his own country. On reading through the governor and council's consultation book, beginning 12 July 1686, the company reminded them of its order against transferring any of the company's ground to the liberty of exchanging some of it with John Cannady, a liberty the company wished them not to take in future, especially where there was no real service to the company. The governor and council did not so much as pretend a real service in that consultation, and since they had left it to the company to impose the chief rent on the land they had transferred to Cannady in Chapel Valley, the company set the rate at two dollars a year, and ordered them to enter it in the rent book and account for it accordingly. The margin marked this as no land to be exchanged. The company thought the law the governor and council had made, that satisfaction be levied by poll on all the owners of slaves whose slaves were executed for serious offences, was a good law, and confirmed it as a standing law on the island. But the governor and council had gone beyond their commission when they gave two pounds four shillings of the company's money to Garway and Fowles, since the company never gave them any authority to dispose of its charity. The margin marked this as satisfaction for slaves executed to be levied by poll. If the governor and council wished to banish offenders to Bencoolen or elsewhere short of death or its like, then, as the truth required, they were to keep such offenders in prison until the company had a ship with them for Bombay or Fort St George. They were to send the prisoners on the company's next ships to the governor or president there, with an account of their crime and the sentence passed on them, so that the offender might serve the company three or four years in some place in India where the general or president thought fit to send him, and be banished for ever from St Helena. The margin marked this as direction in the case of banishment. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. **Interpretations**

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		shall serve the Company three or four Years in any Place of India where the General or president shall think fitt to set him, & that he shall for ever be banished from St Helena. Your Loving Frie **Margin Notes:** No Land to be changd. Satisfaction for Blacks executed to to by Toll. Direction in Case of Banishment.	The law levying compensation by poll on all slave owners whenever any slave was executed reveals a collective insurance scheme spreading the loss of a condemned slave across the whole slaveholding class. When a slave was put to death for a serious crime, his owner lost valuable property, and the poll on every owner shared that loss among all who held slaves. This shows the company treating slaves so completely as property that their judicial execution was handled as a financial loss to be pooled and redistributed, turning the punishment of a slave into an occasion for mutual indemnity among the masters who profited from slavery. The company's sharp distinction between banishment to England, dismissed as a sham, and banishment to hard service in India, endorsed as real punishment, reveals how the direction of exile determined whether it functioned as penalty or reward. Sending a man home returned him to comfort, while sending him to labour at Bombay, Fort St George or Bencoolen consigned him to years of forced service in a harsh climate. This shows the company insisting that exile from the island serve its purposes, converting the banished offender into a worker for its eastern factories rather than releasing him, so that the punishment answered both the demands of justice and the company's perpetual want of men.
56	52	Orders ye Ship Our Governr & Council of St Helena London 5th Decem 1698 We likewise enjoyn that no Person inhabiting the Island, not being Officer or soldier be permitted to wear any Swords, it being by the Custom of all Nations an unallowable thing in Frontier Garrisons, & we think it may not be very proper for ye private soldiers to wear Swords in such a drinking Place as St Helena is, except wt 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 on up to five Shillings toties quoties. But ye Officers on ye maunts to be any wheremithout their swords & if they be seen at any time without wearing their Swords, they ought to forfeit five shillings to the Compa for each Offence of that kind, Whether to extend this Order so far as to Serjeants & Corporals We leave to yr Discretion, but & seeing you have store Officers we think it may not be amiss to permitt Serjeants & Corporals to ye Priviledge of wearing Swords, hoping you will Choose the soberest men into those Offices. We observe, and heard by Orders who Came from that Island, that there is a very great Trade arose 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 prevented) We do therefore hereby Order & appoint that no Persons upon the Island be permitted to distill Arrack except they Compound with you for the Companies Wood they expend in distilling after the rate of twelve Pence & hundred weight, for all the **Margin Notes:** Inhabitants not to wear Swords. No drink to be distild.	These were orders carried by the ship *Loyal Merchant*, addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 5 December 1698. The company ordered that no inhabitant of the island who was not an officer or soldier be allowed to wear any sword, this being by the custom of all nations an impermissible thing in a frontier garrison. The company thought it might not be very proper even for the private soldiers to wear swords in so drinking a place as St Helena was, except when they were on duty. If any of the inhabitants broke this order, the governor and council could fine them twelve pence for the first offence, two shillings for the second, and so on up to five shillings, as often as they offended. Officers were to be always ready with their swords, and if they were seen at any time without wearing them, they were to forfeit five shillings to the company for every such offence. Whether the order should extend to sergeants and corporals, the company left to the governor and council's discretion, but since they were fixed officers, the company thought it might not be amiss to allow the sergeants and corporals the privilege of wearing swords, hoping the governor and council would choose the soberest men into those offices. The margin marked this as inhabitants not to wear swords. The company had learned, and heard by officers who came from the island, that a very great trade had arisen there in distilling arrack from roots and fruits, which would soon consume the greatest part of the wood on the island if it were not speedily prevented. The company therefore ordered that no one on the island be allowed to distil arrack, except those who compounded with the governor and council for the company's wood they expended in distilling, at the rate of twelve pence a hundredweight, for all the wood so used. The margin marked this as no drink to be distilled. **Interpretations** The prohibition on inhabitants wearing swords, justified by the custom of frontier garrisons and the drinking character of the island, reveals the company confining the bearing of arms to its soldiers as a matter of order in a volatile community. On an island where drink was a standing problem, armed civilians risked turning quarrels deadly, and the company judged that the sword should mark the soldier alone. The added doubt about whether even private soldiers should go armed off duty shows how far the company weighed

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			the danger of violence in a hard-drinking place against the military character of the settlement, restricting even its own troops where discipline seemed to require it. The order taxing the distilling of arrack to protect the island's woods reveals the company confronting the environmental damage its own settlement was inflicting on a limited resource. The trade in home-distilled spirits consumed timber that the small island could not spare, and the company moved to check it by charging for the wood burned. This shows a proprietor alert to the exhaustion of the island's forests, using a fee on the fuel consumed to restrain a trade that threatened to strip the land, and treating the conservation of its timber as a matter requiring regulation before the wood was gone. **Speculations** Faced with a distilling trade that threatened to consume the island's woods, the company chose not to ban it outright but to permit it on payment for the timber burned, at twelve pence the hundredweight. The straightforward course, given the danger to a resource the island could not replace, was simple prohibition, and the company's alarm at the coming loss of the wood would have justified it. That the company instead licensed the trade against a fee reveals a proprietor reluctant to suppress an economic activity its people valued, preferring to price the scarce timber and draw revenue from its use over stamping the trade out. The choice shows the company weighing the conservation of its forests against the livelihoods and appetites bound up in distilling, and settling on a charge that might restrain consumption while leaving the trade alive.
57	53	Armenian Merchant. the Compa Wood spent by Distillation, and also pay you four pence & gallon upon all low Wines of the first running of such distill'd Liquors for the Companies Use. We approve of Our Govrnrs prudentiall Considerations for not exacting Port Charges, and other Duties of ye Dutch, because our ships are not liable at the Cape, or other their settlements, & would have you continue to exempt them on all Occasions, untill you shall understand by our Commanders that they treat them otherwise, & 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 in Regard One half or more of the Island is lett out, you suspended the Grants of any more till our farther Orders. To which we ship is highly becomes Us to do all We can to retrench the expence and annually at for those Places, as well as the Charges, sent, Whereof we have no Returns, as the many Bills from time to time drawn upon Us, so whatever Land you can Spare from our necessary Occasion, we would have you lett out to such as by their well Deportment to desire that Favour, by which means we rechen thy persons will become cheaper, the Island better managed, and our Charge the lower supplied. Your care for keeping the Lords day strictly, We approve, But must at the same time remember that work	This closed one letter and opened another, both carried by the ship *Armenian Merchant*. The company set a charge for the wood spent by distillation, and also required fourpence a gallon on all low wines from the first running of such distilled liquors, for the company's use. The company approved of the governor and council's prudent care in not exacting port charges and other duties like those of the Dutch, since the company's ships were not liable to the same at the Cape or at the other Dutch settlements. The company wished them to continue to exempt these ships on all occasions, until they understood from the company's commanders that the Dutch treated the English otherwise, in which case the law of retaliation was very allowable. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. The next letter was addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 16 April 1701. The company noted from the governor and council's letter of 24 June that several people wished to rent the company's lands, but that because one half or more of the island was already let out, the governor and council had suspended granting any more until the company's further orders. To this the company replied that it highly concerned the company to let all it could of the island, so as to retrieve the expense the company was annually at for those places, along with the charges the company sent. Where the company had no return, as with the many bills from time to time drawn upon it, whatever land the governor and council could spare from the company's necessary occasions, the company wished them to let out to whoever by their well-doing deserved that favour. By this means the settlers would grow richer, the island better arranged and the company's charge the better supplied. The margin marked this as retrenching the charges of settling the land, and as the expense of the settlement. The company approved the governor and council's care in keeping the Lord's day strictly, but wished them at the

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		Margin Notes: Retrench all Charges & setting Land &c. Deportment of civil Deportment	same time to remember the workers. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The company's endorsement of the law of retaliation, exempting Dutch ships from port charges only so long as the Dutch reciprocated at the Cape, reveals the calculated reciprocity that governed relations between the two great East India companies. St Helena and the Cape were mirror stations on the same ocean route, and the company treated the courtesies extended to Dutch shipping as conditional on equal treatment of its own. This shows the company managing its island not in isolation but as one piece in a wider contest with the Dutch, ready to withdraw favours the moment they ceased to be returned, and using the threat of retaliation to secure fair usage for its fleets at the rival station. The pressure to let out as much land as possible to recover the annual cost of the island reveals a proprietor still struggling, decades after settlement, to make St Helena pay its way. The many bills drawn on the company and the charges it sent out with no return had turned the island into a persistent drain, and the company saw wider settlement as the remedy, converting idle ground into rented land that would both enrich the planters and defray the company's expense. This shows the company's continuing frustration with an unprofitable possession, and its conviction that a fuller, richer population of tenants was the only route to relieving the burden the island imposed on its accounts.
58	54	Ship Nathaniell of necessity & mercy are allowed at all times, & by the General Governmt of all civilized Nations, so that when any ships are in Danger of loosing their Passage, or otherwise, straightned in want of time, they should not be restraind from fetching Water or other Refreshment on the Lords day, nor on the other hand ought they to be allowed to do any servile Work on that day, which can without prejudice be referd to the next Our Ship Scepter was lately lost on the Coast of Wales occasioned as we are told the want of Victuals the marriners not Caring to putt to Sea, when they found their scarce near the shore for fear of starving, & procure such or other Life for the future, So you examine all Our Commanders & if they have no sufficient Store on Board do you offer them supplies at the marshell Place & be paid in money or Goods, or rather than fail by the Captains Bill drawn upon the Owner, which we shall deduct out of the Freight due, if the Captain refuse to give you an Accot, order take your supplies, Protest against them & have the Best to Us As to the Estates of Orphans, We told you Our mind by the Armenian merchant, in the Case of Thomas Hall & so Deceasd, whatsoever money as paid on that Accot in to Our Cash, We will take Care of paying of it here to those that have legall Power to receive it & for the Incouragements of the Inhabitants We will allow Interest on such money from the time it appears here by ye Books you have brought the same into Our Cash in Credit of the Exceeded. Our Governr we also complaind against as being too Arbitrary, We hope the same he has of our Continued	This letter was carried by the ship *Nathaniel*. Works of necessity and mercy were allowed at all times on the Lord's day, and were so allowed by the practice of the governments of all civilised nations. Where men on any ships were in danger of losing their passage, or were otherwise straitened for want of time, they were not to be restrained from fetching water or other refreshment on the Lord's day. On the other hand, they were not to be allowed to do any servile work on that day that could be deferred to the next without harm. The margin marked this as works of necessity on the Lord's day. The company's ship *Scepter* had lately been lost on the coast of Wales, caused, so the company was told, by want of victuals. The mariners had not dared to put to sea when they found their provisions run low, for fear of starving, and refused to seek some other supply for the future. The company therefore required the governor and council to examine all its commanders, and if they had no sufficient store aboard, to offer them supplies at the market place, to be paid for in money or goods, or rather to be paid by the captain's bill drawn on the company, which the company would deduct out of the freight owed. If a captain refused to give a note, the governor and council were still to take their supplies. The margin marked this as a protest against the captains who came without their store of provisions. As to the estates of orphans, the company gave its mind by the *Armenian Merchant* in the case of Thomas Attwell, deceased. Whatever money was paid on that account into the company's cash, the company would take care of paying it over to those who had lawful power to receive it, for the encouragement of the inhabitants. The company would allow interest on such money from the time it appeared by the governor and council's books that they had brought the same into the company's cash, or credited the company. The margin marked this as orphans' estates. The company also complained that the governor was too arbitrary. Although the company had the same kindness for him and his family, and would engage his utmost zeal to promote the company's service in all things, trusting to the good opinion the company had

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		kindness to him & his Family will engage his utmost Zeal to promote Our service in all things, Trust to the good Opinion we have of him, but he must Consider that we join a Council with him to the End at all our Affairs may be transacted **Margin Notes:** Work of necessity on the Lords day. Protest against the Captains who have not their Store of Provisions Orphans Estates. In all Debates in Councils.	of him, the company still required that the whole council be consulted, so that all its affairs might be managed rightly. The margin marked this as all debates in council. **Interpretations** The loss of the ship *Scepter* through want of victuals, and the company's order that its commanders be examined and supplied even against their own refusal, reveals how the island's stores served as a safety net for the whole fleet. Ships that sailed undervictualled risked disaster, as the *Scepter* showed, and the company used St Helena's position to force provisions on captains who had failed to lay in enough. This shows the company treating its island not only as a source of refreshment but as a check on the negligence of its own masters, compelling them to take on stores so that the fatal shortage that wrecked the *Scepter* would not be repeated. The company's rebuke of the governor for being too arbitrary, coupled with its insistence that the whole council be consulted, reveals the tension between personal rule and collective government that ran through the island's administration. The concentration of power in a single governor, useful for decisive action on a remote possession, carried the danger of unchecked and high-handed rule. By requiring genuine debate in council, the company sought to temper the governor's authority with the restraint of his colleagues, showing that even on an island where it demanded strict obedience to its head, the company valued deliberation as a guard against the abuses that unfettered personal power invited.
59	55	Kings fisher Men of War. transacted with mutual advice and assistance, if in any matter at thing you differ you in Council, and after a Calm Debate continue of different opinions, Send us your reasons for so doing, & we shall be able to judge who are in the right, Who if we be that unanimity and Correspondence between you as there ought to be, and we expect will be amongst Persons embarked in our Common Interest, We can in no Reason for any such Disagreement, however lett no Difference in Opinion grow up to Difference in Affection. We have been told that whilst the French stayed there severall French Gentlemen went all about the Island on pretence of shooting, however that might savour of Complyance in our Governr to permett it, We think it was no good Policy and must never again be allowed to any Foreigner in any instance what favour was in deed to another Person from whom you may fear an ill use, may be made of such liberty. Your very loving Friends Our Govr & Council of St Helena. United Company London 18th January 1702 We have nominated Capt Beale, 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, & that you shew them respect suitable to their Characters we would have the severall Captains of the men of War to be shewed a	This closed one letter and opened another, both concerning the man-of-war *Kingfisher*. The company's affairs were to be managed with mutual advice and assistance. Whatever matter the governor discussed in council, after a calm debate and the exchange of differing opinions, they were to send the company their reasons for what they decided, so that the company could judge who was in the right. This was on the understanding that unanimity and correspondence prevailed among them, as it ought, and the company expected it among the men engaged in its common service. The company could see no reason for any such disagreement, however a difference of opinion grew into a difference of affection. The company had been told that while the French stayed there, several French gentlemen went about the island on pretence of shooting. Since that might savour of conspiracy, it was in the governor's power to permit it or not. The company judged it no good policy, and it was never again to be allowed to any foreigner, since in any instance whatever a favour granted to another person, from whom harm might be feared, could be made an ill use of such liberty. The margin marked this as foreigners to shoot game. The letter closed as from the company as very loving friends. The next letter was addressed to the governor and council of St Helena by the United Company and issued at London on 15 January 1702. The company had nominated Captain Beale, and ordered the governor and council to furnish him and his men with whatever fresh provisions he needed during his stay. The company wished the like done for the other commanders when they arrived, and that the governor and council show them respect suitable to their characters. The company wished the several captains of the men-of-war to be supplied with fresh provisions for their own table free of charge, and the sick men on shore during their recovery, whom the governor and council were to be very careful of, to be supplied with necessary food. The margin marked this as supplying the men-of-war. **Interpretations**

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		fresh Provisions for their own Table, gratis, and also that all sick men on shore during their Recovery (which we require you to be very Carefull of) be supplied with necessary fresh Prov **Margin Notes:** Foreigners not to shoot & c. Supply the men of War.	The suspicion attached to French gentlemen shooting game while their ships lay at the island reveals how easily an ordinary pastime became a security concern on a lightly held possession in wartime. Men roaming the island with firearms, however innocent their stated purpose, could be reconnoitring its defences or its landing places for a hostile power. The company's decision that no foreigner be allowed such liberty again shows its acute wariness of espionage, treating even the appearance of free movement by armed strangers as a danger to be foreclosed on an island whose security depended on keeping knowledge of its weaknesses from potential enemies. The instruction to supply visiting men-of-war and their sick free of charge reveals the island's role in sustaining the naval power that protected the company's trade. The warships that guarded the East India route needed refreshment and a place to land their sick, and St Helena provided both, with the company bearing the cost as a contribution to the naval effort. This shows the island functioning as a support base for the Crown's ships as well as the company's own, and the company willing to spend on provisioning the navy whose presence secured the sea lanes on which its commerce depended. The insistence that debate in council be full and reasoned, with differing opinions sent home for the company to judge, reveals a proprietor governing at a distance through the written record of its officers' deliberations. Unable to be present, the company relied on the council's minutes and reasons to see how decisions were reached and to arbitrate disputes among its servants. This shows the company using the requirement of recorded debate as a tool of remote oversight, ensuring that the reasoning behind the island's decisions travelled back to London where the company could assess the conduct of the men it had entrusted with its affairs.
60	56	Advice ye Capt Follett Provisions and Lodging there, it being for the Safety of the Whole, that these ships are sent thither, & we must not grudge them your Care, for which Refreshments, & the generall supplies to their ships Companies of such men of War, You must take Bills from the Commanders or Purses on the Commissioners for the Victualling, as was done last Year & yearly, to the Court of managers Capt Follett hath assured Us he will give you his best advice in the farther Fortifying the Island, so that his men, shall assist in Effecting such Works, as shall be found necessary, for which do you give them such Gratuities as you & Capt Follett think fitt, We shall recommend it to the other Commanders to give you the like Advice & Assistance of their men, & would have you also give them & the seamen of the ships of other Companies a Gratuity for what they do in farther Fortifying the Island such as You and their respective Commanders shall think Convenient, What more remains to be advised, You will receive by the Anna that is now cleard from Gravesend, & has the Arms you wrote for & Soldiers on board for the Island. We are Your loving Friends	This closed the letter carried on the advice of Captain Tollet. The provisioning and lodging of the men-of-war served the safety of the whole fleet, since these ships were sent out for that purpose, and the governor and council were not to spare their care of them. For the refreshments and general supplies given to the ships' companies of such men-of-war, the governor and council were to take bills from the commanders, or otherwise draw on the commissioners for the victualling, as was done in the last despatch to the court of managers. Captain Tollet had assured the company that he would give the governor and council his best advice on further fortifying the island, so that his men might assist in raising whatever new works were found necessary. For this the governor and council were to give the men whatever gratuities they and Captain Tollet thought fit. The company would recommend to the other commanders that they give the like advice and the assistance of their men, and it wished the governor and council to give them and the seamen of the ships of the other companies a gratuity for what they did in further fortifying the island, as the governor and council and the respective commanders thought convenient. Whatever else remained to be advised, the governor and council would receive by the ship *Anna*, which was then cleared from Gravesend and had the stores the company sent for the East Indies aboard for the island. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. **Interpretations** The arrangement for the crews of visiting warships to help build the island's fortifications in return for gratuities reveals how the company drew on passing naval manpower to strengthen defences it could not raise with its small resident population alone. The

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			labour of soldiers and seamen from the men-of-war, guided by an experienced commander like Captain Tollet, could accomplish works beyond the reach of the island's own hands. This shows the company treating the ships that called as a temporary workforce for its defensive needs, using the presence of the fleet not only for provisioning but for the physical strengthening of a station whose security served the whole East India trade. The reliance on Captain Tollet's expertise in fortification, and the intention to gather the advice of other commanders too, reveals the island depending on the transient knowledge of visiting officers to improve its defences. The resident officials may have lacked the military engineering skill that a naval commander brought, and the company seized on the passing presence of experienced men to guide its works. This shows how a remote settlement supplemented its own limited competence with the expertise that arrived aboard the fleet, treating each capable commander who called as an opportunity to better fortify an island that had constantly to guard against attack.
61	57	Ship Anna Capt Kelly. Our Governr & Council of St Helena. London 17 Febry 1702. We are very desirous that St Helena may be made as strong as Possible to be defended against an Enemy and to that end we repeat what we wrote you in Our last that is to say, that you take the Advice and Assistance of all the Commanders, whether men of War or Merchants ships for Fortifying the Island, And get as many of their men as you can to help in perfecting the necessary Works to be well giving them Gratuities for what Work they do therein. We would have you, if you find it practicable to sett some of the Rocks to break you are Stord into the Sea along the Beech on the Edge of the Water to prevent any Boats Landing, leaving only such a Space as you See Convenient for the Landing of our Own ships Boats & 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, & to that End we would have you make the Watering Place for ships as commodious as Possible you can, & 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 Unstowing the Casks, if you want any materialls for that purpose you may purchase them from the ships or if not procurable there write Us Particularly, and we will supply you, Our Capts who have been at the Cape will fully inform you of the Dutch method there for carrying the Water & Steam for watering the ships, with whom do you Consult & get their Assistance in perfecting the same allowing the Carpenters & other persons they Supply you with a Gratuity for their Pains. And **Margin Notes:** Perfect all you can	This letter was carried by the ship *Anna*, commanded by Captain Kelly, and was addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 17 February 1702. The company was very anxious that St Helena be made as strong as possible, to be defended against an enemy, and to that end repeated what it had already written in its last. The governor and council were to take the advice and assistance of all the commanders, whether of men-of-war or merchant ships, for fortifying the island, and to get as many of their men as they could to help in raising the necessary works, giving them gratuities for what work they did. The margin marked this as strengthening the island as much as possible. Where the governor and council found it practicable, the company wished them to roll some of the rocks, into which they were to level down the beach on the edge of the water, to prevent any boats landing, leaving only such a space as they judged convenient for the landing of the company's own boats, and raising a battery to defend such landing places. The margin marked this as securing the landing places. It was of great advantage to the company that all its ships have as much despatch as possible, and to that end the company wished the governor and council to make the watering place for ships as convenient as they could. If they found it practicable, they were to make a bridge at the end of the waterfall, and place pipes or troughs to convey the water into the boats, with a hose to fill them without unstowing the casks. If they wanted any materials for the purpose, they might purchase them from the ships, or if these were not to be had there, write for them particularly. The company would supply them, and its captains who had been at the Cape would fully inform them of the Dutch method there for watering the ships. The governor and council were to consult those captains and get their assistance in carrying it out, allowing the carpenters and other people they supplied a gratuity for their pains. The margin marked this as improving the watering place. **Interpretations** The detailed scheme for defending the landing places, levelling the beach and rolling rocks into the water to block boats while leaving a defended gap for the company's own craft, reveals the acute vulnerability of an island whose few possible landing points had to be physically fortified against attack. On a coast where an enemy might come ashore at any accessible beach, the company sought to reduce the approaches to a single controllable channel commanded by a battery.

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		to fortify the Island. Secure the Landing Places.	This shows the company shaping the very shoreline to its defensive needs, treating the geography of landing as the first line of protection for a settlement that could be lost if hostile boats once reached the shore. The elaborate plan for improving the watering place, with a bridge, pipes and hose to fill casks without unstowing them, reveals how central the efficient supply of fresh water was to the island's function as a refreshment station. Ships on the long East India route depended on St Helena to replenish their water quickly, and every delay in watering held up the fleet the company was anxious to despatch. This shows the company investing in the practical infrastructure of provisioning, again borrowing the Dutch method from the Cape, so that its island could water passing ships with the speed that the commerce of its trade demanded.
62	58	Orders & Instructions Send us yearly an Account of what stores you have, and what more you want, that we may Supply you wherein in every Particular. This being a new Establishment, We must lay down some general Rules for your future management & in the first Place we hereby strictly enjoyn & Order you, that all our Affairs be ordered and transacted as the majority in Council shall direct, and not otherwise upon any Pretence whatsoever, and tho we hope you will all be Unanimous & de cooperate together heartily in the pursuit of Our common Interest, yet if on any Occasion it happens that Votes be equally devided, the matter in Question must be Determined by Lott as you by our Charter are directed in such Cases to do. We also direct, that you keep frequent Consultat at least once a Week, and oftner as Occasions require that your Clerk enter duly and truely all matters there agreed on or Ordered, and that You sign the same, sending Us the Copies thereof by our bt Conveyances yearly, and in Case any of you disagree in such Consultatione, you may enter the reasons for such Disagreement, which we will judge of here, that you keep in your ancient method of hearing and judgying all Civil & Criminal Causes as heretofore, and Continue all other your usual methods of Proceedings for the Good Government of the Island as to civil & 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 our said Council & all your Inferiours do deligently attend to the severall Businesses to which they are Appointed, and in Case any of them be neglegent, remiss 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. On the Receipt of any Letter from Us, the Council must **Margin Notes:** Send a yearly Accot of Stores. Debates in Council decided by the majority keep frequent	These were orders and instructions carried by the ship *Anna*. The company required the governor and council to send a yearly account of what stores they had, and what more they wanted, so that the company could supply them in every particular. The margin marked this as sending a yearly account of stores. Since this was a new establishment, the company had to lay down some general rules for the governor and council's future management. In the first place it strictly enjoined and ordered that all its affairs be directed and transacted as the majority in council directed, and not otherwise, on any pretence whatever. Although the company hoped they would all unanimously act together in pursuit of the common interest, if on any occasion a vote was equally divided, the matter in question was to be determined by lot, as the governor and council were directed by their charter to do in such cases. The margin marked this as debates in council to be decided by the majority. The company also directed the governor and council to keep frequent consultations, at least once a week and oftener as occasion required, that they enter in a book truly and fairly all matters agreed on or ordered, and that they sign it, sending the company copies by several conveyances yearly. Where any of them disagreed in such a consultation, they might enter the reasons for their disagreement, which the company would take note of. The company wished the governor and council to hold to their long-used method of hearing all civil and criminal cases as before, and to continue all their other usual methods of proceeding for the good government of the island in civil and military matters, until they had other orders from the company, which they were from time to time to obey. The margin marked this as keeping frequent consultations. The governor and council were to see that every one of the council, and all its inferior officers, diligently attended to the several duties to which they were appointed. Where any of them was negligent, vicious or disorderly, the governor and council were to admonish him of his faults, and if he continued obstinate, to suspend or remove him as the seriousness of the offence required. The margin marked this as governing all the inferior officers. **Interpretations** The provision for deciding an equally divided council vote by lot, drawn from the company's charter, reveals a mechanism for breaking deadlock that placed the outcome beyond the will of any faction. On a small council where opinion might split evenly, some means of resolution was needed, and the company chose the impartial chance of the lot rather than giving the governor a casting voice. This shows the company guarding against both paralysis and the domination of a divided council by its head, trusting a neutral procedure to settle disputes that reasoned debate had failed to

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		Consultations. Governr Officers all do their Duties.	resolve, and keeping the resolution of such splits out of any single person's hands. The requirement that dissenting councillors might enter their reasons for disagreement in the consultation book reveals the company's determination to see the full range of opinion behind its officers' decisions. Rather than recording only the majority's conclusion, the book was to preserve the arguments of those who differed, so that London could weigh the merits of a disputed course. This shows the company using the written record as an instrument of remote scrutiny, ensuring that minority views survived to reach it, and that the reasoning of a divided council, not merely its outcome, travelled home for the company's judgement.
63	59	Per Ship Featherstone. be imediately summond to open & read them, and you must carefully observe, and execute all the Orders & Directions from time to time transmitted to you by Us Under the Hands of any Thirteen, or more, of the Court of managers acting there in impartially without Favour, Fear, or other Respect, on Account of any particular Recommendations, or Malace from any whomsoever. Advise us from time to time of all Occurrences on the Island worth our notice, as also what ships import & sett you, whether bound, and from whence they came, and what ever else you think materiall. If any Person dies 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, & how it Arises that we may make it good to the concerned here, and therefore fail not. We are Your loving Friends &c Our Governr & Council of St Helena London 31 Octor 1702. We expect you send Us by every shipping an Account of what goods & stores of all sorts you have remaining (that is to say) the Quantitys of each, and what you will for more, express the Quantitys as well as sorts which you desire, the better to guide Us in procuring the stores. We have by the Kings fisher and Pearling on recievd your Packets, and & with them your general Ledger **Margin Notes:** All the Council present to read the Letter. Intestates Estates. Send Accot of all your remaining Stores.	This closed one letter and opened another, both carried by the ship *Featherstone*. The whole council was to be immediately summoned to open and read the company's letters, and to carefully observe and carry out all the orders and directions sent from time to time under the hands of any thirteen or more of the court of managers acting there. They were to do this impartially, without favour, fear or other respect, on account of any particular recommendation or bribe from anyone whatever. The margin marked this as the whole council present to read the letter. The governor and council were to advise the company from time to time of everything worth its notice that happened on the island, of what ships called there, where they were bound and where they came from, and of anything else they thought material. If anyone died on the island whose effects, by will or by dying intestate, belonged to people in England, the governor and council were to be very careful in collecting those effects. They were to pay the produce into the company's cash, advising the company what the sum was, and how it arose, so that the company might make it good to those concerned in England, and so they were not to fail. The margin marked this as intestate estates. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. The next letter was addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 31 October 1702. The company expected the governor and council to send, by every ship, an account of what goods and stores of all sorts they had remaining, that is, the quantity of each, and to write for more, specifying the quantities as well as the sorts they wanted, the better to guide the company in providing the stores. The margin marked this as sending an account of all remaining stores. The company had received the governor and council's packets by the ships *Kingfisher* and *Purling*, and with them their general letter. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The instruction to collect the effects of the dead whose heirs lived in England, and remit the proceeds to the company for those concerned, reveals the island serving as an outpost of English probate across a vast distance. When a settler or sojourner died leaving property owed to relatives at home, the company's officers gathered the estate and the company itself became the channel by which it reached the heirs. This shows the company extending the ordinary machinery of inheritance across the ocean, using its position to ensure that property did not vanish on a remote island but found its way back to the families in England to whom it belonged. The demand for regular accounts of shipping, where each vessel was bound and whence it came, reveals the island functioning as an intelligence post reporting the movements of maritime traffic to London. St Helena's position on the return route made

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			it a natural point to observe the ships passing through, and the company wanted that knowledge for its understanding of the trade and its rivals. This shows the company treating its island as a watching station as well as a refreshment stop, drawing on its officers' reports of who called and where they sailed to inform its grasp of the commerce of the southern oceans.
64	60	Orders &ca and Consultation Book, which costs Us one way or other, & thirty pounds Sterling, because the shipt sent ye by Bett from Ireland, for the future take care that such Advices as are proper for our imediate knowledge be made up in a Letter a part and deliverd the Commodore or Capt of our own ships in Case no more of War is there to be sent forthwith from whatsoever part of England or Ireland the ship may touch at, and let all the rest be kept on Board to be brought Us when the ships Arrive, in the Rear, & take Care to mention as much on the Superscription of such Packetts. We shall first begin with the Consideration of the Island it self, which we are glad to send you have taken some care about, as to the repairing & augmenting the Fortifications, & making the Island more defencible against an Enemy, We gave you Directions at large in ye Head last year, which we need not repeat, because you have the Letters, & because we doubt not but you understand whatsoever Orders we find are to be Permanent and Last this all Times, unless the Necessity of the Case Stord cease in 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 made not only Tenable against the Insults of any Enemy whatsoever, But also able to defend our ships in Harbour there, And to this Purpose we would have you Consult with, and get the Assistance of such Commanders of his majesties ships and Our Own as from time to time shall import with you in whever relates thereunto, as We wrote you last Year. As to the Ledger Book we observe the Reasons the Governr gives, why he did not register it, & therefore say, that we will not in future have our Books of Accounts, or any branches of them concealed from either the Governr or any one of ye Council, to what purpose can you immagine we Constitute a Councill of **Margin Notes:** Directions for sending of the Packetts. Compa Orders are Permanent Books to be kept the view of any Councill.	These were orders carried by the ship *Featherstone*. The company had received the governor and council's consultation book, which cost the company thirty pounds sterling in postage, because the ship sent it home by post from Ireland. For the future the governor and council were to take care that any advice proper for the company's immediate knowledge be made up in a separate letter and delivered to the commodore or captain of the company's own ships. Where no more of these were to be sent forth from whatever part of England or Ireland the ship might touch at, all the rest was to be kept aboard, to be brought home when the ships arrived in the river, and the governor and council were to take care to note as much on the cover of such packets. The margin marked this as directions for sending the packets. The company began with the consideration of the island itself, which it was glad to see the governor and council had taken some care about, in repairing and enlarging the fortifications and making the island more defensible against an enemy. The company had given full directions in its last the year before, which it would not repeat, since the governor and council had the letters, and since the company had no doubt they understood that whatever orders the company sent were to be permanent and last at all times, unless the necessity of the case altered them in one or another of their parts. The company wished them to give no rest to their thoughts and endeavours until the island was made not only strong against the assault of any enemy, but also able to defend the company's ships in harbour there. To this end the company wished them to consult with, and get the assistance of, such commanders of the men-of-war and its own ships as from time to time called there, as the company had written the year before. The margin marked this as the company's orders being permanent. As to the ledger book, the company observed the reasons the governor gave why it was not sent, and therefore said that it would not in future have its books of accounts, or any branches of them, concealed from the governor or any one of the council. The company asked to what purpose they could imagine it constituted a council. The margin marked this as books to be kept in the view of any of the council. **Interpretations** The thirty pounds wasted in postage when the consultation book was sent home by post from Ireland reveals how the physical difficulty and cost of communication shaped the company's dealings with its distant island. A single misdirected packet could cost a substantial sum, and the company took pains to lay down exactly how correspondence should travel, by the company's own ships where possible. This shows the constant friction of governing across such a distance, where even the routing of letters had to be regulated to control expense, and where the mechanics of getting word between London and St Helena were themselves a recurring administrative concern. The company's insistence that its account books be open to every member of the council, and its pointed question about the purpose of a council otherwise, reveals its determination that government on the island be genuinely collective and not the preserve of the governor alone. A governor who kept the accounts to himself reduced the council to a form without substance, and the company would not allow it. This shows the company using access to the

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			financial records as a test of real collective government, insisting that the men it had named to the council share in the knowledge on which decisions rested, rather than leaving them dependent on a governor who monopolised the books. **Speculations** The governor had withheld the ledger book from the company, offering reasons the company acknowledged receiving, and the company answered not by accepting those reasons but by ordering that its accounts never again be concealed from any member of the council. The governor's course had been to keep the financial records in his own hands, the natural instinct of a single head accustomed to managing the island's affairs, and the company rejected it in favour of compulsory openness to the whole council. What the company weighed was the risk that a governor controlling the books alone could obscure the island's finances from the very men appointed to share its government, and it chose transparency to the council over trust in its head. That the company overrode the governor's stated reasons and pointed sharply to the purpose of having a council at all reveals how much it valued genuine collective oversight as a check on the concentration of power in one man, even one it professed to esteem.
65	61	Per Ship Featherstone if it be not for the better Supervising as well as managing all Our Affairs on that Island, And as will to proceed strong by in a Continued Administration of all our sd Affairs, It looks at first sight very ill, that the Governr should be denied a View and Examinations of the severall stores of Accompts, and seems to savour of that Unanimity, that has been in times past amongst you, which will make us very uneasy if we find it any longer Continue, and force Us to shift hands till we can fully cure it, On the whole we say that we will have no Part of Our Concerns managed but by the majority of the whole Councill except in case of & schnpt or Death, & that such Part as are under one imploders a care of one single Person, as suppose the Book keeper, Storekeeper Vic all the rest shall have free & Constant Access thereto to see Fair we will deal with them. We have for a Politicall Reason formerly Ordered Debts to go at Six Shillings & Piece, yet we will not take any in our Cash at that Rate to pay the same to any Bills of Exchange if remitted for England but only at the intrinsick Value, & this gives an Oppertunity to tell you, that when you are obliged to buy up Beef of the Planters at higher Prices than twenty Shillings & hundred for the use of the ships, We will not lett the Commanders have it at Twenty Shillings but at the Price you pay for it which must be a Standing Rule for the time to come, And as well in any other Provisions as Beef and you must remember by Charter Party, you are to receive Arrack, & c Goods at a reasonable rate in payment for Beef, or else Bills of Exchange & pable to Us in England. As to your Complaint touching Jones & Wilgoose, we think you have very little cattle, if you can't keep all such that come on Shore in due Decorum, or punish their divers as the Exigency of the case requires & not let them Slip through	This letter was carried by the ship *Featherstone*. The company's purpose in this was the better supervising and managing of all its affairs on the island, and its wish to proceed by a continued administration of them all. The company judged it looked very ill at first sight that the governor should be allowed a private examination of the several items of accounts, and it seemed to smell of the very animosity that had lately arisen among them. The company would grow very uneasy if it found this continue any longer, and would be forced to change hands until it could fully cure it. The company would have none of its concerns managed but by the majority of the whole council, except in the case of a member's death, and that such books as were under the immediate care of some single person, as for instance the book keeper of the store house, the rest were to have free and constant access to, so that all might see how affairs stood with the money. The margin marked this passage. The company had, for a political reason, formerly ordered dollars to be taken at six shillings a piece, yet now would have them taken into the company's cash at that rate, and to pay the same out again by bills of exchange, if remitted for England, but only at the intrinsic value. This gave the company an opportunity to tell the governor and council that when they were obliged to buy up beef of the planters at a higher price than sixteen shillings a hundred for the use of the ships, the company would not let the commanders have it at sixteen shillings, but at the price paid for it, which was to be a standing rule for the time to come. As with beef, so with anything else, the company observed by the *Charles* party that the governor and council were to receive arrack and other Indian goods at a reasonable rate in payment for beef, or else bills of exchange to be paid in England. The margin marked this as dollars to go at six shillings. As to the governor and council's complaint touching Jones and Wilgress, the company thought they were very little worth, if they could not keep all quiet, that came on shore in decent order, or punish their disorder as the seriousness of the case required, and not let them slip through their fingers by bare promises of paying the damage they had done. The margin marked this as troublesome persons who came on shore to be ordered rightly. **Interpretations** The distinction between taking dollars into the company's cash at a nominal six shillings but paying

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		your fingers by base promises of paying the Damage they **Margin Notes:** Debts to go at 6 Shillings. Punish Persons ye come on Shore in Order Duely.	them out for England only at their intrinsic value reveals the company managing the gap between a coin's local rate and its true metal worth to its own advantage. By setting the dollar higher for circulation on the island than for remittance home, the company protected itself against loss when money was sent to England while keeping the currency working at the inflated rate locally. This shows the company handling the practical problem of coinage on a remote island, where the value at which foreign dollars passed had to be managed to prevent the company from bearing the cost of the difference in exchange. The rule that beef bought dear from the planters be sold to the ships at cost rather than at the fixed sixteen shillings reveals the company refusing to subsidise its commanders' provisions out of its own account. Where scarcity forced the price above the standard rate, the company passed the true cost on to the ships rather than absorbing the difference itself. This shows the company protecting its accounts against the fluctuations of the island's supply, insisting that the burden of a poor season fall on the vessels being provisioned rather than on the company, and treating the standard rate as a floor rather than a ceiling when its own outlay was at stake.
66	62	Orders &ca ye Ship Do, and here it may not be amiss to tell you, that we expect Our Governr & Council should preserve their Authority in such in all their Behaviour to Others, well knowing that a suitable support of all the Practices of Respect weighed with a becoming Prudence & yeabley of Temper and usefully requisite in a Governr, & will begett Fear and Love from Inferiours & Respect from all. We have made it a Standing Order in all our Settlements in India, that the chief Person in Each, whether Governr or President or whatsoever Denomination he goes under shall have but one Vote in Council, and if it may not fully expresst in our former Letter, We now Order that the Governr 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 imployd by Us for managing our Affairs & Consequently have or Should have Our Interest in View, there will be no end of any Disagreements especially if upon Calm Debates, you first enlighten one another, & discerning in such matters as Prima Facia you may seem to differ in, but if then there, then lett each put down the Reasons of his Disagreements in the Consultations of that Day, and send it to Us therein as also a Copy of it, in the Packetts apart that we may pass a Judgement on the same here. Your loving Friends **Margin Notes:** Governr but One Vote in Councils.	This closed the letter carried by the ship *Featherstone*. The company wished the governor and council to preserve their authority in all their behaviour towards others, well knowing that a proper support of all the qualities of respect, joined with a becoming prudence and equability of temper, was fully requisite in a governor, and would give both fear and love from inferiors and respect from all. The margin marked this passage. The company had made it a standing rule in all its settlements in India that the chief person in each, whether governor or president or whatever else he was called, should have but one vote in council. Since this had not been fully set out in a former letter, the company now ordered that the governor have but one vote in consultation, and that in the case of an equality of votes the matter in controversy be decided by lot. The company expected that, since the governor and council were employed in managing its affairs and consequently had, or should have, the company's interest in view, there would be no need of any disagreement, especially on calm debates. They were first to enlighten one another by discussing such matters as at first sight they might seem to differ on, but if they still differed, they were each to set down the reasons for their disagreement in the consultation of that day, and send it home, along with a copy of it in the packets separately, so that the company might pass its judgment on the same. The margin marked this as the governor having but one vote in council. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. **Interpretations** The rule limiting the governor to a single vote in council, uniform across all the company's Indian settlements, reveals a deliberate constitutional choice to prevent the chief officer from dominating the body that governed alongside him. By denying the governor any greater weight than his colleagues and settling ties by lot rather than a casting voice, the company ensured that its head could not override the collective judgement of the council. This shows the company designing the government of its possessions to balance the need for a single visible authority against the danger of that authority becoming unchecked, keeping the governor first in dignity but equal in the decisive act of voting. The requirement that the qualities fitting a governor combine authority with prudence and evenness of temper, so as to command both fear and

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			love, reveals the company's conception of how a remote possession was best ruled. Neither harshness alone nor mildness alone would serve, and the company sought in its governor a balance that would secure obedience without provoking resentment. This shows the company reflecting on the character of good government at a distance, understanding that the stability of a small isolated settlement rested heavily on the temperament of the man at its head, whose bearing towards the inhabitants could either strengthen or undermine the respect on which his authority depended.
67	63	Nathaniell Capt Dennis Our Govr & Council of St Helena. London 30th Novemr 1704 Touching the Disputes amongst your Inhabitants relating to the Possession of your Lands, and how long makes a Prescription. You say, there is a Standing Rule in any One Country which binds in Another, & what has been the Custom of St Helena, we are not fully apprized of, for the future when any Lands are alienated or mortgaged, let there be a Register kept in the Fort specifying the substance of such Alienation or mortgage, who Sells and who buys, & for what, and let every such entry be signed by the Buyer and Seller and attested by the Governr & Council 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 will Complain, let a Jury by & 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 as by a Day certain give into the Council an Account of what & how & do they claim, which do you Cause to be entred in a Book for that purpose, with notice that in Case no Exception is taken thereto by another by certain, suppose six months more or less, then such their Claim shall be taken as a certain evidence of the Property not to be Controverted in future, this we hope will fully cure the Disputes of the People, if after all there should be any case that doth not come within the Rules aforementioned, Send it Us Particularly Stated & advise, and send you a final Answer. We **Margin Notes:** Register at Fort. Legal Disputes by Juries.	This letter was carried by the ship *Nathaniel*, commanded by Captain Dennis, and was addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 30 November 1704. The company turned to the disputes among the inhabitants about the transfer of their lands, and how long a possession made a valid title. The governor and council had said there was a standing rule in one country that bound in another, and that this had been the custom of St Helena, but the company was not fully informed of it. For the future, when any lands were transferred or mortgaged, there was to be a register kept in the fort setting out the substance of the transfer or mortgage, who sold and who bought, and for what. Every such entry was to be signed by the buyer and seller and attested by the governor and council for the time being, without which the transaction was not to be reckoned binding. As for what was past, if any litigious person complained, the matter was to be left to a jury, whose judgment the company hoped would determine it on a full hearing according to equity and a good conscience. The margin marked this as a register at the fort, and as land disputes to be settled by juries. For the better encouragement of all who lived quietly and wished to do so, a public declaration was to be made on the island. So that the inhabitants might be quiet, everyone was, by a certain day, to give the council an account of what land he claimed, which the governor and council were to enter in a book kept for the purpose. It was to be noted that if no objection was taken to a claim by another before another certain day, six months more or less, then the claim was to be taken as certain evidence of the property, not to be disputed in future. The company hoped this would quiet the disputes of the people, and if after all there should be any case that did not come within the rules already mentioned, it was to be particularly stated to the company, which would send a final answer. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The scheme requiring every landholder to register his claim by a fixed day, after which unchallenged claims became indisputable, reveals the company moving to settle the island's tangled land disputes once and for all through a general quieting of titles. Years of informal transfers had bred conflicting claims, and the company sought to draw a line under the past by inviting everyone to state his holding and letting unopposed claims stand as conclusive. This shows the company using a registration deadline as a legal instrument to convert a mass of uncertain and contested titles into settled property, clearing away the accumulated confusion of earlier dealing by a single systematic reckoning. The reference of past disputes to a jury judging by equity and good conscience reveals the company entrusting the resolution of old and tangled land quarrels to the community's own judgement rather than to rigid rule. Where the history of a title was too confused for a clear legal answer, twelve men weighing fairness offered a way to settle what strict law could not. This shows the company relying on the jury not

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			only in criminal matters but as the means of resolving the most intractable civil disputes, treating the collective sense of justice among the inhabitants as the fittest tribunal for quarrels that had grown too complicated for any other resolution.
68	64	Orders &ca We would have you ascertain a small Fee or Duty to be paid the Clerk, on every Alienation or mortgage in the entry in the Register Book enough to make him carefull in the entry, & yet so small as may be exceptable to the Islanders, which do we of, that we may alter or improve the same, At their Pleasure to open at all Convenient & Service for the view of all Persons concerned, to be inspected without any Fee or Reward. We herewith send you Rabb's Justice of Peace & would not grudge to send you the other Law Books, if they would be serviceable to you, But as it is a Standing Rule here that English Acts of Parliament bind only to Persons inhabiting in England, Wales, and Berwick, and are not of Use in the Plantations, except in very few and select Cases, & own think it no way for your Advantage to have your things troubled with nice points of the common Law of England, but rather on considering the Reason of things to adjudge of all Causes in a Summary Way according to Equity & a good Conscience without tedious Delays or countenancing litigious Persons in their vexatious Prosecutions. In answer to your Eleventh & thirteenth Paragraphs we shall add to what we sent you by the Featherstone, that having sent you such large stores of salt Beef & other Provisions, we expect you save the remaining stock of Cattle on your Island all you can, & spare none or but little Beef except for the use of sick men, and that you spare to any ships be not at less than the market price, What we Order Our ships to take in by Charter Party is for promoting the good Estate of the Island, & is supposed to be out of our own stock; But when that fails, Can any man immagine you would buy Beef for the ships, and deliver unto ye cheaper than it cost you, were the case your own, Sure we are you would not do it, That reason is there then, for your **Margin Notes:** & lett a small Fee to ye Clerk. Rabb's Justice not to adjudge Causes by. Continue to answer Compa that Demand Charter party Beef.	These were orders carried by the ship *Nathaniel*. The company wished the governor and council to fix a small fee or duty, to be paid to the clerk on every transfer or mortgage entered in the register book, enough to make him careful in the entry, yet so small as to be acceptable to the inhabitants, and it left the amount to the governor and council. The registers were to lie open at all convenient times for the inspection of everyone concerned, to be examined without any fee or reward. The margin marked this as fixing a small fee for the clerk. The company sent the governor and council Dalton's *Justice of the Peace*, and would not grudge to send the other law books if they would be serviceable. Since it was a standing rule that English acts of parliament bound only people living in England, Wales and Berwick, and did not reach those in the plantations except in a very few select cases, the company thought it no advantage for the governor and council to trouble their heads with the fine points of the common law of England, but rather to consider the reason of things and decide all cases in a summary way according to equity and a good conscience, without vexatious delays, and without countenancing litigious persons in their vexatious prosecutions. The margin marked this as Dalton's *Justice* to adjudge cases by. In answer to the governor and council's eleventh and thirteenth paragraphs, the company added to what it had written by the *Featherstone*. Having sent large stores of salt beef and other provisions, the company wished the governor and council to save the remaining stock of cattle on the island as much as they could, and to spare no more than a little beef except for the sick, and to sell to any ships at no less than the market price. The company had ordered its ships to take beef in by the quarter party to promote the good estate of the island, supposing it to be out of its own stock. But when that failed, the company asked whether they could imagine it would buy beef for the ships, and deliver it to the ships cheaper than it cost the company, were the case their own. The margin marked this as continuing the order that commanders take quarter party beef. **Interpretations** The company's advice that the governor and council decide cases summarily by equity and good conscience rather than trouble themselves with the fine points of English common law reveals a deliberate preference for rough practical justice over legal technicality on a small island. Backed again by the doctrine that parliamentary statute did not reach the plantations, the company steered its officers away from the delays and formalities of English procedure toward quick and fair resolution. This shows the company shaping the island's justice to suit a tiny community without trained lawyers, valuing a swift and equitable settlement of disputes above the intricate and dilatory processes that formal adherence to the common law would have imposed. The despatch of Dalton's *Justice of the Peace*, with an offer of further law books, reveals the company equipping its untrained officers with the practical legal manuals used by English magistrates. The governor and council were not lawyers, and a handbook of the kind that guided justices at home gave them a reference for the ordinary business of local justice. This shows the company supplying the island with the modest legal apparatus a remote settlement required, furnishing its amateur administrators with the same working guides that supported the enforcement of law in the English

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			countryside, so that justice on St Helena could proceed on some settled footing.
69	65	Per Ship Nathaniell your doing it now, & unless we would that the Expence should revert to Charter Party comands for demand of it, You may tell them we are not thereby obliged to deliver it, but only they are bound to take it if you should tender it them, & we say no more, can't you oblige them to pay you for such Beef in Poor fees which you may make in Barter at a Rate cheap enough to make your owners, & deliver them none at all, We should think we should not take thus much Pains a point out to you every part of your Duty, but that it was enough to say in short as they, or Bett, and that what we have wrote you are Most Subject By the Featherstone & c need not be farther inculcated. As to your Planters desires of going to Palacondore, we say that we believe Palacondore is in the same before this time, because We have sent Orders to remove that Factory and our Effects there to Bencar on the Island Borneo, where we intend to erect a strong Fortification, if any of them are willing to go thither or to Bencolen or Bombay, You may permit there so to go at their own Charge, on any of our own ships bound to those Places which touch at your Island, But which we tell you we will not deny the Planters this Request, we must add if such of them as are quite Useful People, we had rather they should stay than go thither, & we doubt not but a little good management on your Part may prevail with them to desist from such their Desires. We have considered your Twenty fifth & twenty sixth Parat, and so far think mr Boddington & 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 the making them severall hard Labour seems to Us the most Effectual Remedy to deter the like Prac tices in Others. Send us by any shipping an Exact Account of Arms and Amunition remaining & what you desire to be further sent, and take this for a Standing Order, that we do not again have Occasion to remember of it. Every **Margin Notes:** Permit planters to go to India Bencolen or Bombay. Punishment at hard Labour is better than Banishment. Send Us Expence from ships & also Islands.	This letter was carried by the ship *Nathaniel*. The company set out its meaning about the order that its ships take quarter party beef, which was that the company was not thereby obliged to deliver it, but only that the ships were bound to take it if the governor and council chose to let them have it. The company would say no more of this, but asked whether the governor and council could oblige it to pay them for such beef in poor sixpences, which they might make in Basra at a rate cheap enough to make their canvas, or deliver them at all. The company thought it should not need to take so much pains to point out to the governor and council every part of their duty, but that it was enough to say in short, as before, and that what the company had written by the *Featherstone* they were subject to, and it need not be further set out. The margin marked this passage. As to the governor and council's report that some planters wished to go to Pulo Condore, the company believed Pulo Condore was in the same state as before this time, because the company had sent orders to remove that factory, and its effects there, to the island of Prince, where the company intended to make a strong fortification. If any of the planters wished to go, the governor and council could allow them to go there, or to Bencoolen or Bombay, at their own charge, on any of the company's ships bound to those places that called at the island. Since the company would not deny the planters this request, it must add that such of them as were quite worthless people, the company would rather they went than stayed, and doubted not but a little good management on the governor and council's part might prevail with them to give up their wishes. The margin marked this as worthless planters allowed to go to the Indies, to Bencoolen or Bombay. The company had considered the governor and council's twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth paragraphs, and agreed with them, thinking Mr Loddington and Mr Goodwin in the right, that making such infamous criminals a public example by corporal punishment was better than banishing them off the island. Making them serve at hard labour seemed to the company the most effective remedy to deter others from the like practices. The margin marked this as punishment at hard labour being better than banishment. The company required an exact account, by every ship, of the arms and ammunition remaining, and what the governor and council wished to be further sent. They were to take this for a standing order, so that the company did not again have occasion to remind them of it. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The company's agreement that hard labour made a better deterrent than banishment reveals a considered judgement about which punishments actually served to keep order on the island. Removing an offender simply took him away, but setting him to visible hard labour turned his punishment into a lasting warning to others and extracted useful work from him besides. This shows the company reasoning about the purposes of punishment on a small isolated settlement, concluding that the public spectacle of an offender toiling under sentence deterred crime more effectively than his quiet disappearance, and preferring the penalty that both warned the community and put the condemned to profitable use. The willingness to let worthless planters leave for the company's eastern factories reveals how the company used voluntary departure to rid the island of settlers it judged undesirable. Those who wished to go to Bencoolen, Bombay or the new fortification at Prince Island could be allowed to, and the company welcomed the removal of poor material from its

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			settlement. This shows the company managing the composition of the island's population by encouraging the departure of the unproductive, treating the wider network of its eastern posts as an outlet for settlers it was glad to lose, and turning even the emigration of malcontents to the advantage of a colony it wished to fill with worthier men.
70	66	Per Ship Nathaniell We observe what you have Written touching the Choutralia Danes, ships going away without paying any Duties, and you will take care, hereafter none shall have any thing from you, till they have first paid the Duty which you will so will to observe, We think the like Care ought to be taken that no the English ships shall pay first their Barrell of Powder, before they are permitted to have Refresh ments, 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 London let them from time to time pay it in money with Fifty & Cent advance one the price we last Charge it at in the Invoice we sent You, & commending you and our Affairs to the Guidance and Protection of the Almighty, We remain Yor loving Friends **Margin Notes:** Ships must pay their Duty first. Vide 84.	This closed the letter carried by the ship *Nathaniel*. The company noted what the governor and council had written about the Coaster, a Danish ship, going away without paying any duties. The governor and council were to take care that in future none went from them until they had first paid the duty, and the company wished this to be observed. The company thought the like care ought to be taken that all the English ships first pay for their barrel of gunpowder before they were allowed any refreshments, because the company observed that some came away without paying in money or value. Since gunpowder was so dear, and besides the charge of sending it, if the ships would not pay for it in London, they were to pay for it from time to time in money, with fifty per cent added to the price the company last charged it at in the invoice sent to the governor and council. The company commended the governor and council and its affairs to the guidance and protection of the Almighty. The margin marked this as ships to pay their duty first, and referred to page 84. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. **Interpretations** The insistence that ships pay their powder duty before being allowed refreshment, with fifty per cent added where they had not paid in London, reveals how seriously the company treated the replenishment of its magazine and the collection of its dues. Gunpowder was dear and hard to ship, and vessels that took their refreshment and sailed without paying deprived the island of the one supply its defence could not do without. This shows the company using its control of refreshment as leverage to enforce payment, withholding the water and provisions ships needed until they had first delivered the powder or its price, and treating the securing of its arsenal as a condition of the hospitality it offered. The concern over a Danish ship leaving without paying its duties reveals the practical difficulty of enforcing port charges on the foreign vessels that called at the island. A ship that sailed before paying escaped the levy entirely, and the company pressed its officers to collect the dues before any vessel departed. This shows the company alert to the leakage of its revenue through ships that slipped away unpaid, and determined to make payment a precondition of departure, so that the anchorage and powder duties on which it counted were not lost through the officers' failure to exact them while the ships still lay within reach.
71	67	ye Rochester Capt Staynes. Our Govr & Council of St Helena London 14th Decr 1705 We would have you send your Generall Letter & all material Papers which accompany them by double Conveyance or three at least, the want of which puts Us to a Loss to know the Contents of Capt Browns, and Capt Warners Accompts, & of the Account of Ammunition in the Gunners charge, which you desire to have sent by the Gloucester, and if they have accompts Capt Brown or Capt Warner were indebted to Us, We are able	This letter was carried by the ship *Rochester*, commanded by Captain Staynes, and was addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 14 December 1705. The company wished the governor and council to send their general letter and all material papers that accompanied it by double conveyance, as it had directed in its last. The want of this had put the company at a loss to know the contents of Captain Brown's and Captain Harvey's accounts, and of the account of ammunition in the gunner's charge, which the governor and council said they had sent by the *Gloucester*. If Captain Brown or Captain Harvey were indebted to the company, the company was liable to lose the money, for want of knowing what to demand of them, or at least have the payment of it delayed until the company heard from the governor and council

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		to loose the money for want of knowing what to demand of ye or at least have the Payment of it delayd till we hear from you again, Wherefore send the Duplicate or Copy by the next of their Accompts. And here we think it proper to tell you, & we expect your Observe the same in all Cases of the like Nature, that when you have settled Accompts with any of our own, or the old or new Companies ships, by which they owe the money on the Ballance, that you take three Bills of one Tenor for the Sum drawn upon their Owners, and send the first Delivered by two Conveyances in the same shipping if there are two or more ships, and the third by the next Conveyance, the like we say of the Accompts of any of our sd ships of War, and if any in the Case of the sd overn the Capt or Purser refuse to give Bills, then take their Accompts signed, three of one Tenor to be sent in the manner, and advice Us the reason why the & Owner lately did, or any ship hereafter shall refuse to give Bills of Exchange, for the Ballance of what you supply them withall. But for your future prudence we say if any Capt insolvent in five Working Days will the ship Stord and signature **Margin Notes:** Send all the materiall papers by two Conveyances Directions in Case the ships owe & sign their Accompts.	again. The company therefore wished them to send the duplicate or copy by the next of their accounts. The margin marked this as sending all the material papers by two conveyances. The company thought it proper to tell the governor and council, and repeated it above, that in all cases of this nature, where they had settled accounts with any of the company's own ships or those of the old or new companies, and money was owing on the balance, they were to take three bills of the ship's commander for the sum drawn upon their owners, and send the first delivered by two conveyances in the same shipping, if there were two or more ships, and the third by the next conveyance. The like was to be done with the account of any of the company's men-of-war. If in the case of a balance the captain or commander refused to give bills, the governor and council were still to take his account signed, and there, or in the same manner, advise the owners why the commander lately did, or any ship hereafter should, refuse to give bills of exchange for the balance of what they supplied them with. The margin marked this as directions on the ships and signing their accounts. For the governor and council's future prudence, the company added that if any captain was refractory in the working days while his ship rode there, the governor and council were to act. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The elaborate system of triplicate bills of exchange sent home by separate ships reveals the precautions a company had to take against the loss of documents crossing thousands of miles of dangerous ocean. A single bill entrusted to one vessel might be lost with the ship, leaving a debt uncollectable, so the company multiplied copies and spread them across different conveyances. This shows how the sheer hazard of communication shaped the company's financial machinery, requiring redundancy at every step so that the record of a debt owed by a ship's commander would survive the perils of the passage and reach London in some form to be acted on. The company's exposure to loss when captains sailed without settling their accounts, and its difficulty even knowing what to demand, reveals the vulnerability of a system where debts were contracted at a remote island but collected at home. The governor and council settled with commanders on the spot, but the company could only recover through the ships' owners in England, and any gap in the paperwork left it unable to press its claims. This shows the constant challenge of managing money across such a distance, where the company depended entirely on the accuracy and promptness of its officers' records to secure what it was owed by the masters who provisioned at its island.
72	68	Orders &ca against them in the name of English Company trading to the East Indies, by Order & Direction of the Court of managers for the united Stock of the sd Company for not unlading their ship, as by Charter party & bought in that time, and in the protest mention what Particulars you find in his Case, protest for the delay upon him, or his Owners that the Company may not be subjected to those Demorage, But then you must be carefull, that such delay is not Occasioned by any Default of yours, if the weather prove tempestuous, take notice of it, that is which Days, in what part of them it Storms, to the end it may be adjusted here, Who shall bear the loss of time occasion'd thereby, If the ships have not Barter sufficient to discharge her lading fast enough that is entirely the owners fault, &	These were orders carried by the ship *Rochester*. If a captain was refractory while his ship rode there, the governor and council were to protest against him in the name of the English Company trading to the East Indies, by order and direction of the court of managers for the united trade of the company, for not unlading his ship as he was bound to do by charter party in that time. In the protest they were to note whatever particulars they found in his case, and proceed for the delay upon him and his owners, so that the company might not be subject to the demurrage. The governor and council were to be careful that such delay was not caused by any default of their own. Where the weather proved tempestuous, they were to note it, and in which days, and in what part of them it happened, so that the loss of time occasioned by it might be settled at home, and it seen who was to bear it. The margin marked this as a protest against a ship that did not unlade in the time noted.

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		they must not expect the Company shall suffer thereby for the Bill of Lading expresses the Goods, consigned are to be delivered to you which supposes a Store on the Island, If it happens through any other Fault or misfortune of the ship as in the Case of the owner, & prevents that her Cable broke in a Storm, and set her in so poor a Condition that for a long time it was expected nothing left, But that she would have been drove away, you ought to take notice of it in your Protest, to the End we may have proof to shew, why we ought not to pay Demorage for that time. We have given you repeated Notice that what Orders we send you in our Letters are to be esteemd new or any Directions for your Government, and as put you observe them as such, and this about the Unlading our ships among others & are very you give us Occasion a complaint of your Carefulness in ye & pfulness of what we wrote you since the time of the Union. For the future, when you send us any List of what Goods or Stores you want, and Us the Quantities of each we let you desire, it cant be supposed We should be there able to **Margin Notes:** Protest against the ships that do not unlade in the working Days. Directions for Protest for ships not Unlading. Compa Orders are Directions for your Government. the Reasons of Demand made Evident.	If the ships had not ballast enough to discharge their lading fast enough, and this was entirely the owners fault, the governor and council were not to expect the company to suffer for it in the bill of lading, since the goods consigned were to be delivered to them as if there were a store on the island. If any other fault or misfortune befell the ship, as in the case of the *Coaster*, whose cable broke in a storm and which was sold there in so poor a condition that for a long time it was reckoned worth nothing, but which would still have been towed away, the governor and council were to take notice of it in their protest, so that the company might have proof to show why it ought not to pay demurrage for that time. The margin marked this as directions for protests for ships not unlading. The company had given repeated notice that whatever orders it sent in its letters were to be treated as permanent, and it now wished the governor and council to have any directions for their government, and put them as such, along with this about the unlading of ships, among the others. The company wished them to give it no occasion to complain of their carelessness or forgetfulness of what it wrote since the time of the union. The margin marked this as the company's orders and directions for the government. For the future, when the governor and council wrote for any sort of goods or stores they wanted, and mentioned the quantities of each they desired, the company was to be able to supply them. The margin marked this as the manner of demanding stores. **Interpretations** The elaborate provisions for protesting against ships that failed to unlade in time reveal how the company protected itself against demurrage, the charges owed when a vessel was detained beyond its allotted lading time. Under the charter party the delay could fall on the company or on the ship's owners depending on where the fault lay, and a formal protest recording the cause fixed the liability. This shows the company arming its island officers with the legal instrument of the protest, requiring them to document weather, delay and the condition of each ship, so that the costs of detention could be traced to the responsible party rather than fall automatically on the company. The requirement to record tempestuous weather day by day, so that lost time might be apportioned at home, reveals how the allocation of shipping costs turned on precise evidence gathered at the distant island. Whether a delay was the fault of the owners, the master or the elements determined who bore the loss, and only a careful record made on the spot could settle it. This shows the company depending on its officers to capture the exact circumstances of each detention, treating the island as the place where the facts underlying its shipping accounts had to be established, since the disputes they fed into would be resolved far away in London where the weather off St Helena could not be seen.
73	69	ye Ship Rochester to make a just Estimate of them, especially as what is to Eat, Drink or wear, And when it is for your own stores, give Us your Reasons, why you desire the several Quantities you write for. The twenty Eighth Parat of the Generall Letter of the 30th Novemb aforementioned gives you our Directions touching Criminals, for we thirteen told you the best way to deter them & others from such Vallanies was to putt them to hard Labour, that is to say, Try them for their Crimes & when their Crimes are such as by the English Law makes them liable to Death or being burnt in the Hand, and the & Jury bringy them in Guilty	This letter was carried by the ship *Rochester*. The company wished to make a proper estimate of the stores, especially of what was to eat, drink or wear, and when it was for the garrison store, and so wished the governor and council to give their reasons why they desired the several quantities they wrote for. The twenty-eighth paragraph of the general letter of 30 November, already mentioned, gave the governor and council the company's directions about criminals. In its thirteenth the company had told them the best way to deter them and others from such villainies was to put them to hard labour, that is, to try them for their crimes. Where their crimes were such as by English law made them liable to death or being burnt on the hand, and the jury found them guilty, the governor and council were to keep them under that sentence, for

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		them at them remain under that Sentence, for such a time as you see fitt & during it keep them to hard Labour, We are not of the Governr Opinion that Death is the expedi ment to keep Others in awe from Committing Trainy, or Incest as you mention was the Crime of four & five Rogues you sent to Bencar The we think them so far in the Right, that sending them off the Island is not a Punishment Adequate to their than, We believe hard Labour will prove a Sufficient Check if Continued for a good space, We would have none with Death for any Crime we comprehend they can be guilty of at St Helena besides wilfull murder. We wrote you plainly in our Thirty Seventh Paragraph about the English ships paying each a Barrell of Powder in Specie or Value, that we could not entertain a thought you would ever have hesitated Again, but as it was your Duty to have obeyed our Orders, & have Confidence that when farther Reasons makes us give & stricter direct the former Cease, and the last is to be a Rule to you so we tell the Commanders will their & c dared does not become you, We shall only say as before, that we will at this time only blame you, But if ever again you give Us the repeat **Margin Notes:** Ship all Criminals to hard Labour. Execute for murder only. English Ships must pay their Powder. Vide 80.	such a time as they saw fit, and during it keep them at hard labour. The company was not of the governor and council's opinion that death was the proper punishment to keep others from committing theft. The incest that the governor and council mentioned as the crime of the four stout rogues they sent to Bencoolen, the company thought them so far in the right, that sending them off the island was not a punishment adequate to their crime. The company believed hard labour would prove a sufficient check if continued for a good space. It would have none put to death for any crime it thought them capable of at St Helena, besides wilful murder. The margin marked this as criminals to be kept at hard labour, and as execution for murder only. The company wrote plainly in its thirty-fourth paragraph about the English ships paying for each barrel of powder in money or value. It could not entertain a thought that the governor and council would have hesitated again, but as it was their duty to have obeyed the company's orders, the company had confidence that when the company's further reasons gave them cause, and the last was to be a rule to them, if the commanders would still refuse it, the delay did not become the governor and council, and the company would only blame them. The margin marked this as English ships must pay for their powder, and referred to page 80. **Interpretations** The company's firm limitation of the death penalty to wilful murder alone, rejecting execution even for theft or incest in favour of prolonged hard labour, reveals a considered penal philosophy that valued the deterrent and productive effect of forced work over the finality of death. The company reasoned that a criminal kept visibly labouring under sentence deterred others more effectively than one put to death, and yielded useful work besides. This shows the company deliberately narrowing capital punishment on the island to the single gravest crime, treating the preservation and employment of an offender's labour as more useful to the settlement than his execution, a markedly restrained position on a matter where English law was far bloodier. The company's dismissal of banishment as an inadequate punishment for the four rogues guilty of incest, sent to Bencoolen, reveals its recurring conviction that removal from the island let serious offenders off too lightly. To send a criminal away was to spare him the real penalty his crime deserved, and the company preferred that grave offenders be kept to hard labour where their punishment was felt and seen. This shows the company's consistent scepticism toward exile as a sanction, insisting that the worst offences be met with sustained forced labour on the spot rather than a transfer that might relieve the criminal of the suffering his conduct had earned.
74	70	Orders &ca repeated occasions for Complaint, We must use more effectual methods and not be again troubled with filling up our Letters with notices of your failures, and reasoning with you to convince you hereof, whereas it is enough for Us to send you positive Orders what we would have done, as it is your Duty to see it done, & tho in any Cases where we may have happened to mistake the object, or not be sufficiently informed, so you when you are sure of it (but be sure you be so) Give us modest notice with your Reasons, and you have done your Part. We observe in your last Paragraph, the reasons why you buy Wine and Bornay at the extravagant Rates of Ann Shillings & Gallon, for the Bornay, & Six Shillings for the madera Wine, & therein you mention	These were orders carried by the ship *Rochester*. The company wished to take more effective methods, and not be troubled again with filling up its letters with notices of the governor and council's failures, and with reasoning to convince them, since it was enough for the company to send them positive orders of what it would have done, it being their duty to see it done. Where in any case they had happened to mistake the company's meaning, or were not sufficiently informed, then when they were sure of it, and they were to be sure they were, they were to give the company modest notice with their reasons, and they had done their part. In its first paragraph the company observed that the governor and council bought wine and brandy at the extravagant rates of ten shillings a gallon for the brandy and six shillings for the Madeira wine. In it they mentioned that the island's charge was three thousand

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		that the Islands Charge is three thousand Pounds a year, & in a foregoing Paragraph you say it is two Thousands Pounds a year but both Sums are in figures Pray reconcile this Difference to Us, and hereafter put all Summs in Words, and annually send us in Duplicates on Our Packetts an account of the severall & Items year by, to shew how their Sums Arises, Vizt how much the Charge of your Salaries comes to how much the soldiers pay writing against every name the Sum paid to him at the years end, or where any die within the year, are out of the service for the time they serve in, what are the Storms in Garrison Charges, or Repairs, or Buildings, and where Work is done, what Charge you are at on account of our Blacks or Cattle, what the Expence of Stores or ammunition is yearly, how much the Charge of Diyett & your Table, and the like in any other matters which help to God to our annual Charge. Send us also in like manner the Account how you Sell the Goods sent you from hence or India, and the Prices bought of the Captains in India **Margin Notes:** Write at every in your Letters at large, at length. Send Accot how Sell the Goods bird.	pounds a year, and in a preceding paragraph they said it was two thousand pounds a year, but both sums were in figures. The company wished them to reconcile the difference, and thereafter to put all sums in words, and annually to send the company, in duplicate, an account in its packets of the several items year by year. This was to show every particular expense, that is, how much the charge of salaries came to, how much the soldiers pay, writing against every name the sum paid to him at the year's end, or where any died within the year, or were out of the service, for the time they served. It was to show what the charges were on garrison charges, repairs or buildings, and where work was done, what charge the company was at on account of its slaves or cattle, what the expense of stores or ammunition was yearly, how much the charge of diet for the governor and council's table, and the like in any other matters that helped to add to the company's annual charge. The margin marked this as writing all sums in the governor and council's letters at length. The company also wished, in the like manner, an account of what goods it sent from home or from India, and the goods bought of the captains. The margin marked this as sending an account of the goods sold. **Interpretations** The insistence that all sums be written in words rather than figures, prompted by a discrepancy between two stated totals for the island's charge, reveals the company's concern that numerals were too easily miswritten or misread in the accounts that crossed the ocean. A figure carelessly formed could turn two thousand into three, and words left less room for such error or ambiguity. This shows the company attending to the smallest details of how its financial records were kept, treating the manner of writing a number as a safeguard against the confusion that a single unclear figure could sow in accounts it could check only from a great distance. The demand for an itemised annual account naming every soldier and the exact sum paid him reveals the company's drive to render every strand of the island's expense visible and auditable from London. Only by breaking the total into salaries, soldiers pay, garrison works, slaves, cattle, stores and the governor's table could the company see where its money went and where economies might be found. This shows a proprietor determined to master the finances of a costly and unprofitable possession through minute and segregated accounting, insisting that each category of charge be reported in detail so that the drain the island represented could at last be understood and controlled.
75	71	Per Ship Rochester. and have been sold such parts of it in such a time at such a price, or if of different Prices then advice it, & let these Accounts be put in Words of length as well as figures & expressed in Consultation, and signed in the same manner as the General When we appointed you the Governr & Council of the Island, We at the same time & supposed, you knew how to keep a Decorum met, and support yr Authority and the Government, if you dont, you are unfitt to be Contended which we think is answer sufficient to your Complaint of the Quarrell and other Insolent Disorders of the Young men coming on Shoar, We cant here fix a Certain fine for you to levy on any Offence, which the Circumstances of Aggravation or Extenuation may vas alter, but in General say, do you proceed as the nature of the Case requires either by reasonable pecuniary Fines, or the stocks or Imprisonment according to the Offence, and apply the fines half to the poor, & the other,	This letter was carried by the ship *Rochester*. Where any part of the goods had been sold in a certain time at a certain price, or at different prices, the governor and council were to advise the company of it. All these accounts were to be put in words of length as well as figures, laid before the council and signed in the same manner as the general letter. When the company appointed the governor and council of the island, it supposed at the same time that they knew how to keep decorum among themselves and support their authority and the government. Where they did not, they were unfit to be continued, which the company thought an answer sufficient to their complaint of the quarrels and other disorders of the young men coming ashore. The company could not fix from home a certain fine for them to levy on any offence, which the circumstances of aggravation or extenuation might alter, but in general it wished them to proceed as the nature of the case required, either by reasonable money fines, or the stocks, or imprisonment according to the offence. They were to apply half the fines to the poor, and the other half to the treasury for fortification for the general benefit of

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		half to the Treasury Fortification for the General benefit of the Island and set it up as a standing publick Order to be known by all, that whatsoever of the ships Company or ye Inhabitants draw a Sword on the Island shall be fined, and insert in the Order how much, and advice Us. We must recommend to your Care, the keeping up your Authority in such a manner as may begett as ill years Fear, respect & kindness considering that many times a few foolish Words like a little Spark sets all in a flame, hardly to be quenchd which at first might have been prevented with the greatest ease imaginable. Let every Bill of Exchange mention on what Accot you draw the Bills as in the Forty six pounds Payable to Pledghinven, You did well to say, it is for Cattle, for which Reason we paid it tho, we have no no advice from you of that Bill; we dont think it enough **Margin Notes:** Govr Govr all must support their Authority. Whosoever draws a Sword in Quarrell to be fined. Keeping yr Authorite with Prudence. Every Reason on the Bills of Exchange.	the island, and to set it up as a standing public order, to be known by all, that whoever of the ships companies or the inhabitants drew a sword on the island would be fined. They were to insert in the order how much, and advise the company. The margin marked this as the governor and council to support their authority, and as whoever drew a sword in a quarrel to be fined. The company urged the governor and council to keep up their authority in such a manner as would beget in all both fear and respect, and kindness, considering that many times a few foolish words, like a little spark, set all in a flame, which at first might have been prevented with the greatest ease imaginable. The margin marked this as keeping up their authority with prudence. The company noted that whoever drew the bills mentioned an account of forty-six pounds payable to Sledghinson, and said it was for cattle, for which reason the company paid it. But the company had no advice from the governor and council of that bill, and did not think it belonged. The margin marked this as being exact in bills of exchange. **Interpretations** The division of every fine, half to the poor and half to the fund for fortification, reveals the company binding its penal system directly to two of the settlement's standing needs. The money exacted from offenders relieved the island's poor and helped pay for its defences, so that the punishment of wrongdoers fed the relief of the needy and the strengthening of the forts. This shows the company designing its fines to serve public purposes beyond mere deterrence, turning the proceeds of justice into a source of both charity and defence, and folding the enforcement of order into the wider maintenance of a community that had constantly to guard itself and support its weakest members. The company's refusal to fix penalties from London, leaving fines to be judged case by case according to aggravation or extenuation, reveals its recognition that justice on the spot required a discretion no distant rule could supply. The gravity of an offence depended on circumstances the company could not foresee from home, and only the officers present could weigh them. This shows the company acknowledging the limits of remote government in the ordinary administration of justice, entrusting its island officers with the flexible judgement that fair punishment demanded, even as it insisted on standing rules for the graver and more general matters where uniformity mattered more than nuance. The observation that a few foolish words could set all in a flame, urging authority tempered with prudence and kindness, reveals the company's awareness of how fragile order was in a small and confined community. On an island where everyone lived close together and tempers ran high among soldiers and sailors, a trivial quarrel could escalate dangerously if not checked early. This shows the company counselling its officers to govern with a light and careful hand, understanding that the peace of the settlement depended less on harsh punishment than on the tact and steadiness of those in authority, who could smother a spark before it spread if they governed wisely.
76	72	Orders &ca as in most Bills to say, it is for Value received without some Accounts come in the Packett, to shew how that Value was received, nor is it enough to say as in Capt Boddingtons Bill of Ninety two Pounds, that it is for the like Value due to him in the Books for it does not appear to Us whether it was in Acct of Salary or money paid as goods delivered Unless as before mentioned, You had sent the Account in the Packett, for your Book of Accounts now sent is but to 9 July 1704, and this Bill is drawn in July 1705	These were orders carried by the ship *Rochester*. As in most bills, to say it was for value received without some account coming in the packet to show how that value was received, was ill enough. It was wrong to say, as in Captain Waddington's bill of ninety-two pounds, that it was for the like value due to him in the books, since it did not appear to the company whether it was on account of salary or money paid, or goods delivered, unless it was set out and mentioned. The governor and council had not sent the account in the packet, since their book of accounts now sent came

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		Secondly let every Bill you draw, express ye you have sent to India, and not as your usual Custom has been as before mentioned, and to shew do & sold as an Accot in Our general Letters from time to time what Bills you draw for what Reasons when dated, how many Bills you give for each item, and advice Us this same in words at length and not in figures, also in the manner advice what Bills you omitt to be paid Us, or if you have not Bills what Accounts you sent Us for money due to Us, advice the same in your Leger, and the like in the Circum stances fitt for our Information, that we may at one view see it & order ye how or what is to be paid to, or by Us in every shipping, And not be forced to look into little Bits of Paper in your Packetts to Collect the same. & if as you say you Cannot with Caution so as to send out the Accounts due, expect from you just at the going away of our ships, we are Content & do Order for the future to prevent such Excuses as you make, that instead of the Ballancing yr Books in July, you Ballance ye to the 25 or last of march yearly, and then you will be ready to Send by ye ships, which drive your Action in may June, in ships & turning & would have you send your next Books at that Day. For the future, number the Paragraphs of your Letters **Margin Notes:** Let the Bills mention that you have sent to India. Ballance the Books to march 25.	only to 2 July 1704, and this bill was drawn in July 1706. The margin marked this passage. Secondly, with every bill the governor and council drew, they were to send an express account with it to the company, and not, as their usual custom had been, as already mentioned, and to set down and send the company an account in their general letters from time to time of what bills they drew, for what reasons and when dated, how many bills they gave for each item, and to write the sums onwards at length and not in figures. In the same manner they were to advise what bills they meant to be paid the company, or, if they had not the bills, what accounts they had sent home for money due to the company. They were to advise the company of the item in their store, and the rest in the circumstances fit for the company's information, so that it might at one view see in the order what was to be paid, or by whom, every shipping, and not be forced to look into little bits of paper in the packets to collect the same. The margin marked this as advising the company of the bills the governor and council had sent. If, as the governor and council said, they came with exactness in all the accounts they sent from the ships just at the going away of the company's ships, the company was content, and would order that in future, to prevent such excuses as they made, that instead of balancing their books to July, they balance them to 25 March, or the last of March, yearly. Then they would be ready to send by the company's ships, which usually left England in early June, in the following ship, and the company wished them to send their next books at that day. The margin marked this as balancing the books to March. The company wished the governor and council for the future to number the paragraphs of their letters. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The company's insistence that every bill of exchange be accompanied by an account explaining what value it represented reveals the difficulty of controlling expenditure authorised at a distant island but paid in London. A bill drawn in 1706 could not be checked against accounts that reached only to 1704, leaving the company to honour drafts it could not verify. This shows the perennial problem of a two-year gap between the island's dealings and the arrival of its records, which meant the company was constantly paying against instruments whose justification lagged far behind, and struggling to match the money it disbursed at home to the transactions that had generated the claims abroad. The direction to balance the books to March rather than July, timed to the sailing of the company's ships in early June, reveals how the rhythm of the accounts had to be fitted to the seasonal pattern of the fleets. The island's financial year was shaped not by convenience but by the departure of the ships that carried its records home, and aligning the closing of the books with that schedule ensured the accounts reached London by the earliest conveyance. This shows the company synchronising its bookkeeping with the sailing calendar, so that the flow of financial information from the island kept pace with the ships, and the delay between a year's end and its reckoning in London was cut as short as the passage allowed.
77	73	ye Ship Rochester Letters to Us, as you see we do to you, that we may the better take Notice of any part of your Letters, when we advise Occasions to return you an Answer thereto. When any of her majesties ships of War arrive salute them, in your usual manner which has been we hope to mutuall satisfaction. When any Dutch or Danes arrive, salute of	This closed one letter and opened another, both carried by the ship *Rochester*. The company wished the governor and council to number the paragraphs of their letters, as it did to them, so that the company could take note of any part of their letters when it had occasion to send them an answer to it. The margin marked this as numbering the paragraphs of the letters.

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		as Customarily, But endeavour to retrench the Expence of Powder as much as Conveniently you Can. When any English ship, our own, or others arrive, answer their salutes ye first time with no more than three Guns, & & give thanks for their return with only one Gun, & if any of our ships should fail in their Respects to Us, & in fitt on fire for you, advice Us, & you have done your part We shall take the needfut Care with them. Send us an Account by every shipping, what Powder you have expend, at what Times, & on what ships, & what Powder on any other Occasions as an firing Allarm Guns &c & take it as a standing Rule, in this all other Affairs of ours under your management that the more Carefull you are to save every penny the better you will Recommend yr selves to our favour. Our Govr & Council of St Helena London 26 Decemb 1706 As to the Soldiers & Blacks running away the Care is doubt but if you use the needful Caution it may be prevented & the have Us to be Confidence of Complaint we had received, that you admitt the Blacks **Margin Notes:** Number the Paragraphs of ye Letters. Salute men of War. Salute Dutch or Danes as Usuall. Answer all English & salutes with only 3 Guns. the Particular in the Accot of your Powder & provisions.	When any of the king's men-of-war arrived, the governor and council were to salute them in their usual manner, which had been to mutual satisfaction. The margin marked this as saluting men-of-war. When any Dutch or Danish ship arrived, they were to salute it as customarily, but to retrench the expense of powder as much as they conveniently could. The margin marked this as saluting Dutch or Danish ships as usual. When any English ship, whether the company's own or others, arrived, the governor and council were to answer their salutes the first time with no more than three guns, and give them thanks for their return with only one gun. If any of the company's ships failed in their respects to the company by first firing a gun, the governor and council were to advise the company of it, and they had done their part, and the company would take the needful care with them. The margin marked this as answering all English ships salutes with only three guns. The company wished an account, by every ship, of what powder the governor and council expended, at what times, and what powder was fired on any other occasion, as on firing an alarm gun. They were to take it as a standing rule that in all matters of this kind under their management, the more careful they were to save every penny, the better they would recommend themselves to the company's favour. The margin marked this as being particular in the account of expending powder. The next letter was addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 20 December 1706. The company turned to the soldiers and slaves running away. It did not doubt that if the governor and council used the necessary caution it might be prevented, and now wished them to be confident of a complaint it had received, that they admitted the slaves. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The repeated and detailed regulation of gunpowder spent on salutes, capping the guns fired for each class of ship and demanding a strict account of every discharge, reveals how the cost of powder on an unprofitable island made even the courtesies of the sea a matter for close economy. Powder was dear and had to be shipped from England, and the company would not see it wasted on ceremony beyond the minimum that custom required. This shows the company's relentless attention to the smallest expenses of its settlement, treating the ritual exchange of salutes as a measurable drain to be pared down, and tying the officers' standing with the company to their diligence in saving every charge. The instruction to salute Dutch and Danish ships as custom required, but to retrench the powder as far as possible, reveals the company balancing the diplomatic necessity of naval courtesy against its determination to spend as little as it could. The salute could not be withheld without insult to the flags of other nations, yet the company begrudged every ounce of powder it consumed. This shows the company navigating the conventions of maritime respect under the pressure of its own frugality, observing the forms that relations with foreign powers demanded while shaving the cost to the barest amount that those forms would tolerate.
78	74	Orders &ca victuals to run into large Arrears at the Punch Houses, & their Debts being thereupon Entered at the Store House, when they want Cattmar necessaries to Cloth them, They cannot have them till those arrears are discharged, this tempts the poor & Soldiers to run away or at least Exposes them to the Loss of their Poultis,	These were orders carried by the ship *Rochester*. The soldiers were allowed to run into large arrears at the punch houses, and their bills being then entered at the store house, when they wanted common necessaries to clothe them, they could not have them until those arrears were discharged. This tempted the poor soldiers to run away, or at least exposed them to the loss of their clothes, and might cost them their lives

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		it may be their Lives for want of the sparies to preserve them from the inconveniences of the Weather, this we are told, & 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 their Good as well as for their & service, and advice Us what is done therein, we would not have you run into the contrary Extream, And hinder, and hinder their Landlords from trusting them with moderate supplies of Trade or Liquor, but only stop the Extravagancey, and when the Soldiers have their sober thoughts about them, they will thank you for your Care about them, As to the Blacks, it is next to impossibility for Us to help the Grievance therein, unless we had timely notice in what ship they Came, & if we find the Persons who pretend a property to them will give the same Plausible Account, as that they were bought by a Given to them, which we Cant easily disprove till your Advices & then generally it is too late, When ever you Can we shall be ready to do them right. We note what you write about an Hospitall for the Sick Soldiers whose kindness we owe them, and when they begin to Sicken, and therefore you desire to have an Hospital to which we say we are Consent you should appoint House, for the sick places of any Soldiers, as they begin to decline in their Healths & proper Persons to look after them, and let them have suitable Provisions, and let it not be below your care our Council to inspect, and see they are taken Care of at the **Margin Notes:** A Caution about the Debts contracted by the Soldiers for Liquors. Order to Build an Hospitall.	for want of the necessaries to protect them from the harshness of the weather. The company judged this very probable, and therefore wished the governor and council to put a stop to this ill practice, in whatever manner they saw best for the soldiers good as well as for the company's service, and advise the company what was done in it. The company did not wish them to run into the contrary extreme, and hinder their landlords from trusting the soldiers with moderate supplies of food or liquor, but only to stop the extravagance. When the soldiers had their sober thoughts about them, they would thank the governor and council for their care of them. As to the slaves, it was next to impossible for the company to help the governor and council recover them, unless the company had timely notice of what ship they came in, and if the company found the persons who claimed a property in them would give the same plausible account, or that they had bought or been given to them, which the company could not easily disprove till the governor and council's answer, and then generally it was too late. Whenever the governor and council could, the company would be ready to do them right. The margin marked this as an action about the debts contracted by the soldiers for liquor. The company noted what the governor and council wrote about a hospital for the sick soldiers, whose kindness to save them out when they began to sicken, and their wish to have a hospital, to which the company was content. They were to appoint a house for the sick place of any soldiers as they began to decline in their health, and proper persons to look after them, and let them have suitable provisions. It would not be below the governor and council's care to inspect and see they were taken care of. The margin marked this as an order to build an hospital. **Interpretations** The problem of soldiers running into debt at the punch houses and then being denied clothing until they paid reveals how the drink trade preyed on the garrison and threatened both the men and the company's service. A soldier who ran up arrears for liquor could find himself unable to obtain the necessaries he needed against the weather, driving him to desert or exposing him to real danger. This shows the company caught between the landlords who extended credit and the welfare of its troops, seeking to curb the extravagance that ruined the soldiers without cutting off the moderate supply of food and drink, and revealing how the availability of liquor undermined the discipline and even the survival of the men who held the island. The company's near-helplessness in recovering runaway slaves, dependent on timely notice of which ship had carried them, reveals how the mobility of the sea frustrated the control of a slaveholding settlement. A slave who fled aboard a departing vessel could be spirited away and later claimed by others as lawfully bought or given, a claim the company could not easily disprove across the distance and delay involved. This shows the limits of the company's power to hold its slaves once the ocean offered an escape, and how the same shipping that brought slaves to the island could also carry them beyond recovery, leaving the company reliant on prompt information it rarely received in time to act. The agreement to establish a hospital for sick soldiers reveals the company attending to the health of the garrison on which the island's defence depended. Soldiers who fell ill needed care and proper provisions if they were to recover and return to duty, and a dedicated house with attendants served that end. This shows the company recognising that the maintenance of its fighting strength required more than discipline and pay, extending to the medical care of men worn down by the conditions of service, and treating the provision of a hospital as a proper charge for

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			preserving the troops who garrisoned a possession it could hold only by force of arms.
79	75	ye Rochester Capt Staines the same time we must recommend to you to be as frugall as you Can. On the whole matter we hereby require that you observe the following Orders as so many standing Rules for the future on our Account whatsoever to be broken, Vizt that no french man or other foreigner be permitted to go about the Island to view the Avenues & Passages, let the postmans be fowling or any thing else. That no foreign ships Boats be permitted to come about the Island on pretence of Fishing, or otherwise. That all our own ships be required to lye as near in as conveniently they can to the outsteward of the most Rocks at Chappel batty under the high Lands of Broder Hill, just clear of the halfmoon Battery, & if any of your Captains refuse, protest against them, & advice Us thereof. That if any Soldier in an allarm does not repair to his Post, and let them all know which Post to resort to when any Allarm is made give such Delinquents due Punishment by riding the wooden Horse, or otherwise. That if the Persons appointed to look out & be de negligent, & not mind their Duty, let each of them be punished as you judge their Offence deserves. That if any Planters, or other & Seamen does not repair to the Post allotted him, when there is a double Allarm He be fined for the same according to the Ancient Constitution and on no Pretence whatsoever have the least mitigations and to prevent all Excuse acquaint the Seamen what Posts they are respectively to repair Unto, and let them know if altho in time of Peace we have not insisted on them doing Duty on Allarms, yet it allways was the settled Constitution that in time of War, they are to be as far Accountable as do Us to appear when ever an allarm gives Notice of an approaching Danger Your loving Friends **Margin Notes:** No Foreigners must go about the Isle on Pretence of Shooting. No Foreign ships Boats come about the Island on pretence of Fishing. To Lie our ships to Lie near for. Punish ye Soldiers that Comes not to Allarms. Punish the negligent Lookers out. Planters to be fined on Double Allarms if they dont Come. No Excuse to be taken.	This closed the letter carried by the ship *Rochester*, commanded by Captain Staynes. At the same time, the company wished the governor and council to be as frugal as they could. On the whole matter the company required the governor and council to observe the following orders as so many standing rules for the future, never to be broken on any account whatever. No Frenchman or other foreigner was to be allowed to go about the island to view its avenues and landing places, whether the pretence was shooting or anything else. The margin marked this as no foreigners going about the island on pretence of shooting. No foreign ships boats were to be allowed to sound about the island, whether the pretence was fishing or otherwise. The margin marked this as no foreign ships boats going about the island on pretence of fishing. All the company's own ships were required to lie as near as they conveniently could to the eastward of the outer rocks at Chapel Valley, under the high lands of India, well clear of the half-moon battery. If any of the captains refused, the governor and council were to protest against them, and note it. The margin marked this as the company's own ships to lie near. If any soldier did not repair to his post on an alarm, and let everyone know which post he was to resort to when an alarm was made, such delinquents were to be punished by riding the wooden horse or otherwise. The margin marked this as punishing those who came not to alarms. If the persons appointed to keep a lookout were negligent and did not attend to their duty, each of them was to be punished as the governor and council judged their offence deserved. The margin marked this as punishing the negligent lookout men. If any planters or other freemen did not repair to the post assigned him when there was a double alarm, he was to be fined for it according to the standing rules, and on no account whatever have the least mitigation. To prevent all excuse, the freemen were to be told what posts they were severally to repair to, and let them know that even in time of peace, however unused they were to alarm duty, it was always the settled custom that in time of war they were to be so accustomed as to waste no time when an alarm gave notice of an approaching danger. The margin marked this as freemen to be fined a double alarm if they did not come, and as no excuse to be taken. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. **Interpretations** The strict prohibition on foreigners viewing the island's landing places or sounding its waters, whether under pretence of shooting or fishing, reveals the company's acute fear of reconnaissance by potential enemies in an age of frequent war. A stranger who mapped the avenues ashore or took soundings of the approaches gathered exactly the knowledge a hostile fleet would need to attack. This shows the company treating information about its defences as a strategic secret to be guarded absolutely, closing off the innocent-seeming activities that could mask espionage, and reflecting how a lightly held island on a contested ocean route had to suspect every foreign movement around its shores. The muster obligations laid on soldiers, lookouts and freemen alike, backed by punishments from the wooden horse to unmitigated fines, reveal how the whole population was bound into a system of instant readiness against attack. Every man had an assigned post to reach on the alarm, and the settled custom required even peacetime drilling so that in war no one would waste a moment. This shows the company

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			organising the entire community as a defensive force, drilling planters and soldiers together and enforcing their duties with graduated penalties, so that a small and isolated settlement could respond as one to the constant threat of an enemy appearing off its coast. The rule that even in peacetime the freemen be accustomed to alarm duty, so that they would be ready in war, reveals the company's understanding that effective defence depended on habit ingrained before the moment of danger. Men unpractised in reaching their posts would fail when an enemy actually came, so the discipline had to be maintained continuously regardless of the immediate threat. This shows the company treating readiness as a standing condition rather than a response to be improvised, insisting that the routines of defence be drilled into the population through constant practice, so that the island's protection did not have to be assembled anew each time a hostile sail appeared.
80	76	Orders &ca ye Ship Our Govr & Council of St Helena London 23 May 1707 We expect from you an Account, from time to time, how the Persons we entertain here for any sorts of Employments at St Helena, behave themselves, and whether they answer the Ends for which we took them into our service, as well those above mentioned 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 Henry Dickenson Commander, what she being for the use of the Island, you will find mentioned in her Invoice, and Bill of Lading enclosed in the Packett, you will find also her Charty party, with you must have a due regard unto, so far as any thing Contain'd therein relates to you, and then make up her Charter party with any other Papers you have Occasion to send to Bencolen, Enclose all in a Cover directed to yr Governr & Council of Bencolen, which Packett deliver to the Captains of the Ship to be conveyed to the Governr & Council, and take three receipts of the like tenor, one of which keep, and send Us by two Conveyances. We have wrote so particularly about the Dispatch of our ships that we Ordered sent to your Island, and the charge we are at, if they Spend time above Ten Working Days, that we need only refer you thereto for your Direction, so you write us a Certificate what Diligence is Used by the Captain in Unlading & delivering the Stores & c on board Consigned to You, and what time is **Margin Notes:** Send Account of all persons Employd. Arrivall of the ship Northumberland To Lie no load in ye Working Days.	These were orders carried by the ship *Northumberland*, addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 23 May 1707. The company expected the governor and council to send it an account, from time to time, of how the people it kept in any kind of employment at St Helena behaved, and whether they answered the ends for which the company took them into its service, along with those already mentioned, as with any others it then employed or might employ later. The governor and council were to take this for a standing rule for the future. The margin marked this as sending an account of the people employed. The company sent this letter by the *Northumberland*, commanded by Captain Henry Dickenson, which was bound for the use of the island. The governor and council would find her cargo mentioned in her invoice, and the bill of lading enclosed in the packet. They would also find her charter party, to which they were to have due regard, so far as anything it contained related to them. They were then to make up her charter party with any other papers they had occasion to send to Bencoolen, enclosing it all in a cover directed to the governor and council of Bencoolen, which packet was to be delivered to the captain of the ship to be conveyed to the governor and council there. They were to take three copies of the like answer, keep one, and send the others by two conveyances. The margin marked this as the arrival of the ship *Northumberland*. The company had written particularly about the despatch of its ships that were ordered first to the island, and the charge it was at if they spent more than ten working days there, so that the company need only refer the governor and council to it for their direction. They were to send the company a certificate of what diligence was used by the captain in unlading and delivering the stores and goods aboard consigned to them, and at what time. The margin marked this as the ships not to load beyond ten working days. **Interpretations** The company's demand for regular reports on how its employees performed reveals a system of remote personnel management conducted entirely through written assessment across a vast distance. Unable to observe its servants itself, the company relied on the governor and council to judge whether each man answered the purpose for which he had been hired. This shows the company extending its oversight to the conduct of individual employees, treating the periodic report on their behaviour as the means by which it kept some control over the quality of the men serving it at a station it could never directly inspect. The limit of ten working days for a ship to unlade, backed by a required certificate of the captain's diligence, reveals how the company pressed to

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			minimise the costly detention of its vessels at the island. Every day a ship lay in the road beyond its allotted time added to the company's charge, and a certificate documenting the master's despatch fixed responsibility for any delay. This shows the company driving the efficiency of its shipping through the discipline of the certificate, using the island as the point where the promptness of each unlading was recorded, so that the expense of a slow turnaround could be traced to the captain who caused it rather than borne blindly by the company.
81	77	Northumberland Capt Dickenson is spent therein, and in case the ship is above Ten working Days in unlading & does how many more Days were spent therein, & for what, & c & Deliver up no Bills of Lading of this or any other ship without indorsing the same that the same is fully discharged, or expressing what is wanting of the Contents in case there should be a Want. Let us have an Account kept in our Books what becomes of this money & Cannady, what we have for it, the folio for all the Particulars sent out from hence by the ship, And Observe therein the Directions given you more at large in Our aforementioned Letter, keeping a Distinct Accot or hire for every Item in the Invoice What it be for the very Garrison Stores that you may see at one view whether there has been Embezlements in any part of our said Goods, or Stores sent you, & let this Accot be monthly Examined in Consultation, Vizt the Storekeeper Account for what he receives in, and issues out, the Gunners Account for what he is to be accountable for, and so far every other Person, that has the Custody of any part of our Cargoes & if you have Reason to suspect any fraudulent Dealings appear to one or more Proper Persons to view the remains in each Persons Custody. Your loving Friends **Margin Notes:** Keeps distinct Account of ye out spent of the Report. Take Account monthly of every Body.	This closed the letter carried by the ship *Northumberland*, commanded by Captain Dickenson. The certificate was to record the time spent unlading, and where the ship stayed above ten working days, how many more days were spent there, and for what reason. The governor and council were to deliver up no bill of lading of this or any other ship without noting on it that the goods were fully discharged, or, where more should have been there, noting what was wanting of the contents in case there should be a want. The margin marked this passage. The company wished to have an account kept in its books of what became of its wine and brandy, and what it had for it, in the file for all the particulars sent out from home by the ship. The company wished them to observe the directions it had given at large in a former letter, keeping a distinct account or file for every item in the invoice, whether it were for the very garrison stores, so that the company might see at one view whether there had been embezzlements in any part of its goods, or money sent them. The governor and council were to have this account monthly examined in consultation, that is, the storekeeper's account for what he received in and issued out, the gunner's account for what he was to be accountable for, and so for every other person that had the custody of any part of the cargo. If they had reason to suspect any fraudulent dealings, they were to appoint one or more proper persons to view the remains in each person's custody. The margin marked this as keeping distinct accounts of the disposal of the stores, and as taking a monthly account of everybody. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. **Interpretations** The requirement for a separate account of every item in the invoice, examined monthly in council, reveals the company's determination to detect embezzlement of its stores through minute and regular scrutiny. Goods and money passed through the hands of storekeeper, gunner and others, and only by tracking each item and checking each person's charge could pilfering be caught. This shows the company building an audit system into the routine of government, requiring the council itself to examine the accounts every month and to inspect the physical remains where fraud was suspected, treating the honest keeping of its stores on a distant island as a matter demanding constant vigilance against the temptations of those entrusted with them. The insistence that no bill of lading be signed off without noting any shortfall in the goods delivered reveals how the company protected itself against loss and pilferage in the passage of its cargo. A bill discharged without recording what was missing would leave the company unable to prove a deficiency or fix responsibility for it. This shows the company using the careful endorsement of each bill as a check on what actually arrived, requiring its officers to document any want at the point of delivery, so that goods lost or stolen in transit could be identified and pursued rather than quietly written off when the ship was cleared.
82	78	System of Laws Laws, Ordinances and Constitutions	This was a system of laws, ordinances and constitutions for the good government of the island of

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		for the good Government of the Island of St Helena taken briefly out of the severall Orders, Laws, and Ordinances directed to the Govr and Councill of said Island from time to time, both by the sd Parlth the old and new United English East India Company by Instru: Power & Authority derived to them, by two Charters from Charles the second of Ever blessed Memory King of Great Brittain, France & Ireland, and her Present majesty Queen Anne, in their Impartial Justice, at which Laws, Orders, Constitutions are to be observed by all such (of what Quality soever) having & Residing on the said Island, as so many standing Rules of Government, and that None hereafter may plead Ignorance (as we may have lately done) the same is engrossed and set up in the Session House, on the said Island in Chappell Vatty near Fort James. First touching Religion and the Worship of God. It is directed, ordered, & Appointed that the Lords day be religiously observed by abstaining from all bodily and secular Employments, as also from all Gaming, & other unlawfull Pastimes, and that all Persons do resort, and attend & join in the publick Exercise of Religious Duties, as Prayers, hearing of sermons, & on occasions, and fit times the Administrations of both sacraments of Baptism, & the Lords Supper & that all be done with due Reverence, Decency & Order and if in Case there be no Minister, the Govr & Councill shall, Appoint & Cause, some part or portion of the Holy Scripture, and some Godly sermons to be read and that Our Sovereign Lady the Queens majestie, with **Margin Notes:** Recitall of Laws & Institutions	St Helena, taken briefly from the several orders, laws and ordinances directed to the governor and council of the island from time to time, both by the old and new united English East India Company, by virtue of the power and authority granted to them by two charters from King Charles the Second of blessed memory, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and from Queen Anne, in their imperial jurisdiction. These laws, orders and constitutions were to be observed by everyone, of whatever rank or power, living or staying on the island, as so many standing rules of government, so that no one could later plead ignorance, as had lately happened. The system was engrossed and set up in the sessions house on the island in Chapel Valley near Fort James. The margin marked this as a recital of the laws and constitutions. The first laws concerned religion and the worship of God. The company directed, ordered and appointed that the Lord's day be kept religiously, with everyone abstaining from all bodily and secular work, from all gaming and from other unlawful pastimes. Everyone was to gather and attend and join in the public exercise of religious duties, in prayers, in hearing sermons, and on occasion and at set times in the administration of both the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. All was to be done with due reverence, decency and order. If at any time there was no minister, the governor and council were to appoint and cause some part of the holy scripture and some godly sermons to be read, and a prayer made for the queen. **Interpretations** The compilation of the scattered orders into a single engrossed system set up in the sessions house reveals the company consolidating decades of piecemeal instruction into one authoritative code that the inhabitants could not claim not to know. Years of separate letters and orders had accumulated into a body of law too dispersed to be readily grasped, and the public posting of a unified text removed the excuse of ignorance the company had lately met. This shows the company recognising that law scattered across many despatches was law imperfectly known, and moving to fix its rules in a single visible document, so that the government of the island rested on a code its people could see and were bound to obey. The reaffirmation of religious observance as the first head of the consolidated system reveals the enduring place of godliness at the foundation of the company's conception of good government, decades after the first laws of 1681. That religion again opened the code shows the continuity of the company's belief that a disciplined and obedient population rested on the keeping of the Sabbath and the public worship of God. This shows how firmly the company held to the ordering of its priorities across a generation, placing the enforcement of religious duty before all other matters as the ground on which the civil order of a remote settlement was built.
83	79	And Constitutions with the Peace, Happiness and prosperity of her Kingdoms be prayed for as also for the good Wellfare of the United English East India Company. Secondly and to the Intent Religion, morality, and Vertue may be Countenanced, Vice suppresst & punished, and that may be known what is Required, and what Punishment to be inflicted. 1. We do direct, and Appoint that that all & every Person or Persons that shall prophane the Lords Day by Travelling, Working, Gaming, or any other Unlawfull Pastime shall for the first Offence be only reproved and admonished, but for every such Offence afterwards	These were laws and constitutions of the consolidated system. A prayer was to be made for the peace, happiness and prosperity of the queen's kingdoms, and also for the good welfare of the united English East India Company. The second head of laws, so that religion, virtue and honesty might be encouraged and upheld, and vice punished, and so that everyone might know what was required and what punishment followed, came next. The margin marked this as virtue to be encouraged and vice punished. 1: Anyone who publicly profaned the Lord's day by travelling, working, gaming or any other unlawful pastime was, for the first offence, to be reproved and admonished, but for every later offence to be fined,

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		shall be fined not exceeding the Value of Five Shillings for one offence. 2. That all swearing, and taking the name of God in Vain be carefully avoided, if any Person after he hath been once admonished for that fault shall offend by Swearing He shall be fined not Exceeding one Shilling for one Offence. 3. That all Intemperance & Drinking is abstained from, If any shall drink to Drunkenness, 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, it being intended that if any Person of Quallity (who would be Example to others) that they pay a greater Fine than Persons of a meaner Rank. 4. That all Fornication, Uncleanness, and Adultery be forborn, and if any shall offend and be convicted of the same shall in such Case (untill it be otherwise provided) our Govr & Councill do take Care to discountenance and Punish the same in such a way, as shall be by them found most Efficacious & not Contrary to the Laws & Statutes of the Kingdom of England. 5. **Margin Notes:** Vertue to be Incouraged and Vice supprest Prophanation of the Lords Day. Swearing. Drunkennesse. Uncleaness.	not exceeding five shillings for a single offence. The margin marked this as the profanation of the Lord's day. 2: All swearing and taking the name of God in vain was to be carefully avoided. Anyone who, after being once admonished for the fault, offended again by swearing, was to be fined, not exceeding one shilling for a single offence. The margin marked this as swearing. 3: All intemperance and drinking was to be avoided. Anyone who drank to drunkenness was, for the first offence, to be admonished, and if after admonition he offended again, was to be fined, not exceeding five shillings for a single offence. A person of rank, who might set an example to others, could be fined more heavily than a person of lower standing. The margin marked this as drunkenness. 4: All fornication, uncleanness and adultery was to be avoided. Anyone found guilty and convicted of it was, until it was otherwise provided for, to be dealt with as the governor and council directed, who were to take care to discourage and punish the offence in whatever way they found most effective and not contrary to the laws of the kingdom of England. The margin marked this as uncleanness. **Interpretations** The preservation of the same graduated penalties for moral offences, admonition first and capped fines on repetition, across the quarter-century from the original laws to this consolidation reveals the remarkable continuity of the company's approach to disciplining conduct. The scheme of warning before punishment, and the modest ceilings on fines, had proved durable enough to be carried forward unchanged into the new code. This shows the company's settled conviction that the correction of everyday vice on a small island was best achieved by measured discipline rather than severity, a philosophy stable enough to survive the passage of a generation and the reissuing of the whole body of law. The persistence of the rule fining persons of rank more heavily than their inferiors for the same drunkenness reveals the endurance of the principle that visible standing carried greater accountability rather than privilege. Across the years this inversion of ordinary expectation had held, reflecting the company's constant belief that the misconduct of prominent men did more damage to the discipline of the whole. This shows how firmly the company maintained that those whose example was watched by the community should bear a stricter measure of its law, a conviction carried without alteration from the first system of laws into its consolidated successor.
84	80	Laws and 5. That none do steal or take from Another that which doth not belong unto him, and if in Case of Theft by taking away by force & Threats from any person whereby they might be putt in fear, or by breaking open any House or Room or Cupboard, or Trunk that was 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 & Bare, but also three 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 Pillory in a publick place, and be whipped from thence to the Prison, and that he be there left to the Discretion of the Governr and Councill either to discharge or made work at the Fortifications of the sd & if it be any other kind of Thievery, and the Party convicted, He or she shall return what he or she Stole, and three	These were laws of the consolidated system. 5: No one was to steal or take from another what did not belong to him. Where a theft was committed, whether by taking anything away by force from a person, putting them in fear, or by breaking open any shop, room or cupboard, or a trunk that was locked, the party convicted was not only to restore what he had stolen to the person from whom he took it, but also to pay three times the value of it. The rest of his estate, after his debt was paid, was to be forfeited to the company. He was to stand in the pillory in a public place, and be whipped from there to the prison. It then lay in the discretion of the governor and council either to discharge him or to keep him at work at the fortifications of the island. For any other kind of theft, the party convicted was to restore what he had stolen, and three times the value, to the person from whom he took it, and where he lacked the means, to be made to work for that person until the amount was made up. The margin marked this as stealing. 6: If anyone called or offering himself as a witness in any case gave false evidence through malice or

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		times the Value more to the Person from whom he or she Stole the Same, And in Case of their ability, He or she shall be forced to work for that Person, till the same be by work made up. 6. If any Person Called, or tendering himself to be a Witness in any Case shall witness falsely through mallace or Covetousness, or any other Account, unless it shall appear to be merely through mistake and in some Circumstance not much materiall to the thing in Question and that be thereof Convicted, the same Damage, Pain, or Prejudice, that his Testimony (had it been true & received) would have procured or do procure (excepting Death) to any other Party he shall be adjudged to Sustain, & for ever his witness and Testimony shall be deemed & adjudged invalid to all intents & purposes, and if it appears that such Witness was suborned, then both the Witness & the Person that suborned him to be Equally liable to make satisfaction and shall both stand in **Margin Notes:** Stealing. False witness.	contrivance, or on any other account, then, unless it appeared to be merely by mistake and in some circumstance not material to the matter in question, and he was convicted of it, he was to suffer the same damage, penalty or prejudice that his testimony, had it been believed and acted on, would have brought or procured for another person, short of death. His evidence and testimony over and above this were to be treated as void to all intents and purposes. If it appeared that such a witness had been suborned, then both the witness and the person who induced him were equally liable to make satisfaction. The margin marked this as false witness. **Interpretations** The addition of keeping a convicted thief at work on the fortifications, an option beyond the pillory and whipping of the earlier code, reveals how the company had come to fold its penal labour directly into the defence of the island. Where the original laws left the repeat thief to discharge or imprisonment, the consolidated system turned his sentence toward the building of the works that protected the settlement. This shows the company increasingly treating the labour of its criminals as a resource for its defensive needs, converting punishment into useful toil on the fortifications, and marking a shift toward extracting value from offenders rather than merely confining or shaming them. The retention of the reciprocal penalty for perjury, making the false witness suffer exactly the harm his lie would have caused, reveals the enduring centrality of honest testimony to a justice system that still rested on juries weighing evidence. Across the years the company had kept this principle intact, along with the equal liability of anyone who suborned a witness. This shows how the company continued to guard the integrity of sworn evidence as fundamental to trial on the island, carrying forward without change the severe deterrent against perjury and subornation, because the whole apparatus of justice depended as much in the consolidated code as in the original on the truthfulness of those who testified.
85	81	Constitutions in the Pillory. 7. If any Person shall Counterfeit any Deed, Deeds, Writing, or other Papers, or by any device cheat another of any Lands, Goods, or money, and thereof be Convicted, He shall make satisfaction to the Party injured, & shall also be fined the like sum to the Company, and to stand in the Pillory 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, & then for the Company Gratis such summs shall be adjudged Sufficient to satisfye the said sums. 8. In case any Person shall Quarrel 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, & the said Fine not to exceed twenty Twenty Shillings for one one Offence. 9. In case any shall strike an Officer, being about the Execution of his Office, He shall be fined at Discretion, not	These were constitutions of the consolidated system. 7: If anyone counterfeited any deeds, debts, writings or other papers, or by any device cheated another of any lands, goods or money, and was convicted of it, he was to make satisfaction to the injured party. He was also to be fined the same sum to the company, and to stand in the pillory on three public days. Where he lacked the means to make satisfaction or pay the fine, he was to be obliged to work, first for the injured party and then for the company, for whatever time was judged sufficient to make up the amount. The margin marked this as counterfeiting any writings. 8: If anyone quarrelled with another who was not his servant or under his command, or struck or wounded him, the offending party was to make satisfaction to the injured party, and over and above was also to be fined for the company's use for the breach of the peace, the fine not exceeding twenty shillings for a single offence. The margin marked this as quarrelling. 9: If anyone struck an officer who was carrying out his office, he was to be fined at discretion, not exceeding five pounds, or be publicly whipped or imprisoned, unless the governor, with the consent of the greater part of the council, thought fit to pardon him. He was moreover to pay double damages to the officer he had injured. The margin marked this as striking an officer. The third head, for the better preserving of the peace of the island, keeping everyone in due subordination, and securing the island against enemies,

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		exceeding Five Pounds, or to be publickly whipt or imprisoned unless the Governour with the Consent of a major part of the Councill shall think good to pardon, and shall moreover pay treble Damages to the officer injured. Thirdly and for the better preserving the peace of the Island, and keeping all Persons in due Subordi nation, and securing of the Island against Enemies, wee do ordain, Direct, and appoint. 1. That no Person whatsoever shall imprison, or lay violent Hands on, or strike the Governr, or any his Superior officer, or ministers, or attempt or Conspire so to do, and in Case any shall offend therein & be thereof Convict, He shall suffer such Corporal Punishment (not extending to the taking away Life) as the Governr with **Margin Notes:** Counterfeiting any Writings. Quarrelling. Striking an officer. Directions for preserving the publick peace. Striking of the Governr or his Ministers.	followed. The margin marked this as directions for preserving the public peace. 1: No one was to imprison or lay violent hands on, or strike, the governor or any superior officer or minister, or attempt or conspire to do so. Anyone who offended in this way was to suffer corporal punishment short of death, as the governor, with the consent of the council, judged the matter to deserve. The margin marked this as striking the governor or the ministers. **Interpretations** The sharp increase in the maximum fine for striking an officer, from five shillings in the original code to five pounds in the consolidated system, reveals how the company had come to weight the protection of its officers far more heavily over the intervening years. A penalty multiplied twentyfold marks a decisive hardening of the law guarding those who exercised authority. This shows the company responding to the experience of a generation by strengthening the sanctions that shielded its officers from violence, treating an assault on the men who enforced its rule as a graver matter than the earlier law had reckoned, and reflecting a growing insistence on the inviolability of authority on the island. The continued escalation from breach of the peace against a private person, capped at twenty shillings, to the far heavier penalties for striking an officer or the governor reveals the enduring hierarchy of protection that ran through the island's law. Violence against an ordinary inhabitant drew a modest fine, but violence against those in authority drew whipping, imprisonment or heavy penalty, scaling with the offender's target. This shows the company maintaining across the years its graduated valuation of order, treating an attack on authority as an injury to the whole structure of government rather than to an individual alone, and preserving in the consolidated code the ascending scale of protection that guarded its officers above its common people.
86	82	Laws and the Advice & Consent of the major part of his military Officers shall adjudge according to the nature of the Offence & besides Considering the Governour He also shall forfeit to the Company all his Lands & Tenements Goods & Chattles. 2. That if any Capt an Officer or Soldier in the Companies Service in the said Island shall neglect his Duty & be thereof Convicted by the Testimony of two Witnesses upon Oath, He or they shall be fined by the Governr to the Use of the Company not exceeding one Month's 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 require. 3. If any shall embezle, or steal any Powder, shott, Amunition, or other Stores & do the same both the Persons so Imbezling, or Stealing, as also the abetters, Buyers & Receivers thereof shall be liable over and above the Penalties herein before appointed in cases of Theft to be imprisoned not exceeding six months, or to suffer such other Corporal Punishment as the Governr with the advice & Consent of the major part of his Council shall adjudge the matter to deserve. 4. We do likewise enjoyn that no Person inhabiting the Island, not being officer, or soldier be permitted to wear	These were laws of the consolidated system. The offender was to suffer corporal punishment short of death, as the governor, with the advice and consent of the greater part of his military officers, judged the nature of the offence deserved. If he had struck the governor, he was also to forfeit to the company all his lands and tenements, goods and chattels. 2: If any captain, officer or soldier in the company's service on the island neglected his duty, and was convicted of it by the sworn testimony of two witnesses, he was to be fined by the governor for the company's use, not exceeding one month's pay, and was also to suffer corporal punishment short of death, as the governor with the advice and consent of the greater part of his military officers judged the matter to deserve. The margin marked this as an officer or soldier neglecting his duty. 3: If anyone embezzled or stole any powder, shot, ammunition or other stores, then, for both the embezzling or stealing and the buying or receiving of them, the buyers and receivers were to be liable to the same penalties already appointed for theft. He could be imprisoned for up to six months, or suffer such other corporal punishment as the governor, with the advice and consent of the greater part of the council, judged the matter to deserve. The margin marked this as embezzling ammunition. 4: No inhabitant of the island who was not an officer or soldier was to be allowed to wear any sword, this being by the custom of all nations an impermissible thing in a frontier garrison. The company thought it might not be very proper even for the private soldiers to wear swords in so drinking a place as St Helena was, except when they were on duty. If any of the inhabitants broke this order, they were to

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		any sword, it being by the Custom of all Nations an unallow erable 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, one Shilling for the first offence, two shillings for the second, and so on unto three shillings toties Quoties; But your Officers are not to be any where without **Margin Notes:** Officer or Soldiers neglect of Duty. Imbezling amunition. Inhabitants to wear no Swords.	be fined one shilling for the first offence, two shillings for the second, and so on up to three shillings, as often as they offended. Officers were not to be at any other. The margin marked this as inhabitants not to wear swords. **Interpretations** The carrying forward of total forfeiture of lands and goods for striking the governor, alongside the severe punishment of embezzling powder and stores, reveals the enduring twin preoccupations of the island's law with the person of its head and the integrity of its magazine. Both had appeared in the original code and both survived unchanged, marking the constant concerns of a settlement held by a single governing authority and a limited store of arms. This shows how the company's law remained anchored across the years to the protection of the governor's authority as the embodiment of its rule, and to the safeguarding of the ammunition without which the island could not be defended. The persistence of the prohibition on inhabitants wearing swords, justified again by the drinking character of the place and the custom of frontier garrisons, reveals the durability of the company's concern to confine arms to its soldiers in a volatile community. The same reasoning that had barred civilian swords in the original code was repeated in the consolidated system, along with the doubt about arming even private soldiers off duty. This shows the company's continued judgement that the ready availability of drink made an armed populace dangerous, maintaining across a generation the restriction of the sword to the soldier as a settled principle of order on an island where violence and liquor remained standing threats.
87	83	Consultations without their swords, they ought to forfeit five shillings to the Company for each offence in that kind, Whether to extend this order so far as to Serjeants & Corporals, We leave to your Discretion, but considering you have sober officers, we think it may not be amiss to permitt Serjeants & Corporals to the Priviledge of wearing swords, hoping you will Choose the soberest men into those Offices, & who ever one of the Inhabitants, officers or soldiers, or any belonging to or Passengers on board of any ship shall presume to draw a sword shall forfeit & pay twenty Shillings, the one Moiety to the Company, and the other to the necessary Fortifications. Fourthly, And whereas some doubts and questions have arisen touching the holder, enjoying, Disposing, Alienating, such Lands & Plantations, and on what manner & nature the same shall descend in case of Death or otherwise, as also what that suit & Service is which we require of the Possessors of the same, We have thought fitt to the intent that every Person may both know the Duty required of him, & the Right belonging to him, on serious Considerations of all particulars, order and ordain. 1. That any & every Person to whom Lands hath been allotted (if such Person or Persons have been in the actuall Possession and occupation thereof six years to be accounted from the time of their actual Entrance on the improving of 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.	These were constitutions of the consolidated system. Officers seen without their swords were to forfeit five shillings to the company for every such offence. Whether the order should extend to sergeants and corporals, the company left to the governor and council's discretion, but since the sergeants and corporals had lately offended, the company thought it might not be amiss to allow them the privilege of wearing swords, hoping the governor and council would choose the soberest men into those offices. If anyone else, whether inhabitants, officers or soldiers, or anyone belonging to or a passenger on any ship, presumed to draw a sword, he was to forfeit and pay twenty shillings, one half to the company and the other to the necessary fortifications. The margin marked this as who must or may wear swords, and as passengers who drew a sword to forfeit twenty shillings. The fourth head concerned the transfer of lands, and set out the particulars for holding them, since doubts had arisen over the way such lands and plantations were held, enjoyed and transferred, how they were to descend on the death of a holder or otherwise, and what duties and services the company required of those who held them. The company thought it fit that everyone should know both the duty required of him and the rights belonging to him, and so ordered separate provisions on all these particulars. The margin marked this as the transfer of lands. 1: Anyone who had held and worked his land for four years, counting from the date he first entered on it and began to cultivate it, was to hold the land freely, to himself and his heirs, and could sell, transfer or dispose of it as he pleased. The margin marked this as those who have held their land for four years may transfer it as they please. 2: If a planter who had duly settled his land died a single man, the land passed to his next heir, or to whomever he named in his will. The margin marked this as the settlement of land in the case of death.

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		2. That in case of the Decease of any Planter duly possessed of any Lands, if such Planter be a single man, the said Lands shall Descent to his next Heir, or to such Person or Persons, as he shall by his last Will & Testament bequeath the same, But if he be a married man that then **Margin Notes:** who must, or may wear swords Passengers that draw swords in anger 20s. Alienation of Lands. Possessors of the Land six years 6 years may sell if duly Land Improved Settlement of Land in case of Death how it has Devided	**Interpretations** The direction of sword fines partly to the fund for fortifications reveals how the consolidated code, like the earlier orders on ordinary fines, bound the penalties for disorder to the standing need to defend the island. The money exacted from those who drew weapons unlawfully helped pay for the works that protected the settlement, so that the punishment of violence fed directly into the island's defence. This shows the company continuing to design its fines to serve the material needs of the place, turning the proceeds of breaches of the peace toward the fortifications, and folding the enforcement of order into the perpetual task of guarding a possession that could be attacked at any time. The reappearance of the four-year cultivation rule as the gateway to free disposal of land reveals the company's enduring insistence that grantees become genuine settlers before acquiring full property rights. The same requirement that had shaped the original land system was carried into the consolidated code, tying the right to sell to a period of actual cultivation. This shows the company's continued determination to secure a working and settled population rather than a speculative one, maintaining across the years the principle that only sustained cultivation earned the freedom to transfer land, because the island's need for productive settlers who would stay and work their ground remained as pressing as ever.
88	84	Laws and one half thereof shall go to his wife during her naturall Life, and the other half together with the Reversion of the former half after his wives decease to be disposed according as by his last Will & Testa ment shall be appointed, or in Case there be no such appointment then to Descend to the Heir at Law. 3. As to moveable and personall Estate that any Planter shall die possessed of, if the same be not Disposed of by Will, the same shall be divided One Third to his wife, and the other two Thirds among the Children on the Island in equal Shares, and if there be no Children, then one half to the Wife, & the other half to the Brothers & sisters or their Children Inhabiting on the said Island, but if there be no such, then all to the Wife, But in Case there be neither wife nor Children, then the whole to go to next of Kindred that Inhabit on the sd Island, and if he hath no kindred on the Island, then the same to be Inventoried & preserved, for such Person or Persons in England that shall be admitted to the Administra tion of the Estate. 4. We observe that it Comes to every Planters turn on twenty Acres of Land to keep Watch and Ward every sixth night which is two months of the Year, and if such as do hire their Duty to be done, for them pay forty Shillings & Ann for it, & therefore we have thought that the said & forty shillings & arms upon Every twenty acres of freehold Land shall hereafter in money be paid to the Governr yearly and the Planters discharged of such Constant watching & Warding but not with foregoing all free Planters and all Persons living within the Island that are able to bear Arms shall be duly Trained as they have been and instantly upon all allarms appear at **Margin Notes:** Division of Personall Estate &ca Planters Dueled a fortnights watch	These were laws of the consolidated system. If a married planter died, one half of his land went to his wife for her lifetime, and the other half, together with the reversion of the first half after her death, was disposed of according to his will. Where he left no such direction, the whole descended to his next heir. 3: As for the moveable and personal estate a planter left, if he had not disposed of it by will, one third went to the wife and the other two thirds among his children on the island in equal shares. If there were no children, one half went to the wife and the other half to the dead man's brothers and sisters, or their children, living on the island, and if there were none, the whole to the wife. Where he left neither wife nor child, the whole passed to his next of kin on the island. If he had no relatives on the island, the estate was to be inventoried and preserved for anyone in England who was admitted to administer it. The margin marked this as the division of personal estate. 4: The company observed that the duty of keeping watch and ward every sixth night, which came round to every planter's turn on twenty acres of land, amounted to two months of the year. Rather than have those planters do the duty themselves, the company was content that they pay forty shillings a year in place of it. It therefore ordered that a rent of forty shillings on every twenty acres of freehold land be paid to the governor yearly, and that the planters be discharged of constant watching and warding. Despite this, all the planters and all the settlers living on the island who were able to bear arms were still to be duly mustered as they had always been, and on any alarm were to appear at their posts. The margin marked this as planters excused a constant watch, and why. **Interpretations** The carrying forward of the detailed rules of intestate succession, dividing estates among widow, children and island kin, reveals the company's continued provision of a complete framework of inheritance law for a settlement that still had no other. The same scheme confining shares to relatives on the island, seen in the original code, was preserved unchanged in the consolidated system. This shows the company maintaining across the years its self-contained law of succession, keeping property within the resident population and preventing estates from draining to

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		Ended and why.	heirs in England who would never settle, because the island's need to retain land and goods among those who actually lived and worked there remained as strong as when the rules were first laid down. The persistence of the commutation of watch duty into a forty-shilling rent, while musters and alarm obligations continued, reveals the durability of the arrangement by which the company took money for personal service yet kept its military reserve. The same conversion of the sixth-night watch into an annual payment, seen in the earlier orders, was carried into the consolidated code. This shows the company holding across the years to its dual purpose of drawing revenue from the settlers obligations while preserving the armed readiness it needed, maintaining the substitution of rent for routine watch alongside the undiminished requirement that every able man turn out to defend the island when an alarm was raised.
89	85	Constitutions at their respective Quarters in arms under to the same Penalty upon the Defaulters as hath been formerly used, or such Greater Penalty as our Governr & Councill shall think fitt to impose upon him, & shall & when & attend as train Bands at general musters and Exercise of Arms which our said Governour & Councill shall Command them to. 5. We have thought fitt to take off that restraint from our free Planters of keeping of Negroes with only this Condition that every free Planter, Lessee or other Person that will keep the number of four Negroes shall keep one Englishman Extraordinary to attend all Allarms or pay our Governr for the Companies Use forty & Shillings & Ann, and so proportionably Vizt for one Negroe Ten Shillings for two twenty Shillings, Three & thirty & Shillings & And the Reasons of which Order is as the Negroes do increase upon the Island, it will be necessary for the Company proportionably to increase our Garrison of soldiers, for Security of the Inhabitants as well as the Island. 6. And wee do hereby strictly forbid all the Persons upon the Island from Suffering any Cattle to stray or as our Law saith to be Levant & Couchant upon the Companies waste Lands except such only as shall be first marked with the Companies Brand which we send you herewith, and the owners of every Beast are to pay the Company twelve pence & hird for being suffered to graze one Year upon the Companies waste Lands. 7. We think for the publick Utility of the Island you March upon Easter Monday in Every year or upon some other Certain Day, that you shall find most Convenient assemble all the free Planters of the Island to make Elect on for two Surveyors of the high Ways, and One Churchwardens for each Church, the manner Whereof shall be that the free Planters by their major Votes present **Margin Notes:** when not & mind. Planters may buy negroes. Cattle to be kept on ye waste Land at may in. Easter monday Post the Parish officers.	These were constitutions of the consolidated system. On any alarm the planters were to appear at their posts in arms, on the same penalty for defaulters as had been used before, or whatever greater penalty the governor and council thought fit to impose. They were also to attend and train in companies at the general musters and exercises of arms the governor and council commanded. The margin marked this as appearing when not excused. 5: The company thought fit to lift its restraint on the free planters keeping slaves, on the condition that every free planter or other person who came to hold four slaves should keep one extra Englishman to attend all alarms, or pay the governor for the company's use forty shillings a year. Every person was to pay proportionately, a slave counting as an acre, ten shillings for one slave, twenty shillings for two slaves and thirty shillings for three slaves a year. The reason for this order was that as the slaves increased on the island, the company would need to increase its garrison in proportion, keeping slaves for the security of the inhabitants as well as of the island. The margin marked this as planters allowed to keep slaves. 6: The company strictly forbade everyone on the island from letting their cattle stray, as the law required, onto the company's waste, except only such cattle as were first marked with the company's brand, which the company sent to the governor and council. The owner of every beast was to pay the company twelve pence a head for allowing it to graze one year on the company's waste. The margin marked this as cattle to be kept off the company's waste and to be marked. 7: For the public benefit of the island, everyone was to gather on Easter Monday every year, or on some other certain day the governor and council found more convenient, and assemble all the free planters to elect two surveyors of the highways and one churchwarden for each church. The manner was to be that the free planters present, by their majority of votes, made the choice. The margin marked this as the Easter Monday meeting for the parish officers. **Interpretations** The rate at which slaves counted toward the militia obligation, one added Englishman for every four slaves or a graduated payment in lieu, reveals the enduring linkage between slaveholding and the duty to maintain armed white men. The same scheme that had accompanied the original decision to permit slavery was preserved in the consolidated code, tying the right to hold slaves to the security burden their presence created. This shows the company continuing to treat its white population as the instrument of control over its slaves, maintaining across the years the requirement that those who profited from slave labour also provide the armed men who could suppress a rising, and stating

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			plainly that the garrison must grow as the slaves increased. The adoption of the English parish structure of elected surveyors of the highways and churchwardens, chosen at an Easter Monday meeting, reveals the company transplanting the familiar machinery of English local government onto the island. These offices, filled by the vote of the free planters, mirrored the arrangements by which English communities managed their roads and churches. This shows the company grafting the settled forms of the English parish onto its remote possession, giving the free inhabitants a measure of local self-government in the ordinary business of highways and church upkeep, and reproducing on St Helena the institutions through which rural England ordered its own communal affairs.
90	86	Laws and four to the Governour for over views, & 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 Churchwardens. 8. But our Express Orders is that none & for ever, no Lessees, Shopkeepers, or Setlipeers, or other Person whatsoever shall at any time have Vote, or suffrage for Election of any Island or Parish officers, but only such as are free Planters settled in their Possessions & Territorlands, and no purchase Lands shall have Votes or on than for twenty Acres in said Election. 9. And we do hereby order, & Direct that every master or mistress of a Family of what Condition soever shall yearly pay six pence & head for every Person, man or Woman, White or Black, above the Age of seven years, for & towards the Charge, repairing the Church. 10. And we do order that for the Publick Utility of the Island every Person, as well Free Planters, Shopkeepers Lessees Artificers, and Servants, Labourers and Negroes shall afford one Days Labour in every year for the repair and meliorating of the High ways, when they shall be summoned thereto to by our sd Surveyors of the high ways by warrant directed to them by our Governr & Councill. 11. And we do hereby Establish a small duty to be levyd upon all the trade of the Island. For every Ox or beast Beast sold or sent on board any ship £ s d 0 0 6 For every hundred weight of sugar landed 0 0 6 For every hogshead of arrack, Brandy or Wine 0 10 0 For every Peice of Callicoe 0 0 6 For every Peice of Silk 0 1 0 And so Proportionably for a lesser or a greater Quantity of Comodities. 12. **Margin Notes:** Who may Vote	These were laws of the consolidated system. The free planters were to present four candidates to the governor for surveyors, and four for churchwardens, from which the governor was to choose two to be surveyors for that year, and out of the other four, two to be churchwardens. 8: The company's express order was that no slaves, shopkeepers, officers or any other person whatever should at any time have any voice or vote in the election of any island or parish officers, but only such as were free planters settled in their holdings on their own lands. No one who had purchased land was to have a vote unless he held at least twenty acres in the election. The margin marked this as who might vote. 9: The company ordered that every master or mistress of a family, whatever their condition, pay yearly sixpence a head for every person, man or woman, white or slave, above the age of sixteen years, towards the charge of repairing the church. The margin marked this as sixpence to be paid towards the minister. 10: The company ordered that for the public benefit of the island, everyone, free planters, shopkeepers, brewers, artificers, servants, labourers and slaves, should give one day's labour every year to the repair and improvement of the highways, when they were called to it by the surveyors of the highways, by warrant directed to them by the governor and council. The margin marked this as everyone to assist the repairing of the highways. 11: The company ordered a small duty to be levied on all the trade of the island. The margin marked this as duties on goods. The duties ran as follows: For every ox or fat beast sent aboard any ship, £0 0s 6d For every hundredweight of sugar landed, £0 5s 0d For every hogshead of arrack, brandy or wine, £0 10s 0d For every piece of calico, £0 0s 6d For every piece of silk, £0 1s 0d The same rates applied proportionately for a smaller or a greater quantity. **Interpretations** The restriction of the parish and island franchise to free planters holding at least twenty acres, excluding slaves, shopkeepers, officers and lesser landholders, reveals how the company confined political participation to a propertied class of settled cultivators. The vote in local elections was tied to substantial landholding, shutting out those without land or with too little, and slaves altogether. This shows the company reproducing on the island the property qualification that governed political rights in England, where a stake in the land conferred a voice in local affairs, and building into its settlement a hierarchy in which only the established planters shared in choosing the officers who managed the community's common concerns.

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		6d & head to be paid toward the minister. All own to Assist the repairing of the Highways. Duties on Goods	The poll tax of sixpence a head counting slaves among the taxable, levied for the church across the years, reveals the enduring treatment of the whole population, unfree included, as a base for funding religion. The same levy that had first supported the church and minister was carried into the consolidated code, numbering slaves among those for whom their masters paid. This shows the company maintaining across a generation its practice of extracting the upkeep of the ministry from the entire population it governed, counting the very people it held in bondage when the cost of the church was shared out, and preserving the principle that even slaves were reckoned in the taxable strength of the island.
91	87	Constitutions 12. We do further Ordain that no Person whatsoever presume to Cutt any timber tree upon the Companies Waste Lands, or any Tree of theirs growing to be Timber upon the Penalty of twenty Shillings, for every such offence. 13. We have had very Scandalous reports of some Persons going on board our ships, for the future suffer none, to go on board upon any pretence without a Licence in Writing from the Governr, and if any offend herein, Fine them for the first offence one Dollar, for the second two, and so on till you have broke them of that wicked & scandalous Practice otherwise punish them at your Discretion till you bring this matter into good Order. 14. We see all our Duties and almost all our Payment of Goods comes in by Cattle, & therefore for the future we have Ordered all our ships to receive their Cattle imediately from the Company, while you have any of ours sett for their Service, and none from the Inhabitants, but when you have not sufficient to furnish our ships with. 15. We do enjoyn you for the future, to Suffer no person whatsoever to retail any Liquor or Tobacco without paying the Company four Pounds & annum quarterly. 16. We observe, & heard by others, which Came from that Island, that there is a great trade arose in the Island of distilling Arrack, from Roots & Fruits, which will soon consume the greatest part of the Wood on the Island (if it be not Speedily Prevented) we do therefore hereby order & Appoint, that no Person upon the Island be permitted to distill Arrack except they Compound with you, for the Companies Wood they expend in Distilling after the Rate of twelve pence & hundred weight, for all the Companies Wood spent by Destillation, and also pay you four pence & Gallon upon all low wines of the first running of such distilld liquors for the Companies Use. **Margin Notes:** No Timber to be Cut from the Compa waste Lands. No Seamen to go on board without Licence.	These were constitutions of the consolidated system. 12: The company further ordered that no one presume to cut any timber or trees on the company's waste or forests, or any trees growing into timber, on penalty of twenty shillings for every such offence. The margin marked this as no timber to be cut from the company's waste. 13: The company had received very disagreeable reports of goods being run and traded aboard its ships. For the future it would suffer no one to go aboard on any pretence without a licence in writing from the governor, and anyone who offended was to be fined one dollar for the first offence, two for the second, and so on, until the governor and council had broken the offenders of that wicked and knavish practice, or otherwise punished them at their discretion, until the matter was brought into good order. The margin marked this as no freemen to go aboard without a licence. 14: The company saw that all its duties and almost all its payments for goods came in by cattle, and so ordered that for the future all its ships receive their cattle directly from the company, while the governor and council had any of their own to sell for their advantage, and none from the inhabitants, except when they had not enough to furnish the company's ships. The margin marked this as ships to take their cattle of the company. 15: The company enjoined the governor and council for the future to suffer no one to retail any liquor or tobacco without paying the company forty pounds a quarter. The margin marked this as no liquor to be retailed without a licence. 16: The company had learned, and heard by officers who came from the island, that a great trade had arisen there in distilling arrack from roots and fruits, which would soon consume the greatest part of the wood on the island if it were not speedily prevented. The company therefore ordered that no one on the island be allowed to distil arrack, except those who compounded with the governor and council for the company's wood they expended in distilling, at the rate of twelve pence a hundredweight, for all the wood so used. They were also to pay fourpence a gallon on all low wines from the first running of such distilled liquors, for the company's use. The margin marked this as all wood used in the distilling of arrack to pay one shilling a hundredweight. **Interpretations** The steep rise in the liquor retailing licence, from the earlier annual charges to forty pounds a quarter in the consolidated code, reveals how sharply the company had come to tax the drink trade over the intervening years. A fee now levied quarterly at a rate once demanded yearly marks a decisive tightening of the company's grip on liquor retailing. This shows the company both raising revenue from the drink trade and restricting it more severely, using the far higher licence to limit the number of sellers and to profit from those who remained, in a settlement where the disorders of

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		No goods must come in Cattle of the Company. No Liquor to be retaild without Licence All Wood under the Distilling of Arrack, to pay one shilling & c & weight.	drink had troubled it from the first and where controlling the trade served both its purse and its peace. The preservation of the timber protections and the tax on wood consumed in distilling reveals the company's continued alarm at the exhaustion of the island's limited forests. The same concern that had first moved it to guard its woods and charge for the timber burned in making arrack was carried into the consolidated code. This shows the company maintaining across the years its watch over a scarce and irreplaceable resource, using penalties on cutting and a fee on the wood spent in distilling to restrain the consumption that threatened to strip the land, and treating the conservation of its timber as an enduring matter requiring regulation before the forests were gone.
92	88	Laws and 17. We require you to make every Order we send any standing Rules, and to be entirely Obeyd except the half Tax of two Shillings & Acre, we laid upon Planters. 18. We would have you also forbid all killing any Pheasants, Guinea Hens, Turtle Doves, or any other, Game upon the Island except such as shall be found in their own Plantations upon such small Penalty as you shall think fitt, to be paid one half to the Company & the other half to the Informer. 19. Touching the Disputes among your Inhabits relating to the Possession of their lands & how long time makes a Prescription, we say there is no Standing Rule in any Country which binds in another, & what has been the Custom of St Helena, We are not fully apprized of, For the future when any Lands are alienated or mortgaged let there be a Register kept in the Fort specifying the Substance of such Alienation or mortgage, who sells, who buys, and for what, & let every such entry be signed by the Buyer & seller & attested by the Governr & Councill for the time being wt out which the Bargain or Sale shall not be accounted binding, and for what is past, if there be any litigious Person that will 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, & for the better Encouragement of all such as live quietly & desire to do so, Let there be a publick declaration made on the Island, that for the Quiett of the Inhabitants all Persons do by a day Certain give into the Councill an Account of what Freehold they Claim which do you cause to be intered in a Book, for that Purpose with Notice that in Case no Exception is taken thereto by another day Certain & suppose Six months more or less then such their Claim shall be taken as a Certain Evidence of their Property not to be Controverted in future, for **Margin Notes:** All Orders to be Standing Rules but the Order for the Land Tax. Laws to preserve the Game. What makes prescrip tion. Keep Register in the Fort.	These were laws of the consolidated system. 17: The company required the governor and council to make every order a standing rule, and to have them entirely obeyed, except the half-tax of two shillings an acre, which was paid on transfers. The margin marked this as all orders to be standing rules, and the order for the land tax. 18: The company also wished to forbid anyone shooting any pheasants, Guinea hens, turtle doves or any other game on the island, except such as were found on their own plantations, on whatever small penalty the governor and council thought fit, to be paid one half to the company and the other half to the informer. The margin marked this as the law to preserve the game. 19: The company turned to the disputes among the inhabitants about the transfer of their lands, and how long a possession made a valid title. The governor and council had said there was a standing rule in one country that bound in another, and that this had been the custom of St Helena, but the company was not fully informed of it. For the future, when any lands were transferred or mortgaged, there was to be a register kept in the fort setting out the substance of the transfer or mortgage, who sold, who bought and for what. Every such entry was to be signed by the buyer and seller and attested by the governor and council for the time being, without which the transaction was not to be reckoned binding. As for what was past, if any litigious person complained, the matter was to be left to a jury, whose judgment the company hoped would determine it on a full hearing according to equity and a good conscience. The margin marked this as what makes a valid title, and as keeping a register in the fort, and as trial by juries. For the better encouragement of all who lived quietly and wished to do so, a public declaration was to be made on the island. So that the inhabitants might be quiet, everyone was, by a certain day, to give the council an account of what freehold he claimed, which the governor and council were to enter in a book kept for the purpose. It was to be noted that if no objection was taken to a claim by another before another certain day, six months more or less, then the claim was to be taken as certain evidence of the property, not to be disputed in future. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The game law reserving the shooting of pheasants, Guinea hens and turtle doves, with half the penalty going to the informer, reveals the company asserting control over the island's wild creatures in the manner of an English landowner protecting his game. The restriction of hunting to a man's own plantation echoed the game laws of England, which confined the taking of game to the propertied. This shows the company extending its proprietary lordship to the wildlife of the island, and enlisting informers by the promise of half the fine to enforce a restriction that

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		Try by Juries.	turned the free taking of game into a privilege tied to landholding, reproducing on St Helena the exclusive hunting rights of the English gentry. The scheme requiring every landholder to register his claim by a fixed day, after which unchallenged claims became indisputable, reveals the company's continued effort to settle the island's tangled land disputes through a general quieting of titles. The same registration deadline and reference of old disputes to a jury judging by equity, laid down in the correspondence, was carried into the consolidated code. This shows the company preserving its systematic reckoning with the confusion of earlier land dealing, converting a mass of uncertain claims into settled property by a single deadline, and treating the register in the fort and the jury's conscience as the enduring instruments for resolving the quarrels that informal transfer had bred.
93	89	Constitutions this we hope will Cure fully the Disputes of the People, If after all their Should be any Case that doth not Come within the Rules aforementioned, Send it Us Particularly stated, & advise, will return you a final Answer. 20. We have given you repeated Notice that our Orders we send you in our Letters are to be Esteemed as so many standing Directions for your Government, & we expect you observe them as such. God save the Queen & bless the Rt Honble United English East India Company. For all other Comodities for which no Rates of Custom are already set, you are at your Discretions to sett such moderate Rates as may not be Burthensome to the Inhabitants, and may bear some Proportion to the Rates of Value of the Comodities as aforesaid. Our Govr & Council of St Helena London 23 May 1707 By the Rochester wee wrote you at large what then occurrs to Us, as you will see by the Generall Letter dated the 14 Decemb 1705, and 26 Decemb 1706 Copy whereof is inclosed. Capt James Snowt therein mentioned did not proceed the Voyage, there neither does now because we had reason to believe he would not answer the Character given him, we have Entertaind one Chrostean Frederich Vogel to be Engineer at St Helena who is recommended to Us as well Quallified for that Employment, He is to serve for three Years at Fifty Pounds & Ann, We have and **Margin Notes:** Extraordinary Cases send to the Company. All the Non Compa Orders in ye Letters standing Rules. 8th year Anne RB 1702 Place no Duty to Sett on price with moderation Success may Come Enginer. 1. Vogell made Engineer. 2.	These were constitutions of the consolidated system, closing with a further letter carried by the ship *Rochester*. The company hoped this would quiet the disputes of the people, and if after all there should be any case that did not come within the rules already mentioned, it was to be particularly stated to the company, which would send a final answer. The margin marked this as extraordinary cases to be sent to the company. The company had given repeated notice that whatever orders it sent in its letters were to be treated as so many standing directions for the government of the island, except such as were expressly noted as exceptions. The margin marked this as all the company's orders to be standing rules. This closed with the words God save the queen and bless the Right Honourable United English East India Company. The passage was dated in the reign of Queen Anne, 1702. For all other commodities on which no rates of customs were already fixed, the governor and council were free to set whatever moderate rates were not burdensome to the inhabitants, and might bear some proportion to the rate or value of the goods as already stated. The margin marked this as goods with no duty fixed to be set at a moderate rate. The next letter was addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 23 May 1707. By the *Rochester* the company had written at large about matters occurring to it, as the governor and council would see by the general letters dated 14 December 1705 and 20 December 1706, copies of which were enclosed. The margin marked this as several letters enclosed. The commander James Snout mentioned in those letters did not proceed on the voyage, and neither did he now, because the company had reason to believe he would not answer the character given him. The company had appointed one Christian Frederick Vogel to be engineer at St Helena, who was recommended as well qualified for that employment. He was to serve for three years at fifty pounds a year. The margin marked this as Vogel made engineer. **Interpretations** The appointment of a named engineer on a three-year term at a fixed salary reveals the company recognising that the fortification of the island required specialist skill its ordinary officers could not supply. The works of defence that ran through so many of its orders demanded the expertise of a trained engineer, and the company hired one specifically for the purpose. This shows the company moving beyond reliance on the transient advice of visiting commanders toward securing a resident professional, treating the engineering of the island's defences as a task important enough to warrant a dedicated appointment, and

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			marking a step toward furnishing the settlement with the permanent expertise its security needed. The decision to withhold a command from James Snout because he would not answer the character given him reveals the company exercising careful judgement over the men it entrusted with responsibility at its distant station. A commander who failed to match the reputation on which his appointment rested was a risk the company would not take, and it declined to send him even after earlier hesitation. This shows the company weighing the reliability of its servants before committing them to positions of trust, treating the character of the men who sailed for the island as a matter for scrutiny, and preferring to hold back an appointment than to place a doubtful man where his failings could not easily be corrected from London.
94	90	Orders &ca advanced to them Fifteen Pounds, which is to be repaid out of Growing Salary. We have also entertained the following Persons for St Helena, Vizt 3. Francis Trange Armourer for five year at thirty Pounds & year, to whom we have received seven Pounds ten Shillings, to be deducted out of the 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, & pay one to her only for fifteen Pounds a mere Wages. Also George Northern & Nicholas Shrieve Masons for five years at Thirty Pounds Each & year Wages, They have agreed we shall pay to their Wifes part of their Wife, here Vizt, our Northerns Wife is to have ten Pounds a year paid here, and mrs Shrieves Wife Fifteen Pounds a year, paid her here, which you must in like manner take notice of. We expect from you an Account from time to time how the Persons we entertain, for any sorts of Employments at St Helena behave themselves, & whether they Answer the Ends for which we took them into our service as well those abovementioned 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, what she brings for the use of the Island, you will find mentioned in her Invoice and Bill of Lading enclosed in the Packett, you will find also her Charter Party which you must have a due regard unto, so far as any thing therein Contained relates to you, and then make up her Charter Party with any other Papers you have Occasion to Send to Bencolen & enclose all in a Cover Directed to the Governr & Councill **Margin Notes:** Persons that not. Trange the Armourer & his Pay. Northern & Shrieve & Pay & c. Send Account of Deportment of those Employed Northumberland Enquire. 4.	These were orders carried by the ship *Northumberland*, commanded by Captain Dickenson. Vogel's salary was advanced to fifteen pounds, which was to be deducted out of his growing salary. The company had also entertained the following persons for St Helena, namely three. The margin marked this passage. 3: Francis Trunge was appointed armourer for five years at thirty pounds a year, and had already received seven pounds ten shillings, to be deducted out of his growing salary. Since it was agreed that his wife should have fifteen pounds a year of his salary paid her here, the governor and council were to take notice of it, and account to him only for fifteen pounds a year as his wages. The margin marked this as an armourer entertained. George Northern and Nicholas Shreeve were appointed as masons for five years at thirty pounds each a year, and had agreed that the company should pay their wives here their part, that is, Northern's wife was to have ten pounds a year paid her here, and Shreeve's wife fifteen pounds a year paid her here, which the governor and council were in like manner to take notice of. The margin marked this as masons and armourer entertained. The company would report from time to time whichever persons it entertained for any kind of employment at St Helena, so that the governor and council might have the persons before them, and whether they answered the ends for which the company took them into its service, along with those already mentioned, as with any others it then had in employ. The governor and council were to take this for a standing rule for the future. The margin marked this as sending an account of the people employed. The company sent this letter by the *Northumberland*, commanded by Captain Dickenson, which was bound for the use of the island. The governor and council would find her cargo mentioned in her invoice, and the bill of lading enclosed in the packet. They would also find her charter party, to which they were to have due regard, so far as anything it contained related to them. They were then to make up her charter party with any other papers they had occasion to send to Bencoolen, enclosing it all in a cover directed to the governor and council there. The margin marked this as the arrival of the ship *Northumberland*. **Interpretations** The engagement of an armourer and two masons on fixed terms reveals the company recruiting the skilled tradesmen a fortified settlement required but could not raise from among its own inhabitants. An armourer to maintain the weapons and masons to build in stone were essential to a garrison and its works, and the company hired them in England for service at the island. This shows the company supplying St Helena with the specialist crafts its defence and construction demanded, treating the recruitment of qualified

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			tradesmen as a necessary part of maintaining a working garrison, and drawing from home the skills that a small and isolated population could not itself provide. The arrangement paying part of each tradesman's wages to his wife in England reveals a practical system for supporting the families of men sent to serve at a remote station. By retaining a portion of the salary and paying it to the wife at home, the company ensured that a married man's family was provided for while he laboured thousands of miles away, and reduced the wages accounted to him on the island. This shows the company managing the domestic consequences of recruiting married men for distant service, splitting their pay between the island and England so that those left behind were maintained, and revealing the human arrangements that underlay the staffing of a settlement so far from the homes of the men who worked it.
95	91	Per Ship Northumberland of Bencolen, which Packett deliver to the Captain of the ship to be conveyed to the sd Governr & Councill, & take three Receipts for the same of the like tenor, one of which keep, and send Us two, by two Conveyances. We wrote so particularly about the Dispatch of Our Ships that Ordered sent to your Island & the Charge we are at, if they Spend time above Ten Working Days, that we need only referr you thereto for your Direction, so you find Us a Certificate what Diligence is used by the Captains in unlading & Delivering the Stores & c on board Consigned to you, & what time was spent therein, & in Case the ship be above Ten working days in unlading, Advise how many more do ye was Spent therein, & for what, & c & pay Deliver up no Bill of Lading of this or any other ship without indorsing thereon, that the same is fully discharged, or expressing what is wanting of the Contents in case there should be a Want. 6. We have received a Petition from Doctor Wadham desireing to go to India in our Service, or on his own request, because full Companies of this behave one to go ye and as on the Island, and that his servant may go with him, To which we say we would have, you acquaint him That when his Command time is Expired if he then Continues of the same mind, He have liberty either to come home or go to & India, on he pleasure at his own Charge, But at Present we dont know of any Vacancy in India, & that his servant to whom by our Books We find is named Edmond Simpson, may of the young Man desire it, go with his master, but in regard he receives pay as a Soldier, He must Stay five years as other soldiers do before he leave the Place, mr Wadhams Wife take charge on his selfly. 7. We have likewise received the Petitions of Thomas Canons John Welsh, & Paul Gratton, ship carrs. who is for we Reduction to their Pay of thirty Shillings a Month, & that it may be as much as other servants have in Awe, & for **Margin Notes:** Dispatch all ships in ten working days. Give the Goods	This letter was carried by the ship *Northumberland*. The papers for Bencoolen were to be delivered to the captain of the ship to be conveyed to the governor and council there. The governor and council were to take three copies of the like answer, keep one and send the other two by two conveyances. The company had written particularly about the despatch of its ships that were ordered first to the island, and the charge it was at if they spent more than ten working days there, so that the company need only refer the governor and council to it for their direction. They were to send the company a certificate of what diligence was used by the captain in unlading and delivering the stores and goods aboard consigned to them, and at what time it was spent, where the ship spent above ten working days in unlading, how many more days were spent, and for what reason. The margin marked this as despatching the ships in ten working days. The governor and council were to deliver up no bill of lading of this or any other ship without noting that the goods were fully discharged, or, where more should have been there, noting what was wanting of the contents in case there should be a want. The margin marked this as noting the goods wanting on the bill of lading. The company had received a petition from a Doctor Oldham, wishing to go to India in the company's service, or on his own account, because the healthiness of the island made him weary of staying there, and as soon as he arrived, he wished his servant to go with him in time. The company replied that when the doctor's contracted time was up, he had liberty either to come home or to go to India at his own charge. But at present the company did not know of any vacancy in India, and his servant, whom the company found named in its books as Edmund Sumpton, wished to go with his master. Since the doctor received pay as a soldier, he was to stay five years as other soldiers did before he left the place, and Sumpton's married wife was to take passage on the *Kingfisher*. The margin marked this as answering the doctor's desire to go to India. 7: The company had likewise received the petitions of Ottiwell Cawson, John Welch and Paul Yeaton, shipwrights, whose desire was for an addition to their pay of thirty shillings a month. It set out that it was as much as other servants had at Anna, and so. The margin marked this as answering the petition to raise their pay. **Interpretations** Doctor Oldham's weariness at the healthiness of the island, prompting his wish to leave for India, reveals the paradox that St Helena's temperate and healthy climate could itself become a reason for discontent among those posted there. Where the company's eastern factories offered advancement despite their deadly air, the safe monotony of the island

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		unless up the Bill of Lading. Wadham to Doctor desire to go to India Give ye 3 Petitions to enquire pay.	left an ambitious man restless. This shows how the very salubrity that made St Helena valuable as a place of recovery could weigh on those who served there, and how the company's servants might seek the more dangerous but more rewarding posts in India over the quiet security of an island whose healthiness they had come to find wearisome. The petitions of the shipwrights for higher pay, benchmarked against what servants received elsewhere, reveal the workings of a labour market that reached across the company's scattered stations. The tradesmen knew what their counterparts earned at other posts and pressed their claims accordingly, and the company weighed their demands against the going rate. This shows that even at a remote island the company's employees bargained over their wages by reference to conditions elsewhere in its service, and that the company had to manage the expectations of skilled men who compared their treatment with that of others, treating pay on St Helena as one point in a wider structure of wages across its establishments.
96	92	Orders &ca in Answer thereto say we again with all Serjeants alike, that is each at Thirty Shillings & month, for all places what power in ye India, and we know of no more that is allowed, if there to it is a wrong to Us, except at Bencolen, when we Order every Private Corporal to have some what larger Pay, and then the Serjeants in Proportion, & therefore we see no reason to Insist herein upon our ancient Established Rules for the sake of the Petitioners, if they are even deserving, we doubt not, but you will give them all fitting Encouragement & advancement, when a Vacancy happens, & but we must and we dont like this way of Obtaining, it had come more properly to us by your Handle, & then we had heard your thoughts upon it. 8. Mr Alexander Clerk of the Council to whom we gave an Addition of Salary some time ago has also by a long Letter expressed his Case to Us, & in Answer thereto we say do you incourage him, as he shall be found to Deserve, He Complains, that he could not be admitted to be Ensign, but mr Alexander was a Serjeant we Prefer & you find in our Letter of the 26th December 1706, Book No 5, if we approve of Alexander's being Ensign, because you give him a good Character, at which time we had received the Return of Alexanders, we do not know what Reasons you had to deny mr Alexander that Place, & whether it would be any Inconveniency, and what if he should have the Place of Ensign as an Incouragement for his Diligence & long Service, mr Alexander for the like it was some Corporals Pique, that Stood in his way, wch he Could not Surmount, and also that the Govr would impose upon him an Oath which he takes to be very Extraordinary & the forced, has sent us a Copy of the Oath, which we think we Should not insist on, The Oath we give our servants here you have a Copy of, & if to that be added, That he shall not Discover any the secrets of the Company, and **Margin Notes:** Alexanders Complaint by a long Letter	These were orders carried by the ship *Northumberland*. The company agreed with all the sergeants alike, that each be at thirty shillings a month, since that was what power in India allowed, and it knew of no more that was allowed. If this was wrong, then, except at Bencoolen, where the company ordered every private soldier to have somewhat larger pay, the sergeants had it in proportion. The company saw no reason to trench on its long-established rules for the sake of the shipwrights, and if they went on deserving, it did not doubt but the governor and council would give them a fitting encouragement and advancement when a vacancy happened. The company added that it did not like this way of obtaining a rise, and it would have come more properly by their plan, or when the company had heard the governor and council's thoughts on it. 8: Mr Alexander, clerk of the council, to whom the company had given an addition of salary some time ago, had also by a long letter set out his case at length. In answer the company said the governor and council might encourage him as he was found to deserve. He complained that he could not be admitted to the office, but Mr Alexander was appointed a sergeant, as the company set out in its letter of 26 December 1706. Since the company approved of Mr Alexander being ensign, because the governor and council gave him a good character, and since at that time the company had received his account of Mr Alexander's affairs, it wished to know what reason the governor and council had to deny Mr Alexander that office, doubting whether it would be any inconvenience. If he should have the office of ensign as an encouragement for his diligence and long service, and if Mr Alexander was, as the governor and council set out, a corrupt person that studied in his way, so that he could not surmount it, and if the governor would impose on him an oath he took to be very extraordinary, then the company set out a copy of the oath, which it did not think it should insist on. The oath the company gave its servants was one the governor and council had a copy of, and if that was needed, it required that he should not disclose any of the secrets of the company. The margin marked this as Mr Alexander and Sumpton by a long letter. **Interpretations** The company's alignment of sergeants pay across its stations at a uniform thirty shillings a month, resisting local pressure for more, reveals its concern to maintain consistent rates of pay throughout its scattered establishments. Departing from the settled scale at one post would invite claims for the same everywhere, and the company held to its long-established rules against such creep. This shows the

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			company managing wages across its whole service as an interconnected system, where a concession at St Helena would ripple outward, and preferring to keep uniform rates that could be defended everywhere over piecemeal increases that would unsettle the structure of pay across its posts. The case of Mr Alexander, the council clerk seeking office yet described by the governor and council as corrupt, reveals the difficulty of resolving disputes over appointments and character between London and the island. The company had formed a favourable view from earlier reports and approved his advancement, only to receive contrary accounts from the men on the spot. This shows the friction inherent in remote personnel decisions, where the company's judgement rested on information that could be outdated or at odds with local knowledge, and where the company had to reconcile its own impressions of a servant with the conflicting assessment of the officers who actually worked alongside him.
97	93	For Ship Northumberland and give his positive Assurance, that he will not discover the Publick and Particular Concerns under his Care, nor Carry up into the Country with him, any of the Papers or things Committed to his Care, without the Councils leave, we think it is Sufficient. 9. As to his Spending three days a week in the Office at least, & giving in true Bills within Three months of all Papers in his Custody, & Serving with the Governr the Duty of his Office when required, that you the Governr & Councill can't take care of without making it part of his Oath, and if he should as we hope, he will not be deficient, in any part of his Duty, You must Preserve your Superiority in Such a manner, as may prevent Disobedience, & we hope you will do it at all times, and towards all Persons with Discretion. 10. We observe your great Complaints for want of Stores & Liquors, Our Orders to India Continue to send you yearly as we formerly advised, & some of this Spare ships had some for you, but the Places where our Ships are to touch at for Refreshment towards home being under the Disposition of the Secrett Comittee, who saw good Reason this last Year to forbid them going to St Helena, however that you may not be quite destitute, and not be under the Temptation to draw upon Us such large Bills again. We have Ordered this Ship to touch at this madras, and to take in of the Care thirty Butts of Wine & ten Butts of Brandy there, which is to be landed on board her by mrs Wilkes & David merchants there, & is directed to be good of its kind, how much is so laden, you will have Advice to gather on the Invoice, & Bill of Lading from said mrs, & mrs & Davill of which you Us Account & orat, & how the same, & if Brandy prove, we would hope there will be no Spoil of it on board ship, but least there should be any one Butt you receive, & advice Us how you find it, & in Case there Should be any Tricks played, Give the Captain an Account of it, & let him see **Margin Notes:** Servant at Desk 3 days a Question	This letter was carried by the ship *Northumberland*. The oath required Mr Alexander to give his positive assurance that he would not disclose the public and particular papers under his care, nor carry up into the country with him any of the papers or things committed to his charge without the council's leave, which the company thought sufficient. 9: As to his attending the office three days a week at least, and giving in true entries within three months of all papers in his custody, showing them with the governor the state of his office when required, the governor and council could take care of this without making it part of his oath. If he should, as the company hoped, not be deficient in any part of his duty, they were to preserve their authority in such a manner as would prevent disobedience, and the company hoped they meant to do it at all times, and towards everyone, with discretion. The margin marked this as an account of the papers when required. 10: The company observed the governor and council's great complaints for want of stores and liquors. Its orders to India, as it had formerly advised, were that some of the company's ships take in some for the governor and council, but the places where the company's ships were to touch at for refreshment homeward bound were under the disposition of the secret committee, who saw good reason this last year to forbid them going to St Helena. So that the governor and council might not be quite destitute, and not be under the temptation to draw upon the company such large bills again, the company had ordered this ship to touch at Madeira, and to take in for the governor and council thirty butts of wine and two butts of brandy there, which was to be landed on board her by the Dukes and Darell merchants there. It was directed to be good of its kind, and how much was so laden, the governor and council would have advice, and gather the invoice and bill of lading from those merchants, namely the Dukes and Darell, of which they were to keep an account, as with the wine and brandy. There would be no spoil of it on board the ship, but at least they should draw on every butt they received. The company wished them, where they found it, in any case there should be any tricks played, to give the captain an account of it. The margin marked this as Madeira wine and brandy. **Interpretations** The secret committee's decision to forbid the homeward ships from touching at St Helena, leaving the island short of stores, reveals how the routing of the fleet lay in hands that could override the island's needs for reasons of higher policy. The places where ships called on the return voyage were determined by a committee acting on considerations of secrecy and strategy, and that year those considerations kept the

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		Wadin wine and Brandy.	ships away from the island. This shows the island's supply depending on decisions made far above the level of its own government, subject to a strategic direction of the fleet that could cut it off from the refreshment it relied on, and forcing the company to arrange alternative provisioning through Madeira. The elaborate arrangement to supply the island from Madeira, with named merchants, documented quantities and warnings against tricks, reveals how the company had to improvise provisioning when its own shipping was diverted, and how carefully it guarded against loss in doing so. Rather than let the island go destitute or run up large bills, the company organised a supply of wine and brandy through a third port, insisting on proper accounts and vigilance against pilferage. This shows the company managing the logistics of a remote settlement with attention to both the securing of necessaries and the prevention of fraud, ensuring that even a makeshift supply from Madeira was documented and watched as closely as its regular stores.
98	94	Orders &ca it, that we may have our Remedy at his Return. 11. Let us have an Account kept in your Books what becomes of this wine and Brandy, & what we have for it, the folio for all the Particulars sent out from hence by this Ship, & observe therein the Directions given you more at large in our aforementioned Letter, keeping a Distinct Account or hire for every Item in the Invoice, what it be for the very Garrison Stores, that you may see at one view whether there has been Imbezlements in any part of our said Goods or Stores sent you, & let this Account be Monthly Examined in Consultation (Vizt) the Store keepers Account for what he receives in, and issues out, The Gunners Account for what he is to be accountable for, & so far every other Person that has the Custody of any part of our Cargoes, and if you have Reason to suspect any Fraudulent Dealings, appoint one or more, proper Persons to view the remains in each Persons Custody. Capt Dickenson will take in some Beef, Bark, & Chalk at Portsmouth, which we intended you that year, but were obliged to have them there, We have not yet the Receipt so Cant tell you the Quantity he takes in, & but you will find them in the Invoice, & an additional Invoice to be sent after the ship Arrive. Your loving Friends Our Govr & Council of St Helena & London the 7th April 1708. We have received your severall Items of the 26th of November 1706 by the Alingdon, ye of January by the Toristozen, 30 may 1707 by Stanpicture & July by the Isles Feild and **Margin Notes:** Examine Monthly ye Accots to in Consultations. The Good Livery this Person. 12. Beef Bark, sent at. 1. answered.	This closed one letter and opened another, both carried by the ship *Northumberland*, commanded by Captain Dickenson. If tricks were played, the company might have its remedy at the ship's return. 11: The company wished an account kept in the governor and council's books of what became of the wine and brandy, and what it had for it. In the file for all the particulars sent out from home by this ship, they were to observe the directions given at large in the letter already mentioned, keeping a distinct account or file for every item in the invoice, whether it were for the very garrison stores, so that the company might see at one view whether there had been embezzlements in any part of its goods or stores sent them. The margin marked this as examining the accounts monthly in consultation. 12: This account was to be monthly examined in consultation, that is, the storekeeper's account for what he received in and issued out, the gunner's account for what he was to be accountable for, and so for every other person that had the custody of any part of the company's charge. If they had reason to suspect any fraudulent dealings, they were to appoint one or more proper persons to view the remains in each person's custody. The margin marked this as the good keeping of the stores. Captain Dickenson was to take in some brandy that the company bought at Portsmouth, which it intended for the governor and council that year, but was obliged to buy there. The company had not yet the receipt, and could not tell them the quantity taken in, but they would find it in the invoice, and an additional invoice was to be sent after the ship arrived. The margin marked this as brandy bought at Portsmouth. The letter closed as from the company as loving friends. The next letter was addressed to the governor and council of St Helena and issued at London on 7 April 1708. The company had received the governor and council's several letters, dated 26 November 1706 by the *Attingar*, 3 January by the *Dutchess*, 30 May 1707 by the *Stringer* and 5 July by the *Isles Field*. The margin marked this as an answer. **Interpretations** The repeated and detailed insistence on monthly examination of every custodian's account in council reveals how central the prevention of embezzlement remained to the government of a settlement where stores passed through many hands. The storekeeper, the gunner and every other holder of company goods had to render account each month, with power to inspect the physical remains where fraud was

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			suspected. This shows the company treating the honest keeping of its property as a matter demanding relentless and institutionalised scrutiny, building the audit of its stores into the regular business of the council, because on a distant island the temptation to pilfer could be checked only by constant and systematic examination. The acknowledgement of a whole sequence of letters received by named ships reveals the layered and delayed nature of the correspondence that bound the island to London across the seas. The company was answering letters written over many months and carried home by different vessels, its replies necessarily lagging behind the events they addressed. This shows the rhythm of communication that governed the settlement, where a conversation between the island and the company unfolded across intervals of half a year or more, and where the company had constantly to gather up the accumulated despatches of the island and respond to them together, managing its remote possession through an exchange stretched out by the length of the voyage.
99	95	Per Ship Westmoreland and, herewith, & c & by the Dispatch, to all, which we shall now reply so far as we apprehend necessary & begin with that of 20 November, 2. The advices you give when our Ships arrived with & departed from you as acceptable & would have it always Con tinued, because, thereby we are at a Certainty for so far as in adjusting their Accounts with the owners, & also we will also to give us accounts of what monies you have of any other of our Ships, as you did in the Case of the New Companys Ship Union being left at the mauritius, we happen in this manner your informing Us of any other Ships importing with or departing from St Helena, & and the times when, which you must Continue. 3. Wee have read over our Palms Account of what the Portugueze offerd to you by way of Trade, so as they might be supplied wth East India Comodities, to which we say, that we are bound by Act of Parliament & Bonds not to break, & such of any of our Ships, till they arrive in England except only for such necessarys as are proper for the use of the Island, wch by a Sale Act is indulged to Us, & explain more expressly than in the former, so that they are not to Expect any East India Comodities at St Helena in Trade, But as to any matters whatsoever, which the Islander your Ann keep, affords, let them have as free liberty to purchase them as our own Emptor men, and do you Carry it civilly towards them in all Respects which is but a due Return for the Freedom our Ships Enjoy in the Ports they go to under the Portuguize Government, such as the madras & St Iago, & this last Genrral Bahia de todos	This letter was carried by the ship *Westmoreland*. The company had answered these letters and others by the *Despatch*, and now replied so far as it thought necessary, beginning with the letters of November. 2: The account the governor and council gave of when the company's ships arrived and departed was acceptable, and the company wished it always continued, since by it the company was at a certainty as far as adjusting the ships accounts with the owners. The company also wished them to give an account of what money they had of any others of its ships, as they did in the case of the new company's ship *Union*, being left at the Mauritius. The company was pleased at their manner of informing it of any other ships importing with or departing from St Helena, and the times when, which they were to continue. The margin marked this as the arrival of the ships to be noted. 3: The company had considered its own position on what the Portuguese offered by way of trade, so as they might be supplied with East India commodities. It said that its ships were bound by act of parliament and their bonds not to break bulk of any of them until they arrived in England, except only for such necessaries as were proper for the use of the island, which by a late act was allowed to the company, as it explained more expressly than before. So the governor and council were not to transfer any East India commodities at St Helena in trade, but as to any matters whatever which the islanders or the *Anna* boats afforded, they were to have as free liberty to trade there as the company's own commanders. The governor and council were to carry it civilly towards them in all respects, which was but a due return for the freedom the company's ships enjoyed in the ports they went to under the Portuguese government, such as Madagascar and St Iago, and this last general at Bahia de todos Sanctos on the coast of Brazil, where the company's ships rendezvoused to await the men-of-war sent out to convoy them home. Whatever goods the Portuguese or any other ships brought, which were proper for St Helena, the governor and council might purchase them in barter for provisions or goods out of the store house, so that they could get more ships and turn a profit by retailing them again to the inhabitants. The margin marked this as trade with foreigners, and what might be sold and what might not. **Interpretations** The restriction binding the company's ships by act of parliament and their bonds not to break bulk before England, with a narrow exception for the island's necessaries, reveals how the statutory framework of the monopoly reached even to the provisioning of St

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		Sanctas or the Coast of Brazile, where our & human Ships rendezvous at to await the men of War sent out to convey them home, That & were Goods the Portugueze, or any other Ships bring, which are proper for St Helena, you may Purchase of them in Barter for Provisions or Poor out of your Storehouse, so as you Can get them Cheap & to turn on Profit by retailing them again to the Inhabitants but, why **Margin Notes:** 2. Advices of ships to be Continued. 3. No East India trading with Foreigners. what may be Sold & what may not.	Helena. The ships could not trade their East India cargoes at the island, for the law reserved that trade to England, and only a specific parliamentary allowance let them land what the island itself required. This shows how tightly the company's whole operation was bound by the legal terms of its monopoly, so that even the supply of its own island had to be squared with statutes designed to keep the East India trade funnelled through the home country. The reciprocal civility extended to the Portuguese, repaying the freedom the company's ships enjoyed in Portuguese ports on the long route home, reveals how the island's dealings were shaped by the wider web of the company's relations with foreign powers. The courtesy shown to Portuguese traders at St Helena was a return for the shelter the company's vessels found at Madagascar, St Iago and the Brazilian rendezvous where they gathered for convoy. This shows the company managing its island not in isolation but as one node in a network of mutual accommodation with the Portuguese, whose ports its homeward fleets depended on, and treating fair usage of their traders as the price of the hospitality its own ships received abroad.
100	96	Orders &ca when you are to Consider the Price, at which you sell of Goods in Barter, if you apprehend they put a high Price upon them, The & Iago at six pence & Piece does not Carry Comptaining, what You have paid for it so others however more Brazel Produces it, & that it is sometimes brought from Liston hither, and can be afforded at a little more than & Iago, where the Freight & Customs are Dear, then you we say the Portugueze should be very well, The short we give you to shew you, how you ought to govern your selves hereafter on such the occasions, and if you Cant Prevail with them to sell it Cheaper, you may then put the higher Value on yr Goods, which we rechen are much Dearer in Brazel than with you. 4. We are informd that the & yor takes upon him to buy Goods of the Commanders of Ships without any advice or consent of his Council, and gives the Letters what once the yorks, thinking it is enough to say the Islanders shall pay such an advance thereon, & in Particular as to bya very large Quantity of Sugar Candy which he gave Bills on Us for, at twelve Pence a Pound, & tho it might have been bought at Eight Pence or nine Pence, and it is so dear that the Islanders will not without the utmost Surprize buy any of it, because they must pay Eight Pence a Pound for it, & yet he by means it lies in the Stores most oft unsold, and looking over the last we find it is so, we are Sorry we have such frequent Occasions to blame his management, & must tell him we shall not always pass by such Faults so quietly, however for the Present shall only say let its ancite so again, and whensoever any Goods are to be bought from Us or for Sale, let the owner make his terms, and the	These were orders carried by the ship *Westmoreland*. The company wished the governor and council to consider the price at which they sold goods in barter, since it feared they set too high a price on them. The rate of six pence a piece for Brazil goods did not agree with what they had paid for others, however much Brazil produced them, and the company thought they were sometimes brought from Lisbon, and could be sold at a little more than six pence, where the freight and customs were dear. So the company said the Portuguese should be very welcome. This served to show the governor and council how they ought to govern their prices thereafter on such occasions, and if they could not prevail with them to sell cheaper, they might then put the higher value on their own goods, which, being Indian, were much dearer in Brazil than with the governor and council. The margin marked this passage. 4: The company was informed that the governor took it upon himself to buy goods of the commanders of ships without any advice or consent of his council, and gave them letters, whatever it was that he gave them, thinking it enough to say the islanders should pay such an advance on them. The company was particularly advised of it by a very large quantity of sugar candy, which he gave bills on the company for, at twelve pence a pound, when it might have been bought at eight pence a pound. It was so dear that the islanders would not, without the utmost reluctance, buy any of it, because they had to pay eight pence a pound for it. Since he took this means to lay in the stores most often unable, and looking over the list the company found it so, the company was sorry it had such frequent occasions to blame the governor's management, and must tell him the company would not always pass by such faults so quietly. However, for the council the company would only say let it never be so again. Whenever any goods were to be bought for its use or for sale, the owner was to make his terms, and the price to be agreed on was to be settled in consultation, and not a thing to be always shut up in the general letter with the reasons for so doing. The margin marked this as the governor not to buy goods against the company's interest, and as caution to be used in purchasing goods. **Interpretations** The rebuke of the governor for buying sugar candy at twelve pence when it could be had for eight, and burdening the islanders with the excess, reveals the company's suspicion that its head was managing purchases carelessly or corruptly at the settlers expense. A governor who paid over the odds and passed the

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		Price to be agreed on to be Sealed in Consultation & not a thing be always that we in the next Genrral Letter, with the Reasons for so doing. 5. We come now to Consider your Letter of the 5 July, & shall **Margin Notes:** 4. Govnr not to buy Goods against the Compa that to give too dear. Cautions for in profit buying Goods.	cost to the inhabitants either lacked judgement or served interests other than the company's. This shows the company alert to the danger of a governor acting alone in commercial dealings, where the absence of oversight allowed poor bargains or worse to fall on the island's people, and moving to bring such purchases under the check of the council rather than the discretion of one man. The insistence that all purchases be settled in consultation rather than concluded by the governor alone reveals the company's repeated effort to subject commercial decisions to collective control. The governor's practice of buying on his own authority and merely reporting it afterwards removed the safeguard of the council's judgement, and the company would not have it. This shows the company continuing its campaign against the concentration of power in the governor, extending the requirement of collective decision from the making of law to the ordinary business of buying goods, so that the council's oversight reached into the commercial dealings where a governor acting alone could most easily harm the company's interest or the settlers. **Speculations** The company met the governor's habit of buying goods on his own authority not by removing him or simply forbidding the practice, but by requiring that every purchase be settled in open consultation with the council. The blunter response, given its evident anger at his frequent mismanagement and the overpriced sugar candy, would have been sharper discipline or a plain prohibition on his dealing at all. That the company chose instead to fold his commercial decisions into the collective process of the council reveals its consistent preference for structural checks over punishment of individuals, reasoning that a purchase agreed in consultation and recorded openly was safer than one shut up in the general letter with the governor's own justifications. The choice shows the company trusting the discipline of collective oversight to correct a wayward governor more reliably than reprimand alone, binding even his buying and selling to the check of the men appointed to govern beside him.
101	97	ye Ship Westmoreland shall first begin with approving your Care in sending the Duplicates of that Genrral Letter, & tho you will always reply thereto & c with all other the Occurrences in the sd 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 Reason thereof. 7. The answer you gave Us, why you imployed the Soldiers, for unlading the Cesar is not fully Satisfactory, you say there were no Blacks belonging to the fort & the same our Plantation, & as was & so to be in planting weeding & to Sick Caused you to Employ the Soldiers at Eighteen pence a Day above their pay at nine pence a day If the Plantation Blacks come yet in Eighteen pence or more a Day by their Constant work, that is the space raised or if the Soldiers Could be more Expeditious & useful & in unlading the Ship than the Blacks (which are very much to bt of) then you did well in Employing them but if otherwise, you were not good husbands for us. It is not	This letter was carried by the ship *Westmoreland*. The company began by approving the governor and council's care in sending the duplicates of that general letter, which it wished them always to supply with the *Westmoreland*, and with all other ships. As for the persons in the letter, the company did not doubt but they would in like manner particularly mention with all the bills of exchange they drew upon it, with the reason for it. The margin marked this as sending duplicates. 7: The answer the governor and council gave, of why they employed the soldiers in unlading the *Caesar*, was not fully satisfactory. They said there were more slaves belonging to the fleet, and to those on the company's plantation, than horses had ever been used to in planting, weeding and the like, which caused the governor and council to employ the soldiers at eighteen pence a day above their pay at nine pence a day. If the plantation slaves could get in eighteen pence or more a day by their constant work, then in the space of a year, if the soldiers could be more expeditious, the company saw, in unlading the ship *Caesar*, the slaves, of which there was very much doubt, then the governor and council did well in employing them, but if the soldiers were not good husbands for it, it was no good argument that because the freemen were not to have more slaves to him, to take under two shillings a day. The governor and council were therefore to determine reasonably how, at the same rate, it was far a good reason for hiring the soldiers at eighteen pence a day, but it was urgent reason at present for employing those slaves,

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		a good Argument that because the Former in that be be at more Blacks to him would do the two Shillings, & pay therefore, you must determine which one at the same time as that is far a good Person for hiring the soldiers at Eighteen pence a day, but it urges reason at present for employing those soldiers because our Blacks were not at hand but as the Plantation is very weak & which we now hope we shall never again hereafter, especially that you send rather take them off from the Fortifications than our Blacks from weeding & c you cant say we were whether any of your Soldiers or Blacks was on board the Cesar to help unload her, which you should have done, and we expect you do in like Cases hereafter, because if they were, the Owners must bear that Charge, as the owners of Rochelle, what for the Wine Wages that fetch her Ballast for that, they the marriners work, whereas if they are only imploye on ship **Margin Notes:** Sending of Duplicates. 7. Blacks for unlading Ships.	because the company's slaves were not at hand. As the plantation was very weak, the company hoped the governor and council would never again hereafter, especially if they would rather take them off from the fortifications than the company's slaves, from working, do so. Any day one were working, whether any of the soldiers or slaves were on board the *Caesar* to help unlade her, which the governor and council should have done, and the company expected them to do in like cases hereafter, because, if they were, the owners must bear that charge, as the owners of the *Rochester* who paid for the wine wages that fetched her ballast for that day the mariners worked, whereas if they were only employed on the ship. The margin marked this as slaves for unlading the ships. **Interpretations** The dispute over whether soldiers or slaves should unlade the *Caesar*, turning on the daily value of each kind of labour, reveals how finely the company reckoned the cost of the different hands available on the island. Soldiers paid extra, plantation slaves diverted from cultivation, and the company weighed the productivity and expense of each against the work to be done. This shows the company managing a mixed labour force of soldiers and slaves with close attention to the economic value of their time, treating the choice of who unladed a ship as a calculation of relative cost, and revealing the constant balancing of scarce labour on a settlement where every hand was needed for planting, defence and the work of the port. The question of whether the ship's owners should bear the charge of unlading, as with the *Rochester* whose ballast was fetched at the owners expense, reveals how the allocation of labour costs between company and shipowners turned on precise rules of responsibility. Who paid for the work of getting a ship discharged depended on the terms under which she sailed, and the company insisted that charges falling on the owners not be absorbed by itself. This shows the company protecting its accounts in the detailed business of provisioning and unlading, tracing each cost to the party who ought to bear it, and treating even the labour of clearing a ship as a charge to be assigned according to the rules governing that vessel rather than paid indiscriminately.
102	98	Orders &ca Shoar to receive the Goods when Carried & we have them, than they do Ours. 8. We have read over your protest against Capt Staines for not unlading his Ship in the limited time, which is not sufficiently plain & full, & you should have mentiond therein, which of his Boats, He did not Employ in case He did not imploy all in bringing Goods ashoar, which case his Boats did not work at all, or he was toyled away the time in not Sending Goods ashoar as fast as they might have done, how long the Planke was kept aboard to let the time & ship till the Ship was fixed for starting, You must also in future, protests, take notice which days, if they are tempestuous & then it will be very Prudent, for for the Captain is in fault, whereas in your protest afore mentioned, you say it is very full, that in Ten working Capt Staines might have delivered all the Goods on Shoar but the Owners want so Clearly support that Conclusion as they might have done, if you had been so particular, we	These were orders carried by the ship *Westmoreland*. If they were only employed on the ship, they were to receive the goods when carried and no harm from them, whenever they were done. 8: The company had read over the governor and council's protest against Captain Staynes for not unlading his ship in the limited time, which was not sufficiently placed and full. They should have mentioned wherein, and which of his boats he did not employ, in case he did not employ them all in bringing goods ashore, which cargo his boats did not work at all, or was towed away the time in not finding goods ashore as fast as they might have done, how long the plank was kept aboard to let the time slip till the ship was fixed for starting. In future protests they were to note which days, if they were tempestuous, since it would be very prudent, for the captain was in fault, whereas in the protest above mentioned they said it was possible that in ten working days Captain Staynes might have delivered all the goods on shore, but the persons wrote so clearly, supported that conclusion as they might have done. If they had been so particular, the company expected this would be also amended in future. The margin marked this as a protest against Captain Staynes for not unlading in ten days.

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		expect this will be also amended in future. 9. Your seventh Paragraph says you have received some Soldiers so pre annuted, you should have wrote Us their Names, & by what Ships they Came, that we might have known who to blame for Shipping them, for we cant see Every man which our Officers in these we employ have a hand. 10. The list of Guns & stores remaining Inventory we have received & in great, & you Continue to send Us the like by every Shipping & make up those with the Genrral Letter & other Papers that are necessary for us to know yearly in a Packett apart, to be sent Us from the first Port of England or Ireland, that we may be providing them forwith, we hint this because the Packett which Contained this by Dutch feild did not Come to hand till a Day or two past, being made up with your General Ledger, whereas that **Margin Notes:** 8. Protest against Capt Staines for not unlading in 10 days. 9. If Soldiers were sent for Soldiers Send Account thereof. 10. Send by every ship list of Goods & c money & remaining.	9: The governor and council's seventh paragraph said they had received some soldiers impressed, and they should have written the company their names, and by what ships they came, so that the company might have known who was to blame for shipping them, since the company could not see every man, but relied on its officers where it employed and sent a hand. The margin marked this as writing over the names of the soldiers sent, and giving an account of them. 10: The list of goods and stores remaining, an inventory the company had received, it wished the governor and council to continue to send, and to make up the like account by every shipping. They were to make up those lists with the general letter and other papers that were necessary for the company to know speedily, in a packet apart, to be sent from the first port of England or Ireland, so that the company might provide for them accordingly. The company wanted this because the packet which contained this by Dutchfield did not come to hand till a day or two ago, being made up with the general ledger. The margin marked this as sending by every ship a list of the goods remaining. **Interpretations** The demand that protests against a delaying captain specify exactly which boats went unused and which days were stormy reveals how the resolution of shipping disputes depended on precise evidence gathered at the island. A vague protest could not fix liability for demurrage, and only detailed documentation of the master's conduct and the weather could settle who bore the cost of delay. This shows the company insisting that its officers record the particulars of each detention with care, treating the island as the place where the facts underlying its shipping accounts had to be established in enough detail to stand scrutiny when the matter was judged in London. The company's reliance on its officers to name impressed soldiers and report by which ships they came reveals how it depended on the men at the distant station to supply the information it could not gather itself. Unable to see every recruit, the company needed its officers to identify who had been sent and to trace responsibility for improper shipping of men. This shows the fundamental dependence of remote government on the reporting of those on the spot, where the company's knowledge of its own personnel rested entirely on what its officers recorded and sent home, and where any gap in their reports left the company unable to know or control who was being placed in its service.
103	99	ye Ship Westmoreland by the norwich came to us in December last, what part of the Goods & stores due we find are now sent, you will find in the Invoices of these two Ships, Fort Feight & Westmorland, and their accomptants have time for it, they will draw out their Remarks on your Accounts. 11. We shall write to & India to Chupply you with the goods you desire from thence, but in this time of War, you are not to Depend on those Goods, as if it was Peace, because the Direction of our Ships being under the Care of a Secret Comittee, they have & may see fitt for the general Safety, to direct their voyages out of the usuale Tract.	This letter was carried by the ship *Westmoreland*. The packet by the *Norwich* had come to the company in December, and whatever part of the goods and stores demanded the company had now sent, the governor and council would find in the invoices of those two ships, the *Fleet Frigate* and *Westmoreland*, and if their accounts came home for it, they would draw out their remarks on the governor and council's accounts. The margin marked this passage. 11: The company would write to India to supply the governor and council with the goods they desired from there, but in this time of war they were not to depend on those goods as if it were peacetime, because the direction of the company's ships was under the care of a secret committee, which had reason, as it thought fit for the general safety, to direct their voyages out of the usual track. The margin marked this as being supplied with goods from India. 12: The company observed, from the gunner's list of stores at large, six pence in some articles under

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		12. We observe, for the Gunners List of Stores at large six pence in some Articles, & under the Head of six pence, & sworn out, & among others Thirty Six Barrels 999, Powder from June 1706 to June 1707, and but Twenty shott in said Suite are also so Much Ntts & so Swords which we dont so trust and, And Shott be glad to hear from you a good Reason for it, & there are, several other Articles, which we think lavish, if the six pence to as therein one would, Do you enquire into all, & for the future, Examine such Lists when brought in, before they are Sent Us, & let we know you have, so by putting it down in Writing on the your Names Ndt to, wheresoever you find any Imbezlement or waste take Care it be remedied and so be righted, We suppose you would do so in your own Affairs & we hope you'r are the same Care & Zeal in ours, & to prevent all Occasions for view, that you are in Hurry on the Dispatches of Ships, we hereby direct that in the most leisurely times of the Year (and we rechon those are such when no Ships lie on your hands to be Dispatchd) you do peruse our several Orders & Directions, & seriously consider them in Councill, and Cause them to be put in Execution accordingly, as & where at that time they Can and in Particular in taking Account of Remains, & considering what to write for in Cause Accounts & all other matters that require Particular Inspection. **Margin Notes:** 11. Shall be Supplyd with Goods from India. 12. The Gunners List of Stores expended is not Satisfactory	the head of six pence, and worn out, among others thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, from June 1706 to June 1707, and but twenty shot in the list, and also so much shot and so many swords, which were sent to dust and, and would be glad to hear from the governor and council a good reason for it. There were several other articles which the company thought lavish, if the six pence were, as therein, over worked. The company wished them to give into all this, and for the future to examine such lists when brought in, before they were sent to the company, so that the company might know what they had, and by putting it down in writing with their names to it, wherever they found any embezzlement or waste, take care it was remedied and so righted. The company supposed they would do so in their own affairs, and hoped they would take the same care and zeal in the company's. To prevent all occasions for excuse, that they were in a hurry on the despatches of ships, the company directed that in the most leisurely times of the year, and it reckoned those were such when no ships lay on their hands to be despatched, they peruse their several orders and directions, and seriously consider them in council, and cause them to be put in execution accordingly, so far as at that time they could, and in taking account of the remains, considering what to write for in examining accounts, and other matters that required particular inspection. The margin marked this as the gunner's list of stores expended not satisfactory. **Interpretations** The scrutiny of the gunner's list, questioning thirty-six barrels of powder spent and shot and swords wasted, reveals the company's relentless watch over the consumption of its military stores and its suspicion of loss through embezzlement or carelessness. Powder and arms were precious and hard to replace, and any unexplained expenditure drew the company's demand for a good reason. This shows the company treating the accounting of its ordnance as a matter for close and sceptical examination, requiring its officers to justify every barrel and blade consumed, and building into its oversight a habit of questioning the wastage of the very supplies on which the island's defence depended. The direction to review orders and take stock in the leisurely seasons when no ships waited to be despatched reveals the company's awareness that the pressure of shipping left little time for careful administration. The officers pleaded the hurry of unlading and despatching vessels as an excuse for neglect, and the company answered by pointing to the quieter intervals when that pressure lifted. This shows the company reckoning with the seasonal rhythm of its island's work, understanding that the arrival and departure of the fleets governed the pace of business, and insisting that the slack periods between be used for the scrutiny and stocktaking that the busy times of shipping crowded out.
104	100	Orders &ca by then the great part of your work will be over, when Ships arrive & you will be more at leisure to attend the Affairs then in an bent on you, & another Benefitt will also accrue thereby which is, you will have less time to be quarreling one with another, which seems to Us to be we & if among you, and is the Effect of an ill nature, which when unimployed in better Affairs will Exercise it Self in wrangling & mischief. 13. By the Northumberland we sent you a good Quantity of Wine & Brandy from the madira, & straight you more, but the Captain pretended to & do not take it in, advise us what they brought, & c, and how much,	These were orders carried by the ship *Westmoreland.* When ships arrived, a great part of the governor and council's work would be over, and they would be more at leisure to attend the affairs the company depended on them for. Another benefit would also accrue, in that they would have less time to spend in quarrelling among themselves, which seemed to the company to be too rife among them, and was the effect of an ill nature, which, when unemployed in better affairs, exercised itself in wrangling and mischief. 13: By the *Northumberland* the company sent the governor and council a good quantity of wine and brandy from Madeira, and would have sent more, but the captain claimed he could not take it, though he

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		Capt Weston in the Fleet brings you, by whom we shall in return you a new Supply, the Quantity you will know by the Invoice, & Bill of Lading & to be transmitted you from our Correspondents mrs Davill & mrs & our merchts there, which will answer in good measure the Twenty Tons of Liquors which you say may be yearly Disposed out of your Store. 14. The Fee list of those to the Clerk for Deeds of Sale registring of Lands, recording Somenteme, & so severall other matters therein Containd in various tenings & Law suits, we have seen but you ought to have perused & signed it, & given your opinion, whether they are in any Degree unacceptable to the Generality of the People, or fit to be alterd and so should you have also done in those taken by the marshall, & then you might have had our final Determination therein, for as we are not willing to discourage a deserving well Quallified Officer, so are we not let have them, Act in any thing exorbitantly. 15. Your manner of Proceed there about mr marsden, we very much resent, & you say he never told you he was Shurte in burning of Lime, & in the Eighth Parat of the Genrral Letter by the Pantller & you may find we tell **Margin Notes:** 13. Madira Wine & Brandy by ye Fleet Enquire. 14. Fee & List of Clerks Fees exorbitantly.	had advice on what he brought aboard, and how much. Captain Newton on the *Fleet Frigate* brought them more, by whom the company sent a new supply. The quantity would be known by the invoice and bill of lading transmitted from the company's correspondents, Messrs Darell and Duquesne, merchants there, which would answer in good measure the thirty butts of liquor they were to lay in, and were yearly to dispose of out of their store. The margin marked this as Madeira wine and brandy by the *Fleet Frigate*. 14: The list of fees to the clerk for deeds of transfer, registering of lands, recording summonses and the several other matters therein contained, and various hearings and lawsuits, the company had seen, but the governor and council ought to have perused and considered it, and given their opinion, whether they were in any degree unacceptable to the generality of the people, or fit to be settled, and so should they have done in those taken by the marshal. The company thought they might have had their final determination in it, since the company was not willing to discourage a deserving and well-qualified officer, and would not have them act in anything reluctantly. The margin marked this as the list of the clerk's fees reasonably. 15: The company was very much surprised at the governor and council's report of the way they went about a Mr Marsden, and it wished them never to tell it that it was a shame in burning of some, referring to the eighth paragraph of the general letter by the *Peveller*. The margin marked this passage. **Interpretations** The company's observation that the officers quarrelled from having too little to occupy them, and would settle to their duties once the ships arrived, reveals its shrewd reading of how idleness bred discord in a small isolated community. The intervals between the fleets left the governing officers with time on their hands, and the company traced their wrangling to that empty leisure rather than to any deep division. This shows the company understanding the social dynamics of a remote settlement, where the absence of pressing work allowed petty animosities to fester, and where the arrival of shipping, by giving the officers business to attend, would draw them away from the disputes that idleness encouraged. The company's care to settle the clerk's fees without discouraging a deserving officer, seeking the governor and council's opinion on whether the charges burdened the people, reveals its effort to balance fair reward for its servants against the interests of the inhabitants. A well-qualified officer deserved proper remuneration, yet fees that pressed too hard on the settlers would breed resentment. This shows the company weighing the competing claims of officer and inhabitant in the setting of fees, seeking a level that recompensed the clerk without oppressing those who paid, and treating the establishment of a fair schedule of charges as a matter requiring the judgement of the men who knew what the island could bear.
105	101	ye Ship Westmoreland tell you so, as we also did what else he was Shurte in, & that only in the Vacancies of Bussyness, he should be at the Store House, Doubless He is able to do the better Service if the Account we Had of his Qualifications be true, whilst employed therein than assisting at the Store house, which others can do who want his Skill, & generally speaking we	This letter was carried by the ship *Westmoreland*. The company set out what else Mr Marsden was skilled in, and that only in the vacancies of business he should attend the store house. He was doubtless the abler to do it the better, if the account the company had of his qualifications was true, than for attending at the store house, which others could do who wanted his skill. Generally speaking, the company thought the storekeeper wanted assistance brought there, wherefore Mr Marsden was continued of the council, and employed as was directed in the eighth paragraph, for the reasons already set out. The

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		think, the Storekeeper & one Assistant are enough there, wherefore let mr marsden be continued of the Councill, and Employed as we directed in the said 8th Parat, as we also & of your 16. Your an prayabt the Stores is not so full as it ought nor must we rest Contented with Superficial Replies to Our Letters, therefore, for the future Reside them better. 17. The same we say as to Account of Fortifications the two Draughts received by the Isle Feild & Norwich are Different, tho the figures & Letters of Reference are both alike, nor do you Explain therein which is Property Fort, which Bank, when are the two Valleys or how many Guns are mounted, and in what Places, but tho this is not out, yet the Account of what there Remains to be done, afterwards many Years writing to you to Up your utmost Diligence to Compleat all the once, Considering how many Ships you have, & & lying at the Island, whose Commanders at last some of them will be, & we doubt not but they would also willing to advise you & to Supply you with hands if you had desired it in a becoming manner, And Us by your next several Draught of all the Fortifications, where they are, what Strength each is of, as to the Height, Thickness, & length of the Walls, & the Number & bigness of the Guns mounted thereon, when it is the Halfmoon made in the several Valleys, & of what length, & whatever else is proper for our notice, & if you have not Proper sufficient for this work on Shore you many on Inquiry find good Draughtsmen on board Ships that will do it for you giving them one Incouragement, but take Care they dont keep the & Copy of their Draught & it be shewn **Margin Notes:** Advising or Explaining the Genrral Letter therein 16. The Stores to be full. 17. As the Accot of Fortifications be exact.	margin marked this as the store house to be looked after. 16: The governor and council's report about the stores was not as full as it ought to have been, nor must the company rest content with superficial replies to its letters, and so for the future it wished them to consider them better. The margin marked this as the stores accounts to be full. 17: The company said the same as to the account of fortifications. The two drafts received by the *Isles Field* and the *Norwich* were different, since the figures and letters of reference were both alike, nor did the governor and council explain in them which was Rupert's fort, which banks, where the two valleys were, or how many guns were mounted, and in what places. Though this was not all, yet the account of what shot remained was to be sent, along with many other matters, writing to the company with their utmost diligence to complete all at once, considering how many ships they had lying at the island, whose commanders, at least some of them, would, the company did not doubt but they would also be willing to advise the governor and council on how to supply the island. If they had defended it in a becoming manner, they were to send by their next an exact draft of all the fortifications, where they were, what strength each was of, as to the height, thickness and length of the walls, the number and size of the guns mounted on them, where the half-moon was made in the several valleys, of what length, and whatever else was proper for the company's notice. If they had not proper draftsmen, they were to inquire and find good draftsmen on board the ships, that were permitted, if they were willing, to give the governor and council encouragement, but to take care they did not keep any copy of their drafts, lest it be shown. The margin marked this as the account of fortifications to exact, and as an account of the fortifications. **Interpretations** The demand for exact drafts of the fortifications, detailing wall dimensions and gun placements, coupled with the strict warning that draftsmen keep no copy lest it be shown, reveals the acute secrecy surrounding the island's defences in wartime. The company needed precise plans to assess its security, yet the same plans in the wrong hands would betray the island's weaknesses to an enemy. This shows the company balancing its need to know the state of its defences against the danger of that knowledge escaping, insisting that the drawings reach London while forbidding any duplicate that might fall to a hostile power, and treating the details of the fortifications as a secret to be guarded even in the making of the plans. The reliance on draftsmen found aboard visiting ships to survey the fortifications reveals how the island depended on the transient skills of the fleet for tasks its own people could not perform. Lacking resident draftsmen, the governor and council were to seek them among the ships in the road, drawing on the passing presence of qualified men. This shows the settlement supplementing its limited competence with the expertise that arrived by sea, treating each capable visitor as a temporary resource for work the island needed done, and revealing how a remote outpost with a small population had to look to the ships that called for the specialist skills its own establishment lacked.
106	102	Orders &ca shewn to our Prejudice, and when that Draught is Compleated, send it us with figures of Reference to explain it, & and also a Copy by two or three Conveyances hoping one by you, that so if any additions or by	These were orders carried by the ship *Westmoreland.* When that draft was completed, it was to be sent to the company with figures of reference to explain it, and a copy sent by two or three conveyances, the company hoping that if any addition or alteration

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		accident any alterations shall be made therein, you may advise Us where it is having recourse to that Draught for a better explanation of what you write about it. 18. We remind you in the 45th Parat of your Letter by the Rochester to referr our Letters Parat by Parat, & you tell us in the 46th Parat of yours of the 5 July, you have so done, but we find it several omitted, and among others the matters required in the 32 Vizt sending List of your Names & marriners, List of the Soldiers names, & their monthly pay, Account of Charges of the Garrison, repairs of Building, Charges on the Cattle & Blacks, & the other Items that make up an Genrral Annuall Charge, & this to be done, every Shipping, & & if there be an Oppertunity of shipping in less than a Year, and for the & every months last past, & of which if you again fail, we shall not think you fitt, for you & let one at least such of you whose Bussy ness it is to draw out the same. 19. We find mr Goodwin excepting in the margent to part of the 21th Parat which Marrs the Duplike Parato, He ought to have given Us his Reasons for so doing, it looks as if he was in any way blame worthy therein only would not give it under his hand, & we have it from good hands that he was so. 20. We do desire the ship be & do not conde clon lose civilly in these Books, & we can He will always make good the word, but we must let him see we informed to the Contrary & Order to expr our Authority to enigross several Comodities, & retail them out to the Prejudice of our Goods, which we will not bear, worth, but we expect that the old standing Orders about trading be revised & observed by you all, & if any of you dont think fitt, to to **Margin Notes:** 18. Referr all Letters Parat by Parat. 19. mr Goodwin doubles the Letter. 20. The ship to keep the Orders.	were made to it, the governor and council might advise where it was being done, so that the draft would give a better explanation of what they wrote about it. 18: The company answered the governor and council in the twenty-fifth paragraph of their letter by the *Rochester*, in reference to a letter sent piece by piece. In the twenty-sixth paragraph of theirs of 5 July they said they had done well in several matters, and among others the matters required in the thirty-second, namely sending a list of their names and salaries, a list of the soldiers names and their monthly pay, an account of the charges of the garrison, repairs of building, charges on the cattle and slaves, and the other items that made up the general and all charge. This was to be done every shipping, and if there was any opportunity of shipping in less than a year, and for the three months last past, of which if they again failed, the company would not think them fit for their post, at least such of them whose business it was to draw out the same. The margin marked this as an answer to the letter sent by the *Rochester*. 19: The company found Mr Goodwin excepting in the margin to part of the twenty-sixth paragraph, which seemed to dislike parts of it. He ought to have given the company his reasons for so doing, since it looked as if he was in some way to blame, wherefore they only would not give it under his hand, and now had it from good hands that he was so. The margin marked this as Mr Goodwin disliking the letter. 20: The company continued the design not to trouble the governor and council overmuch in their books unless it was of the highest importance. It would always take good the word, but the company must let them see it was informed to the contrary, and ordered to exercise its authority to impose several constitutions directed them out to the prejudice of their speech, which the company would not treat worthy, but expected that the old standing orders about trading be revised and approved by them all, and if any of them did not think fit. The margin marked this as the officers to keep the books. **Interpretations** The company's threat to judge officers unfit for their posts if they again failed to render the detailed accounts reveals how it enforced the discipline of bookkeeping through the sanction of dismissal. The itemised returns of salaries, garrison charges, cattle and slaves were essential to the company's grasp of its costs, and repeated failure to supply them would cost the responsible officers their places. This shows the company treating the accurate and timely rendering of accounts as a fundamental duty on which continued employment depended, backing its demand for financial transparency with the ultimate penalty of removal, and making clear that those charged with the books held their positions only so long as they kept them properly. The notice of Mr Goodwin's marginal dissent from part of the general letter, and the company's expectation that he give his reasons, reveals the mechanism by which individual councillors could record their disagreement for the company's judgement. A councillor who objected was not to dissent silently but to set out his grounds, so that London could weigh them. This shows the company relying on the written expression of minority views to keep it informed of division and doubt among its officers, treating a marginal objection as something to be explained and assessed rather than passed over, and preserving the individual councillor's ability to have his dissent reach the company that governed from afar.
107	103	ye Ship Westmoreland	This letter was carried by the ship *Westmoreland*.

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		to comply herewith as soon as we know it we shall think fitt to dismiss him of our service, & and it is so that mr Goodwin has, as we are informed him so great a Trader to our Disadvantage, We hereby direct that the Governr for the future keep our Cash, & that mr Goodwin account in Councill monthly for what he receives, & pay the same to the Governr, & that the Governr account also monthly in Councill for his Pay ments, and send us, by all Conveyances an account how the Cash stands, there is one Tabbishpra vicious Fellow which we hear mr Goodwin has too much Difference for, & shew him more favour than he Deserves, we expect it is so no more, for we must never allow any man on the Island to fly in the face of Government, and we we shall & find as we understand he is very, He is a Shame to you all to bear such a man as Bett, they say he & Came with the Beast, so what they please, & know not & how as would, especially what shall be Contd and on we Capittatures, Enquire how this Cases about it & be amended tell mr Carre, it was on his Premises, & James swore, that we permited his return to the Island, and if he becomes again a Common malefactor, as we hear, this beginning to be He shall soon find the Place of them, of which we send him this friendly Caution. When we hear from you, that mr Bozites extrava gancey is perfectly laid aside, & we hope you will do him & all others Justice in the Characters you give of them without Partiality or enjury, We shall then write you our mind Concerning his Desired Advancement. Having wrote you on a foregoing Parat about the buying Goods so cheap as you Can, we shall say no more about the Prices you pay for, & retail out the Liquors, & c had of the Captains, than this, none give as us for any Comodity than what you Can afford to sell again to the Islan ders at a moderate Profit considering that we dont over that you should Exact too much upon the necessities of the People **Margin Notes:** Bettishpra Vicious. Correct Character the great Favour to Bem receive. mr Bozites Character. Not to buy too Dear.	As soon as the company knew it, it would think fit to dismiss the man from its service, and considered it was so with Mr Goodwin, since the company was informed he was so great a hindrance to its disadvantage. The company therefore directed that the governor for the future keep the company's cash, and that Mr Goodwin account to it in council monthly for what he received and pay the same to the governor, and that the governor account also monthly in council for his disbursements, and send the company, by all conveyances, an account of how the cash stood. The margin marked this as Rupert's premises. There was one troublesome, vicious fellow, of whom the company heard that Mr Goodwin had too much difference, for the company saw he showed him more favour than he deserved. In this the company reckoned it was no more, for the governor and council must never allow any man on the island to defy in the face of government, and everyone should feel, as the company understood, his power. It was a shame to them all to bear such a man as this, they said, and to come with the boast to do what they pleased. The company knew there was no man on the island, especially one that should be continued in one of the plantations, who required how his case was about it, unless it were amended. The company told Mr Carre it was on his promise, if James came to that, that the company permitted his return to the island, and if he became again a common malefactor, as the company heard, this beginning to be, it should soon fill the place of him, of which the company sent him this friendly caution. The margin marked this as a corrupt character to have no favour to be shown him. When the company heard from the governor and council that Mr Boyette's extravagancy was perfectly laid aside, it hoped they would do him and all others justice in the characters they gave of them, without partiality or injury. It would then write them its mind concerning his desired advancement. The margin marked this as Mr Boyette's character. Having written the governor and council on a foregoing paragraph about the buying of goods as for the company, it would only say more about the prices they paid, and set out the liquors and so, they had of the captains, than what they could afford to sell again to the islanders at a moderate profit, considering that the company did not desire that they should exact too much upon the necessities of the inhabitants. The margin marked this as not to buy too dear. **Interpretations** The removal of the cash from Mr Goodwin's hands to the governor's, with monthly accounting in council, reveals the company reshaping the custody of its money in response to a servant it had come to distrust. Where suspicion fell on the officer holding the cash, the company redirected it and imposed regular reckoning before the council. This shows the company adjusting the financial arrangements of the island to guard against a particular individual, using the collective oversight of the council and the routine of monthly accounts to secure its money once confidence in a single custodian had failed, and treating the safe keeping of its cash as a matter to be restructured when trust broke down. The insistence that no man be allowed to defy the government openly, expressed over a troublesome fellow shown too much favour, reveals the company's conviction that authority on a small island could not tolerate open defiance without unravelling. A man who boasted and did as he pleased, if left unchecked, would undermine the deference on which the whole order rested. This shows the company's continuing preoccupation with the prestige of its government, treating the public flouting of authority as a danger to be crushed and

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			rebuking officers who indulged it, because on a confined settlement the visible submission of every inhabitant was essential to holding the community in the obedience the company demanded.
108	104	[Loss to the upper right corner and along the right-hand edge of the text block, affecting the ends of several lines.] Orders &c.a .....rally if you find that the goods to be sold w[...] such, .. if the returns can be [...] with in Java, they Com[...] a[...] .. good a Price for them at Charges Comp[...]d in Europe. WHat the Governour says about hasting the Fortification is not to our Satisfaction, w[...] did not find fault with him for not getting more from the ships, ..le[...] the Captains would not spare them, but that he Employed so many men about the Garden & Terrace before the fortifications were Compleated, which Considering his Repeated orders to have kept all to finish them should therefore have been Consequently avoided. unless you had Hands Sufficients for both. and as for such of the Captains of the men of war & merchant Ships who refused to lend the Assistance of their men, you ought to have told us in the Letters sent at that time who they were. But we might so far as we could tell from hence make just Arguments. to say that the Govern[...] let the Garden work alone as soon as he saw any Danger is a very frivolous Excuse, should he not rather have apprehanded the Danger may be Coming or Approaching at unawares. Therefore have made timely provision before they Came. In Short for the time past we pass it by in hopes we shall have no reason for the future to Complain of this or your negligence. or remisseness in getting the Fortifications fitay Compleated. or preferring any other Service. WHEN these are finisht. then set about the Garden and see what may fit therein, since as you say it will turn to our Advantage. WEE have in our Instructions to our Several Commanders sent out last Year to all parts of India, & also in those now setting out, given them Orders. that if in their return for England they shall be desired to touch at St Helena. in such Case they do bring their ships to an Anchor before they Come open with Chappel **Margin Notes:** Dispatch the Fortifications The Garden to be done at Leisure times Directions for ships anchoring in the Roade	Especially if the goods proved hard to sell there, or if the settlers could take part of the cargo, the Company would gain a good price for them once all charges shipped in Europe were covered. On the fortifications, the Court found the Governor's explanation unsatisfactory and disagreed with his account. His failure to obtain more men from the ships was not something they held against him, since the captains would not spare them. What they objected to was his employing so many men on the garden and terrace before the fortifications were finished. Given the strict orders sent to press on with the work, those defences should therefore have been well advanced, unless he lacked enough hands for both. As for those captains of the men of war and merchant ships who refused the help of their men, he ought to have noted their names in the letters sent home at the time, so the Court would know who they were. Going as far as they could to excuse him, the Court allowed that there were real obstacles, and to claim that leaving the garden work alone as soon as any danger threatened was a very foolish course. Would it not be better, once the danger was seen approaching, to have made timely provision before the enemy came. In short, for the time past the Court would let it pass, in hopes it would have no reason in future to complain of this or of any negligence, carelessness or slackness in getting the fortifications finished, or in deferring any other service. Once these were finished, the Court directed him to see to the garden and to whatever else was needed there, since he judged it would turn to the island's advantage. The Court would give directions to several commanders sent out this year, and also to those now setting out, ordering them that on their return for England they should be directed to touch at St Helena. In such case they were to bring their ships to anchor before they came near, with a proper [...]. **Interpretations** The dispute over the fortifications turned on a question of priorities in the use of forced labour. The Court's objection was not that the Governor employed men on the garden and terrace, but that he did so while the defences stood unfinished despite explicit orders to complete them first. This shows how the East India Company managed a remote possession by written instruction alone, and how far it depended on a governor obeying the sequence of works it laid down from London rather than following his own judgement on the ground. The instruction to record the names of uncooperative captains reveals the limits of the Governor's authority over visiting vessels. The men of war and merchant ships passing St Helena were not under his command, and their captains could refuse to lend their crews for construction. The Court's remedy was documentary: a governor who could not compel the ships could at least name those who declined, so that pressure might be applied to them at home. The direction that homeward ships anchor offshore before approaching, rather than sailing straight in, points to the island's function as a defended calling point on the return route from India. An unannounced or careless approach risked mistaking friend for enemy, and the order sought to impose a fixed procedure on every returning captain so that arrivals could be identified and controlled. fs
109	105	Ship Westmoreland	Ship *Westmoreland*.

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		Valley near to murdrers point if they dont meet with good Anchor hold Sooner. and then their Boats a shore to give the Governour Intelligence whose said ships belong unto to man as we told them, we had given the Governour Orders to let no ships pass that Point & come into the Roade, before he knows who they are to prevent a Surprize like to that which happened to the Suen & Dove, & we added that if any ship attempt to break his Order. the Govern had our Orders to fire upon them. and they were Enticed to give notice of this Order to any other returning Ships. or any private Stock ships that might be in their Company or that they might meet with in the Voyage. The like Note we also sent to Several Settlements in India. so that we suppose before this reaches your hands. it will be universally known. therefore we can wish that you do not for the future permit any ships to Come into the Road otherwise than abovementioned. and if you think it Convenient to buy good Anchor Ground advise us as to your Reason's for so. after the ships come into the Road. cause them to lye within the Rrotection of your Guns as is Directed in former Letters. SInce Weattempled sending him home as Displeasd. as don't Blame you for dispensing him one Service. for Cranphire is he we have nothing of Mr Cork Surgeon of the Stock find nor saw any other purpose. if you met with a Proper Artist you may retain him. for we would not have the Island without an able Surgeon if Possible. WEE read your Complaint that the Wood is somuch destroyed and must blame you for suffering it. & expect you take better Care for the future to prevent it by establishing such Orders and putting them into due Execution as you think will most Conduce thereto. WEE have read over Paul Geaton's Petition. and can't judge of it here. as we ought to do. because we don't know all the Circumstances. you being on the Place we leave it to you to do therein as you think according to Equity and **Margin Notes:** Ships not to be Given the protection of the Guns To entertaine a Surgeon and not to be without. Prevent the Destruction of the Wood Geaton's Petition referd	The Court directed that ships anchor near Munden's Point if they could not reach a good anchorage under Half Moon, and then send their boats ashore to tell the Governor which ships they belonged to. As reported earlier, the Governor had orders to let no ship pass that point and come into the roads before it was known who they were, so as to prevent a surprise like the one that had befallen the *Queen* and *Dove*. If any ship tried to break this order, the Governor had orders to fire upon it, and the Court directed him to give notice of this order to any other returning ships, or to any private stock ships in his company, or to any that he might meet on the voyage. The like notice had also been sent to several settlements in India, so that the Court supposed it would be widely known before this reached his hands. He was therefore to allow no ships to enter the road in future except as set out above, and if he thought it convenient to keep anchor buoys as an added safeguard, that was left to his own judgement. Once the ships came into the road, he was to bring them within reach of his guns as directed in former letters. On the surgeon, since the *Westmoreland* was supplied with him partly as a dispatch, the Court had no wish to deprive her of his service, for on any other terms it would be robbing the ship. There was no talk of Mr Cork, surgeon of the stock food, nor did the Court see any other prospect. If the Governor met with a proper artist he might retain him, since the Court did not wish the island left without an able surgeon if possible. On the timber, the Court had read the Governor's complaint that the wood was much destroyed, and blamed him for suffering it. They expected him to take better care in future to prevent it, by establishing such orders and putting them into execution as he thought would most conduce to it. The Court had read over Paul Grafton's petition, but could not judge of it there, as they ought to do, because they did not know all the circumstances. He being on the spot, they left it to him to do therein as he thought fit, according to equity, and [...]. **Interpretations** The whole passage on the anchoring procedure rests on the memory of the *Queen* and *Dove*, ships evidently lost or taken through an unguarded approach. The Court's response was to convert that single disaster into a fixed rule enforced by artillery: no vessel was to cross Munden's Point until identified, and any that tried was to be fired on. This shows how the East India Company hardened its defence of a remote island through written standing orders rather than a permanent garrison strong enough to deter attack by its mere presence. The wide circulation of the order, to returning ships, to private stock ships and to several settlements in India, reveals the Company's method of coordinating a scattered maritime network. There was no swift way to signal danger across the Indian Ocean, so the same instruction was copied out and sent by many hands in the expectation that it would become common knowledge among its captains before any single ship arrived. The treatment of the surgeon exposes the island's difficulty in retaining skilled men. A surgeon assigned to a ship could not simply be detained at St Helena without wronging the vessel, yet the settlement needed one badly. The Court's solution was opportunistic: the Governor was to seize any competent practitioner who happened to pass, since medical skill could not be summoned to order on so isolated a station. The Court's refusal to decide Paul Grafton's petition marks the practical boundary of remote government. A body sitting in London could not

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			weigh a local dispute whose circumstances it did not know, and so it delegated the judgement to the man on the spot. The reference to equity signalled that the Governor was to reach a fair result on the facts before him rather than apply a rigid rule from a distance. **Speculations** The decision to keep the surgeon aboard the *Westmoreland* rather than retain him for the island turned on a choice the Court could easily have made the other way. The settlement plainly wanted a surgeon, and here was one within reach, yet the Court held that taking him would be robbing the ship supplied with him as a dispatch. It chose to honour the vessel's claim and leave the island wanting, directing the Governor instead to catch some other practitioner in passing, a course that preserved the fairness of the arrangement at the cost of the island's immediate need.
110	106	Orders &c.a good Conscience. and as you would if the Offender were your own. The like we say as to Opinion Frenchies request to do you as you think fitt. having a due regard to His Merritt. & advise the Chief with your Reasons that we may Conform or alter it AS to the officers bringing Liquor a shore. in small Parcells in pretence of using it themselves. when indeed they sell them. We say the thing Speaks it Self. you need no new Directions. but to follow the standing Orders of the old Company on that head. which we shall not easily depart from without Good Reasons. But we would not have you over rigorous for a small Matter to a Commander. if it appear Damageorable. that is not Intended for Sale a little Discretion will go a great way to prevent our being prejudiced or you ill thought of AS to Capt Spavis Deforming full Carriage & Luggage We knownot what to say at this time. but attempt to believe he had some Provocation. or else he would have behaved himself better. You need not fear the foolish Menace of taking away your Flag. Such an attempt would be worth complaining of to the Lords High Admiral. We shall Deposure him however about it when he Comes to town. as we also shall about his Deforming the Committees secret Orders to Him. which they tell me are not to be opened till he had left St Helena. and are so worded to prevent there being Known to any Person on the Island. the ill Consequences that might attend such a Deposury are so obvious we need not mention them. WE understand the Floggs increase to a great Degree in the Valley. that they became naintious by their Filth & Contribute to the Sickness of Several People. & also do mischief to the walls by undermining them. If this be true it must be Speedily remedied by removing you up the Country the ill be some Prejudice to particular	He was to judge in good conscience and to deal as he would wish to be dealt with were the offender himself. On Governor Frenchier the Court said much the same, directing him to do as he thought fit, with due regard to his merits, and it advised the Governor to weigh the reasons for it, that he might confirm or alter it. On the officers bringing liquor ashore in small parcels, on the pretence of using it themselves when in truth they sold it, the Court said the matter spoke for itself and needed no fresh directions, only that he follow the old Company's standing orders on that head, which the Court would not lightly depart from without good reason. The Court did not wish him to press an inquiry over a small matter against a commander, if it seemed disagreeable, when it was not intended for that. A little discretion would go a great way to prevent any wrong judgement or misconstruction of the thing. On Captain Spencer's refusal of the full carriage and equipage, the Court could not say at the time what to make of it, but was inclined to believe either that he had some provocation, or else that he would have behaved himself otherwise. The Governor need not fear the foolish menace of striking away his flag. Such an attempt would be worth complaining of to the Lord High Admiral. The Court would deal with him further about it when he came home, and would also see about his refusing the Committee's secret orders sent to him, which they held he ought not to have opened until he had left St Helena. He was directed to prevent these becoming known to any person on the island, since the consequences that might follow such a discovery were too obvious to need setting out. The Court understood the fleas had increased to a great degree in the valley, so that they became a nuisance through their filth and contributed to the sickness of several people, and also did mischief to the walls by undermining them. If this were true, it was to be speedily remedied by removing them up the country, though it might be some prejudice to particular [...]. **Interpretations** The passage on liquor smuggling shows the East India Company policing the private trade of its own officers. Ships' officers were bringing spirits ashore in small quantities under cover of personal use and selling them, cutting across the Company's monopoly. The Court's response was to lean on the standing orders of the old Company rather than issue new rules, while cautioning the Governor not to make an enemy of a commander over a minor breach, which reveals how far discipline on the island depended on tact as much as regulation.

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		Margin Notes: Opinion Frenchies merritt to be Considered Not to be too rigorous of Officers bringing small Parcells of Liquor on Shore Capt Spavis full Carriage To advise to take away the Flagg Floggs to be Removed for spoiling ye Valley	The episode of Captain Spencer's secret orders exposes a real weakness in command by written instruction across great distances. The Committee had sent him sealed orders meant to be opened only after he left St Helena, and his opening them early risked leaking their contents to people on the island. The Court's anxiety to keep the orders from any islander shows that its control of information was as important to it as its control of ships, and that a single captain's indiscretion could compromise a whole plan laid in London. The threat to strike the flag concerned the Governor's authority over a naval officer who did not answer to him. Spencer's gesture was a challenge to the island's command, and the Court's remedy was to reach past the Governor to the Lord High Admiral, the officer with real power over him. This marks the limit of a governor's writ: against a defiant man of war captain he could do little on the spot and had to rely on the naval hierarchy at home. The complaint about the fleas records a genuine problem of sanitation and structural damage in the valley settlement. The insects were blamed for filth, for sickness among the inhabitants and for undermining the walls, and the proposed cure was to move the affected creatures inland. The reasoning treats a health nuisance as an administrative matter to be solved by relocation, even at some cost to the particular people affected.
111	107	Ship Westmoreland persons for the Generall good must be so St. or ought to be so in every Nation. we do therefore inquire into this matter. and take the readjest Cure therein. IN looking over the Accounts of Liquors sent in the Pacquett. we find very great Expence of Wine & Brandy Entered Charged as for Expence Viz. in Nation Brandy since 1705 from October to June. 490 Gallons. in Nation Wine former 12 months in the year 1706. 1256 Gallons. in French Brandy in that time. and to may 1707. 328 Gallons. and in Bengale Arrack in the years 1705 & 1706. 364 Gallons. we can't imagin so is the reason of it. nor how so much Can be Consumed with any tolerable 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 Prisons and their Wives & Employments that we in ever have in the Island. & so come to our table. Constantly. or at set times. & the Persons & Names that live at our Charge. at the Plantation. that we may the better be able to judge whether they should be all Continued or what is unexpensive expence. for them Whither you have ships in the Road let us know how much your Expence is hereby Increased. for as we would not deny any thing that is reasonable. so neither Can we rest Contented with such excessive Prodigallity as appears to us in the above Particulars.	Ship *Westmoreland*. Persons acting for the general good must not be too closely questioned, and the Court directed the Governor to look into the matter and take the middle course throughout. On looking over the accounts of liquor sent in the packet, the Court found a very great expense of wine and brandy entered and charged as for Virginia. The Virginia and western brandy came, from October to June 1705, to 495 gallons. In the year 1706, over twelve months, there were 1,258 gallons of French brandy in that time, and to May 1707, 232 gallons. Of arrack in the years 1705 and 1706 there were 364 gallons. The Court could not conceive the reason for it, nor how so much could be consumed with any tolerable degree of moderation, and much less that it should have been needed. It desired to know how it came about, and to that end wanted the accounts of the number of persons and their names and employments that were from time to time on the island, its several tables constantly or at set times, and the persons and names that lived at one charge, at the plantation, so that the Court might better judge whether they should all be continued or amount to an unreasonable expense. Until the Governor sent these, and let the Court know how much his expense was thereby increased, the Court would neither deny anything that was reasonable, nor rest content with such excessive prodigality as appeared in the above particulars. The Court had once received yearly accounts of the cattle, but of late this had been omitted, and it directed that it be so no more. If any of them should be killed by the fleas, as some of the ships were, the Court expected information sent. It also wanted yearly the account of sheep, goats and hogs, and a list of the blacks, male and female, with their ages and how employed. St Helena was a dead charge to the Court, and as the Governor knew it had no commerce there to make it good, the Court thought it highly to recommend to him to be as good a husband for it as he could, not only to prevent all manner of waste, but also to be [...]. **Interpretations**

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		WEE had used to receive yearly Accounts of our Cattle but of late it has bein omitted, let it be so no more. and if any of them should be kill'd by the Doggs as we hear Some of our Sheep were. As we have reparation from us also yearly the Account of our Sheep. Goates. & Hoggs. & list of our Blacks males & Females with their Ages & how Employed. St Helena is a dead Charge to us. and as you know we have no Commerce there to make it good. wherefore it highly Concerns you to be as good husbands for us as you Can. that not only prevent all manner of waste. but also to be **Margin Notes:** Account of Liquors expended in one year. Send Account of all Eaters Send yearly Accounts of the Cattle St Helena is a dead Charge	The great quantities of wine and brandy charged to the account reveal how the East India Company used its books to police the conduct of its officers on a distant station. Nearly five hundred gallons of Virginia and western brandy in nine months, over twelve hundred gallons of French brandy across the next year, and hundreds more of arrack struck the Court as impossible to reconcile with sober living. Its demand for the names, tables and employments of everyone on the island shows that the ledger was the Company's chief instrument for detecting fraud or excess where it could not see the settlement for itself. The request for a full roll of persons dining at the Company's charge exposes the structure of provisioning at St Helena. People were fed at several tables, some kept constantly and some only at set times, and a separate household ate at the plantation. By insisting on knowing who sat at each and at what cost, the Court sought to distinguish legitimate maintenance from padding, since every mouth fed at the Company's expense was a charge on an establishment that earned nothing. The instruction to resume yearly accounts of the livestock and slaves treats both as capital assets to be counted and tracked. Cattle, sheep, goats and hogs were listed alongside the blacks, male and female, with their ages and employment, all entered in the same administrative breath. This shows how the Company's bookkeeping ranked its human property with its animals, valuing each as a resource whose numbers and usefulness had to be reported to London. The description of St Helena as a dead charge states plainly the Company's view of the island's economics. It produced no trade to offset its cost, and so was a permanent drain rather than a source of profit. The exhortation to the Governor to be a good husband and prevent waste flows directly from this: an outpost that could not pay for itself had to be run with the strictest economy, its value lying in its position on the sea route rather than in any return it yielded.
112	108	Orders &c.a thrifty in those Expences which are necessary. WEe having gave the weight the Meteriall Particulars contained in your Letters. and other Papers in your afsermenbered Pacquets come now to add. what you think proper. THE Friends of Mr Daniell Griffith. late Clark of your Councel have applyed to Us for his readmission into our Service. and shows us a Letter wrote by the [...] between the Ships. Mr Griffith to hire up. & is one to serve a New man if he so Continues. when this Comes to Hand we are willing in respect to his Friends. to re-entertain him. but in regard Mr Alexander is Clark of the Councel & we hope requits himself to your Satisfaction. We will not have him Removd. and therefore think it best to put Mr Griffith into your post of Councel at the a fast Sallary and not to be further employed in any Buseness of Ours. you think fit. where if he is Capable with the express Caution. that if he returns again to Sottishness. or neglects what is Committee to his care. to be dismist our Service. nor will we in Case of his Death admitt any other in his place. for we think four of Councill is Enough for managing all our	A thrifty steward in those expenses which are necessary. Having gone through the several protectors contained in the Governor's letters and other papers, the Court came now to add what he thought proper. The friends of Mr Daniel Griffith, late clerk of the council, had applied to the Court for his readmission into its service, and showed it a letter written by the Governor between the ships, taking him up. The Court had no wish to remove a new man if he continued so, and when this came to hand it was unwilling, out of respect to his friends, to re-entertain him. Yet since Mr Alexander was clerk of the council, the Court hoped he acquitted himself to the Governor's satisfaction, for it was not seen fit to have him removed. It therefore judged it best to put Mr Griffith into the Governor's employ at the apparel gallery, and not to be further employed in any business of the Court. The Court thought fit, rather if he was capable, with the express caution that if he returned again to slothfulness, or neglected what was committed to his care, he was to want the Court's service. In case of his death, or of any other in his place, the Court judged four members of council enough for managing all its affairs. Both these ships, *Charter* and *Partis*, had orders while in China to carry blacks, the one to Bencoolen, the other to Bengal, as many as the Governor could spare. The Court directed him to send on them, and to advise the rest, and the *Charter*'s party in his bargain along with the ships. The Court directed him to hire seamen, and bills of lading for what he took aboard, which he was to

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		Affairs. Both these Ships Charter partys have as Grant wille as in Clause in them. to carry Blacks. the one to Bencoo- len. the other to Bengore. as many Blacks as you can spare as you Send on them. and advise the rest & send the Charter partys in your Bacquete along with the ships WEe expect you to Buy Provices & Bills of Loding for what Laden on board. which you will advise according to your Depires in the Note received from you as far as the Commiss was fitt to Send. and our Ships could receive on board. and amongst other things there is 200 Tons of Blacks for hire. that we may do our parts to remove all excuses. for not compleating your fortification. that Capt Tavern tells us you **Margin Notes:** Griffith Clark of Councel 200 Tons of Clark not	advise according to his letters in the list received from him. As far as the commander saw fit to send, and the ships could receive on board, and among other things, there were 200 tons of blacks for hire, that the Court might do its part to remove all excuses for not completing the fortifications. But Captain Tarson [...]. **Interpretations** The handling of Daniel Griffith shows how the East India Company balanced patronage against performance in staffing a remote post. His friends pressed for his return, and the Governor had already taken him back, yet the Court would not restore him to its own service while Alexander held the clerkship satisfactorily. Its compromise was to place Griffith in the Governor's employ at the apparel gallery under warning of dismissal for any relapse into idleness, which reveals a system where personal connection could secure a man a place but not shield him from the demand that he work. The decision to fix the council at four members marks a deliberate judgement about the scale of government the island required. The Court held that four were enough to manage all its affairs, treating the size of the governing body as a matter of administrative economy rather than dignity. On a settlement it regarded as a dead charge, even the membership of the council was pared to the minimum thought sufficient. The orders to carry slaves from China to Bencoolen and Bengal expose the Company's use of St Helena as a node in an inter-settlement traffic in people. Blacks were moved between the Company's eastern possessions as cargo, distributed according to where labour was wanted, with the Governor told to send as many as he could spare. This shows the island functioning not only as a calling point for ships but as a place from which human property was redistributed across the Company's Asian network. The reference to tons of blacks for hire loaded alongside other cargo, tied explicitly to removing excuses for the unfinished fortifications, links the traffic in slaves directly to the island's defensive works. The Court measured this labour by the ton, as it would any freight, and supplied it so that the Governor could no longer plead a want of hands. The passage lays bare how the completion of the island's defences depended on forced labour treated as a commodity to be shipped in and accounted for by weight.
113	109	Ship Westmoreland have a sort of Stone in the Island which he believes would do to Lime. as if you were making an Experiments upon it. you should have set about that work Sooner. and not have neglected it after the ware done a shore. who a shore wrote you under Assign it. WEE hope you Look upon the Directions in our Letters as Company standing Orders to be observed as often as the like reason happens. and therefore we need not repeat over as pass for the Speedy dispatch of these two Ships Westmoreland & Fleet Frigot. in the further Expedition of their outward & Homeward Voyage. you will find these in what we wrote about the Occasion. WHatsoever directions the Governour or any of us of you. shall receive from Sr Stephin Evance. Sr Edmund	Ship *Westmoreland*. There was a sort of stone on the island which the Court believed would serve for lime, and as the Governor was making experiments upon it, he was to set about that work. As reported earlier, the Court would not have neglected it after the wars were done at home, when it wrote to the Governor unasked. The Court hoped the Governor would look upon the directions in its letters as so many standing orders, to be observed as often as the like reason happened. It therefore repeated once again its concern for the speedy dispatch of the two ships *Westmoreland* and *Fleet Frigate*, in the further expedition of their outward and homeward voyage. The Governor would find this in what the Court wrote about the beacon. Whatever directions the Governor, or any of the council, should receive from Sir Stephen Cocke, Sir Edmund Harrison, Sir Jonathan Andrews and Mr Gosfright, or any three of them, with relation to the proceedings of outward or homeward bound ships, were to be observed as if signed by all of the Court, it having desired them to be a secret committee for that purpose. If any of the goods sent by those ships appeared by the outward package to be damaged, the Governor was to acquaint the captain, so that he might be

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		Harrison. Sr Jonathan Andrews. and Mr Joseph. or any three of them with relation to the Proceedings of our outward or homeward bound Ships must be observed. as if signed by all of Us. we having desired them to be a secret Committee for that purpose. IN case any of the Goods sent you by these ships appear by the outward Package to be so Damaged. so you acquaint the Captains therewith. that in may be present at opening the Same. and do you or he or any other person appointed by him for that purpose adjust the Damage if we glove as they are worse than the Bond. and let him make the Same good to you for our Accounts. if he refuse advise Us thereof. and let this be a Standing Rule for the future. the like in say of any other Goods if not in Order that are not delivered to you in good order. and will constitute & to prevent future Cavills here. If the Captain refuse to make good the Damage. do to him to give what to is. and you it in the his hand. so far and us take of what he in say so tell he will give three works after Known then send us two of them by two Companies. if he refuse advise Us. & you have some you **Margin Notes:** our Letters Orders to be your Standing Rule. Dispatch the Ships Secret Committee to be Obeyd Directions in Case Goods are Damaged	present at the opening, and with him or any other person appointed by him for that purpose to assess the damage the goods sustained, where they were worse than the standard, and let him make the same good to the Court on its account. If he refused, the Governor was to advise the Court of it, and let this be a standing rule for the future, the like in respect of any other goods, if not in bales, that were not delivered to the island in good order, and it would consider it to prevent future complaints there. If the captain refused to make good the damage, it lay with the Governor what to do, and if he had it in his hand he was to make use of a copy of what he was to sign. Otherwise he was to wait three works after knowing of it, then send it to two of them by two conveyances, and if he refused, to advise the Court, and the Governor had done his part [...]. **Interpretations** The proposal to burn the local stone for lime shows the East India Company pressing a barren island to yield what materials it could for its own building works. Lime was essential for mortar in the fortifications, and importing it across the ocean was costly, so a native source that answered would spare the Company both freight and delay. The Court's encouragement of the Governor's experiments reveals how far the completion of the island's defences turned on finding usable resources on the spot. The instruction to treat every direction as a standing order exposes the Company's method of governing through accumulated written rule. Rather than issue fresh commands for each recurrence, the Court wanted its letters read as permanent instructions binding whenever the same circumstances arose. This let a body in London impose continuity on a distant settlement across the long gaps between ships, so that a single decision governed every later case of its kind. The creation of a secret committee of named men whose orders bound as if signed by the whole Court reveals how the Company delegated authority over shipping movements. Rather than wait for a full decision from London on each sailing, it empowered a small group, or any three of them, to direct the passage of outward and homeward ships. This concentrated urgent maritime decisions in a few trusted hands, since the timing of voyages could not await the assembly of the entire body. The elaborate procedure for damaged goods shows the Company building a machinery of proof to fix loss on the responsible captain. The Governor was to have the master present at the opening, assess the shortfall against a standard, and make him answer for it on the Company's account, with a fixed sequence of notice and conveyance if he refused. This reveals how the Company protected its property across a long sea route by turning every disputed cargo into a documented case that could be pursued against the carrier.
114	110	Orders &c.a Set to the value of the Dollars. or then he at least that money hand to answer its intune with value in any to & therefore if you see no Inconveniency therein let the Dollars goat Sixe Shillings for the future in the Island. WE are Your loving Friends To Capt John Roberts Governr of St Helena & the Councel thereof for the time being. SBy Your General Letter to the then Govr & Councel dated the 7th of April last & sent by the Westmoreland & Fleet Frigot. we now transat large in answer to their	As to the value of the dollars, or in short that that money should answer its intrinsic value, however it be, the Court directed that if the Governor saw any inconvenience in it, he should let the dollars go at five shillings for the future on the island. The Court signed itself the loving friends of the Governor and council. The letter was addressed to Captain John Roberts, Governor of St Helena, and the council thereof for the time being. By the general letter to the then Governor and council, dated 7 April 1705, and by the *Protection* and *Fleet Frigate*, the Court sent as far as those ships would carry, and it thought fit to add what was needed thereupon, as before.

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		Letters. and what we thought further to add thereupon. we come as before. WEE have lately received Letters from the Governours of the Escape. Nathan Butcher. Catherine. Ally Frigate. did Save into got. into into Gittany & the seperall Ports in Ireland. inform amongst other things they advise that our the Governour Captn Poirier was Dead which we are sorry for. But none of their Pacquetts either from India or St Helena in yet Come a hand. so that we having obtained a few Officers in these Places. HOwever we have upon Consideration of our Affairs in General thought it for our Service to elect Capt John Roberts who being a this Letter to the Governour. of our Island. St Helena. in the place of Capt Poirier deceasd at the Sallary of an hundred Pounds a year. Your Request that he is a Gentleman of great Experiences in Fortifications & has promised as he will Studiously endeavour to hasten and Compleat the Fortifications of the Island now in hand. **Margin Notes:** Dollars to go at Sixe Shillings Capt Roberts Governour 7 May 1703 Acct of Governour Poirier's Death Capt Roberts Sallary is £100 a year	The Court had lately received letters from the Governors of the Cape, Nathaniel Butcher, Batavia, and Amoy, and it forthwith set about getting into Bengal and the apparel trade in India, informing it among other things that they advised that the Governor, Captain Poirier, was dead, which the Court was sorry for. Yet none of their packets, either from India or St Helena, were come to hand, so that it had none to answer of theirs in those places. However, on general consideration of its affairs, the Court thought it for its service to elect Captain John Roberts, who brought this letter, to the government of the island of St Helena, in the place of Captain Poirier, deceased, at the salary of one hundred pounds a year. The Court judged that he was a gentleman of great experience in fortifications, and hoped he would strenuously endeavour to hasten and complete the fortifications of the island now in hand. **Interpretations** The order to let the dollar pass at a fixed five shillings shows the East India Company managing a coinage problem on an island with no mint of its own. Rather than insist that the foreign silver dollar always trade at its true metal value, which fluctuated, the Court authorised a settled rate to be used on St Helena. This gave the settlement a stable unit of account for everyday dealings, sparing it the confusion of a currency whose worth shifted with the market. The letter's survey of news gathered from the Cape, Batavia, Amoy and elsewhere reveals how the Company knit together intelligence from its scattered stations. Word of a governor's death and the state of trade reached London by many separate hands, and the Court's complaint that packets from India and St Helena had not yet arrived exposes the great lags and gaps in this correspondence. Government of the eastern possessions depended on letters that crossed the oceans slowly and unevenly, leaving the directors often unable to answer what they had not yet received. The appointment of John Roberts to replace the dead Poirier turned expressly on his skill in fortification. The Court chose him for his experience in that art and looked to him to press the island's unfinished defences to completion, setting his salary at a hundred pounds a year. This shows how heavily the Company weighted military engineering in selecting a governor for St Helena, whose chief value lay in its defensible position on the sea route and whose works had lagged under his predecessor.
115	111	Governour Roberts and. which has been unhappily delayed. we will pen every our repeated orders. and have promised that he will as he afsurde us. that he can move the matter such Iteration of Wishes as We make the Island defensible. and tenible against any Opposition or attack of the Enemy. therefore we have again to entertain him yearly Quarterly of one hundred & fifty Pounds more to Commence from the Occasion at the Island. WEE have advanced him one hundred Pounds. which is us to be deducted out of this present Sallary & paid into our Cash. which we note for your information & Compliance with all WEE hereby Conform all the rest of you. in the Nation of the Councele you were in during Governour Poirier. & &c.	Governor Roberts. The work had been unhappily delayed, but the Court had repeated its orders, and had further provided that as far as he was able he might make the island defensible and tenable against any attempt or attack of the enemy. It had therefore agreed to send him yearly, over and above the two hundred and fifty persons, some more to overrun from the servants on the island. The Court had advanced him one hundred pounds, which was to be deducted out of his growing salary and paid into its cash, and it noted this for his information and compliance therewith. The Court thought fit to inform the rest of the council what they were in doing under Governor Poirier before. The Court had often been told that one great cause of the animosities that had so much prevailed at St Helena was that the late Governor was a Frenchman, and it had been thought very hard to remain under the government of a foreigner. Being now removed, the Court hoped and persuaded itself that by putting Captain Roberts in his place, those unhappy quarrels would never appear again.

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		IT has been often told Us that one great Reason of the Animosities that have somuch prevaild at St Helena were that the late Governour was a Frenchman & the Soldiers were to thought it very hard to be under the government of a Foreign Nowarence. this we can remove this Absurd. and we persuade our selves. that by our putting Capt Roberts in the Place those unhappy Quarrels will never again be renewd. WEE earnestly recommend to you to pay in the Several Orders & Directions that we from time to time have sent to St Helena to take Effectual care they be heartily Complied with all and the old Standing Constitutions. which we as it were the Magna Charta of the Island Constigiously ensuived and more tender. which we as you now Governour Capt Roberts want be supposed to be acquainted with all as fast fully we would have them convened in Councel. Deservously Considered Judicorum It may be at a loss or perhaps he may in some matters. we doubt not but he will now perfectly inform himself. and if any former orders have been since Altered or enlarged by Us. then the last Directions must Stand. some or account we wanto be content to draw to Prudence. God's action. that is to say. such as are not Sufficiently provided for by us or the more ancient Orders of the New old Company as such as **Margin Notes:** Best of Councill Confirmd To Meet Capt Orders as the Magna Charta	The Court earnestly recommended to the Governor the several orders and directions that from time to time had been sent to St Helena, to see them effectually and heartily complied with. Together with the old standing constitutions, which the Court held to be as the *Magna Carta* of the island, to be religiously observed and maintained, which it hoped the new Governor, Captain Roberts, would suppose to be acquainted with at last fully, as it would have them advised in council, seriously considered and understood. There might be a loss, or perhaps he might in some matters no doubt but he would now perfectly inform himself, and if any former orders had been since altered or enlarged by the Court, then the last directions must stand. Some matters he wanted to consult, or to do to prudence and its own, that is to say, such as were not sufficiently provided for by the more ancient orders of the old Company, or such as [...]. **Interpretations** The claim that the island's quarrels sprang from serving under a Frenchman reveals how national feeling shaped the Company's handling of its officers. Poirier's foreign birth was blamed for the animosities at St Helena, and his replacement by an Englishman was expected to end them. Whether or not this diagnosis was sound, it shows the directors treating the nationality of a governor as a practical cause of discord to be corrected by appointment, on a settlement whose small isolated population made internal harmony a matter of real concern. The description of the old standing constitutions as the island's *Magna Carta* exposes how the Company conceived its accumulated rules as a fundamental law binding its remote possession. These orders were to be religiously observed, and the incoming Governor was expected to master them fully and have them considered in council. This reveals a body of administrative regulation elevated to the status of a settled constitution, so that government of the island rested on a documented inheritance of instruction rather than on the will of each new officer. The direction on how conflicting orders were to be read shows the Company grappling with the problem of a growing and inconsistent body of rule. Where later directions had altered or enlarged the older ones, the most recent were to govern, and only matters left unprovided by the ancient orders were open to the Governor's own prudence. This reveals an emerging hierarchy of authority among the Company's papers, a working principle for a settlement governed by decades of layered instruction in which newer commands overrode the old. **Speculations** The Court's decision to advance Roberts a hundred pounds against his salary, rather than simply pay him as he served, points to a choice made for the Company's own security. The plain course was to let his hundred pounds a year accrue in the ordinary way, but instead the money was paid out at once and marked to be deducted from his growing salary and returned into the Company's cash. This bound the new Governor to the Company by a debt worked off through service, tying his interest to his post from the moment he took it up.
116	112	Orders &c.a the Circumstances of affairs render in dispensably necessary. this we intimate to You to prevent Disputes, or a blame worthy standing Still. for wanb of Sufficient directions. but it is upon a Suppossition that You will well weigh & Consider what is most for our Service. or the	Where the circumstances of affairs rendered it indispensably necessary, the Court intimated this to the Governor to prevent disputes, or a blank worthy standing still for want of sufficient directions. It rested upon a supposition that the Governor would well weigh and consider what was most for its service, or the general benefit, and that he would act therein as impartially and faithfully as if the concern

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		Generals benfit. & that you will at act therein as impartial- ally. & Faternly. as if the Concern was your own. and according to the best of your understanding. WHAll care have most regard for as the speedy compleating our Fortification at St Helena & which we if only fault that we have no far to Complain of in the late Governours Conduct. we promise our selves our own express take Care to take Care. this shall be remedied & will you no Posts to be thoughts or set warms till they are finisht. not only what is already begun but such others as may be found necessary. to make the Island truly Defensible. nature has done a great deal to that purpose & we would not judge the Expence of what Art can farther do to Compleat it. was it be done with good Husbandry & not dismist away as thisty or Cavillsly. as very somuch. or Capt Roberts Judgement herein. that we would have him & you as soon as he Arrives survey what is more to be added & instantly set about what he thinks necessary to be done therein. hasten away the Ships to prevent Demo- rage. THe good Government of the Island is not to be considered. we say next. because the making it Strong tends to its very being. as good Government does to its well being. & this we position by Order. that Justice be impartially administred to all. that all Quarrells & Contentious be checkd & appeased. and those that are Carelessly or obstinately litigious Discountananced. i. the Inhabitants to governed in all their Proporties that the Worship of God be duly observed & Vertue. & Morality **Margin Notes:** You to act with our impartiality & to weigh it himself well to Prevent Cavills & Orders to be his Standing Rule Compleat Fortifications Hasten away the Ships to prevent Demorage Justice to be impartialy Administred Quarrells to be Checkd The Worship and Vertue to be encouraged	were his own, according to the best of his understanding. The Court had most regard for the speedy completion of the fortifications at St Helena. It had chiefly only fault to complain of in the late Governor's conduct, and it promised itself the Governor would take care this should be remedied, and would give no rest to his thoughts or endeavours till they were finished, not only what was already begun but such others as might be found necessary, to make the island truly defensible. Nature had done a great deal to that purpose, and the Court would not judge the expense so far as art could further do to complete it. It was to be done with good husbandry and not thrust in every so hastily or carelessly, and it relied so much on Captain Roberts's judgement therein, that it would have him defer no sooner as to overrun survey what was more to be added constantly and about what he thought necessary to be done therein, hasten away the ships to prevent damage. The good government of the island was not to be considered its very next, because the making it strong tended and its being as good government does its well being. This was no position by order, that justice be impartially administered, that all quarrels and contentions be checked and appeased, and those that were carelessly or maliciously litigious discountenanced. The inhabitants were to be governed in all their properties, that the worship of God be duly observed, and virtue and morality [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's repeated insistence on completing the fortifications, set against its complaint of the late Governor, shows how single-minded the Company was about the island's defences. Nature had made the place strong, but the works of art needed to finish it, and the Court bound the new Governor to give his endeavours no rest until they stood complete. This reveals the whole rationale for holding St Helena: its value lay in being defensible on the sea route, and every other concern of government was subordinated to making it so. The pairing of good husbandry with the demand for haste exposes a tension the Company expected its Governor to manage. The works were to be pressed forward at speed, yet the money was not to be thrown away in careless building. The Court left the reconciling of these to Roberts's judgement, revealing how it devolved onto the man on the spot the practical difficulty of spending both quickly and prudently on a distant establishment it regarded as a dead charge. The linking of a strong island to good government, and the programme of impartial justice and suppressed litigation, shows the Company's theory of order on its possession. Making the place militarily secure and governing it well were treated as two halves of one thing, since a settlement torn by quarrels could not be defended. The instruction to check malicious litigation and enforce the worship of God reveals how far the Company saw internal discipline, religion and morality as instruments of the same security that the fortifications served.
117	113	Governour Roberts encouraged as well by your Practice as Precept. and that all Debauchery. Swaring and Prophaneness be Suppress'd That whensoever you find it for the Generall benefitt of the place to make any new Regulations or Orders. you summon the Chief of the Inhabitants together in the nature of a common Councel & there agree upon such method as	Governor Roberts. By his practice and precept, and that of debauchery, drinking and profaneness, he was to suppress it. Whenever the Governor thought it for the general benefit of the place to make any new regulations or orders, he was to summon the chief of the inhabitants together in the nature of a common council, there to agree upon such matters as should be found most proper for that purpose. When these were settled, he was to give due notice to all

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		shall be found most proper for that purpose. & when that are Settled. give due notice to all Concerned by affixing the Result in writing in a publick place. & Causeing it also to be publisht in two Sundays Successively after morning Service. That our Plantation Stuff & Stock be carefully pre- served & improved. That an account be yearly sent Us of the Number of our Blacks & how employd. & also the Quan- tity of our Cattle of all sorts. Butter. Corne. Stors. Sparlings Sallow. Hoggs. also our Poultry. & other our live Stock. That due Care be taken for cultivating & improving your Gams & your trade for the Benefit of your Table and our Mennoy. That our Nowtiegers accompts be monthly examin- ed in Constellation and past. from a word. that all wages of ours under your Care be honestly & Diligently in your and & managed as you would or should do if they were your own. These are Short heads or we have thought fit to enumerate chiefly for the notice of our new Governr. therefore he & you will on perusal of our Letters comply with what therein & therein mentioned & advise in whatever else. your Judgments shall Conclude is for our most Advantage. the ships are at Spithead. & lye ready waiting only for a fair wind which makes us Conclude. Your loving Friends London 5 May 1703. P.S. We now Capt Roberts are informd since **Margin Notes:** Feasting & Prophaness to be Suppressd Make new Orders as here. and by Consent of the Chief of the Inhabitants. Send yearly Accts of the Plantation Stores Improve Gams and your Trade Nowtiegers Accts to be Examined monthly For the best Judgment for our most Advantage	concerned by fixing the result in writing in a public place, and, causing it also to be published on two Sundays successively after morning service. The Court directed that the plantation, house and stock be carefully preserved and improved. An account was to be yearly sent to it of the number of the blacks and how employed, and the quantity of cattle of all sorts, bullocks, cows, steers, sporting horses, and also the poultry and other live stock. Care was to be taken for cultivating and improving the Governor's garden and trade, for the benefit of his table and management. The mortgagers' accounts were to be monthly examined in consultation, and past. In a word, all matters of moment under his care were to be honestly and diligently managed, as he would or should do if they were his own. These were short heads which the Court thought fit to enumerate chiefly for the renewing of its own government. It hoped he would, on perusal of its letters, comply with what was mentioned therein, and in whatever else his judgement should conclude was for its most advantage. The ships were at Spithead, and lay ready, wanting only a fair wind, which made the Court conclude. The Court signed itself the Governor's loving friend. London, 5 May 1708. In a postscript the Court noted that Captain Roberts was recommended [...]. **Interpretations** The instruction to convene the chief inhabitants as a common council before making new orders shows the Company grafting a limited form of consent onto the island's government. New regulations were not to issue from the Governor alone but to be agreed by the leading settlers, then posted publicly and read out in church on two successive Sundays. This reveals a deliberate method of securing compliance on a small settlement, since rules made with the principal inhabitants and proclaimed openly were harder to resist than commands imposed from above. The requirement to publish new orders after morning service exposes the church's role as an instrument of civil administration on the island. With no newspaper or other means of reaching the whole population, the Sunday congregation was the surest audience, and the pulpit served to give official notices their widest and most authoritative circulation. This shows religious assembly pressed into the work of government, binding the spiritual and secular order of the settlement together. The yearly account demanded of the plantation lists slaves and livestock in a single inventory of the Company's assets. The blacks and their employment were entered alongside bullocks, cows, steers, horses and poultry, all counted as property to be preserved and improved. This reveals how the Company's bookkeeping placed its human chattels among its animals, valuing each as a productive resource whose numbers had to be reported to London every year. The direction to examine the mortgagers' accounts monthly in council shows the Company overseeing private credit on the island as a matter of public administration. Debts secured on property were reviewed regularly by the governing body rather than left to the parties, which reveals how tightly the settlement's finances were watched. On an outpost that earned nothing, the Company kept even the private obligations of its inhabitants under official scrutiny.
118	114	Orders &c.a the Island. & since we draw the proposed Places for ships to anchor in Order to make Batterus fortterus	As the island made it defensible, and as there were the proper places for ships to anchor, the Governor was to make batteries for its defence, or to oppose any enemy giving the like by the first

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		Defence. or to affront any Enemy giving Us by the first Opportunity an Account thereof Value & send us a Pacques four fortificatione. as he will find them on his Arrivall & what attentions are worth thereto from time to time. or many other Places and when. Our Govr & Councill of St Helena WEE the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies having had no Opertunity of writing to you since Governr Roberts went from hence come now to Acquaint you. that since ours to you of the 7th of April & 5 of May 1703 we have received your Several Letters. of the 11th of October & 5 Jaury 1707 by the London & Dhoria. of the 6 July 1703 by the Attirmate. of the 30th November & 2 December 1704 by the Blenheim of the 17th March. by the Dispatch. & the 28 June 1704 by the Anadeus man of War. also 2 Bettelow Letters from Edward Roberts of the 30 November 1703. & the 14th April following. To which we come now to give answer. first premising that whatever Directions we have given you by the abovesaid Letters. or any before them. you must look upon as somany standing Orders allwayse to be in force. unlefs the absolut Recissity by of the Case. or our future advices as it Comes true and or suspend them in which Case the last Orders to be observed & to the end we may have a view at once of our affairs relating to the same matter. we would have you from the receipt hereof range your advises under the following Heads Vizt. Shipping. **Margin Notes:** Govr to send round the Island Rings of Sundry Letters Last Orders if diffrent are to be Obeyd	opportunity. He was to send an account thereof to the Court, as also, by three conveyances, of what it should find them on his account, and what additions were wanted thereto, from time to time, and to any other places, and when. To the Governor and council of St Helena. The Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, having had no opportunity of writing to the Governor since Governor Roberts went from hence, came now to acquaint him that since its own of 7 April and 5 May 1708, it had received his several letters, of 11 October and 5 December, and 9 January 1707, by the *Loudoun* and *Aleppo*, of the 6 July 1709 by the *Streatham*, of the 30 November and 2 December 1709 by the *Blenheim* of the 17 March, and by the *Dispatch* of the 18 June 1709 by the *Anderson* man of war, also of Batavia letters from Governor Roberts of the 30 November 1708, and of the 14 April following. To all these the Court came now to give answer, first premising that whatever directions it had given by the letters named before, the Governor was to look upon as so many standing orders, always to be in force, unless the absolute necessity of the case, or its future advices in it, altered or suspended them. In which case the last orders were to be observed, and to the end there might be a view at once of what appertained to the same matter, it would have him, from the receipt hereof, range his advices under the following heads, that is to say, shipping [...]. **Interpretations** The register of letters received, each keyed to a named ship and a precise date, reveals the machinery by which the Company kept account of its correspondence across the oceans. Governor Roberts's dispatches arrived piecemeal by many vessels over more than a year, and the Court set them all down in order before answering. This shows how a body governing from London had first to reconstruct the sequence of a distant conversation, since letters overtook one another at sea and could only be answered once gathered and arranged. The direction to treat all past instructions as standing orders unless later altered exposes the Company's solution to governing by intermittent post. Rather than repeat its commands with each ship, the Court declared its letters permanently binding, with the most recent prevailing where any conflict arose. This gave a remote settlement continuity of rule across the long silences between sailings, so that a single instruction governed until expressly changed. The order to range future advices under fixed heads such as shipping shows the Company imposing a filing discipline on its correspondence with the island. By requiring the Governor to sort his reports by subject, the Court could see at once everything relating to one matter rather than hunt through letters arranged only by date. This reveals an administration straining to master a growing volume of paper, seeking through classification the command of information that distance and delay otherwise denied it.
119	115	Ship Head Frigatt Goods. Stores. Comps Servants & Accounts. Fortifications. Buildings & Sundrys. Stors. Officers and Government of the Island. and if you have any other matters as a besse and properly reducible to these Heads. and them afterwards We begin. First concerning Shipping	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. The heads were goods, stores, the Company's servants and accounts, fortifications, buildings and garrison, stores, provisions, and the government of the island. If the Governor had any other matters, they were to be added to these, and there afterwards to begin. First, concerning shipping sent out and returned. It had pleased God that the following ships had arrived since Christmas last, 1709. The *Rochester*, in the River of Thames in February last, the *Rochester*

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		sent out and returnd. IT has pleased God. that the following Ships have arrived since Christmas last (Viz) the Herefordshire in the River of Thames in Feberuary last. the Balehero home at Batavia & the Stringer Gally from China. went to Lisbon & got into the River in May last. the Howland from the Bay came in Company with the Dutch. and so did St George in a kings ship. and arrived in the River in August. The Litchfield & Mountague from the Fort. the Coddington from the Bay. the Chatsegate from Bombay. and which is Come St Nicholas Anna. and Capt Ships. and the Segira from Bencoo- len with the Prince expected. Mr shipp arrived in Ireland. the beginning of November. from thence We expect them under a good Convoy some Ships being Fitt out from hence to Strengthen the men of War that went to look for them. The Dispatch was in the beginning of May last. by a French Privateer sunk on the north of Scotland near the Passage between Scotland and Ireland. the Privateer running her down. and all her men except the Doctor perisht in her. some part of her Pacquet came on shore on the Island. they in the Hoffen &c. we have received Damage the rest we afsume Wormd Sctores. we have No accs of the Anne. but hope the worst is that she has lost her passage. THe Ships design'd to all parts of India this Season are as follows. (Viz) **Margin Notes:** Arrival of Ships	having remained at Batavia, and the *Stringer* galley from China, went to Lisbon and got into the river in May last. The *Howland* from the bay came in company with the Dutch, and so did the *St George*, in a man of war ship, and arrived in the river in August. The *Litchfield* and *Montague* from the fort, the *Cardigan* from the bay, the *Orange* galley from Bombay, came in as came the *St Nicholas*, and Captain Sepse and the *Sepse* from an outward passage, all with the Prince, the *St George* arrived in Ireland the beginning of November. From thence the Court expected them under a good convoy, some ships being fit out from hence to strengthen the men of war that went to look for them. The *Dispatch* was in the beginning of May last, by a French privateer, sunk on the north of Scotland, near the passage between Scotland and Ireland, the privateer running her down. All her men except the doctor perished in her, and part of her cargo came on shore on the island, they in the *Hoffness*. The Court had received damage on the rest, on a former outward passage, and had no news of the *Anne*, but hoped the worst was that she had lost her passage. The ships designed to all parts of India this season were as follows. **Interpretations** The whole passage shows the wartime hazards that governed the Company's shipping, since the entries turn as much on danger as on arrival. Vessels came home only under convoy, men of war were sent out to look for them, and one ship, the *Dispatch*, was run down and sunk by a French privateer off the north of Scotland with the loss of all aboard but the doctor. This reveals how far the Company's trade with the East depended on evading enemy cruisers, and how the safe return of a ship was reported almost as a deliverance rather than a routine event. The circuitous routes recorded, with ships reaching Lisbon, the Thames or Ireland by way of the Cape, Batavia, China and Bombay, expose the length and complexity of the Company's sea network. A single season's returns drew vessels from every quarter of its eastern trade, arriving at scattered ports over many months. This shows the immense geographical reach the Company sustained, and the difficulty of coordinating so many long voyages that could only be tracked as each ship at last made land. The careful hedging over the missing *Anne*, hoping the worst was merely a lost passage, reveals the uncertainty under which the Company operated. With no means of knowing a ship's fate until it arrived or was reported lost, the directors could only wait and hope, distinguishing a delayed voyage from a disaster by the passage of time alone. This shows how the slowness of intelligence left even the loss of a valuable ship an open question for months together.
120	116	Orders &c.a The Belhem about 200 Tons Capt Abrah Barret for Macho & Home. she has bein Sometime at Gittiao Due. daily except. hear she is Sailed with the Convoy. The Rochester 330 Tons Capt Dan Maynes for Chusan The Stringer Galley 258 Tons Capt Isaac Pyke for Cetor Wards The King William Galley 200 Tons Capt Adam Wan for the Bay The St George 450 Tons Capt Edward Foreman The Des Bouverie 420 Tons Capt Mark Raymond The Europe 500 Tons Capt Humphrey Brand The Susannah 500 Capt Rich Bennett for the Coast and Bay but first for the Coast The Sherburn 200 Tons Capt Henry Cornwell for Bencoolen	The ships sent out this season were as follows. The Blenheim, about 200 tons, Captain Abraham Barret, for Mocha and home; she had been some time at Batavia The *Blenheim* was due daily except that she stayed with the convoy. The Rochester, 330 tons, Captain David Maynard, for China The Stringer galley, 253 tons, Captain Isaac Pyke, for the coast and China The King William galley, 300 tons, Captain William Winn, for the bay The St George, 430 tons, Captain Edward Foreman The Des Bouverie, 430 tons, Captain Mark Raymond The Europe, 500 tons, Captain Humphrey Brent The Susannah, 300 tons, Captain Richard Bennett, for the coast and bay, but first for the coast

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		The Head Frigat 510 Tons Capt Dan Wecham for St Helena and Bencoolen The Phoenix 400 Tons Capt Barnard Hearson The Catherine 450 Tons Capt Edwd Godfrey The Dutchess 450 Tons Capt John Blucer for Persia with a large & Cost & Thence to Dombay. All the above Ships are now at the Nore ready to proceed for the Downs. except the Phenix & Catherine at we hope will be there in March next. The then Governr Mr Goodwin's hastning the Blenca & other ships away. Protesting against Capt Dickenson & Capt Warrer for not unlading their ships in the Charter party time. & against the Capt of Canadia for not birthing his Ship as he ought. & Sending Copies of those Protests. & of Capt Dickenson & Capt Warren's various Protest advising what the Fleet Frigat. & the Moorland Delivered Short. we approve of you should also have Protested against the Fleet Frigatt for Storrs in the same Case as Capt Warrers Ship in points of not Unlading her Goods in time. We refer to You to what Already wrote for standing Directions about Ships sent from hence to St Helena that don't Dispatch in time. **Margin Notes:** Ships Sent out Protest against all Ships that do not Dispatch in time.	The Sherburn, 200 tons, Captain Henry Cornwall, for Bencoolen The *Fleet Frigate*, 510 tons, Captain David Wibsham, was for St Helena and Bencoolen. The Phoenix, 400 tons, Captain Panford Frazer The Catherine, 450 tons, Captain Edward Godfrey The Dutchess, 430 tons, Captain John Blacon, for Persia, with a cargo of goods, and thence to Bombay All the above ships were now at the Hope, ready to proceed for the Downs, except the *Phoenix* and *Catherine*, which the Court hoped would be there in March next. The then Governor, Mr Goodwin, was hastening the *Streatham* and other ships away, protesting against Captain Dickenson and Captain Winter for not unlading their ships in the *Charter* party time, and against Captain Sepse for not berthing his ship as he ought, and sending copies of these protests, and of Captain Dickenson and Captain Winter's answers, advising what the *Fleet Frigate* and *Westmoreland* delivered short. The Court approved that the Governor should also have protested against the *Fleet Frigate* for stores in the same case as Captain Winter's ship, in point of not unlading her goods in time. It referred the Governor to what it had already written for standing directions about ships sent from hence to St Helena that did not dispatch in time. **Interpretations** The manifest of the season's outbound fleet, each ship set down with its tonnage, commander and destination, reveals the scale and organisation of the Company's annual dispatch to the East. Vessels were bound severally for China, the coast and bay, Persia, Bombay, Bencoolen and St Helena, a single sailing spread across the whole compass of its trade. This shows how the Company marshalled its shipping into one great yearly effort, coordinated from London and sent out together for the mutual protection that wartime convoy demanded. The Governor's protests against captains for failing to unlade in the time fixed by their charter parties expose how the Company enforced its freighting contracts. A charter party set the days allowed for discharging cargo, and a master who exceeded them exposed his owners to a formal complaint recorded and sent home. This reveals the documentary discipline by which the Company held its shipping to schedule, since delay at St Helena held up the whole chain of voyages and had to be answered for in writing. The Court's approval that the Governor should also have protested against the *Fleet Frigate* for the same fault shows the even hand the Company expected in enforcing its rules. No ship was to be spared the formal complaint if it delayed like the rest, and the standing directions on the point were to apply to every vessel alike. This reveals a system of accountability meant to bear equally on all its captains, so that the discipline of dispatch could not be evaded by any one master's standing or favour.
121	117	Ship Head Frigatt Continue to advise us on all Occasions when our ships arrive at & part from St Helena. & any other matters relating thereto. as also what News you have of our Ships from all other parts YOUR Carriage. towards Capt Barnes for the reasons mentioned in your Letter. was prudent YOU did ill so long to omit advising of Capt Barnes in the Nathaniel his Carrying away two of our Soldiers in the year 1704. the voyage is long since ended. & the Captain	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. The Governor was to continue to advise the Court on all occasions when its ships arrived at, and departed from, St Helena, and of any other matters relating thereto, as also what news he had of any ships from all other parts. His carriage towards Captain Barnes, for the reasons mentioned in his letter, was prudent. The Governor did ill to omit so long anything of Captain Bennett, in the *Nathaniel*, his carrying away two of the soldiers in the year 1704. The voyage was long since ended, and the captain dead, and all inquiries for reparation for damages were now

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		dead. & all Enquerys of the Suit. or for Reparation for Damages are now fuitless, For time to come whenever you Suspect any of our Ships carry away our Soldiers or Blacks. advise us by the first Opportunity what Ships are then at the Island. and whom you suspect. & your Reasons. and you have done your part. But if you or the Councel. for the time being. shall over again be guilty of so Culpable. an Omission. we shall Charge our Damage to yor Accounts. WE approve of your Surveying the Aurengzeb. you if any Commiss are somuch refuse. as you Protest against him as you mention. & leave the rest to Us. for we are Sure it Can neither do the demotes or Us any Storrs. on the contrary it may happen. to do a great deal of good. but at the present but at all room to Send you Naval Stores to supply our remaining Ships withall. Secondly Concerning Goods & Stores sent from England or received from India. WHat we can send by Ship Head Frigatt the Invoice and Bill of Lading will inform you. which is in a great measure according to your Desires so far as the Ship would take them in. but we surprized to find so great a demand as Six hundred & fifty Tons of Arrack. Some Hundred Tons of Sugar. and other odious Opinions. unaccountable Articles. & **Margin Notes:** And the News of all Ships Advise who carry off any Soldiers or Blacks to go off Surveying the Aurengzeb approved of The Head Frigatt Stores	fruitless. For time to come, whenever the Governor suspected any of the ships carried away the soldiers or blacks, he was to advise the Court by the first opportunity what ships were then at the island, and whom he suspected, and give his reasons, and so he would have done his part. But if he or the council for the time being should over again be guilty of so culpable an omission, the Court would charge the damage to his account. The Court approved of his surveying the *Aurungzeb*, and, if any commanders were concerned or refused as he protested against him, it wished the rest referred to it, for it would store it neither to the servants nor to any harm. On the contrary, it might happen to do a great deal of good, but at present there was no room to send his naval stores to supply the remaining ships therewith. Secondly, concerning goods and stores sent from England or received from India. What the Court sent by ship *Fleet Frigate*, the invoice and bill of lading would inform the Governor, which was in great measure according to his desires, so far as the ship could take them in, but it was surprised to find so great a sum as one hundred and fifty tons of arrack, some hundred tons of sugar, and other, in its opinion, unaccountable articles [...]. **Interpretations** The dispute over soldiers carried off in the *Nathaniel* six years earlier shows the Company's insistence on timely reporting as the price of any remedy. Because the Governor delayed, the voyage was over and Captain Bennett dead, leaving no one to answer for the loss and no hope of reparation. The Court's warning that a repeated omission would be charged to the Governor's own account reveals how it made prompt intelligence a personal liability, since a claim against a ship or master was worthless once the moment to pursue it had passed. The problem of ships carrying away soldiers and blacks exposes the island's constant struggle to hold its scarce labour and men. Vessels touching at St Helena could remove the very people the settlement depended on, whether servants of the garrison or slaves of the plantation. The Court's demand to be told at once which ship was in port and who was suspected reveals how difficult it was to protect this human establishment against the passing traffic that could so easily drain it away. The Court's complaint at receiving a hundred and fifty tons of arrack and a great quantity of sugar shows its suspicion of excess and waste in the island's supply. Such quantities of spirits struck the directors as unaccountable, echoing their earlier alarm at the liquor accounts. This reveals how closely the Company scrutinised what it shipped to a settlement it regarded as a dead charge, reading an oversupply of drink as a sign of either extravagance or private trade at its expense.
122	118	Orders &c.a and the rather because from Capt Poole we can't hear how great the Charge of bringing them will be considering we pay full Fright. for our Goods on all returning Ships except when for us & Coin each Ship in Arrack &c Goods. which we have by a particular Covenant or Charter party agreed to pay only half Fright. Yet in that Case we allow the ships to send said goods in the third room. is any vacant Place of the Ships. WE are also very much Concerned. that you should take Thirty four Liquors of Arrack out of the Blenheim & by what appears to Us. if there had bein more. it had bein all gone. we cant find you had any Expence from	And the rather because, however great the charge of bringing them would be, considering the Court paid full freight for the two goats on all returning ships except only for arrack and other goods, which it had by a particular covenant or charter party agreed to pay only half freight, yet in that case, when the ships carried the goods in the third room, or in any vacant place of the ship. The Court was also very much concerned that the Governor should take thirty four gallons of arrack out of the *Blenheim*, or what appeared to be, if there had been more. And had there been all gone, the Court could not find the Governor had any liberty from those to do so, by any of its orders in force or letters, nor was there so much as a colourable pretence for it. The Governor wrote that

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		Us. so to do by any of Our Orders in form or Letters. or none so much as a tolerable pretence. for it. you write the Arrack was sold by you at nine Shillings the Gallon. if it had all gone. at that rate. it had bein no good Cerne. for Arrack has sold here. all that Came by St George Mathews from Aden to Twenty Seven Shillinge a Gavon. and in an Average at above Twenty Shillings & yet a large part of that was out of the best. Art. who upon we have Ordered our China Ships that they shall let you have none. But our Orders to all parts of India Continue the Same as before. WE note what you write about Madera Wine & Brandy YOU do well to advise Us when the Stores of any ships are send are Different in Quantly or Quallity or overcharged. Continue that method. & be particular in your Account thereof. IN the 34th Para of the Letter of the 30th Novr you say you have Twenty three Persons at your appointed Table. Deighton at the same besides Blacks & Boates Crews for Lime & Several other Encouragements. so that your Expence cant be less here from three to four Gallons **Margin Notes:** Great Quantity of Goats not to be took out of Ships Madera Wine & brandy Advises of Stores if Different or overcharged Persons of Arick. not other besides 3 or 4 mens	the arrack was sold by him at nine shillings the gallon. If he had all gone at that rate, it stood him in no good terms. For arrack had sold here, all that came by the *St George*, Mathews from Aden, at twenty seven shillings a gallon, and on an average at above twenty shillings, and to get a large part of that was not of the best sort. Whereupon the Court had ordered its China ships that they should let the Governor have none, but its orders to all parts of India continued the same as before. The Court noted what the Governor advised about Madeira wine and brandy. The Governor did ill to advise the Court when the stores of any ship were sent, and was deficient in quantity, or badly, or overcharged. He was to continue that method, and be particular in his account thereof. In the third head of the letter of 30 November, the Governor advised that there were twenty three persons at the apparel gallery, freighted at the issue, besides blacks and boats crews for lime, and several other encouragements, so that his expense could not be less there than from three to four gallons [...]. **Interpretations** The distinction between full freight and half freight exposes how finely the Company's carriage contracts were drawn. It paid the full rate to bring goats home on returning ships, but only half for arrack and other goods carried under a special charter party in spare stowage. This reveals a freighting system calibrated to the value and priority of each cargo, where the terms of carriage were negotiated commodity by commodity and even the vacant corners of a ship were let at a reduced rate. The affair of the arrack taken from the *Blenheim* shows the Company using its command of prices to catch a governor in a poor bargain. Roberts sold the spirit at nine shillings the gallon, yet the same arrack fetched twenty seven at home and above twenty on average. The Court's reproof, and its order that the China ships supply him none, reveal how it policed the Governor's dealings by measuring them against the London market, treating a sale below value as either incompetence or something worse. The catalogue of people maintained at the apparel gallery, servants, slaves and boat crews for lime, exposes the true cost of the establishment behind the Company's complaints of expense. Each group had to be fed and supplied, and the Governor pleaded these numbers to explain his consumption. This reveals the tension between the Company's demand for economy and the real labour needed to run the island's works, since the very hands required to burn lime and man the boats swelled the charge the directors resented.
123	119	Ship Head Frigatt of Arrack a Day when a ship is in the Road. which we think a very extravagant unnecessary Expence. and do not allow thereof. you had done well to have observed the 25th Para of our Letter by the Fleet Frigatt. and in pursuance thereof have sent Us the names of those Forty five Persons. which is as you say the Number of your Constant daily Family. for we can't apprehend how there should be somany. but when we see their Names. we shall be able to judge better. we shall not begain about one Govern Giving the Board He employs none & then a dram of Arrack. when he thinks it is a proper Encoura-	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. The Governor's expense of arrack a day when a ship was in the road struck the Court as a very extravagant sum upon expense, and it did not allow of it. He would have done well to have observed the 25th head of the letter by the *Fleet Frigate*, and in pursuance thereof to have sent the names of those forty five persons, which he said were the number of his constant daily family. The Court could not conceive there should be so many, but when it saw their names it would be able to judge better. It would not again dispute that the Governor gave those he employed a dram of arrack, where it was a proper encouragement, but at the same time he must enjoin them frugality, and once the fortifications were finished, the Court hoped the reasons for expense would be in great part removed. The Court would write to Bombay of the badness of the arrack they sent the Governor by the *Aurungzeb*, and would repeat its orders to all places,

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		gement. But at the Same time must enjoin your paganty. & when once the Fortifications are finisht. we hope those Reasons for Expence will be in great part removed. WE shall advise to Bombay of the bigness of the Arrack they sent you by the Aurengzeb. & shall repeat our Orders to all Places. that what they send you be the best. as well as to the Bay. and are glad they have mended their Hands in what they sent by the Dispatch. when you receive the Arrack where in you Understand whether to be sure as fitt. & whether it is real or has bein adulterated by putting in of Water and if find Cause of Complaint on either account show it to the Captain. and also advise us what he Says. & what is the Case that we may as our Letters if get. WHen we have opportunity. we shall consider your Desires for Seeds from the Madeira & Canarys. But we Can't promise it with the least luck especially from the latter place We take Notice you have made One hundred & Forty Gallons of wine. & hope you Dispose of it. WE have considered your desires for liberty to take necessary Supplies out of our returning Ships for the benefit of the Island. and in answer thereto say. we hereby permit & allow you to take out of our Ships. any Sort of Cloth proper for Shirting or House hold Linnen. or for wich cloth. & of Coloured Goods or Stuffs Proper for outward Garments where **Margin Notes:** Send Arrack from Bombay Vines from Madera & Canaries In taking Goods out of ships that mus be in 6 Bales in one year	that what they sent him be the best, as an aid to the bay. And in case they had mended their hands in what they sent by the *Dispatch*, when he received the arrack, wherein he saw some difference or matter to observe, he was first to consider whether it was real, or had been adulterated by putting in of water, and if there was cause of complaint on either account, to show it to the captain and also advise the Court what he said, and what was the case, that it might so overlook it at home. When the Court had opportunity, it would consider his desires for wines from the Madeiras and Canaries. It could not promise to write to those parts, especially from the latter place. It took notice the Governor had made two hundred and forty gallons of wine, and hoped he would dispose of it. The Court had considered his desire for liberty to take necessary supplies out of outward bound ships for the benefit of the island, and in answer thereto said it heartily gave him leave, upon occasion, to take out of any of its ships any sort of cloth proper for shirting, or household linen, or for necessities, and of coloured goods, or snuff, proper for outward governments, or where [...]. **Interpretations** The demand for the names of the forty five persons in the Governor's daily household shows the Company's persistent effort to pierce a distant establishment it could not see. Roberts pleaded this number to justify his consumption, but the Court withheld judgement until it could set eyes on the actual roll. This reveals how the directors used the naming of individuals as a check on a governor's accounts, since only a list of real people allowed them to test whether the charge was genuine or padded from London. The careful instruction on adulterated arrack exposes the difficulty of policing quality across the Company's supply chain. Spirits shipped from Bombay might be watered before they arrived, and the Governor was told to judge whether any defect was real, confront the captain and report the case home. This reveals the layers of possible fraud between one Company station and another, and the reliance on the man at the point of delivery to detect and document tampering that London could never witness. The permission to draw cloth, linen and other goods from outward bound ships shows how St Helena was provisioned by tapping the traffic that passed it. Rather than mount separate supply voyages, the Company let the Governor take necessary stores from vessels already bound for the East. This reveals the island's dependence on the through trade for its own maintenance, its shelves filled from cargoes meant for other governments, so that its position on the route served as its storehouse as well as its purpose.
124	120	Orders &c.a and we often see the Island is in want of such Goods not Exceeding six or ten Bales in a year in the whole. but don't take the fine Cloth the which is in India. it will be very well. And which is Weare or the other. the Captains can tell you by the Marks in the Bills of Lading. and to you whom the Commiss there clause. for their information & Observn. We also allow you to take out what Pepper you really want as you did one Hundred & Sixad weight of Capt Bonnett. & so what Happer at that Candy. Not be so many of our Ships. for that being to no Account. have. & if you are in	And more often, as the island was in want of such goods, not exceeding four or five bales in a year on the whole. But the Governor was not to take the fine cloth. The clothing in India, it would do very well, and which was proper or the other, the captains could tell the Governor by the marks in the bills of lading, and to give him the benefit of these clauses, for his own information and observance. The Court would allow the Governor to take out what pepper he really wanted, as he did over one hundred pound weight of Captain Bennett's ship, or what sugar or the paper candy that might be in any of the ships, for that being to no account here, and if he was in great want of arrack, to take not out, but exceeding three or four gallons of any ship, which had any of ours, except the *Rochester*, whom the Court had ordered to part with none, or if there be any

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		great want of Arrack. take out not Exceeding three or four Liquors of any Ship. which has any of ours as not the Rochester. whom we have Ordered to part with none. as if their being other Goods. that you shall have Occasion for which the ships had. You may take a small Quantity. for the use of ye Inhabitants not away from time to time. what as you receive. and how taken. the same is disposd. of. & taking care it be disposse of to our advantage at a Suitable Proffit. and brought to our Account. WE observe Governr Robets took out of the Fleet Frigat One Thousand Dollars. and his Reasons for so doing. and We will Sanxing We approve of his managemt. for finding out him Some by punishing a reward of one Hund Dollars to the Discoverer. which had the desired Effect. yet we Cannot admit of this taking any of our Cash out of any of Our Outward bound Ships. which let us never have again repeated upon any pretence whatsoever As to your Supplying the Ships with Beef we have given our directions formely in the 4th Para of our Generall Letter of the 5th March. 1703. that notwithstanding the Covenant in Charterparty. you should not let the Captains have it. under the Market price. that was when by the resort of many ships the Island was eat done. now our Stock of Cattle Increases. that we for is at an End & we would have you **Margin Notes:** Not to take out more than 3 or 4 Liquors out of one Ship To take out no money Advise about the Charter party Beef	other goods, that he should have occasion for, which the ships had. He might take a small quantity, for the use of the inhabitants not away from time to time, what at he wanted, and how taken, the same being disposed of, and having done it to the best advantage at a suitable profit, and brought to its account. The Court observed Captain Roberts took out of the *Fleet Frigate* one thousand dollars, and his reasons for so doing, and it well approved of his management, for finding out him that did it, by punishing a reward of one hundred dollars to the discoverer, which had the desired effect. Yet the Court could not allow of his taking any of its cash out of any of its outward bound ships, which it would never have again repeated upon any pretence whatsoever. As to his supplying the ships with beef, the Court had given its directions formerly in the third head of its general letter of 30 November 1704, that notwithstanding the covenant in the charter party, the Governor should not let the captains have it, under the market price, that was, when by the resort of so many ships the island was left bare, now the stock of cattle increases, that expense was at an end. It would have the Governor [...]. **Interpretations** The rule that the Governor might draw pepper, sugar and sugar candy freely, because such goods stood to no account at St Helena, exposes how the Company distinguished between cargo it valued and cargo it did not. Some commodities were too cheap or too bulky to be worth reckoning on the island's books, and so could be taken for local use without loss. This reveals a working economy in which the Company let its remote servants help themselves to what it counted as negligible, while guarding closely anything of real worth. The affair of the thousand dollars taken from the *Fleet Frigate* shows the Company approving a governor's method while condemning his means. Roberts recovered the stolen cash by offering a reward of a hundred dollars, which drew out the thief, and the Court praised the result. Yet it forbade absolutely his taking money from its outward bound ships, revealing the sharp line it drew between ingenuity in catching a crime and the unauthorised handling of its coin, which it would not tolerate on any pretext. The instruction on beef prices exposes how the Company adjusted its dealings to the fluctuating condition of the island's herds. When many ships resorted there and stripped the place bare, the Governor was to charge captains no less than the market rate despite their charter party, but as the cattle increased that concern fell away. This reveals a pricing policy tuned to scarcity and plenty, so that the settlement's provisioning of passing ships followed the state of its own stock rather than any fixed bargain.
125	121	Ship Head Frigatt use your Discretion. as to the Rice. appraising it at the Charter party Price. if that but a little less than the Current rate of the Island. or advancing thereon down to what is. This is a Prudentiall Observation. & can't well be pronounced upon without knowing all the Circumstances. therefore do. as you see best. for our Service. & advise Us the result. taking care that the Company are no Suffers thereby. Thirdly. touching Our Servts & Soldiers & the Accounts of St	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. The Governor was to use his discretion as to the price, appraising it at the charter party rate, if that were but a little less than the current rate of the island, or advancing thereon nearer to what it was. This was a prudential observation, and could not be pronounced upon without knowing all the circumstances. He was therefore to do as he saw best for the Court's service, and advise the result, taking care that the Company was no sufferer thereby. Thirdly, touching the Court's servants and soldiers, and the accounts of St Helena in general. Under this head the Court would also include its master, cattle, land and revenue, drawing those parts of the Governor's letters relating to this head into the order of their dates.

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		Helena in Generall. Under this head we shall also include our Mens Cattle. Land & Revenue. & as for those parts of your Letters relating to this Head in the Order of their Dates WE observe in yours of the 11th October 1707. that Governr Poirier died the 6 September before. & as you then advise. it was not at any Account to be taken of our Estate. under his particular care. which we would will. & what we Care. never a person of in any Prison hereafter. YOU must Continue to send Us yearly an Account of our Cattle. & all their Provisions and where kept. the Numbr & Deighton suppose Eaters. & how Employd. & if as you write that Severall of them are going or homen. that we Appfse. then as you propose. do you dispose of them to our most Advan- tage. WE find great Sums of money paid for the Inhabitants and our own People. Blacks working at our Fortifications We hope you dont Employ more than are necessary. & that you take care our own are not idle or employd about works of less significancy than the Charge of the others Labour. YOU did will to punish William Trench's black Boy for breaking open the Store house. by Sentencing them to Work. at the Fortifications. for two years at only Victualls **Margin Notes:** No Estate given Acct of what is under his Care Send yearly Acct of live Stock. Employ our own Blacks to save Charge	The Court observed, in the Governor's of 17 October 1707, that Governor Poirier died the 6 September before, and as he then advised, there was not any account to be taken of his estate under his particular care, which the Court was well satisfied with, nor would it pursue it in any person hereafter. The Governor was to continue to send yearly an account of the cattle, and all their provisions and where kept, the number and appointment thereof, and how employed. And as he wrote that several of them were young or thin, that were useless, then, as he proposed, he was to dispose of them to the Court's most advantage. The Court found a great sum of money paid for the inhabitants, and also its own people, blacks working at its fortifications, and desired he did not employ more than were necessary, and that he took care its own were not idle or employed about works of less significance than the charge of the others' labour. The Governor did well to punish William Marsh's black boy for breaking open the storehouse, by sentencing him to work at the fortifications for two years at only [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's satisfaction that no account was taken of the dead Poirier's estate reveals a deliberate limit on the Company's reach into a governor's private effects. It might have pressed to recover or examine what the late Governor left, but chose instead to let the matter rest and to pursue no successor's estate either. This shows the Company drawing a line around the personal property of its officers, distinguishing the settlement's accounts from the private fortune of the man who kept them. The direction to work the Company's own slaves rather than pay for hired labour exposes the economic logic behind the island's forced workforce. The directors found a great sum spent on labour and urged that their own blacks be kept busy on the fortifications instead of idle or set to trifling tasks. This reveals how the Company reckoned its slaves as a means of sparing wages, valuing their labour precisely as a saving against the charge of employing others. The sentence passed on William Marsh's black boy shows the fortifications serving as a place of penal labour as well as defence. A slave who broke into a storehouse was punished by two years' work on the walls, turning a crime into a source of the very labour the island craved. This reveals how the Company's justice on St Helena fed its greatest need, converting punishment directly into the unpaid toil that its defensive works demanded. **Speculations** The Court's choice to price beef to visiting ships by a shifting standard, rather than hold to the rate fixed in the charter party, points to a default deliberately set aside. The plain course was to charge the agreed contract price, and the captains could fairly have claimed it. Instead the Court told the Governor to appraise the beef nearer the island's current rate whenever that ran higher, protecting the Company against loss when scarcity drove prices up. This shows the directors willing to override their own written bargain in practice, subordinating the fixed terms of the charter party to the movable interest of the Company's purse.
126	122	Orders &c.a and Cloths. as to the Law for punishing them. for Notorieous Offences with Death. as that be as the Inhabitar ts in a generall Assembly shall prudently Determine. which we Object in a case of Burglary. as at the third Offence. but it Seems to Us absolutely necessary. that if they should break open a Powder	And clothes, as to the law for punishing them for notorious offences with death. But that lay in the particular case, or in a general assembly, and should prudently determine which the Court observed in a case of burglary, at the third offence. It seemed to the Court absolutely necessary, that if a black should break open a powder door or magazine but once, he

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		Door or magazine but once. they should have a more & lasting Corporal punishment. & have Abour that might Sufficiently deter others of which. as you & the Inhabitants determine. THE Account given in the 16th Para of your forementioned Letters. very Surprizing to Us. we Can not Understand the meaning of it. or what Mr Alexander or or ship one Clark of the Councel can Say for himself. or what for the Same Consultation Books and other publick Registers of Writs & to be somuch destroyd & Damaged by Rats moth & rust or any of them to be missing. That said by an intent of the Roman prints particularly as Signird Poirier. but this is a miscarriage. that Casts a Deffuputation upon the whole Councilt. as well as the Govr Or Principally on the Clerk and deserves a Severe as we occasion. do you Enquire how it Came about. who Rad the Custody of these Books & Papers. and what be Can Say for himself. & let us know it. with your Opinion upon it. for the future. we say what the office wherein all the Registers. Since Letters & Consultation Books are kept. shall allways be open at reasonable Hours. that Every One of our Councel may have Access thereto. That all Letters Sent by Us. be fairly entred in a Book for that Purpose. & literally transmitted to be perused therein. on Case of any miscarriage of the Original. & that the Original be carefully laid up. & if the Governr or any of the Councel. shall Desire to have the Perusal of the Originalls. that the Clerk take Care upon his Receit to receive the Same back. & lodge it in his **Margin Notes:** Punish black Prisoners by Sentencing them to work & only Corporall time at ye Fortifications Punish if a Black breaks open a Powder Room the second ye punishment by hard Labour The Store house office to be well kept All Letters to be Entered in a Book	should have a more and lasting corporal punishment, and thereabout, that might sufficiently deter others, of which, as the Governor did, the inhabitants were to determine. The account given in the 15th head of the Governor's aforementioned letters was very surprising to the Court, for it could not understand the meaning of it, or what Mr Alexander or the ship's own clerk of the council could say for himself, or how the several consultation books and other public registers of wills were to be so much destroyed and damaged by rats, moth, or wet, or any of them to be missing. That said, by the intent of the *Roman*, printed particularly as Governor Poirier, but this was a miscarriage that cast a disreputation upon the whole council, as well as the Governor, and principally on the clerk, and deserved a severe animadversion. He was to inquire how it came about, who had the custody of these books and papers, and what he could say for himself, and let it be known to it with the Governor's opinion upon it. For the future, no way what the office wherein all the registers, minutes, letters and consultation books were kept should always be open in a reasonable hours, that every one of the council might have access thereto. That all letters sent by the Court be fairly entered in a book for that purpose, and severally transmitted to be superscribed thereon, on top of any miscarriage of the original, and that the original be carefully laid up, and if the Governor or any of the council should desire to have the perusal of the originals, that the clerk take care, upon his receipt, to receive the same back and lodge it in its [...]. **Interpretations** The proposal to inflict a severe and lasting corporal punishment on any slave who broke into the powder magazine even once exposes how the Company graded its penalties by the danger of the act. An ordinary burglary was tolerated to a third offence, but an intrusion into the powder store threatened the island's whole defence and could not be risked twice. This reveals a scale of justice measured not by the theft itself but by the peril it posed to the settlement's survival, with the magazine guarded more fiercely than any other property. The alarm at the decayed and missing registers exposes how completely the Company's government depended on its written records. Consultation books, wills and public registers ruined by rats, moth and damp represented a loss of the island's institutional memory, and the Court treated it as a disgrace touching the whole council. This reveals that on a remote possession the paper record was the very substance of authority, so that its neglect was not mere carelessness but a threat to the continuity of rule itself. The remedy of an always accessible records office, open at reasonable hours to every councillor, shows the Company building safeguards against both decay and concealment. By requiring that the registers be kept where all the council could reach them, it guarded against a single clerk controlling or losing the record. This reveals an emerging principle of open official archives as a check on power, ensuring that the documents on which government rested could not be monopolised or quietly allowed to perish. The insistence that every letter be copied into a book and the originals carefully preserved, with a receipt required for any borrowed, exposes the discipline the Company imposed to secure its correspondence against loss. A remote administration that lived by the post could not afford a mislaid original, and so built a system of entry, custody and return. This reveals how seriously the Company treated the integrity of its files, since the whole

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			conduct of distant government turned on letters that could be neither replaced nor recalled once gone.
127	123	Ship Head Frigatt proper Repository. That all Assps. Wills. Surveys or Attestations of Sub- scriptions of Court. Consultations. & all other Publick Writings or Instruments be fairly entred each of them in a Book appointed peculiarly for that purpose. & those Books carefully pointed. & such of the Originalls are to be lodged with you & also kept in a Perticular Place. to which Originalls & Entrys the Persons Concerned to have recourse on all just Occasions. WE suppose Mr Vogas the Enguirer who you write took passage on the Dispatch. shard in the Calamity with the rest of that ships Company. if what as we hear only the Doctor escaped alive. so that his Debt of Fourteen Pounds Eight Shillings. & Eight pence is paid. THe advice of all Bills of Exchange drawn payable to or by Us. must be Continued as We formerly Descibd. WEE observe the Hospital is finisht. & made very Commodious for Sick Soldiers or Seamen. & that You had thoughts of Stopping monthly out of their pay to Maintain them in Necessaries when Sick. but left that to Our Consideration. To which we say do you Consider the Matter and. & settle that you think right. & Advise Us thereof. with the reason. that we may Conform or alter it. WEE have paid Mr Rasleigh Attorney to Mr Stanton in our Chaplain Fifty Pounds who Desired and while he does behave him as worthy of his function. as We hope he always will do. you allow him the Gratuity. which we made in our Agreement with him conditionall. as well for an Encouragement as a Caution. THe estemate is you have heard Every lost. there is no way for Us to Stop the Debt due to Mr Stanton & Mr Cooper. nor can we recker with Capt Barnes. for carrying away our Soldiers. for the same reason. THe Soldiers were passing on the Recovery. which **Margin Notes:** All Assps. Wills. Surveys & many publick Papers to be Entered. Vogas is perisht Advice of all Bills of Exchange Hospital is finisht. made very Commodious for the Sick & Seamen The Chaplains Salary approved Attorment is lost	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. They were to be lodged in a proper repository. All leases, wills, surveys or attestations, and the several registers of court, consultations and all other public writings or instruments, were to be fairly entered, each of them, in a book appointed particularly for that purpose. Those books were to be carefully preserved, and such of the originals as were to be lodged with the Governor were also to be kept in a particular place, to which the originals and the persons concerned to have recourse on all just occasions. The Court supposed Mr Vezar, the engineer, whom the Governor wrote sought passage on the *Dispatch*, shared in the calamity with the rest of that ship's company, of whom, as the Court heard, only the doctor escaped alive, so that his debt of fourteen pounds eight shillings and eight pence was paid. The advice of all bills of exchange drawn payable to or by the Governor was to be continued as it was formerly directed. The Court observed the hospital was finished, and it was very commodious for sick soldiers or seamen, so that the Governor had thoughts of stopping monthly out of their pay to maintain them in necessaries when sick, but left that to the Court's consideration. To which it would say it would consider the matter, and settle what it thought fit, and advise, else confirm with the reason, that it might confirm or alter it. The Court had paid its late chief attorney to Mr Standon, its chaplain, fifty pounds, as he desired, and while he behaved himself as worthy of his function, as the Court hoped he always would, it allowed him a gratuity, which was made in its agreement with him, conditional as well as for an encouragement, as a caution. The chaplain, as the Governor had heard every letter, there was no way for the Court to stop the debt due to Mr Standon and Mr Cooper, nor could it either with Captain Barnes for carrying its soldiers for the same reason. The soldiers were now working on the necessary [...]. **Interpretations** The order that every lease, will, survey and register be entered in its own dedicated book exposes the Company's drive to fix each kind of legal record in a fixed and findable form. Rather than let documents accumulate loosely, it assigned a separate book to each class and required the originals to be lodged where those concerned could reach them. This reveals how the settlement's law depended on an ordered archive, since a lease or a will had force only so long as it could be produced and consulted from a known place. The extinguishing of the dead engineer's debt of fourteen pounds odd shows how the loss of a ship reached even into the Company's petty accounts. Vezar drowned with almost all the *Dispatch*'s company, and his obligation died with him, struck off not by payment but by the man's destruction. This reveals the human cost behind the Company's bookkeeping, where a sailor's death at sea closed his ledger as surely as a settlement of the sum, and the wreck that took his life also cleared his debt. The scheme to deduct monthly from soldiers' and seamen's pay to maintain them when sick exposes how the Company sought to make its hospital self-supporting. The building stood ready and commodious, but its running was to be charged in part to the very men it served, through stoppages from their wages. This reveals an early form of compulsory contribution to medical care, in which

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			the workforce funded its own treatment, sparing the Company the whole cost of keeping its people alive on a remote and unhealthy station. The chaplain's conditional gratuity shows the Company binding even its clergyman by terms of good behaviour. His fifty pounds and his additional payment were allowed only while he discharged his office worthily, framed expressly as both an encouragement and a caution. This reveals how the Company managed its servants of every kind, spiritual as well as secular, through payments held out as reward and withheld as discipline, so that its chaplain served under the same contractual leash as any other man on its books.
128	124	Orders &c.a which. Govern Roberts took along with her Husband. must be paid by him. You dont mention his Name. & therefore We can't make so full an Enquiry. whether it be had any Order from Us as we should. but we at present find nothing of it. We have received the Account of Garrison. & Fortification Charges. During this War we can't supply you with Blacks from Madyascar. and we hope you will speedily finish all the Fortifications. we then hear will be no want of them. GOVERNOUR Roberts carriage towards all Capps when he pos fit to go take of. which. He gum Us an Account in his perticular. Hear. we approve. and are Contents. the Govr & Councell to a the Same Managyement to any where. the degree of a Serpant except our Councel. WE find in former Letters. We have given Direc- tions at large about our Accounts. & Several other Matters which we don't now mention this. Because this party to be taken Note. as of here in Answer to the Letters now before Us. because we intend. & we hope you take it. for youseld as before mentioned. that whatever Orders we have formerly or do now Send. shall be looked upon as so many standing Directions. Fourthly. touching our Fortifications. Buildings. & Garrison Mores. WE observe what our Governr Capt Roberts has advised Us on that Head in his Letter apart. & we have also received the Draught he sent Us. but the Same being done Some little time after his Arrivall. we doubt not but there has bein a Large Addition made since & thing in hast to Dispatch this Ship Head Frigat. we cannot so distinctly Consider these advices. as we would if wee had time before Us. or shall if we have opportunity before the **Margin Notes:** Soldiers whose passage must be paid by their Husbands Acct of Garrison & Fortification Charges No Blacks can be Sent during the War All Orders to be Standing Rules. Cook's Fort	Which Governor Roberts took along with her outward must be paid by him. The Governor did not mention his name, and therefore the Court could not make so full an inquiry whether he had any orders from it as it should, but at present found nothing of it. The Court had received the account of garrison and fortification charges. During this war the Court could not supply the Governor with blacks from Madagascar, and it hoped he would speedily finish all the fortifications, then there would be no need of them. Governor Roberts's carriage towards all captains when he saw fit to go home, of which he gave the Court an account in his particular letter, it approved, and was content the Governor and council use the same management to any above the degree of a servant except the council. The Court found in former letters it had given directions at large about its accounts, and several other matters which it did not now mention, this being late in the charter party to be taken, and of these in answer to the Governor's now before it. Because it intended, and it hoped he would take it for granted as before mentioned, that whatever orders it had formerly, or did now send, should be looked upon as so many standing directions. Fourthly, touching the Court's fortifications, buildings, and garrison stores. The Court observed what the Governor, Captain Roberts, had advised it in the *Streatham*'s letter apart, and had received the draught he sent it, but the same being done some little time after his arrival, it did not doubt but there had been a large addition made since, and being in haste to dispatch this ship *Fleet Frigate*, it could not so distinctly consider those advices as it would if it had time before it, or should, if it had opportunity before the [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's inability to inquire into a man because the Governor omitted his name exposes how completely its distant oversight depended on precise reporting. Without the name it could not trace whether the person had acted under orders, and so the matter simply lapsed. This reveals the fragility of government by correspondence, where a single missing detail in a letter could defeat the directors' scrutiny entirely, leaving a question they had no other means to pursue. The admission that no slaves could be sent from Madagascar during the war exposes the dependence of the island's labour supply on a traffic that hostilities interrupted. The fortifications were built largely by blacks shipped in for the purpose, and when that source was cut off the Court could only urge the Governor to finish the works quickly so the need would end. This reveals how the progress of the island's defences was hostage to the wartime disruption of the slave trade that fed them. The refusal to supply Madagascar slaves, tied so plainly to the wish that the works be finished, shows

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			the Company treating forced labour as a resource whose scarcity dictated strategy. Unable to send more hands, it pressed for speed instead, hoping to reach a point where no further importation was required. This reveals how the island's military development and the trade in people were bound together, the one advancing only as fast as the other could feed it, and stalling when war closed the supply.
129	125	Ship Head Frigatt this ships Departure. in the mean time. we shall say you what Capt Landys in a Letter from Ireland advis'd Us. leave to your thoughts. what Use to make thereof. He says the Battery at Bankie is very high. & therefore not Capable of doing prejudice to any Ship. that shall either pass by or Anchor of that Place. HE says the Iron of Guns as present to him too long and. as there were more men to defend it. & ply the Guns. then and that Some of them are too Small Guns. HE adds that the Iron of Guns & Fort in Chappia Vally are Sufficient to secure as many of the Companies Ships. as Can Conveniently Anchor there. if they are well placed & turned into the Shore or they ought. and that the mere placing them at the first Anchoring is a very materiall Article. & must not be omitted. That they should be laid so to pass as an any Alarm by Stopping their off Anchor their meaner Anchor may so lye. as from thence they may immediately by their forts from thence or thence Close into the Place. appointed every Ship. and out of the way of the Fort Guns. & the Guns of Bankie. and advis able to to Service with their own Guns. and if there were a range of Guns fit into the proper Places of the Rock to make the Ships Moar & Cable fast to. It would be very Commodious for the best Rocks. They now make fast to. do not fall out Convenient for that purpose. especially if there should happen to be any Number of Shipping. HE says Governr Papers proposed to make a Fort Close down to the water at murders point. wch he thinks is absolutely necessary. because Such a Fort will not only lye without all our Shipping. when they are hauld into the Shore but will also Cover & Defend the Road at Rupets. Doo ship Can fetch into the Road. of & happen Vally. but must come within Pace Pistolls. Shot. of murderme. Shot. which or ans to practicable. when a Bore is Rice trip so that **Margin Notes:** Iron of Guns at Rupets Iron of Guns &c the great Fort Guns are to be made by everyship for the Guarding of the Ships Murders point	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. In the meantime, the Court would see what Captain Landy in a letter from Ireland advised it, and leave to the Governor's thoughts what use to make of it. He said the battery at Bank was very high, and therefore not capable of doing prejudice to any ship that should either pass by or anchor off that place. He said the size of the guns appeared to him too long, and if there were more, even to defend it, and to ply the guns then, and that some of them were too small guns. He added that the size of the guns and fort in Chippa hardly were sufficient to secure as many of the Company's ships as could conveniently anchor there, if they were well placed and hauled into the road as they ought, and that the mode of placing them at the first anchoring was a very material article. He must not be omitted, that they should be laid so to pass on any alarm, by stopping their off anchor. Their nearer anchor may so lie, as from thence they may immediately by their boats from the shore there, close into the place appointed every ship, and out of the way of the fort guns, and the guns of Bencoolen, and available to do service with their own guns, and if there were a range of guns hauled into the proper places of the rock, to make the ships answer cable first to. It would be very commodious for the best rocks. They now made fast to, or did not fall out convenient for that purpose, especially if there should happen to be any number of shipping. He said the Governor, Roberts, purposed to make a fort close down to the water at Munden's Point, which the Court thought was absolutely necessary, because such a fort would not only lie without all our shipping when they were hauled into the road, but would also cover and defend the road at Munden's Point. No ship could fetch into the road, till it happened valley, but must come within half a pistol shot of Munden's Point, which seemed to the Court impracticable, where a bore or river ran so that [...]. **Interpretations** The whole discussion of gun sizes and placement exposes how narrowly the island's defence depended on the technical fit between artillery and anchorage. An engineer's eye judged some guns too long and others too small, and the mode of positioning ships on first anchoring was called a material article. This reveals that defending St Helena was not merely a matter of having guns, but of matching their range and siting to the exact geography of the road, so that a poorly placed battery was as good as useless against a determined enemy. The scheme to haul ranges of guns into fixed positions on the rock, with each ship assigned its appointed place out of the line of fire, shows the Company planning its harbour defence as a single coordinated system. Vessels were to lie so that they could be defended by the shore batteries yet also fight with their own guns, all arranged in advance for the case of a crowded road. This reveals a sophisticated conception of layered defence, in which ships and fortifications were to work together on a settled plan rather than improvise against attack. The endorsement of a new fort at Munden's Point as absolutely necessary confirms the strategic logic of controlling the sole approach to the

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			anchorage. Because no ship could reach the road without passing within half a pistol shot of that point, a work commanding it would cover the whole entrance. This reveals how the island's defence turned on a single choke point, where the narrowness of the passage made one well sited fort the key to guarding every vessel that came in.
130	126	Orders &c.a were a titled as Battery of Iron or Six Guns of whole Battering of a good Length. made on the West. Rocks over against murders point. he positively affirms that the Greatest Strength of any Enemies Shipping. can not Capable of insulting or injuring the Companies Ships in the Road. and as tenacies the Shipping may be very well secured & defended thre. if a range of Guns is once laid to pass so the Outermost Ships. He says he had not time to view Except in his Book the two small Batterus at Lemon Valley. but the Intent of them is only to Render Lauding there. which not is possible. they may be Sufficient. for however. as he could along Shore the Saw Some places. where a man good Landing. but the passes to yet up the Country were so Difficult that without good Guides. & a perfect knowledge of the Same it be not to be attempted. but he also observed there are Some Skitts. which over look the Fort. & Care shord be taken to prevent any mischief from thence. He unevaided that He believes by this time the Fort at murders point is up. if he Can get Lime enough We think you these Rings so far. as they may be a guidance to You. & if we have time. shall write you our Opinion more at large. in the mean while our very much would have you daily Employ your Care. & Endeavour to make the Place sufficiently strong & and with the proper Forts & Batteries. that all our Ships there may be protected from the attempts of an Enemy. & that the Island maybe secure from their Insults WE have it to Governor Roberts Prudence. to leave the trying the great Guns sometimes. since as he says you will be in ger of the Powder. we shall no farther at present but that We are Your loving Friends **Margin Notes:** a Battery on the West Rocks Care to be taken of the Skitts that over look the fort Secure the Island so as to protect the Ships Guard may Sometimes try the Great Guns	Orders &c.a were a titled as Battery of Iron or Six Guns of whole Battering of a good Length. made on the West. Rocks over against murders point. he positively affirms that the Greatest Strength of any Enemies Shipping. can not Capable of insulting or injuring the Companies Ships in the Road. and as tenacies the Shipping may be very well secured & defended thre. if a range of Guns is once laid to pass so the Outermost Ships. He says he had not time to view Except in his Book the two small Batterus at Lemon Valley. but the Intent of them is only to Render Lauding there. which not is possible. they may be Sufficient. for however. as he could along Shore the Saw Some places. where a man good Landing. but the passes to yet up the Country were so Difficult that without good Guides. & a perfect knowledge of the Same it be not to be attempted. but he also observed there are Some Skitts. which over look the Fort. & Care shord be taken to prevent any mischief from thence. He unevaided that He believes by this time the Fort at murders point is up. if he Can get Lime enough We think you these Rings so far. as they may be a guidance to You. & if we have time. shall write you our Opinion more at large. in the mean while our very much would have you daily Employ your Care. & Endeavour to make the Place sufficiently strong & and with the proper Forts & Batteries. that all our Ships there may be protected from the attempts of an Enemy. & that the Island maybe secure from their Insults WE have it to Governor Roberts Prudence. to leave the trying the great Guns sometimes. since as he says you will be in ger of the Powder. we shall no farther at present but that We are Your loving Friends **Margin Notes:** a Battery on the West Rocks Care to be taken of the Skitts that over look the fort Secure the Island so as to protect the Ships Guard may Sometimes try the Great Guns
131	127	Ship Thistleworth London the 11th January 1729	Ship *Thistleworth*. London, the [...] January 1729, and 7 April 1729.

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		Orders and Instructions given by Us the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies To Capt Benjamin Boucher Govr of our Island of St Helena. To Mr George Hodghinson second of Council three. Mr John Pach Third. Mr Daniel Griffith Fourth. & Mr Matthew Bazett Fifth & last of the said Council. Wee the said Court of Directors having thought fit to appoint & establish the Governr & Council of St Helena as abovementioned. and having given our said Governr a Commission. under our Seal. which we direct be published as usual on his Arrival at the Island & reposing Trust & Confidence in your Fidelity Zeal & Concerned application for performing the several Matters Committed to your Care in gener al. & to each of you. for what concerns himself in perticular. shall now proceed to tell you what we Expect from you in the manage- ment of our Affaires with which we are Intrusted. On your Arrival at St Helena. & taking upon You the Governt. & each of you your particular Distinct Charges. We direct that you peruse the Letters. & Instruct- ons sent by the last old Comp. & since by the Court of the Managers and the Court of Directors. & make an Extract to be taken out of the said Letters. of all this kin or new Companies Orders relating to every Distinct Boranch of our affairs under your Care. & put them each under the proper Head. to which they belong according to the different times in which they were Written. beginning first with the Clearst by this means. we will have at one View the Orders **Margin Notes:** Date at end of the letter 7 April 1719 See Bundle around the Court in that year To Cap Boucher Govr and the Council Peruse our old letters as they be with under their proper Heads &c &c first.	Orders and instructions given by the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. To Captain Benjamin Boucher, Governor of the island of St Helena. To Mr George Hodgkinson, second of council, three. Mr John Pack, third. Mr Daniel Griffith, fourth. And Mr Matthew Bazett, fifth and last of the council. The Court of Directors, having thought fit to appoint and establish the government and council of St Helena as above mentioned, and having given its Governor a commission under its seal, which was directed to be published as usual on his arrival at the island, and reposing trust and confidence in his fidelity, zeal and concerned application for performing the several matters committed to his care in general, and to each of them for what concerned himself in particular, would now proceed to tell him what it expected from him in the management of its affairs with which he was entrusted. On his arrival at St Helena, and taking upon himself the government, and each of them his particular district charges, the Court directed that he peruse the several directions sent by the last old Company, and since by the Court of the managers and the Court of Directors, and cause an extract to be taken out of the several letters of all this kind, or new Company's orders relating to every distinct branch of its affairs under his care, and put them back under their proper head to which they belonged, according to the different times in which they were written, beginning first with the clearest. By this means it would have at one view the orders [...]. **Interpretations** The formal recital of the whole council by name and rank, from the Governor down to the fifth and last member, exposes how the Company constituted its distant government as a fixed and ordered body. Each man held a numbered place and a particular district charge, so that authority was distributed in a settled hierarchy rather than left to fall out on the island. This reveals the care with which the Company defined its remote administration in advance, fixing both the membership and the precedence of those who would govern in its name. The reappearance of Daniel Griffith as fourth of council, years after his dismissal into the Governor's employ under warning, shows the long arc by which a Company servant could be restored to favour. Once put out of the Court's service for idleness, he now sat among the island's governors, evidence that a man's disgrace need not be permanent. This reveals how the Company's patronage could rehabilitate as well as punish, drawing a former outcast back into its governing circle when it suited. The instruction to extract every past order by subject and arrange it under proper heads exposes the Company's continuing struggle to master an unwieldy inheritance of paper. Decades of directions from the old Company and its successors had to be sorted so that all bearing on one branch could be seen at once. This reveals how each new government inherited not a clean slate but an accumulated archive, and had first to organise that record before it could rule by it. **Speculations** The choice to open the new administration by ordering a subject-by-subject digest of all past instructions, rather than simply issuing fresh commands, points to a default deliberately passed over. The easy course for a new Court was to govern by its own current orders and let the old letters lie. Instead it required the Governor to gather and classify the whole body of earlier direction under proper heads before proceeding, binding the new government to the accumulated rule of its predecessors. This reveals a Company that valued

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			continuity of policy over a clean beginning, choosing to carry forward its entire documentary inheritance rather than start afresh with its own will alone.
132	128	Orders &c.a from time to time sent to St Helena. & will thereby be easily able to hear how you must to Transact Our Affairs. when the Rule lies plain before you. & if any other of them have been repealed or altered. they are to be no longer binding. but the repeal or Alteration is only to be observed THESE Rules you must from time to time observe & look upon them as the Law of the Island. & which all that inhabit or reside there must duty conform unto. it being a Privilidge vested in all Lords Proprietors of Foreign Plantations to give Laws to all Prisons whatsoever dwelling or being within such Colonies or Plantations. & as you are trusted by & Under Us with the Government of St Helena. You must look upon it as a Duty allways incumbent on you to see those Laws obeyd by all on the Place. If for any reason whatsoever the Court of Directors of this Comp. shall Establish any New Laws or Rules. they also must be advise to those beforementioned & in like manner obeyd. THE aforesaid Laws generally run in the Nate of the Governr. and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies. who were then the Lords Proprietors of St Helena. & who have since Conveyed their Right to us. by Statute is now attired & the name of the present Comp. is the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. & you must now mention this Name. or Description. of the Comp. in all Affaires. & in all the Laws when the old Comp. Name was before inserted. If any of the P Laws now only of a temporary Nature. or by the Change or Alteration of Affaires or Circumstances are in your Opinion no longer binding. We give you leave to suspend the putting them in Execution. till you hear from Us. & have our further Directions. **Margin Notes:** Rules & Repeald & Repeals for these Rules to be the Law of Government Court of Directors may make new Laws. United Comp. and Lords Proprietors. Antiquated Laws Contemporary to be Suspended.	From time to time sent to St Helena, and it thought by this means to be easily able to draw how the Governor must transact its affairs, when the rule lay plain before him. If any other of them had been repealed or altered, they were to be no longer binding, but the repeal or alteration was only to be observed. These rules the Governor was from time to time to observe and look upon as the law of the island, to which all that inhabited or resided there must duly conform, it being a privilege vested in all lords proprietors of foreign plantations to give laws to all persons whatever dwelling or being within such colonies or plantations, and as he was entrusted by, and under it, with the government of St Helena, he was to look upon it as a duty always incumbent on him to see those laws obeyed by all on the place. If for any reason whatever the Court of Directors of the Company should establish any new laws or rules, they also must be advised, and in those before mentioned in the like manner obeyed. The aforesaid laws generally ran in the style of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, into whose room the lords proprietors of St Helena, and who have since conveyed their right, entered. The style was now altered, and the name of the present Company was the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. The Governor was now to mention this name, or description of the Court, in all affairs, and in all the laws where the old Company's name was before inserted. If any of these laws, not only of a temporary nature, or by the change or alteration of affairs or circumstances, were in the Governor's opinion no longer binding, the Court gave him leave to suspend their putting into execution, till he heard from it, and had its further directions. **Interpretations** The doctrine that the Company's rules were the law of the island, binding on all who dwelt there, exposes the legal foundation of its authority over St Helena. The right to make laws for all persons within a colony was claimed as a privilege of the lords proprietors of foreign plantations, into whose place the Company had stepped. This reveals how the Company grounded its government not in the crown's direct rule but in the transferred proprietary right to legislate for a settlement, making its own orders the sole civil law of the island. The careful updating of the Company's style, from the old London name to the United Company of England, exposes how legal continuity was maintained across corporate change. Every law once made under the former name had now to be read under the new, so that the accumulated body of rule passed intact to the successor. This reveals the Company's concern that a change in its own title should not unsettle the legal inheritance on which its government of the island depended, the authority flowing on unbroken beneath a new name. The leave granted to the Governor to suspend outdated laws until the Court could be consulted shows a practical accommodation to the slowness of communication. A rule rendered pointless by changed circumstances need not be enforced in the long interval before London could formally repeal it. This reveals how the Company tempered its insistence on obedience with a measure of local discretion, allowing the man on the spot to hold a dead law in abeyance rather than apply it uselessly while awaiting instruction.

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133	129	Ship Thistleworth and that we may be able to pronounce thereon clearly & fully. do you send Us an Account in Writing what the said Laws are. what is the Reason why you think them no longer Obligatory. & what we in your Apprehend will ensue on the Continueing them in Force. That all People who are to be under the Obligation of the said Laws. may Know what they are. & not incur the Penalty thro' Ignorance. so you take Care they be publisht in due Manner. We think it proper to have publick Notice given thereof at a time certain once or oftner. if you see it Necessary in a Year Yearly in the Church after Divine Service. as is done in England. wherein the First Sunday after every Quarter days. an act of Parliament to prevent prophane Cursing & Swaring is read in every Church after Divine Service. as one & before the Sermon begins. or if it be more eligible. Let such of the Laws which don't respect their Morralls be publisht on some Day Certain at a generall Sessions as you shall judge fitt giving publick & timely Notice of it. Before we come to answer the Letters received from St Helena since our generall Letter by the Head Frigatt we think it proper to give you a Summary Acct of what we Expect from you from time to time. as the Effect & Produce of the Authority & trust we committ unto You AS to our Shipping sent you from hence. That you give them the utmost quick Dispatch from you to their condsigned Ports in India. remembring We pay Six Months Demorage. for their Deviation to St Helena. and also for all the time they stay there above ten working Days in unlading or without your Dispatches. for all they have their Dispatch the Captains will say they were Detained by you. therefore you must observe & put in Practice our Directions wrote of late of unlading such Ships Cargoes in an days time at farthest. & if the Captains are Dilatory protest **Margin Notes:** Laws to be promulged at Church or at Sessions. generall Duty. Dispatch all Ships to Avoid Demorage.	Ship *Thistleworth*. So that the Court might be able to pronounce thereon clearly and fully, the Governor was to send it an account in writing of what the laws were, what was the reason why he thought them no longer obligatory, and what he apprehended would ensue on the continuing them in force. That all people who were to be under the obligation of these laws might know what they were, and not incur the penalty through ignorance, the Governor was to take care they were published in due manner. The Court thought it proper to have public notice given thereof at a time certain, once or oftener, if he saw it necessary, in a year, yearly in the church after divine service, as was done in England. Whereon the first Sunday after every quarter day the act of parliament to prevent profane cursing and swearing was read in every church after divine service was over, and before the sermon began, or if it be more eligible, let such of the laws which did respect their morals be published on some day certain, at a general session, as he should judge fit, giving public and timely notice thereof. Before the Court came to answer the letters received from St Helena since its general letter by the *Fleet Frigate*, it thought it proper to give the Governor a summary account of what it expected from him from time to time, as the effect and produce of the authority and trust it committed unto him. As to the shipping it sent him from hence, the Governor was to give them the utmost quick dispatch to their consigned ports in India, remembering it paid six months demurrage for their deviation to St Helena, and also for all the time they stayed there above ten working days in unlading, or without his dispatches. For if they had their dispatches, the captains would say they were detained by the Governor, and therefore he must observe and put in practice its directions, wrote of late, of unlading such ships' cargoes in a certain number of days at farthest, and if the captains were dilatory, protest against [...]. **Interpretations** The direction to proclaim the laws yearly in church, modelled on the English reading of the act against profane cursing, exposes how the Company used religious assembly to give its legislation force. On an island with no other means of reaching the whole population, the congregation after divine service was the appointed audience, and publication there ensured no one could plead ignorance of the law. This reveals the fusion of church and civil authority on the settlement, the pulpit serving as the instrument through which the Company's rules were made binding on all. The principle that people must not incur penalties through ignorance shows a genuine concern for the fairness of the island's legal order. The Company held that a law could bind only if those subject to it had been given the means to know it, and so required deliberate and timely publication. This reveals a working notion of due notice underlying the settlement's justice, in which the obligation to obey was matched by a duty on the government to make its commands known. The six months demurrage paid for every ship's deviation to St Helena exposes the real cost the island imposed on the Company's trade. Each vessel that called lost time both in the passage there and in the days spent unlading, and the Company bore that expense in its freighting bargains. This reveals why the directors pressed so hard for quick dispatch, since the strategic value of the island as a calling point was purchased at a standing price in delayed voyages and demurrage that only speed could contain.

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			Speculations The instruction to force quick unlading by protesting against dilatory captains, rather than simply bearing the delay, points to a default the Company chose to reject. The passive course was to accept the demurrage as an unavoidable cost of using the island and let the ships take their time. Instead the Court armed the Governor with the formal protest, shifting the blame for delay onto the master and building a documentary case against him, because otherwise the captains would plead that the Governor himself had detained them. This reveals the Company manoeuvring to fix responsibility for delay on its shipmasters, refusing to let the island's necessary role become a cover behind which slow captains could shelter.
134	130	Orders &c.a against them. and thereon expressing wherein their Dilatoriness or Carelessness consisted. on what days & on what occasions. and whatever else you think Necessary to fix the blame on the Commanders. or the Ships. to prevent our paying Demorage. You must also to take care to have your Dispatches ready against the very Same. they have sent the last of their Cargo on Shore. that if they should Stay longer for fixing or Victualling their Ship. it may. we may not Suffer by it. & that Must be Constantly observed Such of our Ships as shall touch at St Helena homeward bound. when it Shall please God to send a Peace must be also hastned away for England. according to the generall Rules given by the late old Company. or the clauses in the Ships Respective Charter partys. unless you have Different Orders from Us. but while the Warr Continues. all our Ships are under the Directions of a particular Committee. which Recate the Commands of Secrary. and their Orders must be Observed. As to goods & Stores sent from England or India to St Helena. you the other & Council must take care that the Storehaper is to have the Charge of them. & to follow your Orders in the disposal of them. as well the Quantities. so Loths sent out at Prices & the Account with you months by one of your. how far oftner. for what disposed of. at what price. and what remains. & you must take care to prevent their being imbezzled damaged or spoilt. while lying in the Stare House. & at that Ends at proper times to inspect them. As to the Gunnrs Stores. He must Account to you monthly. or oftner for that under his Charge. how expended & what remains. to follow your Orders. as to the Expence of them. wherein we doubt not but you will take care to prevent all Superfluity. As to our Servants Salaries. & Slaves. you must	Against him, and thereon expressing wherein their dilatoriness or carelessness consisted, on what days and on what occasions, and whatever else the Governor thought necessary to fix the blame on the commanders or the ships, to prevent the Court paying demurrage. He must also take care to have his dispatches ready against the very hour they had unladen the last of their cargo or stores, so that if they stayed longer for fixing or victualling their ships, the Court might not suffer by it, and this must be constantly observed. Such of the ships as should touch at St Helena homeward bound, when it should please God to send a peace, must be also hastened away for England, according to the general rules given by the late old Company, or the clauses in the ships' respective charter parties, unless the Governor had different orders from the Court. But while the war continued, all the ships were under the directions of a particular committee, whose orders, by the Committee of Secrecy, must be observed. As to goods and stores sent from England or India to St Helena, the Governor and council must take care that the storekeeper, who had the charge of them, followed his orders in the disposal of them, as well as the quantities. As both went out at prices, he was to account with the Governor monthly, or as often, for what was disposed of, at what price, and what remained. He must take care to prevent their being spoiled, damaged or wasted while lying in the storehouse, and to that end at proper times to inspect them. As to the gunner's stores, he must account, monthly or oftener, for what was under his charge, how expended, and what remained, following the Governor's orders as to the expense of them, wherein the Court did not doubt but he would take care to prevent all superfluity. As to the Court's servants, soldiers and slaves, the Governor must take care they each kept in their employments, and places [...]. **Interpretations** The whole apparatus of protests, ready dispatches and fixed unlading times exposes how the Company waged a continual battle against the cost of delay at St Helena. Every hour a ship lingered beyond its allowance fell on the Company as demurrage, and so the Governor was to have his papers prepared the moment the last cargo was out. This reveals an administration organised down to the hour against the standing expense of the island's role, converting the Governor into an agent whose task was to deny captains any pretext for a costly stay. The subjection of all shipping to a Committee of Secrecy while the war lasted shows how wartime danger concentrated control of the Company's vessels in a few hands. Ordinary rules of dispatch gave way to secret orders governing every ship's movement, to be obeyed above the usual directions.

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		take care they each in their Employments & Places behave **Margin Notes:** All Ships to be Dispatcht. Storehouse to follow all Orders. & to be Carefull. Gunnr must Acct. Monthly.	This reveals how the threat of enemy cruisers reshaped the Company's command structure, replacing routine procedure with confidential direction from a small committee whenever the safety of ships and cargoes was at stake. The monthly accounting demanded of storekeeper and gunner alike exposes the Company's reliance on regular reckoning to guard its goods on a distant station. Every article was entered at a price and had to be answered for in quantity, expenditure and remainder, with the stores inspected against spoilage and waste. This reveals how the Company controlled its remote property not by direct oversight but by imposing a rhythm of frequent accounts, making each officer continually answerable for what passed through his hands.
135	131	Ship Thistleworth themselves with fidelity & due diligence. & as they are all under your Controul. so hold them under. your Inspection and be accountable. for the due performance of their Inspection. Business for doubtes there are. & it all be we leave to your Determination. unlefs We should think fitt to appoint any person to a Perticular & Sungle Business. Our generall Accompts must be sent us Yearly. & in regard the Summer Ships duually return from India. to St Helena in time of a Peace about the month of May. let them be examined to the 25 March Yearly. this Direction is become the more Obligatory by a Bye-law lately made. (of which we send you a Copy) that there is a Penalty of Dismission on the Persons Offending. THE finisheing and preserving the Fortifications and Necessary Buildings is another Article that must be also regarded. & so much the our Government of the Island. with respect to the Inhabitants. & taking Care the Laws be duly put in Execution. Justice Impartially administred. Vertue promoted. Vice of all kinds discountenanced. & punisht. and a good Example given to all under you. which is the best of precepts WE advised last Year by the Head Frigatt. that we would have all the Letters wrote us by the Governr & Councill of St Helena ranged under the Heads. there mentioned. that every thing proper for our Notice being put under its proper Head. & those heads mentioned in larger Letters than the rest of the Writing. We may see the whole together. & We did in that Letter give a Specimen of it. which we Expect you Comply with at all times. & so that our years the Same. we did in giving yo In Answer to the Letters of the 26th January 1703 received by the Northumberland. of the 8 July following by the Townstock & Wentworth. and of the 2 December received us the responsian on	Ship *Thistleworth*. Their employments were filled by diligence, so they were each under the Governor's control. To hold them under his inspection and be accountable for the due performance of their inspection, the Court would preserve, those were, and it all be, and it would leave to his determination who he should think fit to appoint any person to a particular charge or business. The Court's general accounts must be sent it yearly, and in regard the summer ships usually returned from India to St Helena in time of peace about the month of May, let them be balanced to the 25 March yearly. This direction was become the more obligatory by a by-law lately made, of which the Court sent him a copy, that carried a penalty for every offender. The finishing and preserving the fortifications and necessary buildings was another article that must be also regarded, so much so that the very government of the island, with respect to the inhabitants, and taking care the laws be duly put in execution, justice impartially administered, virtue promoted, vice and hindrance discountenanced and punished, and a good example given to all under him, was the best of precepts. The Court advised last year by the *Fleet Frigate* that it would have all the letters wrote to the Governor and council of St Helena ranged under the several heads there mentioned, that so everything proper for one matter being put under its proper head, and those heads mentioned in large letters than the rest of the writing, it might see the whole together. And it did, in that letter, give a specimen of it, which it expected the Governor to comply with at all times, and that on going over the same, he would find, in doing so, an answer to the letters of 26 January 1708, received by the *Northumberland*, of the 11 July following by the *Townstock* and *Wentworth*, and of the 7 December, according to its response on the subject matters of his consultations or otherwise. And it expected from him an answer to every paragraph of these, and [...]. **Interpretations** The requirement to balance the general accounts yearly to 25 March, timed to the return of the summer ships in May, exposes how the Company fitted its bookkeeping to the rhythm of the monsoon trade. The accounting year closed at a fixed date chosen so that the fleet from India could carry the settled books home. This reveals how even the calendar of administration on St Helena was shaped by the sailing seasons, the island's paperwork geared to the arrival and departure of the ships that were its only link to London. The reinforcement of the accounting deadline by a by-law carrying a penalty for every offender shows how the Company hardened administrative habit into enforceable law. What had been a mere direction was

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		the Subject matters of your Consultations or otherwise. and we Expect from you an Answer to every Paragraph of these & **Margin Notes:** All Accounts and Actions to be under the Govr Care and Inspection General Accompts to be sent yearly by 25 March in point of ye Suffesion Finisheing and preserving the Fortifications All Letters to be ranged under Several Heads. Answered Paid by Paragraphs.	given teeth, so that a servant who failed to render his accounts on time faced a fixed punishment. This reveals the Company converting its bureaucratic expectations into formal legislation, backing the discipline of paperwork with the same penal authority it used to govern conduct on the island. The demand for an answer to every paragraph of past letters exposes the Company's method of ensuring nothing in its correspondence went unaddressed. Each point sent out required a specific response, so that the exchange with the island proceeded as a tracked and complete accounting rather than a loose conversation. This reveals how the directors imposed rigour on communication across the great distance, refusing to let any instruction or query fall away unanswered in the long intervals between ships.
136	132	Orders &c.a any our former Letters. We now & likewise have you review the Letters. & pursue it from time to time. write Us that so if they Continue you a provision of what shall be done or omitted in what said. they may not be forgorn. And first concerning Shipping sent out and returnd SInce our said Letter by the Head Frigatt. it has pleased God. that the Ships. Litchfield. Mountague. Strynger Aurengzebe. Toddington. & Windsor. seperate. Stock. Ships therein Mentioned to have been arrived in Ireland. arrived in the River of Thames. the beginning of March. the Balehero & Fort from the Coast. the Bom & Anitham from the Bay. and the Corbeun butland from Bencoolen. being all. & it he last Dispatch. only you to the Capt. time it to reach the Dutch Fleet. & Came with them to Holland. the beginning of a Suffy. and got into the River of Thames. in August. the Litnegen from the Fort. the Recovery from the Bay. and the Somestock. & Wentworth from Bombay. having wett with the men of War. reported to be look out for them. very happily arrived at Spithead in September. the Panther. & Shepherd having left them to go a cruzing afar two Ships. for which who Commanders are Since put out of their Ships. the Abington from Bombay. and the Nathaniel from Bencoolen. arrived in Ireland the 15 of February where they yet are. we hear nothing of the Thistleworthland which makes us in doubt of he Lappy. THe Ships taken up for all parts of India this Season. besides our ship Success. & one Vessell bound for the Bay. which Sailed from Plimouth. the 27 of August last. are as falows. The Windsor 500 Tons Capt Zachary Tovey for Mocha. who Sailed from Spithead in December last The Howland 500 Tons Capt George Cock. for Canton. & the Fort. sailed the 7th January.	And so, if the Governor had any other of these letters, he was from time to time to write it, so that if he continued them, the premises of what should be done or omitted might so be certified. They were not to be forgotten. And first, concerning shipping sent out and returned. Since its general letter by the *Fleet Frigate*, it had pleased God that the ships *Litchfield*, *Montague*, *Streatham*, *Aurungzeb*, *Toddington* and *Windsor* separately, the ships therein mentioned to have been arrived in Ireland, arrived in the River of Thames the beginning of March. The *Rochester* and *Kent* from the coast, the *Bombay* and *Streatham* from the bay, and the *Northumberland* from Bencoolen, being all but the last, dispatch early to the Cape, time enough to reach the Dutch fleet, and came with them to Holland the beginning of July, and got into the River of Thames in August. The *Streatham* from the fort, the *Discovery* from the bay, and the *Townstock* and *Wentworth* from Bombay, coming into it with the men of war appointed to look out for them very happily, arrived at Spithead in September. The *Panther* and *Hope*, having left them to go a cruising, were two ships for which the commanders were since put out of their ships. The *Abington* from Bombay, and the *Nathaniel* from Bencoolen, arrived in Ireland the 15 of February. Where they were, the Court had news of the *Thistleworth*, which made it in doubt of her safety. The ships taken up for all parts of India this season, besides its own ship *Success*, a new vessel bound for the bay, which sailed from Plymouth the 30 of August last, were as follows. The Windsor, 300 tons, Captain Zachary Trevor, for Mocha, who sailed from Spithead in December last The Howland, 300 tons, Captain George Cooke, for Canton, who sailed by the Court the 7 January **Interpretations** The register of homeward ships, gathered under convoy and joined with the Dutch fleet for the passage to Holland, exposes how thoroughly wartime peril governed the Company's navigation. Vessels from the coast, the bay and Bencoolen were held to sail together and timed to meet a friendly fleet, reaching the Thames only after a circuitous and guarded voyage. This reveals the length to which the Company went to bring its ships home through hostile waters, subordinating speed and directness to the safety of numbers and alliance. The fate of the *Panther* and *Hope*, whose commanders were put out of their ships for leaving the convoy to go cruising, exposes the strict discipline the Company enforced against captains who broke from the protected fleet. To abandon the convoy in search of prizes was to risk the ship and defy orders, and dismissal followed. This reveals how the Company subordinated the private ambitions of its

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		Margin Notes: Ships arrived in England Ships Sent out	masters to the collective safety of its shipping, punishing even a lapse tempted by profit as a serious breach of wartime command. The Court's doubt over the *Thistleworth*, of which it had no news, exposes once more the uncertainty that shadowed every voyage. A ship unheard of might be merely delayed or might be lost, and the directors could only wait in suspense. This reveals how the slowness and unreliability of intelligence left the Company perpetually uncertain of its own fleet, the safety of a valuable ship hanging as an open question until word at last arrived or failed to come.
137	133	Ship Thistleworth The Chester 335 Tons Capt Charles Thesar for Canton & Home. Sailed the 7th January The Dartmouth 200 Tons Capt Thomas Beckford The Aurengzebe 400 Tons Capt Charles Stacey (both first The Thistleworth 300 Tons Capt Robert Hudle Bay They Sailed the 27th Jan.ry The London 300 Tons Capt William Upton for Persia The Derby 400 Tons Capt Thos Wittan for the Bay The Anne 180 Tons Capt John Newton for ye Coast & Bencoolen The Toddington 230 Tons Capt Thos Petou The Thistleworth 260 Tons Capt Danl Smart for St Helena & Bencoolen The Litchfield 400 Tons Capt Samll Lee The Mountague 300 Tons Capt Saml Marks (for Bombay The Streadeagle 400 Tons Capt Jos Tolson THe Derby was drove back by a Storm. which did her Damage in her passage outwards with the other Ships it is now at Spithead waiting for a Convoy. with the Anne all the other Ships are in the Downs. except the Streadeagle now unlading in the River. WHat Goods. Stores and other Supplies We send on these two Ships Toddington. & Thistleworth. you will find in their Respective Invoices. which together with their Bills of Lading & Charter partys. You will find in their Pacquetts. We had sent you more if they could have taken them in. THe Charter partys shew you. that we are to pay said Ships Demorage. for their Deviation. & also for all the time they are Detained with your Cargo & Anteworhing Ships. so that you must sett all Hands to work to receive their Cargo. as soon. & if possible to Despatch. in that time. without in Craving their Cargo. by a further Demorage on account of Detention. We have given full Directions in this head. in our former Letters. of which the ships Cannot avoid fully applyed. as you will See in the 8 Para of their Letter **Margin Notes:** On these Ships Cargoes Prevent Charges by Dispatching all Ships in ten working Days.	Ship *Thistleworth*. The Rochester, 335 tons, Captain Charles Musar, for Canton The *Rochester* and *Howland* sailed the 7 January. The Dartmouth, 200 tons, Captain George Beckford The Aurungzeb, 400 tons, Captain James Stacey, for the coast first The Toddington, 300 tons, Captain Robert Fleete These sailed the 27 January. The London, 300 tons, Captain William Upton, for Persia The Derby, 400 tons, Captain Thomas Wittam, for the bay The Anne, 180 tons, Captain John Newton, for the coast and Bencoolen The Toddington, 230 tons, Captain Thomas P選, for St Helena and Bencoolen The Thistleworth, 260 tons, Captain Daniel Smith, for St Helena and Bencoolen The Litchfield, 400 tons, Captain James Lee The Montague, 300 tons, Captain James Marsh, for Bombay The Rochester, 400 tons, Captain James Tolson, for Bombay The *Derby* was driven back by a storm, which did her damage in her passage outwards with the other ships. She was now at Spithead waiting for a convoy with the *Anne*, and the other ships were in the Downs, except the *Thistleworth*, now unlading in the river. What goods, stores and other supplies the Court sent on its two ships *Toddington* and *Thistleworth*, the Governor would find in their respective invoices, which, together with their bills of lading and charter parties, he would find in the packets. The Court would have sent him more if they could have taken them in. The charter party would show the Governor that the Court was to pay six months demurrage for their deviation, and also for all the time they were detained with the Governor, or in unlading. Ships so that he must sell all when he was ready to receive their cargo ashore, if possible, to dispatch them in that time without increasing their charge by a further demurrage on account of detention. The Court had given full directions in this head in its former letters, of which the sense could never fully be supposed, as the Governor would see in the third head of these letters [...]. **Interpretations** The two ships bound for St Helena and Bencoolen appear in a list otherwise spread across Canton, Persia, the coast, the bay and Bombay, which exposes the island's place as one call among many on the Company's annual dispatch. The *Toddington* and *Thistleworth* carried the settlement's supplies as part of a fleet whose main business lay elsewhere, their stop at the island a deviation from voyages aimed at the wider trade. This reveals how St Helena was provisioned not by dedicated sailings but by attaching its needs to ships whose real destinations lay beyond.

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			The *Derby*, driven back by a storm and left waiting at Spithead for a fresh convoy, exposes how weather and the demands of wartime escort could disrupt the whole timing of the Company's dispatch. A single damaged ship had to await the assembling of another guarded passage, delaying its voyage indefinitely. This reveals the fragility of the annual sailing, dependent alike on the hazards of the sea and the availability of protection, so that one storm could throw a vessel out of the careful schedule the Company laboured to keep. The repeated insistence on six months demurrage and quick unlading confirms how heavily the cost of detention weighed on every calculation touching the island. The Company paid a fixed penalty for each ship's deviation and every day of delay, and pressed the Governor to have the cargo ashore as fast as possible. This reveals the standing financial burden that St Helena imposed on the trade it served, its strategic value perpetually set against the price of the delays that calling there entailed.
138	134	Orders &c.a of the 26th of January by the Northumberland. the 8 Para of their Letter. of the 11 July 1710 by the Tavistock. And the Consultation of the 26 May 1710. put upon perusing the protest against the Head Frigatt. He find the Coynal not fully persue our Directions for they allowed Eighteen Days for his Unlading by Reason of the bad Bulk of his Cargoe. & no thin santness of this Coins. & the time of firing his Gun to gete them a shore. they should have Compdered the Charterpartys Covenant. which Says the Ship is to be allowed Demorage. for all the time it is Detained in unlading his Cargoe. above ten Working Days. but this action han must be on the Companies Acct. for if the Captain either has not the necessary Boates. or will not use them at. or does not make the best Despatch. He can & ought. so lyes by without working any Days while in Port. or any part of a Day in all. or any of these Cases. we ought not to pay Demorage. nor ought we to pay for the time it is victualling. or refiting his Ship. and on the other side of you dont receive Cpts do. as fast in Outwards. or any other way impede him. He ought not to suffer on that Account. & that we also may not. You must imploy as many Hands as are Necessary. He you should him Roptheum. that is a less Charge than Demorage. And because it may happen there may be some accidents that may retard the Ships Speedy loading such as bad Wealtwar the &c. Do you keep an exact Account of every days Proceedings during the Ships unlading. & if there is any delay or others fault on the Capts parts. sett it down. what it was. when. & how long it lasted & & that be plainly & fully Exprest in the Protest. And if the Capt answers it with Excuses of any kind. make a Reply. shewing the weakness or falsity of them. but dont you Consent to allow more. than ten working **Margin Notes:** Keep Acct Capts Impediments & delays if bad Weather &c.a	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. Of the 26 of January by the *Northumberland*, the *Bombay* of that letter of 11 July 1710 by the *Townstock*, and the consultation of the 26 May 1710, put upon perusing the packet against the *Fleet Frigate*. The Court found the Governor did not fully pursue its directions for only allowing eighteen days for the unlading, by reason of the bulk of the cargo. But the smallness of his guns, and the time of firing his guns to get them ashore, they should have conveyed the charter party warrant, which said the ships were to be allowed demurrage for all the time they were detained in unlading the cargo above ten working days, but this detention must be on the Company's account, for if the captain had none of the necessary boats, or would not use them at first, and made the best dispatch he ought, in lying by without working any days while in port, or any part of a day in all, or any of these cases, the Court ought not to pay demurrage, nor ought it to pay for the time he was victualling, or refitting his ship, and on the other side, if the Governor did not receive goods as fast as unladen, or any other way impede him, he ought not to suffer on that account. And that the Court also might not suffer, he must employ as many hands as were necessary, so he should have both the ship and cargo, that was a less charge than demurrage. And because it might happen there might be some accidents that might retard the ships' speedy unlading, such as bad weather or the like, the Governor was to keep an exact account of every day's proceedings during the ship's unlading. If there was any delay or other fault on the captain's part, he was to set it down what it was, and how long it lasted, and that be plainly and fully expressed in the protest. If the captain answered it with excuses of any kind, he was to make a reply, showing the weakness or falsity of them, but did not consent to allow more than ten working [...]. **Interpretations** The elaborate reckoning of who must bear the cost when a ship lay idle exposes how finely the Company allocated the burden of delay between itself and its captains. Demurrage fell on the Company only where its own side caused the wait, but a master who failed to use his boats or refit at his own leisure could claim nothing. This reveals a careful legal apportionment of liability, in which every hour of detention was traced to its cause so that the Company paid only for delays it had itself occasioned. The direction to keep an exact daily account of unlading, allowing for accidents such as bad weather, shows the Company building an evidentiary record to govern its freighting disputes. By setting down each

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			day's progress and the reason for any delay, the Governor created a document that could defeat a captain's excuses or fix the fault on him. This reveals how the Company met the uncertainties of the anchorage with meticulous record keeping, turning the daily work of the harbour into proof for the settlement of accounts. The instruction to employ as many hands as needed because that cost less than demurrage exposes the plain economic calculation behind the island's labour. Paying workers to speed the unlading was cheaper than paying the standing penalty for a ship's delay, and so the Governor was to spend freely on hands to save the greater charge. This reveals how the Company weighed one cost against another on its remote station, using local labour as the cheaper instrument for avoiding the heavier expense that detention imposed.
139	135	Ship Thistleworth days. unlefs it is Evidently no fault of the Capt. that the Goods were not Deliverd a shore before. because we will judge here. if there is any Equity for a further Allowance. when we have from you. the Facts. truly & fully Stated. Peruse & pursue the Directions in former Years for advising the Arrival of Ships. our own or others. & how you have it. where they are. & how how when. they Arriva. with and Depart. from your & other Matters of that Nature proper for our Notice. WE every year appoint a Committee. who take upon them Care of giving to all our Captains outward bound. & to all our Settlements abroad. Secret Orders. for the better Security of our Ships. outward bound. & homeward bound. that Committee for this Year are. Sr Jonathan Andrews. Sr Bernd Harrison. Sr George Matthews. & Gregory Page Esq. so that whatsoever directions they. or any Three of them shall give. you. or the Govr. for the time being. they must be observed. as if signed by the whole Court. YOU must Put in Practice the Orders We have given in former Letters about the Place. where Ships must Anchor that are making for your road. to prevent any Enemies Ships coming in under Friends Contours or otherwise. WE have received in the Northumberlands Pacquet an Account of what You supplied the Godolphin. which is our own Ship. amounting to One Hundred Eighty five Pounds Nineteen Shillings. & four Pence. a very great Sum. & we pass it. we ought not to be done. Vizt. all the Goods delivered out of the Storehouse which were not used about the Ships Sngtion. the Dieting & Lodging the Sick Men. amounting to Thirty four Pounds fifteen Shillings. which they ought to pay the fresh Provisions for the Capt Table. because we allowed him a Sum of Money	Ship *Thistleworth*. Days, and if it were evidently no fault of the captain that the goods were not delivered ashore before, because the Court would judge here if there be any equity for a further allowance, when it heard from him the facts truly and fully stated. The Governor was to revise and pursue the directions in former letters for advising the arrival of ships, its own or others, and how he had it, whence they were, and how, when they arrived, and departed, and other matters of that nature proper for its notice. The Court every year appointed a committee, who took upon them the care of giving to all captains outward bound, and to all its authorities abroad, secret orders for the better security of its ships, outward bound or homeward bound. That committee for this year were Sir John Andrews, Sir Edmund Harrison, Sir George Mathews and Gregory Page, so that whatever directions they or any three of them should give to the Governor, or the Court for the time being, they must be observed as if signed by the whole Court. The Governor was to continue in practice the orders the Court had given in former letters about the place where ships must anchor, that were waiting for the road, to prevent any enemies' ships coming in under friends' colours or otherwise. The Court had received in the *Northumberland*'s packet an account of what the Governor supplied the *Description*, which was its own ship, amounting to one hundred and eighty five pounds nineteen shillings and four pence, a very great sum, and it was not to be done. Over and above all the goods delivered out of the storehouse, which were not used about the ship, in getting the sick men lodging, the sick men amounted to thirty four pounds fifteen shillings, which they ought to pay the fresh provisions for the Cape table, because they were allowed him a sum of money certain in lieu of it, and the Court thought one hundred and one pounds a very great sum. One shilling a day was too much for the provisions necessary for that ship to carry her to India, but if the then Governor and council found it necessary to allow him so much, for the ships, the Court then [...]. **Interpretations** The annual committee empowered to give secret orders to all captains, binding as if signed by the whole Court, shows how the Company concentrated wartime control of its shipping in a few trusted hands. Rather than await decisions from the full body, a small group could direct the movements of every vessel for the season. This reveals the Company adapting its governance to the demands of secrecy and speed, delegating the security of its fleet to a committee whose confidential orders overrode the ordinary channels of authority.

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		certain. in lieu of it. and We think One Hundred & Odd pounds one Shilling &c. too much for the provisions necessary. for that Ship to carry her to India. but if the then Govr Councel find it necessary to allow him so much. for the Ships and We then **Margin Notes:** Send at the News of Ships. Secure Committee Direct the Ships where to Anchor Allowance to Ships for Provisions.	The instruction to make ships anchor at an appointed place to guard against enemies entering under friends' colours exposes the particular danger of deception at the island's approach. A hostile vessel might disguise itself with false flags to slip into the road, and the fixed anchoring procedure was the counter to that ruse. This reveals how the Company's harbour defence had to reckon not only with open attack but with disguise and stratagem, imposing a rule that forced every arriving ship to reveal itself before it could come near. The sharp objection to the sums spent supplying the Company's own ship, and the point that the master was already allowed money in lieu of provisions, exposes the Company's guard against paying twice for the same thing. A captain given a fixed allowance for victuals should not also draw freely on the island's stores. This reveals the Company's vigilance against overlapping charges, tracing each expense to ensure that a provision already covered by one arrangement was not silently duplicated at the settlement's cost. **Speculations** The refusal to meet the full cost of provisioning the *Description*, on the ground that her master already held a money allowance in lieu, shows a default deliberately set aside. The ready course was to pay what the Governor had supplied, since the ship was the Company's own and the sick men needed lodging and fresh food. Yet the Court balked at the one hundred and eighty five pounds, reasoning that a captain granted a fixed sum for victuals could not also charge the island's stores without being paid twice over. This reveals the Company choosing to challenge its own Governor's expenditure rather than let a plausible necessity conceal a double payment, its suspicion of duplicated charges overriding the plain claim of a ship in need.
140	136	Orders &c.a so pursue. This we invite Principally for your future Governmet & when of our Ships should touch at St Helena Capt Alx Rules Stay at St Helena. full Eight Weeks. was very culpable. We find in the Pacquett in an acct of what passt between him & the Govr. & Councill. He Says the Islands. on the Govr advice. that he Cod not reach Bombay. & yet in another Letter the Govr. blames him. for so long. Stay. which if illy. wch. from we can only guess. but for the future. never Suffer any Ship of our own. to Cross away the time. as again without making a due Protest against Ships. THE Account of this very ill management contained in the Protest against Him. & in the Consultation Book. We take Notice of. & shall give the Necessary Orders to Bombay thereupon. THE Complaint of the Captains refusing to lend the Storrs. or other proper Prisons to fetch the Pacquetts. as mentioned in the 32 Para of the Northumberlands Letter. is very good. if there had bein a Perticular Charge. Yea an any Commander. it had bein better to Remedy this. Let the Captain of each Ship know it. we Order they to fire their	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. The Court noticed this the more especially for his future government, whenever any of its ships should touch at St Helena. Captain Pyke's stay at St Helena a full eight weeks was very culpable. The Court found in the packet, in the account of what passed between him and the Governor and council, that he said the delay was on the Governor's advice, that he could not reach Bombay, and yet in another letter the Governor blamed him for so long a stay. Which of them was to blame the Court could only guess, but for the future it would never suffer any ship of its own to trifle away the time so again without making a due protest against them. The account of this very ill management contained in the protest against him, and in the consultation book, the Court took notice of, and would give the necessary orders to Bombay thereupon. The complaint of the captains refusing to lend the stores, or other proper persons to fetch the packets, as mentioned in the third head of the *Northumberland*'s letter, was general. If there had been a particular charge against any commander, it had been better to remedy this. Let the captain of each ship know it was an order they were to send their boat and crew ashore to receive the Governor's dispatches, and let him know when they would be ready, and advise the Court if any refused. Secondly, concerning goods and stores sent from England, or received from India. The Court sent on these two ships whatever it thought most necessary of the intent, and received from the Governor, as they could take in, and would have sent more if there had been room.

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		Boat & Person a shore. to receive. your dispatches. & let him know when they will be ready and advise Us if any before Secondly Concerning Goods & Stores Sent from England. or received from India. WE have Sent on these two Ships. as much of what we thought most necessary of the Intent & received from you as they could take in. & would have sent more if the had bein Room. THE Action of what Stort received by the order from England. and the Recovery we from India. we approve. **Margin Notes:** & Anch too long stayd at St Helena Suffer of our Ships stay too long thro Protests Ill management of Cap. Turrin observed The Capts are to send the Person for the Pacquets. & Same Ships Sent out. Advice of what Stort recd approved of.	The account of what stores the Governor received by the *Windsor* from England, and the *Discovery* from India, the Court approved. **Interpretations** Captain Pyke's eight weeks at St Helena, with the master blaming the Governor's advice and the Governor blaming the captain, exposes how the Company struggled to fix responsibility for delay when its own servants contradicted one another. Unable to tell which account was true, the Court could only resolve to require a formal protest in future. This reveals the difficulty of governing at a distance where the directors depended on the honesty of men who might shift blame between themselves, and their remedy of insisting on documented protest as the only reliable arbiter. The general complaint that captains refused to send their boats ashore to fetch the dispatches exposes a recurring friction between the island's administration and the masters who touched there. The Governor depended on the ships' crews to carry his correspondence, yet captains resisted lending them. This reveals how even the basic business of moving letters between shore and ship could become a point of contention, prompting the Court to make it an express order that boats be sent, with any refusal reported home. The Court's decision to send orders to Bombay over Pyke's conduct shows how discipline over a captain reached beyond the island to the wider network of the Company's stations. A master's misbehaviour at St Helena became a matter for the settlement to which his voyage was bound. This reveals how the Company's authority over its shipping was distributed across its possessions, a fault noted at one station pursued through orders sent to another, so that no part of a captain's conduct escaped the reach of the connected administration.
141	137	Ship Thistleworth IN the Letter by the Tavistock. it appears the then Councell judg'd it in their Opinion. that it was Necessary. to send them One Hundred & Fifty Tons of Arrack. & one Hundred Tons of Sugar. that it would furnish out Charge. & have Invoice other good Effects. but they should have told Us. how in this time of War they could reasonably Expect We should comply with such a Demand. We have of late Guns ordered great ship plies to be sett and from & India. than ever before. nor have we been more Sparing of Supplies from hence. & yet we never before had such a demand. & as the Necessary Supplies of Garrison and Ordinance Stores. which are Requisite. for the Security of the Island. take up. a great deal of our Tonage. as we have not room enough to send at the first time. & need in the future. We have had some thoughts of taking up a Fly Boat. or some very large Ship. to furnish you with all you want. & how to Effect it. WE have wrote to the Coast. & Bay. Bom Bay. & Bencoolen to send you the full one Stock. in Arrack. Sugar. & other Stores	Ship *Thistleworth*. In the letter by the *Townstock*, it appeared the Governor and council judged it in their opinion necessary to send them one hundred and fifty tons of arrack, and one hundred tons of sugar, that it would furnish and charge, and have several other proper effects. But they should have told the Court how, in this time of war, they could reasonably expect it should comply with such a demand. The Court had of late years ordered great supplies to be sent from India than ever before, nor had it been more sparing of supplies from thence, and yet it never before had such a demand. And as the necessary supplies of garrison and ordnance stores, which were requisite for the security of the island, took up a great deal of its tonnage, so it had not room enough to send at the first time wanted, in the *Thistleworth*. The Court had had some thoughts of taking up a fly, or some large ships, to furnish the Governor with all he wanted, and how to effect it. The Court had wrote to the coast, and Bombay, from the bay and Bencoolen, to send the Governor the full and best in arrack, sugar and other stores, which those ships that should touch at St Helena would be a better supply than ever the island had, and to have a gross table account of the thirty tuns of arrack, which was owned, was taken at one time out of the *Aurungzeb*. The Court expected the Governor to take care to see everyone that was in debt to the stores clear for the future, at least once a year, clear accounts, for if they were suffered to spend as they had, and run in debt, the Court might justly fear, as Governor Roberts in his letter wrote, that they would not be concerned what became of the island, or at least would not endeavour to defend it from an enemy, of which more in the sequel of this letter.

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		which. of the Ships. Sailed touch at St Helena. will be a better Supply than ever the Island had. & we hope. to have a Sprd table Account of the Thirty Loagues of Arrack is send. was taken. at one time out of the Aurengzeb. WE expect you take care. to see Every one that is in debt to the Stores. does. for the future. at least once a Year. clear Acct. for if they be Suffered to spend. as they have. & run in debt. we may Justly fear as Govern Roberts in his Letter writes. that they will not be concern'd. what becomes of the Island. or a te least will not endeavour to defend it from an Enemy of which more in the Sequell of this Letter. WE have Considered the Complaints of ships making extravagant Demands for their Stores. & refer you to what wrote on that head Lastly. you well do well to advise the Invoice what they Demand. for any Stores. & what Quantities they often run there. when they ask. Rice as high. that you don't think fit **Margin Notes:** A large Indent for Stores mentioned. Stores from Bombay All Indebted at the Stores to clear their at leastonce a year. Point ab. extortion in ye Capt price of your Cargo	The Court had considered the complaints of the great making extravagant demands for the stores, and referred the Governor to what it wrote on that head lately. He was to do well to advise the Court whatever they demanded, for any stores, and what quantities they often over there, when they asked. Their needs were so high that he was not to think fit [...]. **Interpretations** The demand for a hundred and fifty tons of arrack and a hundred of sugar in wartime exposes the collision between the island's appetites and the Company's straitened shipping. Tonnage was consumed by the garrison and ordnance stores needed for defence, leaving no room for such quantities of drink and sweet goods. This reveals how the pressures of war forced the Company to weigh every ton, and how the island's large requisitions struck the directors as impossible to reconcile with the vessels and space that hostilities left them. The linking of unpaid debts to the stores with a failure to defend the island exposes a stark theory of loyalty through solvency. Governor Roberts had warned, and the Court now echoed, that men allowed to run into debt would cease to care what became of the place. This reveals how the Company connected the financial discipline of its people to the security of the settlement itself, reasoning that inhabitants sunk in debt to the stores would have no stake in resisting an enemy. The intention to take up extra ships to meet the Governor's wants, set beside the refusal of his demands as extravagant, exposes the Company's mixed response to the island's needs. It would not simply comply, yet it considered hiring additional tonnage and wrote to its Asian stations to supply the settlement better than before. This reveals the Company balancing suspicion of excess against a real concern to provision the island, seeking through its wider network a supply that its own wartime shipping could not carry.
142	138	Orders &c.a to buy them. such Notices will have the Villa. from the Same. may prove by your Management. a Remedy to their. or or any others intended Extortion. WE have considered the Objections made by the Captains. to your desire of having necessary Supplies out of our Ships. according to our Orders. by the Head Frigatt. and because their Reasons had Something of reason in them. We have put the following clause. into the Capts Instructions of these last Ships. now going out. to prevent the like hereafter. and shall do the same in all others. Vizt. WE have wrote to our Govr & Council of St Helena to take out of our Ships. such Cloth. Pepper & other Goods. as they shall be in want of. for the use of the Island. & have given them Directions. how far they shall Demand. whereupon Do you deliver them. such of our Goods on board. you. as they shall Desire. & which. they shall show you an Authority. by Demanding in any of our generall Letter taking Copy attested by them of the clause of such Letter. & take their Accept. for the same. which with their Order. in Writing. you must produce. to us	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. To buy them, such notice would have the like from the same, which might be done by the Governor's management, or a remedy either, or any other intended detention. The Court had considered the objections made by the captains to the Governor's desire of taking necessary supplies out of the ships according to its orders by the *Fleet Frigate*, and because their reasons had something of reason in them, it had put the following clause into the last instructions of these last ships now going out, to prevent the like hereafter, and would do the same in all others. The Court had wrote to its Governor and council of St Helena to take out of its ships such cloth, pepper and other goods as they should be in want of, for the use of the island, and gave them liberty how far they should demand. Whereon the Governor was to deliver them such of its goods on board him, as they should desire, which they should show him an authority for demanding, in any of its general letters, taking copy attested by them of the clause of such letter, and take their receipt for the same, which, with their order in writing, he must produce over at his return. If they refused, they had its orders to protest against him, and the Court would assent to it too, because it appointed this its direction a sufficient warrant to indemnify him against the bill of lading he signed, and his covenants in charter party. So far as this concerned the Governor, he would see in the 12th head of its letter by the *Fleet Frigate*, the Court limited the quantity of goods he might take out to six bales in a year, for necklaces, shirting, household linen, and outward garments, if they could

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		at your Return. if you refuse they have our Orders to protest against you. and We shall assent it too. because we Apprehend this our Direction. a Sufficient Warrant. to Indemnify you against the Bill of Lading you sign. & your Covenants in Charter party. SO far as this Concerns you Do you observe it. in the 11th Para of your Letter by the Head Frigatt. We limited & named of Goods. You might take out to St Helena. in a Year. for Neckcloths. Shirting. household Linnen. & outward Garments. if they can become at conveniently. but if by reason of Ships not touching at the Island. outward or homeward. you shall find a greater Quantity is absolutely necessary. We give you leave to enlarge the Same. to them. or some more Bales. while that necessity is upon you. advising us thereof. & also. if any of our Ships have Sauthers. or China. Dangarees. or such **Margin Notes:** Advise & Orders given to the Capts. to Supply of St Helena. Orders to take out Goods.	become at conveniently. But if, by reason of the ships not touching at the island outward or homeward, a greater quantity was absolutely necessary, the Court gave him leave to enlarge the same to them, or a few more bales, while that necessity was upon him, on his advising it thereof. And also, if any of its ships had South Sea or China, tangareen, or such [...]. **Interpretations** The Company's acknowledgement that the captains' objections had something of reason exposes a rare concession to the masters whose ships were drawn upon for the island's supply. Rather than simply override their complaints, the Court inserted a new clause into its instructions to settle the matter for good. This reveals a Company willing to adjust its own procedures when its servants raised a fair point, refining the terms on which the island might tap passing ships so as to remove a genuine grievance rather than merely command obedience. The machinery of attested copies, receipts and written orders that the Governor had to produce exposes how the Company protected a captain compelled to give up his cargo. By requiring documentary proof of the authority for each demand, the Court gave the master a warrant to indemnify him against his own bill of lading and charter party. This reveals the care taken to reconcile two conflicting obligations, so that a captain forced to surrender goods was shielded from liability to their owners by the very papers the transaction generated. The strict limit of six bales a year, relaxed only when ships failed to call, exposes how the Company rationed the island's draught upon its cargoes. The settlement's licence to take cloth and linen from passing vessels was capped to prevent abuse, yet allowed to expand when the ordinary supply faltered. This reveals a calibrated system of provisioning, in which the island's access to the through trade was neither open nor fixed but adjusted to the actual flow of shipping that reached its shores.
143	139	Ship Thistleworth Cloth ordinary. or such like Goods. you must take out in Bale as had. for the Blacks & Sattheing. when you want it. & so much Sugar & Suga Candy. as you shall want. you may it own large in Arrack. if you have an absolute necessity. for preservation of the Island. or the Inhabitants Lives or Healths. TIll the return of the Ships. who carry this. & you make use of our aforesaid Directions. by the Head to say to. who may touch at St Helena. & do so them this. & the foregoing Para of our Letter. to induce them to Supply you. if yet they refuse. let us know it. and Who does so. & why. THE directions in your Consultations of the 5th of July 1710 for perusing the Goods. for sale. received. by the Head Frigatt at 100 Cent. advancement. above eye. the Ship's did carry. & Charges upon till put in home. & so with being. so hard. as part of them prime Cost. We approve. as thinking it. but a moderall Profit. considering ships are to be retird. and would have this to be the Rule in future. as to the Goods to be retird for England. but those from India stand on other foot.	Ship *Thistleworth*. Cloth ordinary, or such like goods, the Governor was to take out a bale or two for the black clothing when he wanted it, and as much sugar and sugar candy as he should want. He might, if he saw large arrack, if he had an absolute necessity, for preservation of the island, or the inhabitants' lives or healths. Till the return of the ships who carried this letter, he was to make use of the aforesaid directions by the *Fleet Frigate*, whose commanders that might touch at St Helena would do the same, and the foregoing part of this letter, to induce them to supply him, and if they refused, he was to let the Court know it, and who does so, and why. On the directions in the Governor's consultation of 4 July 1710 for pricing the goods for sale received by the *Fleet Frigate* at ten per cent advance on the sea prices, the Court did overlay charges upon it, put in there as follows. Something in the road on the part of them, in some case, the Court approved, as thinking it but a moderate profit, considering they were to be retired, and would have this to be the rule in future, as to the goods to be retired for England, but those from India stand on another footing, that comes invoiced to the Governor at their real cost, which he could not know, of the other goods to be taken out of the cargoes, and both, being freighted of at one port thirty to thirty four candies a ton, therefore, since there was an uncertainty as to these, the Court left it to his prudence to fix the price of each, as he should judge equitable, either to put or land upon the inhabitants, remembering he made to them a moderate profit, considering the time to time what the prices were, for its apparent or public direction.

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		that comes invoice to you all Now their real Cost. which you Can't know of the other Goods to be taken. out of our Cargoes. and both. may Fought of. at one part. Thirty to Thirty four Pounds a Ton. therefore Since there is an uncertainty as to these. We have it to your prudence to fix the Prices off each. as You shall judge equitable. or either to put land upon the Inhabitants. or make the you send a moderall proffit. leave Us from time to time what the said Prices are. for our approvate or futable Direction. If the Puntors or other Inhabitants to whom You sell these or any other Supplies. have not money or Credit in the Stores to pay for them. as that Cases. We think the taking of their Provisions. at the market Price. is a proper Equivalent. to Sink the Debts. as appears. by the Consultation of the 15th July 1709. was directed in a perticular Occasion. to be done. this method **Margin Notes:** Sell not returnd in home Goods & to Sell them to be sent at prime Cost. Advance put on Indian on ye Sale & rord let to be sold at a moderate proffit. Take their Provisions you want. for Debts.	If the planters or other inhabitants, to whom he sold these, or any other supplies, had not money or credit in the stores to pay for them, in that case the Court thought the taking of their provisions at the market price a proper equivalent to pay the debts, as appeared by the consultation of 11 July 1709 was directed on a particular occasion to be done. This method [...]. **Interpretations** The distinction drawn between goods for resale to England and those invoiced from India exposes how the Company set different pricing rules for cargoes of different origin. The one carried a known sea price on which a fixed profit could be reckoned, while the other reached the Governor at a real cost he could not verify. This reveals the complexity of pricing on a remote station, where the Company had to leave much to the Governor's judgement precisely because the true value of some goods was obscured by the distance and manner of their coming. The arrangement to accept inhabitants' provisions at market price in payment of their debts to the stores exposes a practical solution to a chronic shortage of coin. Planters short of money or credit could settle their accounts in kind, their produce taken as the equivalent of cash. This reveals how the island's economy ran partly on barter within the Company's own system, the stores absorbing local provisions to keep the settlers solvent and their debts from mounting beyond recovery. The permission to take large quantities of arrack only on absolute necessity for the preservation of life or health exposes the Company's attempt to distinguish legitimate need from mere appetite. Spirits could be drawn freely only where survival required it, not for ordinary consumption. This reveals the Company's continuing effort to curb the island's demand for drink, framing arrack as a resource justified by genuine necessity rather than the extravagance the directors so often suspected in the settlement's requisitions.
144	140	Orders &c.a or any other. which according to the Difference of Circumstances. You shall think proper to settle. whereby the Inhabitants may be Supplied. which really wants Necessaries. & We Secured from bad Debts. will be Acceptable to Us. SInce we will not impose upon the Necessities of the People. to inhance the Price. of what ever they want. you may be sure We will not admit. any of you. the Present or any of the future Councill. to do it. by racking off them. & rack your Store. And Yet you. & they may not offend. thro' Ignorance. We say that we will not suffer any of the Councill. for the time being. to take the Necesse care it be completed with. & that You. may offer a Reward. as you see fitt. as far as five Pounds. to any Person. who shall make. full Proof. of any Prison. who Shall break it. and as you may in other quotire. advising us thereof by the same Ship. & the next. for fine. of his miscarriage. that We may recover the Penalty. from the Owners. Perhaps the Ships. and Officers. who Certainly. we not. are. just handed at St Helena. as very. they will send more. & how. as. one. or two. of them. may lye. as. they say. let the Rule. be fixd. And also. do pay. will. for it. their Advantage. to Comply. with. what is is necessary. to be	Or any other, which, according to the difference of circumstances, the Governor should think proper to settle, whereby the inhabitants might be supplied who really wanted necessaries, and its being freed from bad debts would be acceptable to it. Since it would not impose upon the necessities of the people, to enhance the price of what they wanted, he might be sure the Court would not admit any of them, the present or any of the future council, to do it, by raising of these things to enrich themselves. And yet, that they might not offend through ignorance, in a way that it would not suffer any of the council for the time being to take, the Governor must take care it be complied with. And that he might offer a reward, as he saw fit, as far as five pounds to any person who should make full proof of any person who should break it, and as he might in other cases, advising it thereof by the same ship, the next for fear of his miscarriage, that he might recover the penalty from the owners. Perhaps the captains and officers who, seemingly, were not once put ashore at St Helena, would say they will sell more ashore, and one or two of them might do as they say, let the rule be fixed, and abundance would find it for their advantage to comply with what was necessary to be assumed, and tend to the general benefit of the island, and to their more particular profit. If it should not, yet the favour they expect from the Company would soon overturn that, and they could not be ignorant. Its laws there were very severe against forestallers or regraters of corn and other provisions, necessary for the sustentation of life. It was to let it know, as often as any refused to comply with this its order, or set

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		assumed. & tends. to the Generall. benefit. of the Island. & to their Prox Particular. profsize. if should not. yet the favours. they Expect. from the Company. will over Patterns. that. they cant. be Ignorant. our Laws. here. are very Severe. against. forestallers. Or Regraters. of Corn. and other Provisions. Necessary. for the Sustentation. of Life. let Us. know as often. as any refuse. to Comply. with this our Order. or set. Exorbitant. Prices. on any Goods. they do sell. because. they are Wanted. WE have. bein. informd. by Mr. Mosheim. and. assured. by a Petition. of ye Severall. Inhabitants. of St **Margin Notes:** Not to impose on the Necesities of the People. give £5. to the Informer Reason for Fine & against Forestallers	exorbitant prices on any goods they dealt, because they were wanted. The Court had been informed by Mr Moshinson, and assured by a petition of the several inhabitants of St [...]. **Interpretations** The prohibition on councillors raising prices to enrich themselves exposes the Company's guard against its own officers exploiting their position. Men who controlled the stores could profit by inflating the cost of necessaries, and the Court forbade this absolutely, backing the ban with a reward of up to five pounds for any who exposed a breach. This reveals how the Company policed the integrity of its administration from within, treating self-dealing by those in authority as a distinct danger to be caught by informers and punished. The invocation of the laws against forestallers and regraters of provisions exposes the ancient economic doctrine transplanted to the island. Forestalling and regrating, the buying up of goods to resell at higher prices, were old offences against the fair market, and the Company's severe laws against them protected the settlement's food supply. This reveals how the Company drew on established English notions of the just price and the common good to govern its remote possession, forbidding the manipulation of markets in the necessaries of life. The reasoning that captains would in time find honest compliance more profitable than private selling exposes the Company's faith in aligning interest with obedience. Rather than rely on prohibition alone, the Court expected the masters to see that cooperation served both the island and their own standing with the Company. This reveals a characteristic method of governance, in which the directors sought to bind their servants not merely by rule but by persuading them that their advantage lay in following it.
145	141	Ship Thistleworth St Helena (as ye enclosd Copy. that Mr Mashbourne and Mr Marsden have bein Guilty of Engrossing Como- dities. on board. tho' they now not or at least. right not. to have bein Ignorant. of our Prohibition. thereof. and which is now only repeald. & or imperit. whereof. if we had no other Objection. against them. We must. as hereby we do. assmise them. our Service. from the Arrivall of this Letter. at. St Helena. and have appointed others. into their Places. as before mentioned. We further direct. and order. that all others. who shall be Guilty of the Same Practice. suffer Accordingly. GIve publick Notice to all the Inhabitants of the Prohibition of these Orders. to prevent engrossing Como- dities on Ship board. and of the Reward promised to such as discover them as aforesaid. If you see it for our Service. You may buy up for Us. whatsoever Necessaries the Ships have to Spare. and the Island may want either immediately. or before the next expected Shipping. & set it out again. according to the Rules beforementioned. Thirdly. touching our Servants civil or military. the Accounts of St Helena in gener- all & also touching our Slaves. Cattle. Lands.	Ship *Thistleworth*. St Helena, as by the enclosed copy, that Mr Mashbourne and Mr Marsden had been guilty of engrossing commodities on board, though they were not, or at least might not have been, ignorant of the Court's prohibition thereof, and which was now only repealed, or reinforced, whereof, if the Court had no other objection against them, it must, as it hereby did, dismiss them from its service, from the arrival of this letter at St Helena, and appoint others into their places, as before mentioned. It further directed and ordered that all others who should be guilty of the same practice suffer accordingly. The Governor was to give public notice to all the inhabitants of the substance of these orders, to prevent engrossing commodities on shipboard, and of the reward promised to such as discovered them, as aforesaid. If the Governor saw it for the Court's service, he might buy up for the island whatever necessaries the ships had to spare, and the island might want, either immediately or before the next expected shipping, and sell it out again, according to the rules before mentioned. Thirdly, touching the Court's servants, civil or military, the accounts of St Helena in general, and also touching its slaves, cattle, lands and revenues. By the title of these its orders and instructions, the Governor would see how the Court had settled and established its council. Having agreed that its Governor, Captain Boucher, should have one hundred pounds a year salary, and, in consideration of this extraordinary fatigue, which would be necessary in completing the fortifications, and taking care of the island, the Court had agreed to pay him one hundred and fifty pounds more a year during the

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		and Revenues. SBy the Title of these Our Orders & Instruct- ons. You may see how We have divided & settled our Councel. We having agreed that our Governr Capt Boucher. shall have one Hundred Pounds a year. Sallary. & in Consideration of this Extraordinary Fatigue. which will be Necessary in compleating the Fortifications. & taking Care of the Island. We have agreed to pay him. One Hundred & fifty Pounds more a Year. during the War. if he shall be found to deserve it. Edwd. One Hundred & fifty Pounds gratuity. as. in such a Case. **Margin Notes:** Mashbourne & Marsden guilty of engrossing. give publick notice more offences. May buy what is Necesary for the use of the Island. Governr Boucher Establisht.	war, if he should be found to deserve it. And so, if one hundred and fifty pounds gratuity, in such a case [...]. **Interpretations** The dismissal of Mashbourne and Marsden for engrossing commodities exposes how the Company enforced its market laws with the loss of office. The two men had bought up goods on shipboard in defiance of the prohibition, and the penalty was removal from the Company's service the moment the letter reached the island. This reveals the seriousness with which the Company treated the manipulation of supply, punishing its own servants who profited by cornering necessaries with the immediate forfeiture of their places. The tying of Governor Boucher's extra salary to the completion of the fortifications and made payable only if he deserved it exposes how the Company bound reward to performance. His basic hundred pounds was supplemented by a further hundred and fifty during the war, conditional on his exertions and merit. This reveals the Company's method of incentivising its chief officer, holding out additional pay as a spur to the hard work of finishing the defences rather than granting it as a fixed entitlement of the post. The public proclamation of the orders against engrossing, coupled with the reward for informers, exposes the Company's reliance on the whole community to enforce its market discipline. By making the prohibition and its bounty widely known, the Court enlisted the inhabitants themselves in policing the practice. This reveals how the Company extended its authority beyond its own officers, turning the population into watchers against the cornering of goods, so that the fair distribution of necessaries rested on general vigilance backed by financial reward. **Speculations** The choice to make Boucher's additional hundred and fifty pounds conditional on desert, rather than fixed to the office, points to a default the Company set aside. The straightforward course was to attach a settled salary to the governorship, as it had with predecessors, so the man knew his pay from the start. Instead the Court withheld the larger part as a gratuity payable only if he proved worthy, tying his reward to the actual completion of the fortifications the whole letter pressed so hard. This reveals the Company preferring a conditional bounty over a guaranteed wage, using the uncertainty of the extra payment to bind its Governor's diligence to the island's most urgent need.
146	142	Orders &c.a to be paid him. Yearly here to his Order. We have given him fifty Pounds. for his Provisions. & advanc'd him. One Hundred Pounds. for which he have given his Bond to repay it Us. & is to be deducted out of his growing Salary. We have settled the Salary. of the 2d of St Helena at seventy Pounds a year. the Salary. of the 3d at Fifty Pounds. the Salary. of the 4th at Forty Pounds. & the Salary. of the 5th at seven Stanaa. but what that is. does not appear. by your Books. These are to be the Constant. Salaries. of the 2. 3. 4. & 5th of Councill. which we generally Speaking think Sufficient But since the Letter. Say Mr Bazett. for his Unsettling is made. 5th of Councill. We Confirm him. in that Station. & if you find him deserving it. & that he is not guilty. as he charged. of Gaming. & Neglecting. his Prevay nefs. OUR Accounts. of St Helena. have bein kept	Ship *Thistleworth.* To be paid him yearly here to his order. The Court had given him fifty pounds for his provisions, and advanced him one hundred pounds, for which he had given his bond to repay it, and it was to be deducted out of his growing salary. The Court had settled the salary of the second of St Helena at seventy pounds a year apiece, the salary of the third at fifty pounds, the salary of the fourth at forty pounds, and the salary of the fifth, Mr Bazett, at some other stance. But what that was did not appear by the Governor's books. These were to be the constant salaries of the second, third and fourth of council, which the Court, generally speaking, thought sufficient. But since the letter by Mr Bazett, for his worthiness, was made fifth of council, the Court confirmed him in that station, if the Governor found him deserving of it, and that he was not guilty, as he charged, of gaming and neglecting his business. The Court's accounts of St Helena had been kept in a very unmerchantlike manner, being little better than a shop book. This the Court would seek to

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		in a very Unmerchantlike. Manner. being little better than a Shop Book. this we have resolved. to remedy. & to that. end Mr Pach. before mentioned. is Second. 2. of the Councill. He being one of our Accompta. in Office. & for his Encourage- ment. have made. his Salary. Equal. With Mr Alexanders. the 2. who should have kept. the Accounts. by Virtue. of his Office. but is not sufficiently. skilld. therein. We have. for this. promised. to make. his place. Equal. to that. of the 2. & do accept. you. to allow him. the Storekeeper's. Apartments. for his Family. Mr Hodghinson. being. well. Skilld. in Plantation Affairs. We have made. He shall have. the Care. of our Plantation. House. & its Dependencies. & our Cattle. which he has Assured Us. He will. to the utmost. Endeavour. to cultivate. & improve. for Our most Advantage. He is not so proper. for the Storkeeper. to be stampt **Margin Notes:** The Councill's Salaries Irregular Accts kept &c.	remedy, and to that end Mr Pack, before mentioned, was directed second of the council, he being one of the Court's accountants, ex officio, and for his encouragement it had made his salary equal with Mr Alexander's, the second, who should have kept the accounts by virtue of his office, but was not sufficiently skilled therein. The Court had for this promoted, to make his place equal to that of the second, and did agree to allow him the storekeeper's apartments for his family. Mr Hodgkinson being well skilled in plantation affairs, the Court had resolved he should have the care of its plantation, house and its dependencies, and its cattle, which he was afforded the means to use, and endeavour to cultivate and improve for its most advantage. It was not so proper for the storekeeper to be storekeeper [...]. **Interpretations** The graduated scale of council salaries, from seventy pounds for the second down through fifty and forty, exposes how precisely the Company ranked its officers by pay. Each place in the hierarchy carried its fixed reward, descending with rank, so that a man's standing on the council was mirrored in his stipend. This reveals the ordered structure of the island's administration, in which authority and remuneration were carefully matched, and every member knew both his precedence and his price. The complaint that the accounts had been kept in an unmerchantlike manner, little better than a shop book, exposes the Company's demand for proper commercial bookkeeping even on a remote station. The existing records fell short of the standard a trading house required, and the remedy was to install a trained accountant as second of council. This reveals how the Company insisted that its distant possession be run by the same rigorous methods as its counting house, treating slipshod accounts as a defect to be corrected by appointing a man skilled in the art. The promotion of Pack over Alexander, who by office should have kept the accounts but lacked the skill, exposes the Company's readiness to subordinate rank to competence. Rather than leave the books with the officer whose place entitled him to keep them, the Court raised a qualified accountant above him and matched his salary to the higher post. This reveals a pragmatic willingness to reorder its own hierarchy for the sake of efficient administration, valuing the ability to keep proper accounts above the claims of established precedence.
147	143	Ship Thistleworth because thereby He has not such a Chichous. Him as he should. if another was Accomptant. however the Circumstances of the Affairs. casting it. this we. We expect. that the Storkeeper. as such do Account. to You. for all. Under his Care. as in the Preceding generall Direction. & that You. in a more Perticular Manner. do examine. those Accounts. of his. before to carry them. into the Generall. Books. & enter them. into your Approbation. or objections. & Alterations. in the Consultations Books. Whether. to shar. have any. & what. Apprstants. we have to give. Directions. as. Rrate. allows. other. Affairs. which must be concluded. on in Consultation. & the result. with the reasons entred. into the Book. to be kept. for that purpose.	Ship *Thistleworth*. Because thereby he had not such a check upon him as he should if another were accountant. However, the circumstances of affairs casting it this way, the Court expected the storekeeper, as such, to account to the Governor for all under his care, as in the preceding general direction, and that he, in a more particular manner, do examine those accounts of his before he carry them into the general books, and enter them into his approbation, or objections and alterations, in the consultation books. Whether he saw there any, and what, and instantly the Court had given directions, as to allow other affairs, which must be concluded on in consultation, and the result, with the reasons, entered into the book to be kept for that purpose. The late Governor, Captain Roberts, having desired to come home by these homeward ships, the Court gave him leave so to do, having first, as it intimated, and by consultation settled his accounts of his own with the Governor of what committed to his care to come to his charge, and given up the plantation to the Governor now constituted, and taken proper discharges from the Governor and

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		THe late Govr Capt Roberts. having desired. to come home. by the Summers Ships. We give him. leave. so to do. having first. as is Intimated. & Requisite. settled. his Accompts of our. with you. of what. Committed. to his care. so Come. to his Marche. & given up. the Plantation. to the Govr. now Constituted. & taken. proper Discharges. from you. the Govr. & Councill. which being. done. Order. the Capt. of any Ship. in the. Road. he Chooses. to take. Passage. on. to receive. him. on board. use him Civilly. & being. him to England. & to prevent. any Complaints. of his further. stay. as you. Your Parts. in the Speedy. Settling. the said Accompts. If you. see it Necesary. You may. employ. One. or more young. men. out of our. Ships. who are. Good. Penmen. & of Good. Morals. this Side. by the. year. if you. should. want. a Hands. to as. any Anting. work. for we. expect. you. Yearly. Send. Us. our Accompts. Consultation. Books. & Entrs. of all. other. matters. directed. in our generall. Letter. by the. Head. Frigatt. to be kept. in proper Books. & Duplicates. thereof. for fear. of miscarriing. accepting onlin. the Registers. Books. of the. Letters. sent. to You. from. hence or by. You. hither. & that. this way. be more. easily. Complied. with. as. you take. Care. the. said. Copys. be. daily. or weekly. brought **Margin Notes:** Storkeeper. not to be Accomptant. Examin. the Store. house. Accts. in. Consultation. before. entered. Settle. in a Consulta. & Assistants. the. Storkeeper. to have. & reasons. Governr. Roberts. goes home. You may. Employ. any. young. men. out. of. the. Ships. as. will.	council. Which being done, the Court ordered the captains of any ship in the road to give leave to take passage on, to receive him on board, and use him civilly, in bringing him to England, and to prevent any complaints of his further stay, as the Governor took care in the speedy settling the accounts. If the Governor saw it necessary, he might employ one or more young men out of the ships who were of good renown, and of good manners, this liberty to be given if he should want hands to do any writing worth, for the Court expected he yearly send its own accounts, consultation books, and entries of all other matters directed in its general letter by the *Fleet Frigate* to be kept in proper books and duplicates thereof, for fear of miscarrying, accepting only the register books of the letters sent it from hence, or so by the Governor hither. And that this way be more easily complied with, the Court would have him take care the said copies be daily or weekly brought [...]. **Interpretations** The principle that the storekeeper should not audit his own accounts exposes the Company's grasp of a basic safeguard against fraud. A man who both held the stores and checked their reckoning had no independent restraint upon him, and so the Court preferred that another examine his books. This reveals an early recognition of the separation of duties as a control, the Company understanding that accountability required the accounts to be scrutinised by someone other than the man responsible for the goods. The careful settling of the departing Governor Roberts's accounts before he was allowed passage home exposes how the Company closed out an officer's tenure. He could not simply leave; he had first to render his accounts, hand over the plantation and take formal discharges. This reveals the Company's insistence on a clean reckoning at the end of each governorship, ensuring that no obligation or unexplained deficiency followed a man out of his office and across the sea beyond its reach. The requirement to keep duplicate books against the risk of loss at sea exposes how the Company guarded its records across a hazardous passage. Accounts and consultation books were to be copied and the copies kept, so that a ship's loss would not destroy the island's only record. This reveals the Company's acute awareness of the fragility of communication with its distant possession, building redundancy into its bookkeeping so that the settlement's institutional memory could survive the perils of the voyage home.
148	144	Orders &c.a up. that. so they. may. be. Sent. to. the. time. the. Ships are. Dispatched. for. Europe. or. as. soon. as. Possible. WEE have. had. a great. many. Bills. drawn. on Us. from. St Helena. of late. which. we. have. delay'd. paying because. they. were. not. them. mentioned. in. the. Generall Letter. One. Bill. we. had. for. £2. 3s. 2d. payable. to. George Dwight. dated. the. 24th. June. 1709. that. was. no. we. advised. & the. long. One. from. Mr. Collins. your. Smith. this. has occasioned. Complaint. take. care. to. Remedy. it. hereafter. We. had. also. an. Account. of. Bills. amounting. to 1140. 3s. 10d. sent. to. us. by. the. Tavistock. in. a. short. Loan un. a. part. which. have. bein. paid. tho. many. of. them. were.	Ship *Thistleworth*. Up, that so they might be sent by the time the ships were dispatched for Europe, or as it was before. The Court had a great many bills drawn on it from St Helena of late, which it had delayed paying, because they were not mentioned in the general letter. One bill it had, payable to George Dwight, dated the 24 June 1709, that was never advised. There was one from Mr Collins, the smith, that had occasioned complaint, and the Court directed it be remedied hereafter. It had also an account of bills, amounting to one thousand two hundred and forty pounds, sent by the *Townstock* in a short scrawl, but a part, which had been paid, though many of them were for goods or credit, in the stores, and it ought to have had their account accompanying them to show what it had for the money. For the future, the Governor was to take care to give a particular account in the letter, and, if there be two or three of most business, of all bills, how many drawn of the same tenor for such a sum, when dated, at what time payable, to whom and for how much. And if it should happen that the accounts for which such bills were drawn were not contained

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		for. Goods. or. Credit. in. the. Stores. & ought. to. have. had. their Account. accompanying. them. to. shew. what. was. had. for. the money. for. the. future. take. Care. to. give. a. particular Account. in. the. Letter. (& if. there. be. two. or. that. of. most Busyness) of. all. Bills. how. many. drawn. of. the. same Tenour. for. such. Sum. when. dated. at. what. time. payable to. whom. & for. how. much. & if. it. Should. happen. that. the Accounts. for. which. such. Bills. are. drawn. are. not Contained. in. the. Generall. Books. shew. that. on. that same. And. an. attested. Copy. of. such. Account. for. our Satisfaction. & so. in. the. Manner. in. the. Letter. what Bills. are. sent. by. You. to. be. received. by. Us. & for. what Account. from. whom. drawn. which. has. bein. Generally neglected. & only. the. Bills. sent. in. the. Pacquett. If. any. Prison. in. our. pay. dyes. & leaves. Effects behind. him. which. are. to. be. paid. into. Our. bank. do. you take. care. the. Same. be. Yearly. received. & advised. of. & when ate. such. Effects. are. Received. the. Ballance. must. be. duely wrote. of. to. Account. Currant. in. London. & to. an give. thereof. in. the. next. Generall. Letter. that. the Legaty. & Authorized. Persons. may. receive. the. Same. And We. may. Prevent. Clamours. on. account. of. arrears. as. also **Margin Notes:** Reasons why Bills were not paid. Comps. Servants who dye Intestate.	in the general books, then, in that case, an attested copy of such account, for the Court's satisfaction. And to name, in the same manner, in the letter what bills were sent by the Governor to be received by the Court, and for what accounts, whereupon, in reason, which had been generally neglected, simply the bills sent in the packet. If any person in the Court's pay died, and had effects behind him, which were to be paid into its bank, the Governor was to take care the same be annually received and advised of, and when such effects were received, the balance must be duly wrote of to accountants current in London, and none given thereof in the next general letter, that the legatee or authorised person might receive the same, and it might prevent clamours on account of arrears not so [...]. **Interpretations** The refusal to honour bills not mentioned in the general letter exposes how the Company controlled its distant finances through a strict correspondence of paper. A bill drawn on it at St Helena would not be paid unless the Governor had separately advised its details, so that the drawing and the notice had to match. This reveals the Company's insistence that every financial instrument be documented in advance, refusing to pay on a bill it could not check against a letter, and thereby guarding against unauthorised or fraudulent demands from across the sea. The demand for full particulars of every bill, its tenor, date, term, payee and amount, exposes the meticulous record the Company required to manage its remote accounts. Only with such detail could the directors reconcile each bill against the transaction that generated it. This reveals how the Company met the risks of long-distance finance with exhaustive documentation, requiring that the paper trail be complete before it would part with its money, so that no payment was made without its warrant plainly established. The instruction on handling the effects of servants who died in the Company's pay exposes the care taken to settle the estates of the dead across the distance. Money owed to the Company was to be recovered, the balance entered in London, and notice given so that legatees could claim what was theirs. This reveals how the Company managed the deaths of its people on a remote station as a matter of orderly account, ensuring both that its own dues were collected and that the rightful heirs were not left with unanswered claims.
149	145	Ship Thistleworth delays. Enquire. from time. to time. of all. covenant demands. & other. for you. sent. out. by. God. to. St Helena. & what. they Severally. paid. the. Capts. for. fresh. Provisions. how. the. Capts. used them. in. the. Voyage. & give. Us. an. early. Account. thereof. because we. find. them. by. the. Covenant. demands. of. some. Commanders. which. is. very. oppressive. or. all. but. Perticularly. by. the. poorer Sort. of. Prisons. & so in. also. of. the. Capts. how. such. persons behaved. themselves. & name. Us. for. our. Notice. Enquire. in. like. manner. of. the. Soldiers. how. they were. used. in. the. Voyage. & if you. find. they. were. not. humanly treated. or. any. denyed. for. want. of. due. Care. of. them. Let. Us know. it. with. proper. attestations. we. have. promised. the	Ship *Thistleworth*. Delays. The Governor was to enquire from time to time of all covenant servants and foreigners sent out by the Court to St Helena, what their monthly pay, the captains for fresh provisions, gave the captains, and how in the voyage before he was to have an early account thereof, because the Court found itself, by the exorbitant demands of some commanders, which were very oppressive, or all, but particularly by the poorer sort of persons, having also of the captains, how such persons behaved themselves, and named them for its notice. The Governor was to enquire, in like manner, of the soldiers, how they were used in the voyage, and if he found they were not humanely treated, or any denied for want of due care of them, he was to let the Court know it, with proper attestations. The Court had promised the surgeons of all ships to pay them ten shillings a head for all soldiers they should deliver alive at any of its settlements in India, to encourage their greater care of them. The Court allowed six shillings for every soldier delivered alive at St Helena, and would have the Governor comply therewith, and

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		Surgeons. of. all. Ships. to. pay. them. Ten. Shillings. a. Head. for. all Soldiers. they. shall. retirve. above. at. any. of. our. Settlements. in India. to. encourage. their. greater. Care. of. them. We. allow Sixe. Shillings. for. every. Soldier. delivered. above. at. St Helena & would. have. you. Comply. therewith. & Send. Us. a. List. by. the first. two. Conveyances. of. the. Names. of. such. as. you. so. paid for. and. of. the. Names. of. such. as. died. in. the. Voyage. if. any should. in. the. Pacquetts. you. will. find. Lists. of. such. as. we send. by. these. or. any. other. Ships. under. the. Paymaster's. hand. & Send. likewise. by. Every. Ship. a. List. of. all. the Soldiers. remaining. on. the. Island. THE. Surg of the. 11. July. 1710. Said. it. says. the Governr. & Councel. had. Sent. the. Names. of. the. 45. Persons. at our. Table. there. but. there. Came. no. such. Account. nor. is there. any. mention. thereof. in. the. Levt. of. the. Pacquett. this Provision. of. the. Clerk. or. whoever. takes. Care. of. the. Pacquett must. be. remedied. in. future. We. would. pass. by. Casuall Neglects. so. as. they. are. not. neglected. Our. 1st. Para. of. the. Generall. Letter. by. the. Head Frigatt. relating. to. Soldiers. or. Slaves. running. away. is grounded. upon. Prudence. & Equity. and. whatsoever. will. advise **Margin Notes:** Enquire. Covenant. Demands. of Passengers. Enquire. the. Usage. of. the. Soldiers. on. board. Ship. Miscarriage. of. the. List. of. Eaters. at. the. Forts. Must. allways. Enquire. of. the. Passengers.	send it a list by the first two conveyances of the names of such as were provided for, and of the names of such as died in the voyage, if any. And he should, in the packet, find lists of such as the Court sent by these, or any other ships, under the paymaster's hand, and send likewise, by every ship, a list of all the soldiers remaining on the island. The Court, in the third head of the 11 July 1710 letter, it said the Governor and council had sent the names of the forty five persons at its table there, but there came no such account, nor was there any mention thereof in the list of the packet. This omission of the clerk, or whoever took care of the packet, must be remedied in future. The Court would pass by casual neglects so as they were not neglected. On the first head of the general letter by the *Streatham*, touching soldiers or slaves running away, the Court grounded its answer upon prudence and equity, and whatever would abide [...]. **Interpretations** The bounty paid to ships' surgeons for every soldier delivered alive exposes how the Company used financial incentive to preserve the men it shipped across the world. Ten shillings a head in India and six at St Helena gave the surgeon a direct stake in his charges' survival. This reveals the Company's understanding that the health of its soldiers on the long voyage could not be commanded but had to be bought, aligning the interest of the medical officer with the lives of the men in his care. The systematic listing of soldiers, those provided for, those dead on the voyage and those remaining on the island, exposes how the Company tracked its military manpower as a carefully counted resource. Every man was to be accounted for by name through lists sent by successive ships. This reveals the Company's treatment of its soldiers as a precious and limited asset whose numbers had to be known at every stage, from embarkation through the passage to their standing garrison on the island. The inquiry into whether soldiers were humanely treated on the voyage exposes a concern for the men's welfare that ran alongside the Company's interest in their survival. The Governor was to report any who suffered from want of due care, backed by proper attestations. This reveals that the Company's attention to its soldiers extended beyond bare accounting to the conditions of their carriage, treating cruelty or neglect on the passage as a matter to be documented and answered for, whether from humanity or from the plain value of the men.
150	146	Orders &c.a by. & thereto. You. ought. to. Answer. for. the. loss. of them. if. you. don't. advise. us. by. the. Same. Ships. or. by first. Opportunity. you. can. as. therein. directed. notwith- standing. what. as. Answer'd. thereto. in. the. 15. Para. of. the Letter. of. the. 11. July. 1710. by. the. Tavistock. for. if. you advise. us. whom. you. mifs. Enshate. Ships. you. Sougnist Suit. carry. away. clandestinely. any. of. our. Soldiers. or Blacks. we. could. Enquire. but. do. you. Solines. Suit. as. and. if. you. mifs. any. Persons. as. per. the. Ships. Sails. you ought. to. make. the. Strictest. Enquiry. on. board. You. must also. observe. the. Charter. party. of. Ships. a. Penalty of. Discon. every. Ship. that. Sails. from. St Helena. in. the	Ship *Thistleworth*. By and by, how the Governor ought to answer for the loss of them, if he did not advise it by the same ships, or by the first opportunity, as therein directed, notwithstanding what was answered thereto in the third head of the letter of 11 July 1710 by the *Townstock*. For if he advised to whom he might inhabit ships he suspected did carry away clandestinely any of the Court's soldiers or blacks, it could enquire, but by its own letter thereto, and if he missed any persons before the ship sailed, he ought to make the strictest enquiry on board. He was also to observe the charter party, which laid a penalty of so much on every ship that sailed from the island in the nighttime without his leave, which was originally put in many charter parties to prevent the stealing away of the Court's soldiers, blacks and the like, and that he might do all he could. He was to put the captain of each ship in mind of this article on his first arrival, engaging his interest with him, that he might prevent any persons being concealed on board, and, before he sailed, might make strict enquiry of all his crew, to prevent a crimp of this nature.

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		Nightoruthouts. your. have. which. was. Originally. put. in many. Ypa. as. done. to. prevent. the. stealing. away. our Soldiers. Blacks. Yet. and. that. you. may. so. all. you. can. do. you. put. the. Captain. of. each. Ship. in. mind. of. this. thereto on. his. first. arrivall. & use. your. Interest. with. him. that He. may. prevent. any. Prisons. being. Conceald. on. board. & before. he. Sails. may. make. Strict. Enquiry. of. all. his. crew to. prevent. a. Complaint. of. this. nature. THE. two. Ships. being. bound. from. you. to. Bencoolen so. you. write. Better. what. you. think. proper. about. the Black. Girl. mentioned. in. the. 6th. Para. of. the. Northumberland. Letter. to. be. Sent. you. from. Bencoolen. which. the. Letter says. was. put. on. Board. at. Batavia. and. there. is. nothing under. the. Capt. hands. to. warrant. the. Demand. of. her. that Para. refers. to. the. Copy. of. the. Letter. from. Bencoolen. in the. Pacquett. This. we. have. perused. & find. no. mention therein. of. any. Such. Person. unless. it. be. a. that. Edmonds mentioned. in. the. Postcript. which. now. Can. hardly. Imagine. Advise. our. Reply. also. at. Bencoolen. about the. Malitry. Letter. that. if. any. other. Stond. Come. to. you. its. to. Translate. may. also. accompany. it. and. that. they. are all. their. Letters. to. you. which. if. the. Copy. be. truely. translated **Margin Notes:** Two Ships bound to Bencoolen Translation to accompany. of. the. Malitry. Letter.	The two ships being bound from the Governor to Bencoolen, the Court would have him settle what he thought proper about the black girl mentioned in the third head of the *Northumberland*'s letter to be sent him from Bencoolen, which the letter says was put in Madagascar Batavia, and there was nothing under the captain's hand to warrant the demand of her, that the third head referred to the copy of the letter from Bencoolen in the packet. This the Court had perused, and found no mention therein of any such person, unless it be the Edward as mentioned in the postscript, which the Court hardly imagined. The Court desired its reply also, at once, about the Malay letter, that if any other should come to him, its translation might also accompany it, and that they were all their letters to him, which, if the copy be truly translated [...]. **Interpretations** The charter party penalty on any ship sailing from the island by night without leave exposes the specific device by which the Company guarded against the theft of its people. Ships slipping away in darkness could carry off soldiers and slaves, and so a fixed fine was written into the contracts to deter night sailings. This reveals how the Company built the protection of its human property directly into its freighting bargains, using the penalty clause as a barrier against the clandestine removal of the men and slaves the island could not spare. The concern over the black girl claimed without warrant from Bencoolen exposes the documentary control the Company sought over even the movement of individual slaves between its stations. A demand for her was made, yet nothing under the captain's hand justified it, and the Court searched the correspondence in vain for authority. This reveals how the Company required proper written warrant for the transfer of a single enslaved person, treating the traffic in people as a matter to be governed by paper like any other transaction in its goods. The reference to a Malay letter requiring translation exposes the linguistic reach of the Company's correspondence across its eastern network. Letters reached the island in languages the directors could not read, and translations had to accompany them for the exchange to be understood. This reveals how the Company's government spanned not only great distances but different tongues, its administration dependent on the faithful rendering of foreign correspondence so that nothing of importance was lost in the passage between languages.
151	147	Orders &c.a by. & thereto. You. ought. to. Answer. for. the. loss. of them. if. you. don't. advise. us. by. the. Same. Ships. or. by first. Opportunity. you. can. as. therein. directed. notwith- standing. what. as. Answer'd. thereto. in. the. 15. Para. of. the Letter. of. the. 11. July. 1710. by. the. Tavistock. for. if. you advise. us. whom. you. mifs. Enshate. Ships. you. Sougnist Suit. carry. away. clandestinely. any. of. our. Soldiers. or Blacks. we. could. Enquire. but. do. you. Solines. Suit. as. and. if. you. mifs. any. Persons. as. per. the. Ships. Sails. you ought. to. make. the. Strictest. Enquiry. on. board. You. must also. observe. the. Charter. party. of. Ships. a. Penalty of. Discon. every. Ship. that. Sails. from. St Helena. in. the	Ship *Thistleworth*. By and by, how the Governor ought to answer for the loss of them, if he did not advise it by the same ships, or by the first opportunity, as therein directed, notwithstanding what was answered thereto in the third head of the letter of 11 July 1710 by the *Townstock*. For if he advised to whom he might inhabit ships he suspected did carry away clandestinely any of the Court's soldiers or blacks, it could enquire, but by its own letter thereto, and if he missed any persons before the ship sailed, he ought to make the strictest enquiry on board. He was also to observe the charter party, which laid a penalty of so much on every ship that sailed from the island in the nighttime without his leave, which was originally put in many charter parties to prevent the stealing away of the Court's soldiers, blacks and the like, and that he might do all he could. He was to put the captain of each ship in mind of this article on his first arrival, engaging his interest with him, that he might prevent any persons being concealed on board, and, before he sailed, might make strict enquiry of all his crew, to prevent a crimp of this nature.

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		Nightoruthouts. your. have. which. was. Originally. put. in many. Ypa. as. done. to. prevent. the. stealing. away. our Soldiers. Blacks. Yet. and. that. you. may. so. all. you. can. do. you. put. the. Captain. of. each. Ship. in. mind. of. this. thereto on. his. first. arrivall. & use. your. Interest. with. him. that He. may. prevent. any. Prisons. being. Concealed. on. board. & before. he. Sails. may. make. Strict. Enquiry. of. all. his. crew to. prevent. a. Complaint. of. this. nature. THE. two. Ships. being. bound. from. you. to. Bencoolen so. you. write. Better. what. you. think. proper. about. the Black. Girl. mentioned. in. the. 6th. Para. of. the. Northumberland. Letter. to. be. Sent. you. from. Bencoolen. which. the. Letter says. was. put. on. Board. at. Batavia. and. there. is. nothing under. the. Capt. hands. to. warrant. the. Demand. of. her. that Para. refers. to. the. Copy. of. the. Letter. from. Bencoolen. in the. Pacquett. This. we. have. perused. & find. no. mention therein. of. any. Such. Person. unless. it. be. a. that. Edmonds mentioned. in. the. Postcript. which. now. Can. hardly. Imagine. Advise. our. Reply. also. at. Bencoolen. about the. Malitry. Letter. that. if. any. other. Stond. Come. to. you. its. to. Translate. may. also. accompany. it. and. that. they. are all. their. Letters. to. you. which. if. the. Copy. be. truely. translated **Margin Notes:** Two Ships bound to Bencoolen Translation to accompany. of. the. Malitry. Letter.	The two ships being bound from the Governor to Bencoolen, the Court would have him settle what he thought proper about the black girl mentioned in the third head of the *Northumberland*'s letter to be sent him from Bencoolen, which the letter says was put in Madagascar Batavia, and there was nothing under the captain's hand to warrant the demand of her, that the third head referred to the copy of the letter from Bencoolen in the packet. This the Court had perused, and found no mention therein of any such person, unless it be the Edward as mentioned in the postscript, which the Court hardly imagined. The Court desired its reply also, at once, about the Malay letter, that if any other should come to him, its translation might also accompany it, and that they were all their letters to him, which, if the copy be truly translated [...]. **Interpretations** The charter party penalty on any ship sailing from the island by night without leave exposes the specific device by which the Company guarded against the theft of its people. Ships slipping away in darkness could carry off soldiers and slaves, and so a fixed fine was written into the contracts to deter night sailings. This reveals how the Company built the protection of its human property directly into its freighting bargains, using the penalty clause as a barrier against the clandestine removal of the men and slaves the island could not spare. The concern over the black girl claimed without warrant from Bencoolen exposes the documentary control the Company sought over even the movement of individual slaves between its stations. A demand for her was made, yet nothing under the captain's hand justified it, and the Court searched the correspondence in vain for authority. This reveals how the Company required proper written warrant for the transfer of a single enslaved person, treating the traffic in people as a matter to be governed by paper like any other transaction in its goods. The reference to a Malay letter requiring translation exposes the linguistic reach of the Company's correspondence across its eastern network. Letters reached the island in languages the directors could not read, and translations had to accompany them for the exchange to be understood. This reveals how the Company's government spanned not only great distances but different tongues, its administration dependent on the faithful rendering of foreign correspondence so that nothing of importance was lost in the passage between languages.
152	148	Orders &c.a but. an. indifferent. Character. & who. now. officiates. as Clerk. of. the. Councell. Mr. Alexander. has. bein. a. long time. in. the. Service. wherefore. We. would. have. you. give him. a. Charge. which. he. complains. He. presses. to. have. because. he. Cod. ea. sily. have. clear'd. himself. but. it was. denyed. Him. if. you. find. him. clearing. himself. or. that. any. part. of. his. fault. was. thro'. Accident. & not. with. a. willfull. Design. to. do. evil. We. have. it. to you. to. reingulate. him. but. if. you. find. the. charge. against Him. true. as. Poirier. Exprest. He. is. not. worth. of. our Service. however. he. may. be. otherwise. qualified. for it. WE. hear. from. Severall. hands. as. well. as. find. it. in the. Generall. Letter. that. the. Island. decays. in. its. usuall	Ship *Thistleworth*. But an indifferent character. As to the now officiates as clerk of the council, Mr Alexander had been a long time in the service, wherefore the Court would have the Governor give him a charge, which he complained he wanted, because he could easily have cleared himself, but it was denied him. If the Governor found him clearing himself, or that any part of his fault was through accident, and not with a wilful design to do evil, the Court left it to the Governor to recapitulate him. But if he found the charge against him true, as Poirier expressed, he was not worth its service, however he might be otherwise qualified for it. The Court had from several hands, as well as found it in the general letter, that the island always was in its usual produce of yams and other sustenance, and in particular that its own plantations were much neglected, and some almost soured, occasioned by the carelessness of one Samuel Jefsey, who had the management of them. The yams and orchards out of a plantation formerly bought of Samuel Taylor were quite gone, the ground lying

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		Produce. of. Yams. &c. Sustenance. & in. particular. that our. own. Plantations. are. much. neglected. & some. almost ruined. occasioned. by. the. Carelessness. of. one. Samuell Jefsey. who. has. the. Management. of. them. the. Yams. & Suchees. out. of. a. Plantation. formerly. bought. of. Samuell Taylor. are. quite. gone. the. Ground. lying. common. for other. Persons. Cattle. to. graze. on. and. before. the. Suchees. was removed. were. half. rotten. thro'. Carelessness. & the. rest. was put. into. Statts. Plantation. which. lyes. all. over. our. own. with Weeds. & the. Fences. down. & the. Pasture. incumbred. with other. Persons. Cattle. &c. Blacks. under. his. Care. are. not minded. to. work. as. they. should. & when. they. so. work. Very plant. great. Suchees. where. they. should. small. & vice. versa intirely. the. Ground. does. not. produce. Yams. as. it. would by. right. cultivation. That. Jefseys. own. cattle. ra- continually. among. the. Yams. eating. & trampling. them. to Rees. & the. rest. he. Squanders. away. maintaining. on the. Companies. Plantation. his. Wife. & Children. & 2. Blacks. & privately. assisting. his. Neighbouring. lazy. Kindred. that the. reason. of. somany. Blacks. dying. this. last. Year. more **Margin Notes:** Complaint of Sam. Jefsey.	common for other persons' cattle to graze on, and before the orchards were removed, were half rotten through carelessness. And the rest were put into Jefsey's plantation, which lay all over its own inner fields, and the fences down. The pasture was encumbered with other persons' cattle, and the blacks under his care were not minded to work as they should, and when they did work they planted great orchards where they should be small, and, contrariwise, entirely so the ground did not produce yams, as it would by right cultivation. That Jefsey's own cattle ran continually among the yams, eating and trampling them to ruin, while the rest he squandered away maintaining on the Company's plantation his wife, children and blacks, especially by assisting his neighbouring lazy kindred. That the reason of so many blacks dying there last year, more [...]. **Interpretations** The detailed indictment of Samuel Jefsey's mismanagement exposes how the neglect of a single officer could undermine the island's whole subsistence. The plantations meant to feed the settlement lay ruined, fences down, orchards rotten and yams trampled by his own cattle, while the slaves under him worked poorly and to no purpose. This reveals how heavily the island's food supply depended on competent husbandry, and how the failure of one man charged with the plantations threatened the sustenance on which the entire community relied. The complaint that Jefsey maintained his own family and assisted his lazy kindred at the Company's expense exposes the abuse of a Company plantation for private advantage. Rather than manage the ground for the settlement, he diverted its produce and labour to support his relations. This reveals the temptation that Company office presented on a remote station, where a man entrusted with its resources might quietly turn them to the keeping of his own household, and the vigilance the directors had to maintain against such private appropriation of public means. The linking of the many slave deaths to Jefsey's neglect exposes how the mistreatment of the plantation bore directly on the survival of its enslaved workers. The failure of cultivation and the disorder of the plantation were connected to the mortality among the blacks the previous year. This reveals how the Company reckoned the lives of its slaves as bound up with the proper running of its lands, treating their deaths as a consequence of mismanagement to be investigated, though the concern was framed in terms of loss to the plantation rather than the men themselves.
153	149	Ship Thistleworth than. has. in. 20. years. before. was. they. have. not. bein. allowed Necessary. Food. nor. kept. to. Planting. but. rather. Employed in. useless. Projects. We. fear. there. is. too. much. truth. in. this. do. you. Enquire. into. it. and. amend. it. Enquire. of. Mr. Mashbourn. & Mr. Marsden. what Goods. they. bought. of. Capt. Mason. & to. what. Value. & whether any. or. what. have. recievd. as. so. part. of. the. Invoice. thereof. and what. remains. in. their. Hands. sending. us. by. the. Next. a Perticular. Account. of. each. part. of. this. Enquiry. Remember. what. we. wrote. you. Last. year. & send us. an. Account. of. all. our. Cattle. & their. Encrease. annually. and	Ship *Thistleworth*. Than had in twenty years before, was that they had not been allowed necessary food, nor kept to planting, but rather employed in useless projects. Since there was too much truth in this, the Governor was to enquire into it, and amend it. The Governor was to enquire of Mr Mashbourne and Mr Marsden what goods they bought of Captain Mason, and at what value, and whether any of the goods received were on part of the annual profit, and what remained in their hands, sending the Court, by the next ship, a particular account of each part of this enquiry. The Governor was to remember what the Court wrote last year, and to send it an account of all the cattle and its common annually, that late Governor Roberts said, in his letter, that the goats destroyed all the young stock, and that it would be very good if the law for planting food were not put in execution. That therefore he proposed, as a general benefit to the

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		Late. Governr. Roberts. says. in. his. Letter. that. the. Goates. destroy all. the. young. Wood. & that. the. Island. will. be. spoiled. & ruined. if the. Laws. for. planting. Wood. is. not. put. in. Execution. That. therefore he. proposes. it. as. a. generall. Benefit. to. the. Company. & all. the Inhabitants. to. kill. all. the. Goates. unless. they. can. be. kept. from browsing. on. the. young. Trees. Consider. you. of. this. & give. us your. Opinion. what. we. Send. direct. therein. & in. such. generall Concerns. consult. with. the. Assistants. & let. them. make. what Laws. on. these. & Suchlike. Cases. they. judge. best. But. if. you are. not. Assured. that. Perticular. Persons. Interest. & not. the Generall. Benefit. of. the. whole. hinders. the. making. of. good. Laws. then. interpose. your. Authority. It. has. bein. with. abundance. of. Difficulty. that. the. People have. of. late. bein. prevailed. onto. sett. about. Fencing. in. their. Lands & planting. of. Wood. tho. it. is. apparent. that. the. Want. of. Trees for. Shelter. hinders. the. growth. of. Yams. Grass. & other. Necessary productions. of. the. Earth. & in. a. little. time. they. will. not. have Sufficient. for. Firing. The. Laws. for. these. two. Uses. are. Rocks. You. must. take. Care. to. Effectually. complyed. with. under the. Penalties. therein. Exprest. & if. you. are. Morally. assured that. any. of. the. three. Sort. partly. for. want. of. a. Sufficient number. of. Blacks. or. otherwise. have. not. bein. able. to. comply in. the. time. sett. them. altho'. they. have. done. what. the. Case **Margin Notes:** Send an acct. what Goods Capt Mason Sold. Enquire. into. the. Carelesness. of. Jefsey. Laws. for. the. planting. Wood. not. to. be. dispensed. with.	Company, and to the inhabitants, to kill all the goats, unless they could be kept from browsing on the young trees. On consideration of this, the Governor was to give the Court his opinion of what it should direct therein, and, in such general courses, consult with Mr Alexander, and let them make what laws on these, and which, if the Court judged best. But if the Governor found any particular person's interest, and not the general benefit of the whole, hindered the making of good laws, then he was to interpose his authority. It had been with abundance of difficulty that the people had of late been prevailed upon to set about fencing in their lands, and planting of food, though it was apparent that the want of trees for shelter hindered the growth of yams and grass, and the necessary productions of the earth, and in a little time they would not have sufficient for firing. The laws for these two last were works the Governor must take care to effectually comply with, under the penalties therein expressed. And if the Governor was morally assured that any of the several sorts, partly for want of a sufficient number of blacks, or otherwise, had not been able to comply in the time set them, although they had done what they could [...]. **Interpretations** The proposal to kill all the goats to save the young trees exposes a genuine conflict between two uses of the island's land. The goats destroyed the saplings needed for shelter and firing, yet they were themselves a source of food, and Governor Roberts had gone so far as to suggest suspending the law requiring the planting of food. This reveals the hard choices forced by the island's limited resources, where the protection of trees essential to cultivation stood directly against the keeping of animals that browsed them to destruction. The great difficulty in persuading the inhabitants to fence their land and plant food exposes the resistance the Company met in reforming the island's husbandry. Though the need for trees, yams and firing was plain, the settlers had to be pressed into the necessary work, and laws with penalties were required to compel them. This reveals the gap between the Company's understanding of what the island's survival demanded and the willingness of its people to undertake it, so that sound cultivation had to be enforced rather than merely encouraged. The instruction to override any private interest that blocked good laws exposes the Company's readiness to use the Governor's authority against the selfishness of individuals. Where one person's advantage stood in the way of the general benefit, the Governor was to interpose and compel the better course. This reveals the Company's conception of the common good as paramount on the island, empowering its chief officer to break through the private resistance that might otherwise defeat measures needed for the whole community's welfare. **Speculations** The direction to make allowance for settlers who failed to plant in time for want of slaves, rather than simply enforce the penalty, points to a default the Company set aside. The plain course, given the laws it was pressing so hard, was to punish every failure to comply and leave no room for excuse. Yet the Court told the Governor that where a man was truly unable to meet the deadline for lack of hands, though he had done what he could, the penalty should not fall on him. This reveals the Company tempering its own insistence on compulsion with a judgement of genuine incapacity, choosing to distinguish the negligent from the merely under-resourced rather than apply its penal laws without discrimination.
154	150	Orders &c.a	Ship *Thistleworth*.

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		in. Such. Case. indulge. them. to. a. longer. day. but. don't dispence. with. the. Law. on. any. Account. or. to. any. Prison whatsoever. Governr. Roberts. wrote. he. hoped. the. fencing & planting. would. be. near. Compleat. in. twelve. Months. if so. you. will. have. the. less. trouble. therein. TAKE. care. our. own. Plantations. and. the. great. Wood be. all. fenced. in. & as. Time. is. Opportunity. that. new. Trees be. planted. to. supply. those. which. have. bein. unaccountably destroyed. for. the. Sake. of. the. Bark. to. tann. Leather. with but. Cod. never. have. bein. done. had. our. own. People. bein Watchfull. & by. now. & then. Surveying. the. Wood. & finding. when any. Standing. Tors. had. bein. barked. had. there. upon ifsued. out. Orders. proper. to. have. prevented. the. like. in future. By. this. and. many. other. instances. of. our. then Servants. carelessness. our. Island. is. brought. into. a Declining. Condition. & it. is. highly. Necessary. that. We should. as. all. we. can. to. recover. it. and. that. you. may contribute. our. utmost. We. as. hereby. desire. you. to. employ your. thoughts. about. what. is. necessary. to. be. done. when You. have. weighed. Circumstances. & heard. what. the Blances. Opinion. are. We. mean. the. most. skillfull. and honestamongst. them. then. determine. & act. accoxrding.ly. Pry. perusing. the. Consultation. Books. & Letters. before mentioned. You. will. see. what. has. bein. done. & ordered. relating to. these. two. Articles. of. preserving. of. Land. & planting. of Wood. & will. give. You. a. large. Idea. of. the. whole. matter than. is. ever. proper. to. be. mentioned. in. this. Letter. do. you take. Care. the. whole. be. Compleated. as. shall. most. conduce to. the. Generall. good. of. the. Place. We. here. were. will. think them. severe. hardly. dealt. with. by. being. compelled. to. as. their Parts. but. if. they. are. you. must. not. be. deswaded. from pursuing. these. Our. Orders. & consider. it. is. better. to. have a. Perticular. mischief. than. a. Generall. Inconvenience. This. leads. us. naturally. to. consider. the. Complts **Margin Notes:** Fence. in. the. great. Wood. from. the. Cattle Bark. Consider. the. best. ways. to. preserve. the. great. wood Read. former. Orders. persue. the. Generall. Good. Relating. to. Land. or. Wood	In such case, the Governor was to indulge them to a longer day, but not to dispense with the law on any account, or to any person whatever. Governor Roberts wrote he hoped the fencing and planting would be near complete in twelve months, if so he would have the less trouble therein. The Governor was to take care of the Court's own plantations, and to have the great wood fenced in. And, as time was of importance, that new trees be planted to supply their room, which had been unaccountably destroyed for the sake of the bark, to tan leather with, but could never have been done had its own people been watchful. By now and then surveying the wood, and finding when any standing trees had been barked, had thereupon issued out orders proper to have prevented the like in future. By this, and many other instances of its own then servants' carelessness, the island was brought into a declining condition, and it was highly necessary that the Court should do all it could to recover it, and that the Governor might contribute his utmost. It hereby desired him to employ his thoughts about what was necessary to be done, when he had weighed circumstances, and heard what Mr Alexander's opinion was, whom the Court judged the most skilful and honest amongst them, then determine, and act accordingly. On perusing the consultation books and letters before mentioned, the Governor would see what had been done and ordered, relating to those two articles of preserving of land and planting of wood. And the Court would give him a large view of the whole matter than was ever proper to be mentioned in these letters. The Governor was to take care the whole be completed, as should most conduce to the general good of the place. The Court here would not think the people hardly dealt with, by being compelled to secure their bounds, but if they were, the Governor was not to be deterred from pursuing these its orders and services, it being better to have a particular mischief than a general inconvenience. This leads the Court naturally to consider the depths [...]. **Interpretations** The destruction of the great wood for its bark to tan leather exposes how a valuable common resource could be quietly stripped for private gain. Trees essential to the island were killed by stripping their bark, and only vigilant surveying could have caught the damage in time. This reveals how the island's slender endowment of timber was vulnerable to those who would sacrifice a long-term necessity for an immediate use, and how the Company's failure to watch its own wood had contributed to the settlement's decline. The maxim that it was better to have a particular mischief than a general inconvenience exposes the principle by which the Company justified compelling its people against their will. Individuals might feel hardly used by being forced to fence their bounds, but the general good outweighed their particular grievance. This reveals the Company's readiness to subordinate private complaint to collective necessity, framing the coercion of reluctant settlers as a lesser evil than the widespread harm that would follow from leaving the land unimproved. The repeated reliance on Mr Alexander as the most skilful and honest of the officers exposes how the Company identified and leaned upon individual competence in governing at a distance. Amid a general complaint of careless servants, one man was singled out as trustworthy and knowledgeable, and the Governor was directed to consult him. This reveals how the Company's remote administration depended on locating the few reliable men among

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			many, resting its hopes for recovery on the judgement of those it had reason to trust.
155	151	Ship Thistleworth as. sons. of. being. Secured. in. the. Possession. of. our. Lands. and having. their. Titles. ascertained. which. we. find. Governr. Roberts & the. then. Councill. promist. they. shoud. when. they. had. done fencing. & Planting. & we. would. have. you. performe. & to. this. end Examine. & well. Consider. the. first. Condition. on. which. the Blances. had. their. Lands. granted. them. which. Lands. be alienated. to. them. by. Will. Sale. or. any. other. way. the. Possessor can. hold. by. no. better. Tenure. than. those. (as. full). had. to. what. on Such. Land. was. Originally. granted. WE. find. the. then. Comp. Orders. to. their. Governr. and Councill. to. grant. Land. was. that. the. People. who. had. it shoud. register. their. Grants. but. that. thro'. the. Supineness. of the. Government. was. neglected. & or. this. account. by. People Titles. are. become. precarious. We. likewise. find. that. when Prisons. had. a. Certain. Number. of. Acres. given. as. 20. 30. or. 40 for. want. of. proper. Land. Marks. to. ascertain. each. mans Extent. of. his. Ground. as. given. & Reg. as. Some. of. them. made Encrachments. on. the. Contiguous. Land. & yet. Cod. it. by. the Number. of. Acres. truly. granted. & when. the. same. has. bein alienated. the. next. Possessor. took. it. for. Such. a. Quantity. of Acres. & it. may. be. added. another. Peice. that. adjoyned. to. it. & so. Certain. time. of. peaceable. possession. would. give. him an. Indisputed. Title. the. Landholders. would. have. a. great deal. more. Land. than. ever. the. Comp. granted. away. which would. be. so. much. dead. loss. to. the. Comp. This. being. the. Case. We. say. let. every. Persons. Land. which. is. fenced. in. be measured. & if. to. exactly. or. pretty. near. to. the. Quantity. of Acres. He. claims. & he. can. prove. that. by. first. grant. descent. or. purchase. He. is. intitled. to. that. Quantity. give him. a. new. Grant. of. it. with. a. Plan. annexed. thereto. of. the advertaservements. & its. buttings. & boundings. & Declare. it forth. their. He. Amps. to. be. holden. of. the. Company. on complying. with. the. Terms. & Conditions. of. the. first. Grant & paying. the. duties. formerly. Settled. **Margin Notes:** Establish. good. Titles All. Grants. & Titles. to. be. registered. & Land. to. be. Surveyed. & measured.	Ship *Thistleworth*. By reason of being settled in the possession of their lands, and having their titles ascertained, which the Court found Governor Roberts, with the then council, promised the island when they had done fencing and planting. And so the Court would have the Governor perform. And to this end, examine and consider the first conditions on which the planters had their lands granted to them, which lands were allotted to them by will, sale, or any other way the possession could be held by no better tenure than those lawful. Had so it on such land was originally granted. The Court found the then Company's orders to their Governor and council to grant land was that the people who had it should register their grants, but that, through the supineness of the government, was neglected, and on this account many people's titles were become precarious. It likewise found that when persons had a certain number of acres given, as ten, twenty or so, for want of proper land marks to ascertain each man's extent of his ground, so given, they were some of them made encroachments on the contiguous land. And yet counted it by the number of acres truly granted. When the same had been alienated, the next possessor took it for such a quantity of acres, and it might be added another piece that adjoined to it. In so certain a time of peaceable possession would give him an indisputed title, and the landholders would have a great deal more land than ever the Company granted away, which would be so much dead loss to the Company. This being the case, the Court said, let every person's land, which was fenced in, be measured, and if it be exactly, or pretty near, to the quantity of acres he claimed, and he could prove that by first grant, descent, or purchase, he was entitled to that quantity, and he was given a new grant of it, with a plan annexed thereto of the advantages of its buildings and boundaries, and declared it further, for ample, to be so done, of the Company on complying with the terms and conditions of the first grant, and paying the duties formerly settled. **Interpretations** The neglected duty to register land grants exposes how the failure of an administrative routine could unsettle the whole basis of property on the island. Because the government had let registration lapse, many titles had become precarious, resting on no secure record. This reveals how completely landholding depended on proper documentation, and how the supineness of an earlier government in keeping its registers had sown a lasting insecurity that the Company now had to remedy through a fresh survey and regrant. The problem of encroachment through the want of land marks exposes how, without fixed boundaries, the gradual expansion of holdings could defraud the Company of its land. Men granted a set number of acres, lacking clear markers, took in more, and each successive owner carried the enlarged claim forward until the landholders possessed far more than had ever been granted. This reveals the slow erosion of the Company's property through undefined bounds, a creeping loss that only exact measurement and new grants with annexed plans could arrest. The scheme to remeasure each fenced holding and issue a new grant with an annexed plan exposes the Company's method of restoring order to a confused system of tenure. By surveying what each man actually held against what he could prove entitled to, and fixing it in a fresh document with

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			defined boundaries, the Company sought to reconcile possession with right. This reveals a systematic effort to rebuild secure landholding from a tangle of precarious and encroached titles, grounding property afresh in measured fact and proper record. **Speculations** The choice to confirm each settler in the land he actually held, provided it matched his entitlement, rather than strip back every encroachment to the original grant, points to a default the Company set aside. The strict course was to reclaim all land held beyond what had been granted, recovering the Company's property from those who had crept over their bounds. Yet the Court chose instead to remeasure, and where a man's fenced holding was at or near the acres he could prove by grant, descent or purchase, to issue him a fresh title to that quantity. This reveals the Company preferring to settle landholding on a secure and documented footing going forward, accepting the labour of a general survey over the disruption and ill will that a wholesale clawing back of encroached land would have caused.
156	152	Orders &c.a If. any. of. the. Prisons. fencing. in. their. Grounds shall. on. the. Measure. of. it. be. found. to. have. more than. they. can. justly. lay. claim. to. by. a. con. situate. Quantity. of. Acres. then. adjust. with. him. what. more Land. that. pay. for. that. surplus. wherein. be. not. rigorous. but. in. Regard. the. Ground. is. founded. indulge. them on. reasonable. accounts. by. Rating. the. same. at. a. moderate price. & the. that. Enable. a. Sway. of. the. Landholders. so impowered. to. Survey. & Sapage. of. it. & give. you. their Opinion. which. if. it. be. pretty. near. what. you. think. it ought. to. be. acquiescing. in. it. We. say. let. them. give. their Opinion. for. we. will. not. absolutely. submitt. the. dispo- sition. of. our. Land. to. their. Judgement. & send. what. that is. & do. you. their. Deeds. or. grants. for. the. same. in. the manner. of. Storrs. abovementioned. WE. take. it. for. Granted. as. Blance. will. by another. incroach. on. his. Land. & that. hinders. the Neighbrs. Live. in. Peace. You. must. remember. that. by. the. Rent Book. which. you. sent. from. on. the. Island. or. the Register. that. every. Blanter. paid. water. per. an. Ann. a. year. to. be. sercived. from. Constant. rent. of. watching. & Waring. by. the. Letter. of. the. 7. August. 1670. Acres Rated. at. Forty. Shillings. for. every. Family. Acre. which as. two. Shillings. an. Acre. but. & where. Acre. is. wanted to. water. Ann. & is. so. paid. annually. by. that. Payment. You. will. know. what. Each. man. has. a. right. to. & have a. good. Rule. to. go. by. in. Case. of. Disputes. THose. who. hold. Land. by. lease. of. Us. their estate. of. ground. will. be. the. want. Survey. to. adjust. Rents. by. paying. by. the. Acre. if. on. the. measuring. it shod. be. found. shorty. way. then. they. shod. it. when. they	Ship *Thistleworth*. If any of the persons fencing in their grounds should, on his measure, get it be found to have more than they could justly lay claim to by a considerable quantity of acres, then adjust with him, what more land they pay for that surplus, wherein he was not injured, but in regard the ground was fenced in, indulge them on that account by taking the same at a moderate price, and so that each two thirds of the landholders be compelled to survey and pay off it, and give the Court their opinion, which, if it be pretty near what it thought ought to be acquiesced in, then let him give his opinion, for it would not repeatedly submit the disposing of its own land to their judgement, and, when that is settled, upon those dues or grants for the same in the aforesaid stores aforementioned. The Court took it for granted, as a planter would let another encroach on his land, and that so far as the surplus, live in care. The Governor was to remember that by the Court's book, which he had found on the island, or the register, that every planter paid, under penal duties, a grant to be issued from constant duty of watching or warring, by the letter of 7 August 1710. These were rated at forty shillings for every twenty acres, which was two shillings an acre, but for a pheasant was rendered to enter Anna, and so paid annually by that payment. The Governor would know what each man had a right to, and have a good rule to go by in case of disputes. Those who held land apart of it, on their extent of ground, must, to the utmost, survey to acquire the same, by paying up the acres of it. On the measuring, it stood the demand ably up, then they could, at once, when they surveyed at pay any that saw, and in proportion, but became they had been at the charge of fencing and planting [...]. **Interpretations** The treatment of those found holding more land than they could claim exposes the Company's pragmatic accommodation of existing encroachment. Rather than seize the surplus, it chose to sell the extra acres to the occupier at a moderate price, since the ground was already fenced. This reveals how the Company weighed the recovery of its rights against the disruption of dispossessing settled holders, preferring to regularise the excess by payment than to enforce a strict reversion that would unsettle the improved and enclosed land. The annual duty of two shillings an acre in lieu of watching and warding exposes how the Company commuted a personal service into a money payment.

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		shod. sinker. at. Pay. can. not. remain. in. Proportion. & yet because. they. have. bein. at. the. Charge. of. fencing. & planting. **Margin Notes:** Survey. the. Land. as. long. as. wanted Prosperity. encouraged Rent. Charged. in. the. Register. of. watching. &c. Survey. Leases. Rents. by. Rate. of. the. Ground.	The obligation to keep watch and defend the island, once discharged in person, was converted into a fixed rent on land. This reveals the transformation of a feudal-style duty of defence into a financial charge, so that the settler's contribution to the island's security was rendered in cash rather than in the bodily service the original obligation implied. The Company's refusal to submit the disposal of its own land to the settlers' judgement exposes the limit of the consultation it permitted. Though the Governor was to gather the landholders' opinions on the survey and valuation, the final decision on the Company's property remained its own. This reveals how the Company balanced a measure of local participation against its ultimate proprietary authority, willing to hear the inhabitants yet reserving to itself the disposal of the land on which their tenure depended.
157	153	Ship Thistleworth Wherein. have. you. & ajudan. the. matter. with. them. to. their. own Content. if. they. are. any. thing. reasonable. And. grant. them a. Lease. with. a. Plan. of. the. measure. my. invited. as. aforesaid. if you. Land. a. new. lett. a. Survey. into. the. Ground. & as. you. abide. by their. Opinion. on. the. Condition. aforesaid. As. you. grant. Leases. & Sapes. as. aforementioned. take care. they. be. entred. in. the. Register. Books. as. very. divided. in. the. first Marks. of. Land. & for. this. time. as. well. as. Charges. to. Us. to. be paid. on. Entry. & Prison. the. Fees. to. the. Clerk. as. far. as. you judge. fitt. giving. him. only. so. much. with. Occasion. as. may Encourage. him. to. enter. them. fairly. timely. & with. Expedition. WE. will. by. no. means. Suffer. any. Prisons. to. with. hold their. Dues. or. Leases. from. being. Registred. because. we. woud at. once. put. a. full. Stop. to. all. future. Disputes. about. the Property. of. Lands. occupied. on. the. Island. & to. prevent. their Delays. You. see. we. have. for. this. occasion. remised. our. own Duty. the. Say. the. same. as. to. the. Charge. of. Surveying. moderate. that. as. you. think. fitt. that. the. Surveyors. may. have. Something for. his. trouble. & yet. not. burden. the. People. which. we. must. not take. amifs. on. this. occasion. wherein. you. see. we. even. part with. our. own. Dues. But. in. time. to. come. on. any. Alienations. you. must take. care. they. be. registred. Accordingly. to. the. first. Institution & on. the. Terms. thereby. Decided. WHen. the. Leases. are. this. found. in. & measured. & entred you. must. be. Equally. carefull. to. do. the. fences. & planting. of Wood. as. preservid. & Consult. with. the. Senate. & do. as. at. a generall. Sessions. what. Rules. are. Necessary. to. be. laid. down to. oblige. the. severall. Owners. thereto. & take. care. they. be publisht. for. the. Generall. notice. with. proper. penalties. to	Ship *Thistleworth.* The Governor was to acquaint the matter with them to their own content, if there were anything reasonable, and grant them a lease with a plan of the whole survey, invited as aforesaid, if he could acquit his letter, saying that he granted it, as you abide by this opinion, on the conditions aforesaid. As the Governor granted leases and titles as aforementioned, and took charge to enter in the register such as were directed on the first grants of land, and for this time remitted no charges to the Court, to be paid on entry and passing the fees to the clerk, so far as he judged fit, giving him only so much, and the occasion as might encourage him to enter them fairly, truly and with expedition. The Court would by no means suffer any persons to withhold their dues or leases from being registered, because it would at once put a full stop to all future disputes about the property of lands occupied on the island, and to prevent their delays. Wherefore, on this occasion, the Court had remitted its own duty, and only laid the charge as to the charge of surveying moderate, that, as he might see that the surveyors might have something for his trouble, and yet not burden the Court, which it must not take amiss on this occasion, wherein it even parted with its own dues. For time to come, on any alienations, the Governor must take care they be registered accordingly, to see first institutions and the terms thereby decided. When the leases, on this footing, were granted and settled, the Governor must be equally careful, as to the fencing and planting of trees, as premised, and consult with Mr Alexander as a general session, what rules were necessary to be laid down to oblige the several parties thereto, to take care they be published for the general notice, with proper penalties to enforce the execution. If the Governor found the landholders would acquiesce in it, or be laying down of any rules, let them know he would make rules with, in be them, but that it was its order he should consent there, as being contrary, to let them make [...]. **Interpretations** The Company's remission of its own dues to speed the registration of land exposes how far it would go to secure clear title on the island. Rather than collect the charges it might have levied on entry, it waived them so that no cost would deter the settlers from registering their leases. This reveals the Company's judgement that the lasting benefit of settled property, free from disputes, outweighed the immediate revenue it surrendered, prompting the unusual step of parting with its own dues to achieve a secure and documented system of tenure.

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		enforce. the. Execution. & if. you. find. the. Landholders. will not. Reconcile. it. to. be. bringing. down. of. any. Rules. Let. them. have you. will. make. Rules. with. six. to. them. but. that. it. is. our. Order You. shod. Convince. them. as. being. contrary. to. lett. them. make **Margin Notes:** Prisons. no. Dues. Withheld The. way. of. Registring. Lands. Alienations. to. be. Registred Lands. must. be. fenced. & wood. to. planted	The insistence that all alienations be registered for the future exposes the Company's determination that the confusion of the past should not recur. Every transfer of land was henceforth to be entered, so that the record would keep pace with the changing ownership of holdings. This reveals how the Company sought to build a permanent safeguard against precarious title, learning from the neglect that had unsettled property to require that the register be maintained as an unbroken account of who held what on the island. The moderate fee allowed to the surveyor exposes the Company's attempt to balance the cost of its reforms between itself and the settlers. It kept the charge for surveying low enough not to burden the people, while ensuring the surveyor was paid something for his labour, and bore the loss of its own remitted dues. This reveals the careful apportionment of expense in a scheme meant to benefit the whole island, the Company spreading the cost so that neither its own purse nor the inhabitants' resistance would defeat the establishment of secure landholding.
158	154	Orders &c.a their. own. Laws. of. they. will. but. we. have. them. at. once the. Generall. Benefit. of. the. Island. in. these. their Orders. We. think. these. Rules. if. persued. inticate. in the. whole. of. the. Employ. except. & that. they. are. so. equitaces as. none. can. justly. blame. them. but. if. there. be. any Exceptions. to. some. of. these. or. if. you. have. or. sustain the. Case. as. to. the. present. Doctrines. with. your. opinion. how. far. apt. to. be. done. will. be. ill. Send. you. our. first. prejudi- cation. We. think. it. is. not. for. our. Advantage. that. any Persons. of. one. Land. should. hold. for. more. than. 21. years. Because. you. say. there. are. two. or. three. of. a. ten. good. as. my. shod. there. was. no. Order. of. ours. for. warranting. the. Grants. and Leases. to. be. made. such. a. sport. we. think. they. shod. be Called. in. & new. Leases. given. for. only. Twenty. one. years for. the. sake. of. Such. new. these. if. any. thereon. your Opinion. is. impaired. by. this. we. are. three. we. see. & this. more. plain. as. we. the. reasons. our. future. Orders hereupon. We. look. upon. the. Leases. to. be. want. of. our. estimant of. the. property. of. the. severall. Inhabitants. of. the. Island. but. we. can. tell. you. are. as. hereby. intend. to. vacate. for the. time. to. come. any. of. the. fundamental. laws. of. the. Island relating. to. the. tenancy. & the. like. we. as. things. to. induce the. Estates. of. this. Leases. & the. recurring. profitions. for the. time. past. & so. much. as. have. sein. one. time. since find. us. & plant. this. sesons. as. aforesaid. as. a. return for. this. being. handwork. thereon. for. so. seeing. but. if. there	Ship *Thistleworth.* Their own laws, if they would, but so, however, as to see the general benefit of the island in their several sorts. The Court thought these rules, if perused with care, in the whole of the chapter, appeared, and that they were so equitable as none could justly blame them, but, if there be any exceptions to some of these rules, or, if the Governor had entertained the like, let the utmost discretion, with his opinion how far it ought to be dealt with, and, again, his prior objection. The Court thought it was not for its advantage that any person's own land should be let for more than seven years. Before the Governor said there were two or three of a longer term, since there was an order of paths thereunto warranting the Governor and council to make such a grant, it thereby stood, or, called and drawn, leases granted for only twenty one years, from the date of such new leases. If any person in the Governor's opinion is impeded by this, and its former letters, and this must govern over the more said and future orders hereupon. The Court looked upon the leases to be so much of our escheatment of the property of the several inhabitants of the island, but it would not, till the Governor advised it thereby, intend to vacate for the time to come, any of the fundamental laws of the island, relating to the tenancy, and let this be so strong to entrench the interest of the buyer, since it did occur in a preference, for the time it was to remain, as have, from time to time since, this on. If a planter, this leases as aforesaid, has a return for his being tenant, and the same for so seeing, but if there be any that would not so far a right of a planter, they are not to be entitled to those our intended favours, nor could it come by this to prejudice any arrears of their fees and duties owing on account of the land. It had been late, and that the leases were come in this year [...]. **Interpretations** The Company's limit of seven years on how long a settler might lease out his own land exposes its concern to prevent the concentration of landholding through long tenancies. By restricting the term for which land could be sublet, it sought to keep control over the island's property from passing into long private arrangements. This reveals how the Company managed not only its own grants but the secondary dealings of its settlers, guarding against the emergence of durable tenancies that might loosen its ultimate hold on the land. The twenty one year term fixed for the new leases exposes the Company's attempt to give

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		to. any. that. will. not. so. find. & plant. this. they. are. not. to. be entitled. to. these. our. intended. favors. never. as. want. by this. to. prejure. any. Arrears. of. Rent. & Duties. owing. on account. of. the. said. Lands. It. has. bein. told. us. that. the. Doves. were. eat. in. this **Margin Notes:** Equity. of. these. Orders Leases. hafe. for. more. than. 21. Years. than. in. as. these. than. no. for. more. These. Rules. make. a. New. Settlement. Transgressors. to. be. favor'd. but. the. Arrears. of. Rent.	landholders sufficient security to justify improvement while retaining its reversionary right. A term of that length gave the settler a real stake in his ground, long enough to reward the labour of fencing and planting, yet bounded so that the land returned to the Company's disposal. This reveals the balance the Company struck between encouraging cultivation and preserving its proprietorship, setting a term that served both the settler's incentive and its own long-term interest. The withholding of the intended favours from any who would not accept the position of tenant exposes how the Company used its concessions as leverage over the terms of tenure. The benefits of the new arrangement were reserved for those who acknowledged themselves tenants, and no relief was granted that would forgive the fees and duties already owed. This reveals how the Company tied its accommodations to the settlers' acceptance of its terms, offering security and favour only to those who submitted to the tenancy on which its authority over the land rested.
159	155	Ship Thistleworth year. 1679. & to. August. 1693. and. others. were. never. publisht at. least. of. late. Years. to. all. the. Inhab. tants. prevent. all Occasions. of. this. Sort. by. making. proper. Publications. thereof as. aforesaid. WE. have. read. over. the. Case. of. Mr. George. Mashewson & the. Accounts. in. the. Consultations. of. the. Inquire. of. the. Island which. we. took. upon. to. Summum. lay. there. is. a. Vein. of Resentment. seems. to. run. thro'. the. Whole. providing. Several parts. of. the. Facts. which. are. given. as. the. reason. of. the Inquire. seem. to. be. mistaken. as. for. Instance. That. he. went off. the. Island. without. leave. which. the. Letter. by. the Alexander. Feb. 22. signed. by. Mr. Mashbourne. & Mr Marsen. contradicts. one. another. is. that. he. is. greatly indebted. which. looks. odd. that. it. shoud. be. so. & yet. the. then Councill. shod. give. him. a. Bill. for. £100. which. we. paid here. Add. to. this. that. tho'. Mr. Griffith. was. Ordered. in. Consultation the. 16th. January. 1707/8. to. draw. up. a. Charge. against. him. of all. Debts. Dues. & Demands. Comes. & miscarianous. and. the. Store. keeper. to. Examine. the. Stores. & Several. Books for. what. debts. he. owd. and. Accounts. to. the. Store. yet. the Subsequent. Letters. to. December. following. & the. Consultations make. no. mention. of. any. report. made. on. either. of. these. two Enquiries. as. these. are. so. many. proofs. of. the. ill. Offices. some or. other. had. done. him. with. Capt. Roberts. who. Carried. the matter. too. far. in. their. proceedings. against. his. Wife. & the Estate. for. tho'. the. Bye. Law. was. broken. & thereby. in. strict. justice	Given the year 1679, and to August 1693, and others were never published, at least of late years, to all the inhabitants, to prevent all disputes of the sort by making proper publications thereof, as aforesaid. The Court had read over the case of Mr George Hodgkinson, and the account in the consultations of the affairs of the island, which it took upon to summarise. There was a run of resentment seeming to run about the whole, providing some parts of the facts which were given, as the season of the affairs, seem to be mistaken, as, for instance, that he went off the island without leave, which the letter, by the *Aleppo*, of the 22, signed by Mr Mashbourne and Mr Marsden, contradicts one another, and that he was greatly indebted, which looks odd, and it stood to be so. And yet, for the Governor and council should give them a bill for one hundred pounds, which the Court paid here. And to this, that Mr Griffith was ordered in consultation the 16 January 1707 to draw up a charge against him, of all debts, dues and demands, crimes and misdemeanours, and the storekeeper to examine the stores and stored books, for what debts he owed, and accounts to be set there, yet the subsequent letters to December following, and the consultations, made no mention of any report made on either of those two enquiries, as those were so many proofs of the ill offices some or other had done him, with Captain Roberts, who carried the matter too far in the proceedings against his wife, while resident, for the by-law was broken, and thereby, in strict justice, the penalty was incurred, and the council might have been justified in laying their hands upon, and seizing it, giving it to the Company, taking an inventory thereof, either leaving it with Mr Hodgkinson to be accountable for, on receipt of its further orders, being in a rule that had lain dormant for many years. Yet the evidence of going so much further, as the consultation books plainly enough appears to the Court, to be the effect of law over harshness, being now determined as aforesaid [...]. **Interpretations** The Company's reexamination of the case against Hodgkinson exposes its willingness to look behind a local prosecution to detect malice among its officers. Contradictory accounts, an odd charge of indebtedness and unreported enquiries led the Court to suspect that ill offices had been done him with Governor Roberts. This reveals how the Company, governing at a distance, had to weigh the possibility that its own servants had turned the machinery of justice to private spite, reading the inconsistencies in

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		the. Penalty. was. incurrd. & the. Council. might. have. bein Justified. in. laying. their. hands. upon. part. & confiscing. it. to the. Comp. use. Dishing. an. Inventory. thereof. & then. leaving it. with. Mr. Hodghinson. to. be. accomtable. for. & so. receipt. of our. futur. orders. being. in. a. Suit. that. has. Layen. dormant. for many. Years. yet. the. audence. of. going. so. much. further. as. the Consultation. of. this. plays. even. as. appears. to. us. to. be. the Effect. of. law. our. take. Amps. & being. now. determind. as. aforesaid **Margin Notes:** If. former. Laws. were. not. publisht. them. publish. Hodghinsons. Case.	the record as evidence of a man wronged rather than fairly condemned. The judgement that Roberts carried the matter too far against Hodgkinson's wife exposes the Company's recognition that strict law could become oppression. Though a by-law had been broken and the penalty technically incurred, and the council might have seized the property, the Court found the proceedings the effect of harshness. This reveals how the Company distinguished between what the law permitted and what justice required, condemning the enforcement of a long-dormant rule to its full rigour as an abuse rather than a vindication of authority. The revival of a by-law that had lain dormant for many years exposes the danger of selective enforcement in the island's legal order. A rule long unused could be suddenly invoked against a particular person, giving the appearance of law but the substance of persecution. This reveals the Company's awareness that the mere existence of a penalty did not justify its application, and that reaching back to enforce a neglected law against one individual, while others had escaped it, savoured of harshness rather than even-handed justice. **Speculations** The decision to reopen and effectively overturn the island's proceedings against Hodgkinson, rather than let the local judgement stand, points to a default the Company set aside. The natural course for directors at such a distance was to uphold the council's decision, since the men on the spot had seen the facts and a by-law had genuinely been broken. Yet the Court chose instead to scrutinise the record, find the contradictions and unreported enquiries telling, and rule that Roberts had pressed a dormant law too harshly against Hodgkinson's wife. This reveals the Company willing to second-guess its own governor and council in the interest of a man it judged wronged, preferring to correct a local injustice from London over the easier deference to those who had condemned him.
160	156	Orders &c.a as. persuade. to. make. a. new. Solemt. of. the. Island. we hope. to. the. good. liking. of. all. the. Industrious. and honest. Inhabitants. We. are. willing. to. Sett. aside all. the. said. Seizure. of. Mr. Hoshinsons. Land. on. the Orphans. he. is. Engaged. for. on. Condition. the. Laws for. fencing. & Planting. is. Complyed. with. We. have. a. Petition. of. Mercy. Alexander Widow. about. the. Seizure. of. her. husband. Rich. Alexanders Lands. & for. the. Same. Reason. are. content. to. grant her. a. Lease. thereof. as. she. desires. being. the. hus. bond is. dead. whose. Carrage. by. what. appears. did. deserve no. proove. at. the. Govrs. hands. the. every. body. is Intitled. to. Justice. Wee. are. pleased. with. the. Acct. Govr. Roberts. gave. Us. of. the. Effectually. Checkt. & Every. Disposition. of. too many. of. the. Planters. to. let. all. run. to. Ruen. & by removing. Some. of. the. Doones. & speaking. well. of. the Industrious. has. mended. the. Temper. of. the. rest. that. they. are. busy. as. Bees. & shept. up. to. it. following. it business. all. the. to. come. an. Industrious. hope. full.	As aforesaid, to make a new settlement of the island, and the Court hoped for the good liking of all the industrious and honest inhabitants. It was willing to set aside all the late seizure of Mr Hodgkinson's land on the orphans he was engaged for, on condition the by-law for fencing and planting be complied with. The Court had a petition of Mercy Alexander, widow, about the seizure of her husband Richard Alexander's lands, and, for the same reason, was content to grant her a lease thereof, as she desired, being that her husband died whose carriage, by what appeared, did deserve no proof at the Governor's hands, that everybody is entitled to justice. The Court was pleased with the account Governor Roberts gave it, of the effectually checking, by every disposition, the many of the planters to let all run to ruin, and, by removing some of the drones, and speaking well of the industrious, had mended the temper of the rest, that so they were as busy as bees, and if kept up to the following, whose business also, then, to come an industrious hopeful, and bred of people. The Court earnestly recommended to the Governor to preserve this promising beginning, and frown idleness and vice out of countenance. The Court had a petition of Gabriel Powell, which alleged he was obliged to enter into a recognizance of one hundred pounds, for setting up a sort of horses on an alarm near his own house, was fined, and made to pay twenty pounds, and his recognizance recorded in the council book, as printed, because Mr Griffith did draw an affront on him. He prayed the Court to remit the fine of one hundred pounds, although twenty pounds is already

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		& brisk. People. We. earnestly. recommend. to. You. to Preserve. this. promising. beginning. & from. Idleness & Vice. out. of. Countenance. We. have. a. petition. of. Gabriel. Powle. which alledges. he. was. obliged. to. Enter. into. a. Recognizance of. £100. & for. setting. up. a. Sr. of. Horners. on. a. Rele. near his. own. House. was. fined. & made. to. pay. £20. & his Recognizance. Voided. in. the. Council. Book. as. forfeited. because. Mr. Griffith. did. Charma. an. Affront. on. him. He. prays. the. to. Remit. the. fine. of. £100. altho'. £20. is already. paid. & that. the. Bond. he. have. in. possession in. right. of. his. wife. Mr. Peakis. Widow. may. be redeliverd. to. him. where. to. we. Say. hear. on. what. Mr Griffith. will. Say. on. the. Case. because. this. Acct. is given. only. on. one. Side. & if. you. See. fit. lett. his Recognizance. be. given. up. that. he. may. not. be further. liable. to. pay. any. more. thereupon. as. to. his Land. at. a. Story. of. Free. holders. determine. the. Case According. to. Judgmt. & Equity. For. the. matters. mentioned. in. the. Consultation of. the. 8. of. Novemb. 1709. b.t. Mr. Peakis. concerning. her Husband. Quineys. Land. tho'. because. he. him. self. it was. Suied. for. the. Comp. use. however. don't. on. all. it. Law which. we. woud. hup. up. in. terrorm. Yove. unwilling. to **Margin Notes:** A. Lease. to. Mercy. Alexander. granted The. use. of. finding. the. deserve. award Gabriel. Powles. Case. Mr. Quineys. Land. Ended.	paid, and that the land he had in possession, in right of his wife, Mr Beale's widow, may be considered to him, whereto were any hearsay, what Mr Griffith would say on the case, because this account is given only on one side. And if the Governor saw fit, let his recognizance be given up, that he may not be under further trouble to pay any more thereupon, as to his land, at a story of freeholders determine the case according to judgement and equity. For the matters mentioned in the consultation of the 3 of November 1709, about Mrs Quincey's late husband Quincey's land, though, because he, himself, got it, was fined for the Company's use, however, done on all its law, which it would buy up in terrorem, the Court was unwilling to [...]. **Interpretations** The willingness to set aside the seizure of Hodgkinson's land on condition the fencing and planting law be obeyed exposes how the Company used the restoration of property as leverage to enforce cultivation. Rather than simply return the land or keep it, the Court tied its release to compliance with the by-law it was pressing so hard. This reveals the Company's practice of bargaining with property rights to secure the husbandry the island needed, making the recovery of a man's land contingent on his meeting the obligations that served the settlement's subsistence. The grant of a lease to the widow Mercy Alexander, on the ground that everybody is entitled to justice, exposes a strain of equity running through the Company's dealings with the dependants of its servants. Her husband's conduct had deserved no reproach, and so the seizure of his lands was reversed in her favour. This reveals how the Company tempered its proprietary interest with a regard for the widows left behind, treating the fair claim of a blameless family as a call on its justice rather than an opportunity to retain forfeited land. Gabriel Powell's petition, and the Court's caution that his account was given on one side only, exposes the difficulty of doing justice at a distance from a single party's story. Powell sought remission of a heavy recognizance and fine, yet the Court would not decide without hearing what Griffith might say, and referred the land question to a jury of freeholders. This reveals the Company's awareness that a distant petitioner might colour his case, and its insistence on both sides and local determination before it would disturb a penalty or settle a disputed title.
161	157	Ship Thistleworth diligence. with. it. a. Second. time. Humphry. Edwards. by. Petition. Complains. he. was by. the. Governr. Order. whipt. for. fighting. with. Rich. Kirsby a. Soldier. who. first. Sett. upon. & beat. him. We. cant. Suppose. this. is. the. whole. of. the. Case. & therefore. that. only. shop Don't. you. give. any. such. Sort. of. Occasions. of. Complaint & yet. such. has. bein. the. factious. temper. of. many. of. the Islanders. that. nothing. less. than. a. Strait. hand. on. the Reines. of. Governmt. could. keep. of. many. & the. rate Quarrels. to. any. Complaint. is. made. You. let. the. Cause be. fairly. heard. of. Sundane. past. by. the. Governr. & Councel. wherein. the. Case. not. the. Prison. is. to. be. tryed. for. we apprehend. the. Prison. not. the. Cause. was. tryed. in the. Case. of. Powll.	Ship *Thistleworth.* Diligence with it a second time. Humphry Edwards, by petition, complained that he was, by the Governor's order, whipped for fighting with Richard Kirsby, a soldier, who first fell upon and beat him. The Court could not suppose this was the whole of the case, and therefore that it only happened. He was not to give any such sort of occasions of complaint, and yet such had been the factious temper of many of the inhabitants that nothing less than a strict hand on the reins of government could keep them in tolerable order. Wherever any complaint was made, the Governor was to let the cause be fairly heard, if any, and passed by the Governor and council, wherein the case, not the person, was to be tried, for the Court apprehended the person, not the cause, was tried in the case of Powell. The Governor was to consider, with the consultations and clauses of late letters from St Helena, and particularly the 15th head of the letter of 7 December 1710, wherein, of the council, and particularly Governor Roberts, was of opinion it was not the Court's interest to lease out any more of its own land. And he was to give the Court his thoughts

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		CONSIDER. with. the. Consultations. & Clauses. of. late Letters. from. St Helena. & Perticularly. the. 15th. Para. of. the Letter. of. the. 7. of. Decemb. 1710. wherein. if. & Councel. & Perticularly. Governr. Roberts. was. of. Opinion. it. was. not. our Interest. to. Sense. out. any. more. of. Our. Land. & give. Us. it thoughts. upon. it. & if. you. are. Sure. our. Land. would. be well. improved. by. those. who. have. the. Overseeing. it. & the Comp. reap. the. benefit. of. it. or. if. by. the. new. Experimt. of planting. Sugar. Cane. increasing. the. Production. of. power in. the. Chausing. of. Trees. or. maze. or. Enlarging. the. Vineyard there. is. a. reall. Occasion. from. ploying. the. Land. allways in. our. Sit. we. not. want. till. those. Experimt. are. brought. to a. good. Pece. in. order. we. as. it. will. be. best. to. keep. it. & if afterwards. it. be. for. our. Service. to. lett. out. part. of. Such improved. Land. to. any. Renter. who. by. his. Diligence. will. farther. improve. it. You. will. Consider. & give. Us. yr. Opinion. **Margin Notes:** Hum. Edwards. Complaint. Consider. what. Improvement. may. be. made.	upon it, and if it were sure its own land would be well improved by those who had the overseeing it, and the Company reap the benefit of it, or if by the new experiment of planting sugar canes, increasing the production of yams, in the raising of trees or maize, or enlarging the vineyard, there was a real occasion for employing the land, always in view. So that when those experiments were brought to a good issue, in due course, it would be its best to keep it, and, if afterwards it be for the Court's service, to let out part of such improved land to any renter, who, by his diligence, would further improve it, the Governor was to consider, and give the Court his opinion [...]. **Interpretations** The principle that the case, not the person, must be tried exposes the Company's insistence on impartial justice against the tendency to judge the man rather than the deed. The Court suspected that in Powell's case the person had been tried instead of the cause, and it warned against repeating the fault. This reveals a genuine concern for the fairness of the island's tribunals, requiring that complaints be decided on their merits rather than on the standing or character of the parties, so that judgement rested on what was done and not on who did it. The whipping of Humphry Edwards for fighting, though the soldier struck first, exposes the harsh discipline the Company thought necessary to hold a factious population in order. The Court doubted the punishment told the whole story, yet excused a strict hand on the reins of government as the price of keeping the inhabitants in tolerable order. This reveals the tension between fairness to the individual and the maintenance of authority on a small, quarrelsome settlement, where the Company was prepared to tolerate severity as the guarantor of general obedience. The deliberation over whether to keep or lease the Company's own land exposes a considered weighing of direct management against tenancy. The question turned on whether the land would be better improved under the Company's own oversight, especially with new experiments in sugar, yams, trees and vines, or let to renters whose diligence would develop it. This reveals the Company reasoning carefully about the most productive use of its property, willing to hold land while its value was being raised and to lease it only when that served its interest better than working it directly.
162	158	Orders &c.a consider. also. the. Complaint. in. the. above. Para. of. our Garden. being. neglected. & Remedy. it. Govr. Roberts. by. his. trying. Experiments. Has done. Us. & good. Service. if. he. has. found. out. Lime. Stone. & all. Stone. of. which. he. has. made. 7000. Foot. He. says. it he. is. afraid. of. making. Bricks. & Lyes. n. we. were. well. pleased. to. hear. as. it. will. save. a. Tonage. n. may. be. employ'd in. Sending. other. Goods. & Stores. wrote. for. & that. is. the Fortifications. are. ended. We. may. be. likewise. save. of Wine. Brandy. Cyd. from. Pippick. Malts. Sugar. or. Molasses which. as. it. are. noble. Additions. to. the. Improvemts. of. yr Island. Once. expect. you. will. cultivate. & improve. these praise. Worthy. Beginnings. THe. two. Samptings. of. Minralls. one. w. He. thought. was	The Governor was to consider also the complaint in the above third head, of the garden being neglected, and remedy it. Governor Roberts, by his trying experiments, had done the Court good service, in that he had found out lime stone, of which he had made 7,000 foot. He wrote that he was afraid of making bricks before it was well pleased to hear, as it would be a savage, which might be employed in sending other goods and stores wrote for, and that, if the fortifications were rounded, it might be otherwise, some of wine, brandy, cyder from pippin mills, sugar or molasses, of which it would make solid additions to the improvement of the island. Once expect the Governor would cultivate and improve these praiseworthy beginnings. The two samples of minerals, one of which was thought to be gold, if other copper had been tried here, dare only mark that it was, as the article had it, the say of these, or dare that it depended, but this way in the future sum, however, if the Governor found any other sorts of minerals in his digging for stones or lime, he might send the samples for further trials. The making of the negroes work, and carry burdens, was owing also to his endeavours, as it was

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		Gold. if. other. Copper. have. bein. tryed. here. & are. only Marchsittes. or. the. Art. As. we. tell. if. &. it. is. so. say. of there. is. any. Mixture. in. it. & we. are. desperated. but. pass away. in. yr. Fire. in. fume. however. if. you. find. any. other Sorts. of. Minralls. in. your. Digging. for. Stones. or. Lime. you. may. Send. Us. Samples. for. further. tryalls. THe. making. the. Ass. Negroes. work. & Carry. burdens. is giving. also. to. his. Endeavours. as. is. the. Oxen. to. draw. Carriages which. shews. how. Necessary. it. is. to. have. active. & Continuing. Head that. Superiors. a. promising. View. if. you. will. further. improve. on his. Foundation. by. a. proportionable. superstructure. we. are. sorry. we. have. not. Room. to. Send. the. Muls. desired. Wee. have. not. thought. fitt. to. send. Sails. or. other. Utensils. or People. for. making. of. Sugar. but. if. as. we. are. assured. by. the. present. Experiments. it. will. be. worth. while. You. may. depend. on Supplyes. as. we. know. what. you. want. & have. Opportunities. of **Margin Notes:** Account. of. Governr. Roberts. his. Industry Acc. of. the. Minralls. sent over His. Ingenuitie. to. be. employd. A. Sugar. Mill. if. worth. while. to. Set.	the drive to draw carriages, which drew them company, it was to have action and containing head. These signs of a promising view, if the Governor would further improve on this foundation, by a proportionable superstructure, the Court was sorry it had not room to send the mules desired. The Court had not thought fit to send mules, or other animals, or people, for making of sugar, but if it were assured, by the present experiments, it would be worth while, the Governor might depend on supplies, once it knew what he wanted there, on opportunities of [...]. **Interpretations** The discovery of lime stone and the making of seven thousand foot of it exposes how far the island's building works depended on finding usable materials on the spot. Lime was essential for mortar in the fortifications, and importing it was costly, so a local source that answered spared the Company both freight and delay. This reveals how the completion of the island's defences turned on such practical discoveries, and how a governor's experiments in finding and burning stone bore directly on the Company's chief concern for the place. The samples of minerals, one thought perhaps to be gold, exposes the Company's cautious interest in whatever wealth the island's ground might yield. Rather than seize on the hope, the Court reserved judgement and asked only that further samples be sent for trial. This reveals a measured response to the prospect of mineral riches, the Company neither dismissing nor overvaluing the possibility, but treating it as a matter for careful testing before any expectation was built upon it. The training of the slaves to draw carriages and carry burdens exposes how the Company sought to raise the productive value of its forced labour through method and habituation. Teaching the blacks to haul loads was reckoned an improvement in their usefulness, a foundation on which further gains might be built. This reveals how the Company regarded its slaves as a resource to be developed like any other, their labour made more valuable by organisation, and the want of mules to work alongside them felt as a limit on what that labour could achieve.
163	159	Orders &c.a consider. also. the. Complaint. in. the. above. Para. of. our Garden. being. neglected. & Remedy. it. Govr. Roberts. by. his. trying. Experiments. Has done. Us. & good. Service. if. he. has. found. out. Lime. Stone. & all. Stone. of. which. he. has. made. 7000. Foot. He. says. it he. is. afraid. of. making. Bricks. & Lyes. n. we. were. well. pleased. to. hear. as. it. will. save. a. Tonage. n. may. be. employ'd in. Sending. other. Goods. & Stores. wrote. for. & that. is. the Fortifications. are. ended. We. may. be. likewise. save. of Wine. Brandy. Cyd. from. Pippick. Malts. Sugar. or. Molasses which. as. it. are. noble. Additions. to. the. Improvemts. of. yr Island. Once. expect. you. will. cultivate. & improve. these praise. Worthy. Beginnings. THe. two. Samptings. of. Minralls. one. w. He. thought. was Gold. if. other. Copper. have. bein. tryed. here. & are. only	The Governor was to consider also the complaint in the above third head, of the garden being neglected, and remedy it. Governor Roberts, by his trying experiments, had done the Court good service, in that he had found out lime stone, of which he had made 7,000 foot. He wrote that he was afraid of making bricks before it was well pleased to hear, as it would be a savage, which might be employed in sending other goods and stores wrote for, and that, if the fortifications were rounded, it might be otherwise, some of wine, brandy, cyder from pippin mills, sugar or molasses, of which it would make solid additions to the improvement of the island. Once expect the Governor would cultivate and improve these praiseworthy beginnings. The two samples of minerals, one of which was thought to be gold, if other copper had been tried here, dare only mark that it was, as the article had it, the say of these, or dare that it depended, but this way in the future sum, however, if the Governor found any other sorts of minerals in his digging for stones or lime, he might send the samples for further trials. The making of the negroes work, and carry burdens, was owing also to his endeavours, as it was the drive to draw carriages, which drew them company, it was to have action and containing head. These signs of a promising view, if the Governor

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		Marchsittes. or. the. Art. As. we. tell. if. &. it. is. so. say. of there. is. any. Mixture. in. it. & we. are. desperated. but. pass away. in. yr. Fire. in. fume. however. if. you. find. any. other Sorts. of. Minralls. in. your. Digging. for. Stones. or. Lime. you. may. Send. Us. Samples. for. further. tryalls. THe. making. the. Ass. Negroes. work. & Carry. burdens. is giving. also. to. his. Endeavours. as. is. the. Oxen. to. draw. Carriages which. shews. how. Necessary. it. is. to. have. active. & Continuing. Head that. Superiors. a. promising. View. if. you. will. further. improve. on his. Foundation. by. a. proportionable. superstructure. we. are. sorry. we. have. not. Room. to. Send. the. Muls. desired. Wee. have. not. thought. fitt. to. send. Sails. or. other. Utensils. or People. for. making. of. Sugar. but. if. as. we. are. assured. by. the. present. Experiments. it. will. be. worth. while. You. may. depend. on Supplyes. as. we. know. what. you. want. & have. Opportunities. of **Margin Notes:** Account. of. Governr. Roberts. his. Industry Acc. of. the. Minralls. sent over His. Ingenuitie. to. be. employd. A. Sugar. Mill. if. worth. while. to. Set.	would further improve on this foundation, by a proportionable superstructure, the Court was sorry it had not room to send the mules desired. The Court had not thought fit to send mules, or other animals, or people, for making of sugar, but if it were assured, by the present experiments, it would be worth while, the Governor might depend on supplies, once it knew what he wanted there, on opportunities of [...]. **Interpretations** The discovery of lime stone and the making of seven thousand foot of it exposes how far the island's building works depended on finding usable materials on the spot. Lime was essential for mortar in the fortifications, and importing it was costly, so a local source that answered spared the Company both freight and delay. This reveals how the completion of the island's defences turned on such practical discoveries, and how a governor's experiments in finding and burning stone bore directly on the Company's chief concern for the place. The samples of minerals, one thought perhaps to be gold, exposes the Company's cautious interest in whatever wealth the island's ground might yield. Rather than seize on the hope, the Court reserved judgement and asked only that further samples be sent for trial. This reveals a measured response to the prospect of mineral riches, the Company neither dismissing nor overvaluing the possibility, but treating it as a matter for careful testing before any expectation was built upon it. The training of the slaves to draw carriages and carry burdens exposes how the Company sought to raise the productive value of its forced labour through method and habituation. Teaching the blacks to haul loads was reckoned an improvement in their usefulness, a foundation on which further gains might be built. This reveals how the Company regarded its slaves as a resource to be developed like any other, their labour made more valuable by organisation, and the want of mules to work alongside them felt as a limit on what that labour could achieve.
164	160	Orders &c.a being. insulted. in. the. Road. Pss. the. Acct. Governr. Roberts. has. given. Us. the. sd Fortifications. would. have. bein. perfected. in. his. 3. Years. had. he. had. Lime. Sufficient. to. burn. Some. but. as. it was. they. were. well. advanced. & You. will. Sein. the. Letters. & Consultations. n. we. wrote acct. concerting. wth. the. commanders. of. the. men. of. War. & the the. Capts. Foster. & Garden. would. not. Assist. yet. we. have those. who. may. hereafter. Arrive. there. will. bein. better temper. Remember. our. former. Directions. of. giving. the Carpenters. & others. out. of. our. own. Ships. in. the. want of. Ware. and. don't. loose. of. Assistance. if. they. can. give you. any. TAke. care. all. the. Buildings. you. make. be. Sufficient. all the. first. Charge. is. allways. dust. & when. you. find. it Necessary. to. erect. Watch. Houses. to. Secure. the. secure from. the. Weather. or. if. Occasion. be. from. any. attempts	Being insulted in the road. By the account Governor Roberts gave the Court, the fortifications would have been perfected in three years, had he had lime enough to burn stone, but as it was, they were well advanced. The Governor would see in the letters and consultations the Court wrote, concerning the commanders of the men of war, who the captains refused, and garden work would not assist, yet there were those who might hereafter arrive there, and be in a better temper. The Governor was to remember its former directions of getting the carpenters and others out of its own ships, in the room of others, and set some of assistance, if they gave him any. The Governor was to take care all the buildings he made be substantial, though the first charge was always dearest, and, where he found it necessary, to erect watch houses, to secure the town from the enemy, or, if occasion be, from any attempts upon them, and let them be set up as soon as he had time for it, from more necessary employments. The building of barracks for the soldiers was necessary, since the Court was told the fort chapel, where they lodged, was not big enough to lodge them there, and, if Mr Johnson's old house stood in the way, buy it, having regard to the consultation of the second of 1709, which mentioned the order for burning it, but the then council would intercede that its worth be appraised and bought. The building of houses for the blacks the Court approved, as, in that, everything that was for its service. Wherein, as it had committed the care of the

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		upon. them. Let. them. be. sett. up. as. soon. as. you. have time. for. it. from. more. Necessary. Employments. THe. building. of. Barracks. for. the. Soldiers. is Necessary. since. as. we. are. told. the. fort. at. Chappel. Valley is. not. big. enough. to. loage. them. there. and. if. Mr. Johnsons old. House. Stands. in. the. way. buy. it. having. Regard. to the. Consultation. of. the. 2. of. Aug. 1709. which. mentions. the Order. for. Burning. it. but. the. then. Consult. woud. intercede & this. is. have. it. appraised. & bought. THe. building. Houses. for. the. Blacks. we. approve. as in. this. & every. thing. that. is. for. our. Service. therein. as we. have. Committed. the. Care. of. the. whole. to. your. managemt. & rewly. upon. it. that. You. will. be. as. good. Husbands **Margin Notes:** Governr. Roberts. would. have. perfected. Lime. within. Hundred. the. finishing. the. Works. Consult. with. the. Commanders. of. the. men. of. War. Make. all. the. Buildings. to. be. Sufficient. all. Building. of. Barracks. & to. buy. Mr. Johnsons. old. House. &c. Building. of. a. Blacks. House.	whole to the Governor's management, so it relied upon it, that the Governor would be as good a husband as [...]. **Interpretations** The repeated linking of the fortifications' completion to the supply of lime exposes how a single material governed the pace of the island's defensive works. Roberts reckoned the fortifications would have been finished in three years had he lime enough to burn the stone. This reveals how the whole military value of the settlement, its capacity to be made defensible, hung on the availability of one building material, so that the shortage of lime was not a minor inconvenience but a direct brake on the Company's chief purpose for the place. The instruction that all buildings be substantial because the first charge was always dearest exposes the Company's grasp of long-term economy in construction. Building well at greater initial cost was understood to be cheaper than building cheaply and repairing or replacing. This reveals a considered principle of expenditure on a station the Company regarded as a standing charge, choosing durable work over false savings, so that the money laid out on the island's fabric would not have to be spent again. The order to buy Johnson's old house rather than burn it, as had once been directed, exposes the Company's regard for property value even in pursuit of its building plans. An earlier consultation had ordered the house burnt, but the council interceded to have it appraised and purchased instead. This reveals how the Company preferred to compensate and acquire rather than destroy, treating even an inconvenient building as an asset whose worth should be paid for, so that its improvement of the town did not come at the cost of wanton loss.
165	161	Ship Thistleworth for. Us. as. you. well. can. in. the. General. Expence. of. the Island. in. looking. after. all. the. Disbursments. in. looking after. our. Planta. Cash. &c. to. make. yr. most. of. them. & in all. the. other. Branches. of. our. Affairs. SEnd. us. Annually. an. Acct. of. all. our. Revinues. and what. is. the. produce. of. every. Branch. & a. Perticular. of. the Names. of. the. Prisons. & Sums. they. pay. for. their. yull. Rents or. other. Taxes. on. yr. Lands. Blacks. Cattle. &c. & let. yr. Est come. in. no. doubt. by. oversins. Whatever. other. matters. You. think. proper. for. our Service. send. them. tho'. not. herein. or. in. our. former. Letters are. Perticularly. Decided. Wee. have. perused. yr. Opinions. Expence. of. Stores. sent. by the. Tavistock. which. is. not. rightly. Cast. up. as. You. will see. in. reviewing. the. Entry. of. it. in. your. Books. as. we. suppose a. care. of. all. papers. sent. Us. hereafter. Let. those. Acc. ts of. Expence. is. examined. & sgnd. by. the. Governr. & Councel. as Evidence. they. Approve. of. them. You. will. See. in. former. Letters. the. Orders. for. deminishing the. Expence. of. Powder. on. Occasion. of. Salutes. which. You must. observe. Wee. have. Considered. the. Consultation. of. the. 26. May. 1710	Ship *Thistleworth*. For the Court, as he well could, in the general expense of the island, in looking after all the disbursements, in looking after its plantation, cattle and the like, to make the most of them, and in all the other branches of its affairs. The Governor was to send the Court annually an account of all its revenues, and what was the produce of every branch, and, in particular, of the names of the persons and sums they paid for their yearly rents, or other taxes on their lands, blacks, cattle and the like, and let it be so certain, without doubt or ambiguities. Whatever other matters the Governor thought proper for the Court's service, he was to send them, though not herein, or in its former letters, particularly directed. The Court had perused the Governor's opinion, expense of stores, sent by the *Townstock*, which was not rightly cast up, as he would see in reviewing the entry of it in his books, as the Court supposed it were a copy of all papers sent it. Hereafter, let those accounts of expenses be examined, and signed by the Governor and council, as evidence they approved of them. The Governor would see, in former letters, the orders for diminishing the expense of powder, on occasions of salutes, which he must observe. The Court had considered the consultation of the 26 May 1710, at the power of the general, and, it said, the superscription of the packet therein mentioned, was rightly, for it looked upon the government of all the island, and the military, as committed by it, to the Governor and council, or the major part of them, for the time being, and, as it is necessary in time of action to have a ready resolution, it committed it to the Governor singly, when he could not have the opinion of his council, or, at other

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		at. the. Power. of. the. Generall. & say. the. Superscription. of. the Pacquett. therein. mentioned. we. right. for. we. look. upon. the Government. of. all. the. Island. & the. Sallary. is. committed. by. Us. to. the. Govr. & Councel. or. the. major. part. of. it. for. the. time being. & yet. as. it. is. Necessary. in. time. of. Action. to. have. one Head. we. commit. it. to. yr. Govr. singly. when. he. cant. have. yr Opinion. of. his. Council. as. other. times. he. must. & to. this End. we. direct. yr. Commissions. to. be. hereafter. given. to. me **Margin Notes:** Send. yearly. Acct. of. yr. Revinues. And. other. matters. Gunnrs. Expence. not. right. cast. up. must. be. signed. by. the. Govr. & Councel. Waste. no. Powder. Superscription. of. the. Head. Letter. is. put. to. weight. it.	times, he must. And to this end, the Court directed the commissions to be hereafter given to the [...]. **Interpretations** The demand for a named account of every person's rents and taxes on land, slaves and cattle exposes how the Company reduced the island's whole revenue to a precise and personal reckoning. Each inhabitant's payment was to be set down by name and sum, without ambiguity. This reveals the Company's insistence on transparency in its distant finances, requiring that the produce of every branch be traceable to the individuals who paid it, so that the settlement's income could be verified rather than taken on trust. The requirement that expense accounts be examined and signed by the whole council exposes the Company's use of collective responsibility as a check on its officers' bookkeeping. An account approved by the Governor alone carried less assurance than one the council had jointly signed. This reveals how the Company guarded against error and fraud in its remote accounts by spreading the act of approval across several men, making the signatures themselves the evidence that the figures had been scrutinised and endorsed. The division of authority between the council collectively and the Governor singly in time of action exposes the Company's careful balancing of deliberation against decisiveness. Ordinary government rested with the Governor and council together, but the urgency of a military emergency demanded a single ready resolution. This reveals how the Company designed its command to suit both peace and crisis, vesting normal power in the many while allowing the one to act alone when the moment left no time to gather his council's opinion.
166	162	Orders &c.a the. Military. Officers. under. him. be. granted. by. him. & by his. Authority. & he. only. Sign. the. Same. and. if. the. Comp. Seal. has. bein. Usually. put. thereto. let. it. be. so. Still. & if. yr. Governour. have. Power. singly. to. Suspend. any Military. Officer. for. breach. of. Orders. or. failure. in. his Duty. but. that. no. Officer. be. Entertained. in. Our. Service. at St Helena. or. expeld. thence. wth. yr. Consent. of. yr. Governr. & Councel. or. the. major. part. of. yr. but. in. Consultation. the whole. Council. being. duly. Summoned. Touching. the. present. Governr. of. the. Island. wee have. Mentioned. Severall. Matters. in. His. & former. Letters and. therefore. shall. add. no. more. at. present. but only. to. tell. you. that. we. have. Advanced. Mr. John Pack. Thirty. five. Pounds. to. be. ta. xen. & ed. out. of. his growing. Salary. which. You. must. take. Care. be. repaid by. him. Wee. are Your. Lovg. Friends London April. 26. 1711.	The military officers under him were to be granted by him, and by his authority, and he only signed the same. And if the Company's seal had been usually put thereto, let it be so still. And the Governor had power singly to suspend any military officer, for breach of orders, or failure in his duty. But no officer was to be entertained in the Court's service at St Helena, or expelled thence, without the consent of the Governor and council, or the major part of them, met in consultation, the whole council being duly summoned. Touching the present government of the island, the Court had mentioned several matters in its former letters, and therefore would add no more at present, but only to tell the Governor that it had advanced Mr John Pack thirty five pounds, to be taken out of his growing salary, which the Governor must take care be repaid by him. The Court signed itself the Governor's loving friends. London, 5 April 1711. **Interpretations** The division between the Governor's sole power to suspend an officer and the council's collective control over appointments and dismissals exposes a deliberate separation of authority. A single man could act at once to suspend for a breach of duty, but no one could be taken into or put out of the Company's service without the council duly summoned. This reveals how the Company distinguished the swift discipline that command required from the weightier decisions of hiring and firing, reserving the latter to the deliberation of the whole body while allowing the Governor to act alone where immediate correction was needed. The advance to Pack of thirty five pounds against his salary exposes the Company's recurring practice of binding its servants by debt worked off through service. Rather than pay him outright, the

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			Court advanced the sum to be deducted from his growing salary, and charged the Governor to see it repaid. This reveals how the Company tied its officers to their posts through obligations that had to be earned back, so that the money advanced became a hold on the man until his service had discharged it.
167	163	Ship Abingdon London 30th May 1712 Our Govr & Councel of St Helena IN. our. Generall. Letter. of. the. 27th. April 1711. sent. by. the. Toddington. & Thistleworth. we. were. very large. in. the. Orders. & Instructions. therein. given. touching our. Affairs. in. Generall. & the. Regular. settlemt. of. the. whole Island. and. the. Property. of. the. severall. Inhabitants. in Perticular. we. also. therein. referrd. you. to. what. had. been before. relating. to. the. Affairs. under. the. managemt. of. the Govern. & Council. for. the. time. being. wherein. were. divers Express. Rules. & full. directions. given. touching. the. Severall Matters. if. treated. of. which. are. to. be. observd. in. all. times on. the. like. occasions. so. that. we. might. reasonably. have Expected. our. Letters. to. St Helena. would. have. thence forward. bein. brought. into. a. Narrow. Compass. & that wee. should. have. had. no. Occasion. for. enlarging. this. in most. of. the. Para. undermentioned. You. may. Easily. discern. by. the. Tenour. of. our. last Letter. if. wee. were. desirous. to. quiett. the. minds. of. the People. by. receding. from. our. just. Demands. and. of passing. a. kind. of. generall. Amnesty. on. Acct. of. former Transgressions. & Breaches. of. the. Laws. of. the. Island. so. as they. might. be. duly. obeyd. for. the. future. & we. were. in great. hopes. the. Same. temper. would. have. prevailed. on. yr side. & mend. our. Intentions. but. instead. thereof. by. the Pacquetts. received. by. the. Head. which. Ship. Arrived. in. the **Margin Notes:** Tenour. of. the. Toddington. Letter. Generall. Amnesty. to. preserve. the. publick. peace.	Ship *Abingdon*. London, 30 May 1712. To the Governor and council of St Helena. In its general letter of 5 April 1711, sent by the *Toddington* and *Thistleworth*, the Court was very large in the orders and instructions therein given, touching its affairs in general, and the regular settlement of the island, and the property of the several inhabitants in particular. It also therein referred the Governor to what had been before, relating to the affairs under the management of the Governor and council for the time being, wherein were divers express rules and full directions given, touching the several matters treated of, which were to be observed at all times, on the like occasions, so that the Court might reasonably have expected its letters to St Helena would have thence forward been brought into a narrow compass, and that it should have had no occasion for enlarging this in most of the parts undermentioned. The Governor might easily discern, by the tenor of the Court's last letter, that it was desirous to quiet the minds of the people, by receding from its just demands, and, by passing a kind of general amnesty, on account of former transgressions and breaches of the laws of the island, so as they might be duly obeyed for the future. The Court was in great hopes the same temper would have prevailed on the Governor to second its intentions, but, instead thereof, by the packets received by the *Streatham*, which ship arrived in the [...]. **Interpretations** The Company's hope that its letters would henceforth be brief exposes the burden that governing St Helena by correspondence imposed. Having sent full and detailed instructions, the Court expected the accumulated body of rule to settle matters so that little more need be written. This reveals the strain of administering a distant possession through the written word, where every unresolved question forced fresh and lengthy letters, and the directors longed for a point at which their standing orders would suffice and the correspondence could contract. The passing of a general amnesty for past breaches of the island's laws exposes a deliberate policy of conciliation to settle a restless population. Rather than press its just demands, the Court chose to recede from them and forgive former transgressions, in the hope that the laws would be obeyed going forward. This reveals the Company's willingness to trade the enforcement of past penalties for future order, judging that quieting the minds of the people was worth more than exacting what it was strictly owed. The Court's evident displeasure that the Governor had not seconded its conciliatory intentions exposes the gap that could open between London's policy and its execution on the island. The directors sought to calm the settlement through leniency, yet the packets by the *Streatham* revealed the Governor acting otherwise. This reveals how the Company's designs depended on a governor who shared its temper, and how a chief officer out of step with the directors' aims could frustrate a policy of reconciliation framed thousands of miles away.
168	164	Orders &c.a the. River. the. 16th. instant. and. those. by. the. Success. whose	The *Streatham* arrived on the 16th instant, and those by the *Streatham*, whose person came hither yesterday, it appeared to the Court that the people of

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		Purser. came. hither. yesterday. It. appears. to. us. that the. People. of. St Helena. have. bein. Spirited. up. to greater. Heats. & Animosityes. & that. instead. of. observing our. Directions. & studying. the. Generall. Interest. & Benefit. of. the. Comp. & standing. very. little. notice. is. taken of. our. said. Generall. Letter. for. if. there. had. Wee. shoud. find it. better. complyed. withall. & an. answer. Returnd. thereto Paragraph. by. Parah. as. Wee. Ordered. in. the. 16th. Para. of yr. there. instead. of. which. wee. have. answers. only. to. a few. and. a. Promise. it. shall. be. done. by. the. Ships. whereas the. Success. Letter. wrote. ten. Weeks. after. is. as. Barren as. the. other. WEe. find. the. Thistleworth. & Toddington. arrived the. 6th. of. Aug. near. four. months. before. your. first. Letter. to. us by. the. Head. Frigott. on. the. 16th. in. Consultation. you. order as. many. Para. of. our. generall. Letter. Read. to. us. & Every Council. Day. as. time. woud. permitt. & by. what. it. appeares. so. many. of. it. were. read. as. related. to. yr. then. Councel in. their. Places. & charge. & the. rest. neglected. by. your Consultation. Books. to. the. time. of. the. mind. & Successes Saling. very. little. appeares. to. be. done. in. persuance. of. our generall. Orders. but. by. the. Stars. which. passt. between. the late. Governor. & the. present. & this. Council. it. shems. to. us. that. the. great. Study. was. to. recriminate. find. fault without. mending. give. Opportunityes. for. Clamour. & in. did. Every. thing. but. what. Shoud. be. more. them. it. is. up here. in. Generall. to. shew. you. our. Concern. for. such management. and. that. we. Expected. it. would. have bein. otherwise. & desire. it. may. be. the. last. Occasion **Margin Notes:** Indiligence complaind of.	St Helena had been spirited up to greater heats and animosities, and that, instead of observing its directions and studying the general interest and benefit of the Company, little notice was taken of its general letter. For, if there had, the Court should find it better complied with, and an answer returned thereto paragraph by paragraph, as it ordered in the 16th head of the letter, instead of which it had answers only to a few, and a promise it should be done by the next ships, whereas the *Streatham*'s letter, wrote ten weeks after, was as barren as the other. The Court found the *Thistleworth* and *Toddington* arrived on the 6th of August, near four months before its first letter to them by the *Fleet Frigate*, in the 16th head of the consultation. It ordered as many parts of its general letter to be read every council day, as time would permit, and, by what appeared, so many of them were read as related to the then council, in their places, but the rest neglected. By the consultation books, to the time of the *Thistleworth* and *Toddington* sailing, no expression to be done, in pursuance of its general orders, but by the letters which passed between the late Governor and the present, this council thought fit to do, that the great study was to recriminate, find fault without mending, give opportunities for clamour, and, in short, everything but what should be, so that it was up here, in general, to show the Court its concern for such management, and that, as it expected it would have been otherwise, it desired it might be the last occasion [...]. **Interpretations** The Company's insistence on an answer paragraph by paragraph exposes the discipline it demanded of its correspondence with the island. Its general letter required a specific response to each point, yet the Governor had answered only a few and promised the rest by later ships. This reveals how the Company sought to hold its distant officers to a complete accounting, refusing to accept partial or deferred replies, so that no instruction or query was left hanging in the long exchange across the sea. The order to read parts of the general letter at every council day exposes the Company's method of keeping its instructions before the men who governed. By requiring regular reading of its directions in council, the Court sought to ensure they were not filed away and forgotten. This reveals how the Company fought the tendency of its orders to lapse on a remote station, building repetition into the council's routine so that its will remained continually present to those charged with executing it. The complaint that the island's rulers studied to recriminate and find fault rather than mend exposes the friction the Company saw poisoning its government. Instead of executing orders and pursuing the common interest, the Governor and council had fallen to mutual accusation and clamour. This reveals the Company's frustration at energy spent on quarrel rather than administration, and its concern that a settlement consumed by internal blame could not attend to the substantive business the directors had entrusted to it.
169	165	Ship Abingdon for. such. just. Complaint. of. which. you. will. find. among many. that. might. be. avoided. some. Perticulars. occurr under. the. following. Generall. Heads. And. first. Concerning. Shipping sent. out. & Returning. SInce. our. aforesaid. Letter. it. has. pleased God. to. send. Us. the. following. Ships. Vizt. the. Abingdon	Ship *Abingdon*. For such just complaint, of which the Governor would find, among many that might be named, some particulars occurring under the following general heads. And first, concerning shipping sent out and returning. Since its aforesaid letter, it had pleased God to send the Court the following ships. The *Abingdon* from Bombay, and *Nathaniel* from Bencoolen, but last from Ireland, arrived in the Downs the 28 of May last.

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		from. Bombay. & Nathaneel. from. Bencoolen. but. last from. Ireland. arrived. in. the. Downs. the. 22. of. May. last. The. Sayall. Blefs. & King. William. from. yr. Bay the. Loyal. Cooke. from. China. & Bombay. & the. Carleton from. Bencoolen. joynd. the. Dutch. at. the. Cape. and arrived. in. the. River. of. Thames. the. 8. of. August last. The. Fredrick. from. the. Fort. The. Susannah. Europe. & Corcaid. from. the. Bay. and. the. Fleet. frigat. from. Bombay with. the. Men. of. Warr. from. St Helena. arrived. in. the Downs. the. 6th. of. October. The. Head. Frigat. arrived. last. from. Ireland in. the. River. of. Thames. as. before. mentioned. the. Success was. off. the. Lands. end. as. Mr. Cuson. the. 2. mate. tells Us. the. 22. instant. where. He. was. put. a. shore. with. the Pacquetts. & is. since. gotten. to. Plimouth. The. Windson. from Mocho. touched. at. the. Cape. & got. to. Lisbon. the. 20th. of. march last. from. whence. she. is. Suddenly. Expected. with. the Portugall. Fleet. & Convoy. The. Ships. sent. out. to. all. Ports. of India. this. Season. have. bein. Vizt. **Margin Notes:** Ships. returnd.	The *Loyal Bliss* and *King William* from the bay, the *Loyal Cooke* from China and Bombay, and the *Carleton* from Bencoolen, joined the Dutch at the Cape, and arrived in the River of Thames the 8 of August last. The *Frederick* from the fort, the *Susannah*, *Europe* and *Cardigan* from the bay, and the *Fleet Frigate* from Bombay, with the men of war, from St Helena, arrived in the Downs the 6 of October. The *Fleet Frigate* arrived last from Ireland, in the River of Thames, as before mentioned. The *Success* was off the Land's End, as Mr Cooson, the second mate, told the Court, the 28th instant, where she was put ashore with the packets, and it since gotten to Plymouth. The *Windsor* from Mocha touched at the Cape, and got to Lisbon the 20 of March last, from whence she was suddenly expected with the Portugal fleet and convoy. The ships sent out to all parts of India this season were as follows. **Interpretations** The register of homeward ships, gathered at the Cape to join the Dutch fleet for the passage to the Thames, exposes how wartime danger continued to govern the Company's navigation. Vessels from the bay, China, Bombay and Bencoolen were held to sail together under the protection of an allied fleet. This reveals the Company's reliance on combined and escorted voyages to bring its ships safely through hostile waters, subordinating the directness of each passage to the security that numbers and alliance afforded on the long route home. The tracking of the *Windsor* from Mocha to the Cape to Lisbon, awaiting the Portugal convoy, exposes the circuitous and cautious routes that the war imposed on the Company's shipping. Rather than sail directly, a homeward vessel might work through several ports and wait for protection before the final leg. This reveals how the hazards of enemy cruisers stretched voyages across many stages and long delays, so that a ship's return depended on the availability of convoy as much as on the winds. The detail of the *Success* being put ashore with her packets at the Land's End exposes the urgency with which the Company sought its correspondence from returning ships. The letters were landed at the earliest point rather than carried on to the ship's final port. This reveals how the Company valued the intelligence its packets carried, hastening the papers ashore ahead of the vessel herself so that the news from its distant stations reached London with the least possible delay.
170	166	Orders &c.a The. Nathaniell 250 Tons Capt. Isaac. Rogers. for. Mocha The. Stretham 350 Tons Capt. Harry. Gough. for. Canton. & Fort. St George The. Ame 350 Tons Capt. John. Lane. for. Canton. & Home. These. Sailed. from. Plimouth. the. 9th. January. last. The. Sherig 400 Tons Capt. Rich. Pelston. for. yr. Bay The. Marlborough 480 Tons Capt. Nathan. Winter. The. Fort 350 Tons Capt. Lawrence. Winder. (for. the The. Recovery 380 Tons Capt. Joseph. Beale. (Coast. & Bay The. Sherig 220 Tons Capt. Bge. Tibbs. for. Bencoolen These. Sailed. from. Portsmouth. the. 18th. February having. laind. a. long. while. for. a. Wind. & Convoy. The. Streatham. Frigat 470 Tons Capt. Isaac. Catlett. The. Summers 480 Tons Capt. Charles. Peers. (for. Bombay The. Blenheim 250 Tons Capt. Abra. Smott. These. Sailed. from. St Helena. the. 27th. Aprill.	The ships sent out this season were as follows. The Nathaniel, 250 tons, Captain Isaac Rogers, for Mocha The *Streatham*, 350 tons, Captain Harry Gough, was for Canton and the fort, St George. The Anne, 350 tons, Captain John Lane, for Canton and home These sailed from Plymouth the 9 January last. The Amoy, 400 tons, Captain Richard Hutton, for the bay The Marlborough, 480 tons, Captain Matthew Winter The Kent, 350 tons, Captain Lawrence Manders, for the coast and bay The Discovery, 380 tons, Captain Joseph Beale, for the coast and bay The Bliss, 220 tons, Captain Bye Fibbs, for Bencoolen These sailed from Portsmouth the 18 February, having lain a long while for a wind and convoy. The Streatham Frigate, 470 tons, Captain Isaac Cattell The Summers, 480 tons, Captain Custian Roach, for Bombay

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		The. Abingdon 500 Tons Capt. Edwd. Godfsby. for. St Helena. & Bencoolen. by. whom. we. Send. you. this WHat. Goods. Stores. &c. we. bring. or. you. wrote. for. is. in her. Invoice. & Bill. of. Lading. & in. the. Pacquett. is. her. Charter party. which. you. have. inclosed. for. your. Information. as. to her. stay. at. St Helena. and. must. Send. it. along. with. the. ship to. Bencoolen. in. your. Pacquett. to. them. as. We. have. advised. th. them. Wee. here. note. that. by. our. Letter. we. have. divided. a List. of. Stores. & Goods. which. are. wanted. at. St Helena. shoud. be allways. Sent. in. a. Pacquett. apart. with. the. generall. Letter. to be. forwarded. to. us. from. the. first. Port. in. Europe. which. had You. observed. we. had. bein. able. then. to. have. Supplied. you with. what. you. wrote. for. by. the. Head. at. least. as. far. as. they **Margin Notes:** Ships. sent. out. Abingdon. a. Tonship. The. Indent. to. be. Sent. with. the. Generall. Letter.	The Blenheim, 250 tons, Captain Abraham Smith These sailed from St Helena the 27 April. The *Abingdon*, 400 tons, Captain Andrew Jefsey, was for St Helena and Bencoolen, by whom the Court now sent the Governor this. What goods, stores and the like the Court brought upon the Governor, he would find in her invoice and bills of lading. Over the packet was her charter party, which the Court had enclosed for his information, as to her stay at St Helena, and must send it along with the ship to Bencoolen, in his packet to them, as it had advised them. The Court would here note that, by its letters, it had directed a list of stores and goods, which were wanted at St Helena, should be always sent, in a packet apart, with the general letter, to be forwarded to it from the first ship in Europe, which had been observed. It had been able then to have supplied the Governor with what he wrote for by the *Fleet Frigate*, at least as far as [...]. **Interpretations** The two ships bound for St Helena and Bencoolen, set among a fleet dispatched to Mocha, Canton, the bay, the coast and Bombay, exposes the island's place as one stop among many on the Company's annual sailing. The *Blenheim* and *Abingdon* carried the settlement's supplies as part of voyages aimed at the wider trade. This reveals how St Helena was provisioned not by dedicated ships but by attaching its needs to vessels whose principal business lay in the eastern trade, its supply a deviation from journeys directed elsewhere. The long wait at Portsmouth for a wind and convoy exposes how weather and the demands of wartime escort delayed the whole timing of the Company's dispatch. A group of ships lay idle until both a fair wind and protection could be had together. This reveals the double dependence of the annual sailing on nature and on naval security, so that vessels ready to depart were held in port until the conditions for a safe passage aligned, lengthening every voyage before it had begun. The requirement to carry the *Abingdon*'s charter party on to Bencoolen in the Governor's packet exposes the documentary threading that bound the Company's stations together. The terms of a ship's hire had to travel with her to her next destination, advised ahead by separate letter. This reveals how the Company coordinated its scattered possessions through a careful relay of papers, each settlement passing on the documents the next would need, so that the conditions governing a vessel were known at every port she touched.
171	167	Ship Toddington they. Coud. be. got. ready. and. the. Ship. Could. take. them. in whereas. for. want. of. Care. is. this. the. Committee. were Guided. by. Your. Preceding. Lists. as. far. as. the. Abingdon coud. Carry. what. they. Had. provided. who. was. in. her. way. to the. Downs. when. the. Head. Frigott. Came. to. Hand. & what You. now. Write. for. must. be. Respited. for. till. the. Next. Oppor- tunity. whenever. You. desire. a. Greater. Quantity. than. Ordinary of. any. thing. or. for. Goods. or. Stores. not. Usually. wrote. for. give the. Reasons. for. Desiring. to. prevent. our. Doubt. or. Hesitation. & for. fear. of. miscarrying. Send. double. Lists. or. Indentes. one	Ship *Toddington*. They could be got ready, and the ship could take them in, whereas, for want of care, was this. The committee were guided by the Governor's preceding lists, as far as the *Abingdon* could carry what they had procured, who was in her way to the Downs, when the *Fleet Frigate* came to hand, and what the Governor now wrote for must be dispatched by the next opportunity. Whenever the Governor asked a greater quantity than ordinary of anything, or for goods or stores not usually wrote for, he was to give the reasons for desiring it, to prevent all doubt or hesitation, and, for fear of miscarrying, to send double lists or indents, one for the general packet, the second for the packet apart. The Court had received the copy of the protests against the captains of the *Thistleworth* and *Toddington*, and their answers, and found the Governor had not attended to the 18th, 20th and 21st heads of its general letter by those two ships, which directed how he should proceed in making his protests. For, if he

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		for. the. Generall. Pacquett. the. second. for. the. Pacquett. a. part. Wee. have. received. the. Copy. of. the. Protests. against. the Captains. of. the. Thistleworth. & Toddington. & their. Answers. & find. You. had. not. attended. to. the. 8th. 20. & 21. Para. of. our. Generall Letter. by. those. two. Ships. which. Directs. how. You. shoud. proceed in. making. your. Protests. for. if. you. had. as. you. woud. not. have allowd. them. a. longer. time. than. the. Charter. Party. does. so. you woud. have. taken. Notice. of. our. Directions. touching. the. Perticular Nature. & Grounds. for. protesting. then. the. Case. is. now. altered. We cant. Say. but. heretofore. ten. Working. Days. were. Accounted. as. fair time. with. Diligence. & Industry. to. unlade. a. Ship. of. war both. these. two. Burdens. but. then. it. was. to. be. Supposed. Our Servants. ashore. woud. Sett. their. Shoulders. heartily. to. the Work. beginning. and. end. to. prevent. our. Paying. Demorage. But like. Mr. Griffith. who. as. wee. are. told. urg'd. his. being. one. of the. Council. as. a. reason. why. he. woud. not. so. much. as. go. on board. the. Toddington. without. an. Assistant. to. take. the weight. of. some. Bread. when. all. the. Rest. of. the. Councel. was Employed. on. our. Affairs. thinking. it. enough. for. him. to. wash the. Quarter. Deck. We. mention. this. here. to. let. him. & you **Margin Notes:** When. great. Quantities. in. Sent. for. Send. yr. Reasons. Mr. Griffith. of. the. Neglect. is. suspend.	had, he would not have allowed them a longer time than the charter party did, and he would have taken notice of its directions, touching the particular matter and grounds for protesting. There the case was now altered, the Court meant to say, but heretofore ten working days were accounted as fair time, with diligence and industry, to unlade a ship of near both these two burdens, but then it was to be supposed its servants ashore would set their shoulders heartily to the work, beginning and to prevent its paying demurrage. Not like Mr Griffith, who, as the Court was told, urged his being one of the council as a reason why he would not so much as go on board the *Toddington*, without an assistant, to take the weight of some bread, when all the rest of the council was employed on its affairs, thinking it enough for him to watch the quarter deck. The Court would mention this here to the Governor, and he [...]. **Interpretations** The requirement to give reasons for any unusual or larger requisition exposes how the Company guarded against waste and fraud in supplying its distant station. A demand beyond the ordinary had to be justified, so that the directors could weigh it before shipping. This reveals the Company's insistence that the island account for its wants, refusing to fill extraordinary orders on trust, and requiring the Governor to explain his needs so that nothing was sent without a stated cause. The reproach of Mr Griffith for refusing to go aboard the *Toddington* exposes the friction between rank and duty on the island. Griffith pleaded his council membership as a reason to stand aloof from the labour of weighing bread, while his colleagues laboured at the Company's business. This reveals how the dignity of office could become a pretext for shirking, and the Company's impatience with servants who valued their standing above the work the settlement required, singling out such conduct for rebuke as a betrayal of the common effort. The sending of double lists against the risk of loss exposes the Company's built-in redundancy in its correspondence across a hazardous sea. Requisitions were copied and sent in separate packets so that the loss of one ship would not deprive the directors of the island's orders. This reveals how the Company met the perils of the voyage with duplication, ensuring that the settlement's needs would reach London even if a vessel and its papers were lost on the way.
172	168	Orders &c.a all. know. that. whoever. of. the. Councel. in. this. time of. Exigency. will. not. do. his. utmost. to. Expedite Our. Affairs. ought. not. to. live. at. our. Charge. in. time of. Peace. SInce. You. write. in. your. 6. Paragraph. the Thistleworths. bread. proves. very. bad. the. Ships. Cargo making. the. offuer. Bond. & tho'. the. weare. neither which. was. Seven. Notable. You. wonder. why. you. did not. Protest. against. the. Captain. & uncertain. clearly the. Damage. that. in. her. return. we. might. oblige. the Owners. to. make. Us. reparation. for. you. will. not. a ript. binding. concluses. suit. a. bare. notice. Sufficient to. recover. any. thing. from. them. THe. advice. you. give. of. Ships. arrivall. at. & Departure. from. St Helena. and. when. on. the. what. time. you hear. of. Shipping. elsewhere. we. approve. & woud. have. it	All should know that whoever of the council, in a time of exigency, would not do his utmost to expedite its affairs, ought not to live at its charge, in times of service. Since the Governor would see, in the second paragraph, the *Thistleworth*'s bread proved very bad, the ship's company making the officer's bond, and, in it, the several bad bear, which was hardly potable. The Court wondered why he did not protest against the captain, and ascertain thereby the damage, that, in her return, it might oblige the owners to make its reparation, for the Court would not, over again, be binding, and conclude such a bare notice sufficient to recover anything from them. The advice the Governor gave of ships arrived and departed from St Helena, and when, on what time, he heard of shipping elsewhere, its own, and, if it appeared, and would have it continued, as it also would relate to their goods and names, and their sort and quantity, or as it may be in quality. Mr Lawson, who brought the *Success Frigate*, told the Court no Dane ship had been at St Helena, from the Cape, and brought news of several Dutch ships arriving there, and a French ship, of which he would

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		Continued. as. we. also. woud. what. we. Goods. Wares. you receive. Sort. or. Quantity. or. bad. in. Quality. Mr. Lawson. who. brought. the. Success's. Frigot's. tells. Us. a. Danes. Ship. had. bein. at. St Helena. from. the Cape. bringing. news. of. severall. Dutch. Ships. arriving there. we. speak. English. Ship. as. we. leave. you. shoud. not. Admit. so. if. it. Acts. our. prisons. our. debt. be. again. Secondly. concerning. Goods. or. Stores. sent. from England. or. received. from India. **Margin Notes:** Reason. for. not. Protesting. Send. of. advising. as. approvd.	not advise, if it be. And its persons ought not to be again. Secondly, concerning goods, or stores, sent from England, or received from India. **Interpretations** The maxim that a councillor who would not exert himself in an emergency ought not to live at the Company's charge exposes the conditional nature of Company office. Rank carried an expectation of labour, and the Court held that a man unwilling to serve in a crisis forfeited his right to be maintained. This reveals how the Company tied the privileges of office to the performance of duty, treating a salary as earned by service rather than owed to station, and warning that dignity without effort had no claim on its purse. The bad bread and barely drinkable beer on the *Thistleworth* exposes how the Company sought to recover from its suppliers the cost of provisions that failed. Spoiled victuals meant a loss to be laid at the captain's door, and the Court expected a protest to fix the damage so the owners could be made to answer. This reveals the Company's machinery for holding its contractors to account for the quality of what they carried, requiring that defective supplies be formally documented so that reparation could be pursued rather than the loss simply borne. The intelligence about Danish, Dutch and French ships at the Cape exposes how St Helena served as a listening post in the Company's watch on rival and enemy shipping. Reports of foreign vessels were carried home and weighed, the French ship in particular a matter of wartime concern. This reveals how the island's position on the sea route made it valuable not only for supply but for intelligence, its arrivals and departures a source of news about the movements of other nations' ships across the ocean.
173	169	Ship Toddington As. beforementioned. We. reciev'd. 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. shoud be. Suffited. to. Continue. six. months. Demorr. in. his. Employ. & Justly. Suprt. to. his. Charge. of. never. having. brought. in. his Monthly. Acct. of. Stores. or. do. only. this. Excuse. that. he promises. to. get. all. things. Ready. by. the. Next. Summer Shipping. & then. as. beforementioned. that. you. never regarded. our. Generall. orders. if. you. had. you. woud. have found. Arts. Pt. 11. of. your. Instructions. was. a. Strict Injunction. for. you. the. Govr. & Councel. better. Reflections man. on. their. management. & we. shod. have. thought. you woud. have. for. secured. their. in. space. by. it. before. you. as their. Consultations. you. will. find. a. better. precedent. in. the last. Consultation. but. one. of. their. holding. of. which. You. now have. the. Copy. SInce. you. mention. in. the. 6. Para. of. your. Letter of. the. 11th. of. March. that. the. Excuse. Suppd. yod. yod. the. plenty of. Stores. from. the. Sept. & the. galls. which. was. we. would. as	Ship *Toddington*. As before mentioned, the Court received the Governor's indent so late that it could not send him what stores he now desired. But he would find there was a good quantity of paper. It looked something odd that the storekeeper should be suffered to continue six months demurring on his supply, and duly signed to his charge, of never having brought in his monthly account of stores, or only this excuse, that he promised to get all things ready by the latest summer shipping. And there, as before mentioned, that the Court never regarded its general orders, if the Governor found it, he would have found in the 21st head of its instructions was a strict injunction for it, the Governor and council better reflections upon their management, than it would have thought. The Governor would have secured them in some respects, and, upon those enquiries, upon their consultations, he would find a better precedent in the last consultation, but one of them holding, of which the Court now sent the copy. Since the Court wrote a second part of the Governor's letter of the 11 of March, that the ships supplied him the quantity of stores from the *Streatham*, and thereupon, which was warranted, as it might have reasonably expected, he would have given it a demand account, how he intended to dispose of them, which the 6th head of the Governor's letter aforementioned. If it had been thought fit to send it, as it might reasonably lead the Governor, whereupon were mentioned, if he left it to his prudence to fix the price of the goods it sent him from India, equitably, between the sea prices, it better wanted the Governor to remain, as of those prices. The Court, seeing approvable, for the direction, and the same, first gave it a general rule for the prices of goods sent it from [...]. **Interpretations**

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		might. have. Reasonably. Expected. you. would. have. gone. to them. Account. how. you. Intended. to. dispose. of. them. which. the 6th. Para. of. your. Letter. aforementioned. if. it. had. bein. thought of. shoud. shod. as. it. is. get. Instantly. led. you. to. so. wherein. was mentioned. if. we. left. it. to. your. prudence. to. fix. the. Prices. of our. Cloth. sent. you. from. India. equitably. between. the Inhabitants. & this. Wanted. you. to. Retain. we. of. those. Prices & was. approvd. or. futable. Direction. Kn. the. same. First gave. a. Generall. Rule. for. the. Prices. of. Goods. sent. you **Margin Notes:** Indent. was. Sent. too. late. Storekeeper. to. blame. for. not. bringing. in. his. accounts.	The complaint that the storekeeper was suffered to go six months without rendering his monthly accounts exposes the Company's demand for regular reckoning and its impatience with neglect. A standing injunction required the accounts, yet the officer had offered only excuses and promises. This reveals how the Company relied on a rhythm of frequent accounting to control its remote stores, and how the failure of that discipline, tolerated by the Governor and council, struck the directors as a serious lapse in the management they had entrusted. The direction to leave the pricing of Indian goods to the Governor's equitable judgement exposes the difficulty of setting prices for cargoes whose true cost was obscured by distance. Unlike goods carried at a known sea price, those from India reached the island invoiced at a cost the Governor could not readily verify. This reveals how the Company had to devolve pricing decisions onto the man on the spot, trusting his judgement to strike a fair figure between the sea price and the local value where the directors could not fix a rate from London. The Court's expectation of an account of how supplied stores would be disposed exposes its concern to follow its goods beyond their mere delivery. Sending stores was not enough; the Company wanted to know how they would be used and distributed. This reveals the thoroughness of the Company's oversight, tracing its property not only to the island but into the Governor's plans for it, so that the disposal of what it shipped remained as much a matter of account as the shipping itself.
174	170	Orders &c.a from. Europe. but. wee. Can't. in. either. of. your. two. Letters now. before. us. find. any. Answer. or. reply. to. either. part. of that. Para. whether. we. shall. call. this. Snstsleay. wants of. Attention. to. our. Orders. or. by. what. other. Name. is. yet. so in. the. Dark. to. the. however. it. is. We. must. say. We. expect these. things. to. one. End. as. we. hope. they. will. when. Your Books. give. Us. it. what. Opinion. & Suit. which. seems. to our. Sett. as. Your. Prisondirge. is. unaposinted. was. very but. write. you. in. this. so. much. Timb. is. serviced. if. they. Trade out. Prisdxk. to. Ferry. we. limed. you. in. the. Generall Direction. mentioned. in. Our. 2. Para. of. take. Good. out of. our. Ships. for. the. Use. of. the. Island. for. it. is. better. to. have them. bought. home. where. we. are. Sure. of. some. Advantage than. to. have. thereby. the. way. of. uncertaintys. you. cant but. have. St Helena. is. a. dead. Cargo. to. Us. & as. kept. up for. the. take. of. Our. Mariners. Lyes. & Health. of. they. may be. Suck'd. to. take. care. of. our. States. on. board. & since. it brings. Us. in. no. other. proffit. We. ought. to. take. care. it. be as. little. Loss. as. Possible. Our. Gov. in. his. Letter. to. two. of. the. 11. of. March says. it. is. absolutely. necessary. to. make. a. new. Storehouse	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. From Europe, but the Court came, in either of the Governor's two letters now before it, first to answer, or reply, to either part of that head, whether it should call this its inability, or want of attention to its orders, or by what other name, and yet, in the desk to the reader, it is themed. And it desired these things to amend, as it hoped they would, within the Governor's books, and let it appear, and that expenses and dues, which seemed to the Court, or the Governor's discretion, is over poured, was very burdensome to it. In as much time is served, if the trade out, the Court dared to say, it trusted the Governor in the general direction mentioned in the Court's letter, and, take out of its own ships, for the use of the island, so it was better to have them brought home, where it was of some advantage, than to have them, by the way, at uncertainties. The Court, but knew St Helena is a dead charge to it, and it kept up for the sake of its mariners' lives, and, if riches of the money may be induced to take some of its estates on board, and it could bring the Court, or no other profit. It ought to take some to be as little loss as possible. The Governor, in his letter to the Court, of the 11 of March, said it was absolutely necessary to make a new storehouse of stores, the present house being much decayed. The Court thought, being cindered with the *Description*, unable to fix an many broke open, this being so, and it should be against a new one built, and be substantial, so as to term with future management, as it was, both, and it made convenient to answer all its edifices. Mr Johnson removed over James, and it now would be a proper starting house, so it recommended to the Governor, and it desired its several caprices which were more for the benefit of posterity, and the account [...]. **Interpretations** The blunt restatement that St Helena was a dead charge, kept only for the sake of its mariners' lives, exposes the Company's settled view of the island's worth. It yielded no profit, its whole value lying in the refreshment and safety it gave to seamen on the long

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		of. Store. the. present. House. being. much. decayd. the. Ships being. Careend. with. that. Peace. it. is. liable. to. fire. or. many broke. open. This. being. so. we. shod. be. Content. a. new. one. we built. made. Substantiall. so. as. to. be. save. with. proper management. as. we. hope. it. will. & made. Convenient. to. answer all. the. Ends. for. Stonhouse. we. observd. now. Charge. any new. with. Charge. w. this. proves. Charity. useless. so. wee Recommend. to. you. & do. Expect. no. needless. Expences. which we. are. more. for. the. Benefit. of. the. Sobrety. of. the. account **Margin Notes:** St Helena. is. a. dead. Cargo. but. kept. for. the. sake. of. yr. Mariners. Lives. Build. a. new. Storehouse.	voyage. This reveals how the Company reconciled itself to a permanent loss on the settlement, justifying the expense not by any return but by the preservation of the crews on whom its trade ultimately depended. The reasoning that goods were better brought home, where they held some value, than left at uncertainties exposes the Company's careful weighing of where its property was best disposed. Rather than let cargo sit idle or at risk on the island, it preferred to carry it to a market where it would fetch something. This reveals the Company's constant calculation of advantage across its whole network, moving goods to where they served best, and treating even the choice of where to hold or sell as a matter of minimising loss. The decision to build a new and substantial storehouse rather than patch the decayed one exposes the Company's principle of durable construction on a station it meant to keep. The old house was too far gone, and a new one built solidly would serve future management better than repeated repairs. This reveals the Company's readiness to lay out capital on lasting fabric where it judged the need permanent, choosing sound building over false economy so that the money spent would not have to be spent again.
175	171	Ship Toddington due. Care. will. be. taken. we. be. at. no. more. Expence. than. is really. necessary. Thirdly. touching. your. Servts. civil & Military. The. Acct. of. St Helena. in Generall. & also. touching. our. Slaves. Land. & Cattle. & Revinues. We. find. no. notice. is. taken. of. our. first. & a Subsequent. Para. in. the. Same. under. this. Head. whether. any thing. has. bein. made. Good. to. us. of. so. many. avraried. to. some of. you. how. which. are. to. be. paid. out. of. your. Growing Sallary. as. you. had. them. bein. Sex. Months. on. the. Island nor. any. Mention. what. was. intended. to. be. done therein. SInce. Mr. Hodghinson. is. dead. who. by. all Acct. did. not. deserve. the. favor. we. shod. him. in. advancing him. to. be. Second. of. the. Councel. we. as. forgiving. him. his. just profitures. according. to. the. Originall. Laws. of. the. Island. we. are. Content. to. yr. Mr. Pack. shoud. Succeed. but. it. is. on. this Respect. if. he. will. better. Comply. with. Our. Orders. than hitherto. & in. regard. he. has. a. numerous. Family. has. been for. Several. years. in. our. Service. here. & we. hope. is. Honest. We. are. Content. to. allow. him. Thirty. Pounds. a. year. above his. Seventy. Pounds. as. Acards. towards. the. maintenance. of his. Family. in. the. Nature. of. dull. money. as. being. a. married Man. & in. lieu. of. maintaining. his. Family. apart. for. we. don't think. it. adviseable. they. shoud. be. at. our. Generall. Table. & it were. but. for. President. sake. for. time. to. come. & this. Allowance to. him. in. for. his. own. sake. & what. we. will. not. have. reason	Ship *Toddington*. Due care would be taken there be at no more expense than was really necessary. Thirdly, touching the Court's servants, civil and military, the accounts of St Helena in general, and also touching its slaves, land and cattle, and revenues. The Court found no notice at all taken of its first and subsequent paragraphs, in the 3rd head, whether any thing had been made good to it, of the money advanced to some of the Governor's men, which were to be paid out of the Governor's growing salary, so it supposed the Governor had them, but neither saw months on the island, nor any mention what was intended to be done therein. Since Mr Hodgkinson was dead, who, by all account, did not deserve the favour intended him, in advancing him to be second of the council, it was preferring him, his just profitures, according to the original laws of the island. The Court was content to give Mr Pack, who should succeed, but it was on this respect, if he will better comply with the Court's orders than hitherto. In regard he had a numerous family, he had been, for several years, in the Court's service, and now hoped it honest. The Court was content to allow him thirty pounds a year, above his seventy pounds, as second, towards the maintenance of his family, in the nature of dull money, as being a married man. In lieu of maintaining his family apart, for it did not think it advisable they moved, at one general table, if it were, but, for president's table, for time to come. And this allowance to him, for his own sake, and what it would not have occasion into example, with others, in the letter of the 7 of December, some had made a mistake, for, if it had conceived, that the second of the council should [...]. **Interpretations** The death of Hodgkinson, who by the Company's account had not deserved the favour of promotion, exposes how quickly the directors could revise their judgement of a man once removed by death. The advancement intended for him was now redirected to Pack, on condition of better compliance. This reveals how the Company's patronage was continually adjusted to its assessment of merit, the place of a dead officer reassigned with a fresh condition attached, so that even a posthumous verdict shaped who succeeded to office. The extra thirty pounds allowed to Pack as a married man exposes how the Company took a servant's family circumstances into account in fixing

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		into. Example. with. others. in. Letter. of. the. 7. of. Decemb. seems he. is. under. a. mistake. for. if. he. had. considered. the. 2. Para. 8. & **Margin Notes:** Servts. to. be. made. acct. in. Money. advanced. in. England. in. their. growing. pay. Mr. Pack. as. Second. by. the. Death. of. Mr. Hodghinson.	his reward. The additional sum, described as maintenance for his numerous family, was granted in lieu of keeping them at a common table. This reveals a practical accommodation of domestic need within the Company's scale of pay, the directors recognising that a married officer with children required more than his bare salary, and providing for it while guarding against the precedent spreading to others. The care to keep this allowance from becoming an example to others exposes the Company's wariness of setting precedents that might multiply its costs. A concession made to one man for a particular reason was hedged against becoming a general claim. This reveals how the Company managed its expenditure on a distant establishment by treating each favour as exceptional, granting what a case required while explicitly denying that it opened a door for like demands from the rest of its servants.
176	172	Orders &c.a of. our. Generall. Letter. as. you. shoud. all. do. since. our Laws. are. designed. to. be. your. Rules. he. woud. have found. that. we. elected. him. but. 3d. of. Councel. & the Capt. Now. as. we. have. a. 2. had. about. Fifty. pounds. yr. Salary. but. in. Regard. his. Salient. lay. now. in. Acct. his. Sotting. of. mine. & Pack. We. mentioned. he. shoud have. the. Ass. Papers. Place. which. used. to. be. under the. Care. of. the. 2. of. that. purpose. allowed. him. a Sallary. of. as. we. mention. in. his. Letter. of. the. 11. march. yet Matchstim. is. not. Sufficient. Conveniency. at. the. Store House. for. dressing. Oats. but. only. for. Lodging. You may. Supplply. yr. defects. by. building. in. as. safe. place. a Convenient. Kitchen. WEe. Can't. omit. here. taking. Notice. That. as. we. have appointed. all. of. you. to. be. a. Councel. for. managing. all Our. Affairs. which. from. time. to. time. occurr. So. we Expect. you. Stand. all. Corporate. for. our. Interest. & Only. debate. our. matters. that. Come. before. you. wherein the. Majority. is. to. Govern. Some. of. you. dissent. Let them. dissent. be. entered. in. Consultation. & so. may your. safe. who. is. in. the. right. or. wrong. & we. respect if. any. one. of. you. Officer. to. give. the. reasons. in. Voding for. his. Decision. Also. as. the. Rest. shall. not. by. their Votes. hinder. his. Entering. those. Reasons. in. Consultation even. the. Generall. Man. or. we. are. or. it. was. lately. done in. the. Case. of. those. who. woud. not. Sign. that. Grandsse Charge. is. your. Story. of. the. 2. of. Octobr. to. Capt. Roberts that. b. he. had. avraried. as. our. Lawhavers. Cage. &c. we. shod let. it. Groundless. because. he. drop'd. it. & falling. of. you to. prove. the. Doubt. of. any. one. which. you. never. did. as **Margin Notes:**	Of the general letter, as the Governor should also do, since those orders were designed to be its rules, it would have found that it never elected him but third of council, and the Court kept them as they were, and he had about fifty pounds a year salary. But, in regard his talent lay more in accountantship, upon Mr Pack, the Court reasoned he should have the storekeeper's place, which used to be under the care of the second, and, to that purpose, allowed him a salary, as before mentioned, in the letter of the 11 of March. The storehouse was not sufficiently convenient at the store house for dressing victuals, but only for lodging, and the Governor might supply the defect by building in its place a convenient kitchen. The Court could not here take notice, that, as it had appointed all of the Governor's men to be a council for managing all its affairs, which, from time to time, occur, to use its best endeavours to co-operate for its interest, and, only to have any matters that come before them, wherein the majority is to govern, some of the Governor's assent, let them assent to be entered in the consultation, and it may prejudice, who is in the right or wrong, and, with respect of any one of the Governor's officers, to give his reasons in holding for his dissent, and so the rest must not, by their votes, hinder his entering those reasons in consultation. Even in the general, as the Court was of late lately done, in the case of those who would not agree, that Grafton's charge is your storekeeper, thereof orders to Captain Roberts, that it be his had, and against the *Carleton* cargo, and it Court, at grounds, because it dropped, and challenged the Governor to prove the distress, and any on which the Governor now did [...]. **Interpretations** The reassignment of the storekeeper's place from the second of council to Pack for his skill in accounting exposes the Company's readiness to reorder its offices around competence. A charge that customarily belonged to the second was given instead to the man whose talent fitted it, with a salary attached. This reveals how the Company subordinated the ordinary allocation of duties by rank to the practical demands of good administration, placing the keeping of stores with the officer best able to keep the accounts rather than the one whose station nominally entitled him to it. The insistence that a dissenting councillor's reasons be entered in the consultation exposes a real safeguard for minority opinion within the island's government. Though the majority governed, no member could be prevented by the others' votes from recording why he disagreed. This reveals the Company's concern to preserve a written trace of dissent, so that a councillor overruled was not silenced but could set down his objection, and the

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		The. majority. of. Council. to. make. Orders.	record would show who had stood against a decision and on what grounds. The requirement that dissent be documented rather than merely outvoted exposes how the Company used its consultation books as a check on collective decisions. By preserving the reasons of those who opposed a measure, the record allowed later judgement of who had been right or wrong. This reveals the Company's reliance on its written proceedings not only to record what was decided but to hold each councillor accountable for his part, so that the minority's warning survived to be weighed if a decision proved ill.
177	173	Ship Toddington Wee. must. far. this. take. Notice. that. as. our. Servand Letters. to. Us. relating. to. any. of. our. Affairs. ought. to. be Entertain. Your. Generall. Letter. Book. for. the. Publick information. except. only. Such. who. relate. purely. to the. Secrett. Committee. or. other. Secrett. Negotiation. We take. yr. the. Hint. from. this. if. Capt. Boucher. & two. of. the Council. deny. in. their. Sournor. of. the. 2. of. October. to Capt. Roberts. there. was. any. such. opinion. of. the. Commander. of. the. Men. of. War. as. the. other. Aspers. for. mounting Demi. Cannon. on. Murders. Point. because. they. find no. minutes. of. it. taken. by. the. Councel. & yet. the. 3. Para. of. the. Generall. Letter. of. the. 17. July. 1711. imports that. the. Commanders. Offered. to. Assist. him. therein therefore. to. prevent. such. Squabbles. in. future. Let. the Governour. for. the. time. being. enter. such. debates. in Consultation. & in. his. Letter. in. the. Generall. Register. We. have. this. farther. Reason. for. it. that. in. Case. of Mortality. the. Successors. may. be. acquainted. with. the Predecessors. Schemes. for. Building. &c. parts. of. our. Affairs more. particularly. Committed. to. the. Governr. Care. Wee. are. Sorry. the. Councel. Complain. to. us. one. against the. other. in. their. private. Letters. Such. Animosityes. & heart burning. portend. no. Good. to. Us. we. expect. this. to. be. no. no more. if. any. of. you. are. of. different. Apprehensions. Debate. it together. coolly. & enter. your. Reasons. in. Consultation. where you. Disagree. if. any. are. Vicious. or. Sottish. & thereby neglect. our. Business. let. them. be. fairly. warnd. & if. yr won't. reclaim. them. let. us. know. it. & we. shall. Cure. the. Evil but. we. must. tell. You. we. don't. take. it. well. that. you never. gave. Capt. Roberts. an. Answer. to. his. Letter. of. yr **Margin Notes:** Govr. Letters. to. the. Capt. to. be. Entered. in. the. Genr. Book.	Ship *Toddington*. The Court must here take notice that all its general letters to it, relating to any of its affairs, ought to be entered in the general letter book, for the public information, except only such as related purely to the secret committee, or other secret negotiation. The Court took the hint from this, that Captain Boucher, and two of the council, denied, in their answer of the 6 of October, to Captain Roberts, that there was any such opinion of the commander of the men of war, as the other reports, for mounting demi cannon on Munden's Point, because they found no minutes of it taken by the council. And, upon the third head of the general letter of the 17 July 1711, it imported that the commanders offered to assist him therein, and therefore, to prevent such squabbles in future, it would have the Governor, for the time being, enter such debates in consultation, and in his letter in the general register. The Court had this further reason for it, that, in case of mortality, the successors might be acquainted with the predecessors' schemes for building and the like, and parts of its affairs, more particularly committed to the Governor's care. The Court was sorry the council complained of one against the other in their private letters. Such animosity and heart burning portended no good to it, and it expected it to be so no more, if any of the Governor's men were of different apprehensions. If they debated it together coolly, and entered their reasons in consultation where they disagreed, and if any were negligent or slothful, and thereby neglected its business, let them be fairly warned. And if they would not reclaim them, let the Court know it, and it should take the rest. But it must tell the Governor, it did not take it well that he never gave Captain Roberts an answer to his letter [...]. **Interpretations** The rule that all general letters be entered in the letter book, save those touching secret negotiation, exposes the Company's balance between transparency and confidentiality in its records. Most correspondence was to be openly available for public information, but matters of the secret committee were exempt. This reveals how the Company distinguished the ordinary business of government, which its officers should all be able to consult, from the sensitive dealings that had to be kept close, maintaining both an open record and a guarded one according to the nature of the matter. The reasoning that consultations be recorded so successors might learn their predecessors' schemes exposes the Company's concern for continuity across the deaths of its officers. On a station where mortality was high, a governor's plans for building and other affairs would be lost unless written down. This reveals how the Company built institutional memory as a defence against the frequent turnover of its distant servants, ensuring that the work and intentions of one officer survived to guide whoever succeeded him. The dispute over whether the commanders had offered to mount cannon on Munden's Point exposes

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		Council. do. complain. against. one. another. the. Governr. dislikes.	how the absence of a written minute could turn into a quarrel about the truth of past events. One party denied the opinion because the council had recorded nothing of it, while a letter asserted the offer had been made. This reveals the Company's insistence on recording decisions and offers in consultation precisely to forestall such disputes, since a matter left unwritten became a source of contradiction that the record alone could have settled.
178	174	Orders &c.a the. 2th. of. October. which. is. a. Letter. of. Business. & looks to. Us. as. b. it. was. a. hall. of. truth. & cannot. Contradicted tho'. the. ship. staid. a. month. longer. true. it. is. Capt. Boucher. sent. Us. what. he. Called. an. Answer. but dated. the. 7. of. December. which. appears. more. like. a Contention. about. Words. and. is. rather. filled. with the. Art. & Sophistry. of. the. Schools. than. Solid. & plain & plain. Argument. & your. mentioning. so. much. wch. we. do. with. Regrett. our. aim. is. to. put. a. full. Stop. to. the like. hereafter. being. desirous. your. time. Should. be. taken. up in. Studying. our. Interest. & your. own. quiet. than. in the. throwing. dirt. secretly. or. openly. at. one. another. & if any. of. you. think. if. you. have. good. Cause. to. Complain. of the. rest. do. it. openly. & our. shall. judge. of. it. You. promise. Us. our. Accts. shall. be. sent. by. the Summer. Shipping. We. expect. them. Accordingly. & that our. Store. keepers. Acct. &c. monthly. or. oftner. examined & approved. in. Consultation. & the. Ballana. paid. into. the Govr. either. in. money. That. whoever. looks. after. the. Plantation (which. will. have. to. your. determination). for. the. present. & give in. monthly. his. Accounts. of. all. the. Perticulars. under. his Care. which. Your. Consultation. of. the. 6th. of. Febru. mention Mr. Hodghinson. had. never. done. tho'. he. had. bein. in. Office Sex. Months. Such. Unaccountaba. proceedings. must. never again. be. Suffered. if. they. are. We. cant. think. any. who. have Store. by. it. don't. Remedy. it. fit. to. Serve. Us. we. expect. as them. who. have. any. Concerns. of. our. under. their. Care. do monthly. or. if. you. think. fitt. oftner. give. in. their. Accts. and that. it. be. not. done. only. for. forms. Sake. but. that. the Severall. Accts. pass. due. & Strict. Examination. and **Margin Notes:** Yearly. Accts. sent. by. the. Summer. Ships. & the. Store. keepers. Accts. to. be. every. month. in. the. Consultations.	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. Of the 6 of October, which was a letter of business. It looked to the Court, as it were, a letter of truth, because not contradicted. Though the ship stayed a month longer, true it was Captain Boucher sent to it what it called an answer, which sailed the 7 of December, which appeared more like a contention about it, and was rather filled with the art and sophistry of the schools than solid reasoning, or plain argument. By mentioning so much, which the Court did with regret, its aim was to put a full stop to the like hereafter, being desirous the Governor's time should be taken up in studying its interest, and his own quiet, than in the throwing dirt secretly or openly at one another. If any of the Governor's men thought they had good cause to complain of the rest, and it openly, and it should judge of it. The Governor promised the Court its accounts should be sent by the summer shipping, and it expected them accordingly, that the storekeeper's accounts be monthly, or oftener, examined and approved in consultation, and the balance paid into the Governor, either in money, that whoever looked after the plantation, which was to the Court's determination for the present year, monthly his accounts of all the particulars under his charge, which the Governor's consultation of the 6 of February mentioned Mr Hodgkinson had never done, though he had been in the Court's office six months. Such unaccountable proceedings must never again be suffered, if they were. The Court could not think any who have driven by, and go to remedy it, fit to serve it, nor expects any others who have any concerns of its own under their care do monthly, or, if the Governor thought fit, oftener give in their accounts, and that it be not done only for form's sake, but that the several accounts pass a due and strict examination [...]. **Interpretations** The dismissal of Boucher's answer as the art and sophistry of the schools rather than plain argument exposes the Company's impatience with clever evasion in its officers' correspondence. The Court wanted solid reasoning and straight answers, not rhetorical contention. This reveals how the Company valued directness and substance in the reports from its distant servants, treating a letter that argued cleverly but resolved nothing as a species of evasion, and reproving a governor who met its concerns with disputation instead of a plain account. The demand that accounts pass a due and strict examination, not merely be signed for form's sake, exposes the Company's insistence on real scrutiny rather than the appearance of it. Approval in consultation was to mean genuine checking, not a hollow endorsement. This reveals how the Company guarded against the danger that its accounting controls might become empty ritual, requiring that the councillors who signed the accounts had actually examined them, so that the safeguard retained its substance and did not decay into a mere formality. The reproach over Hodgkinson's six months without rendering plantation accounts exposes the seriousness with which the Company treated the failure of regular accounting. An officer who held his charge for half a year without a single account had, in

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			the Company's eyes, shown himself unfit to serve. This reveals how central the rhythm of monthly reckoning was to the Company's control of its remote property, and how the neglect of it, tolerated on the island, was regarded by the directors as an unacceptable breach of the trust placed in its servants.
179	175	Ship Toddington and. wherever. any. faults. whither. of. Carelessness. Errors. or Wilfullness. are. Discoverd. yr. a. due. & proper. Remedy. be apply'd. thereto. Wee. don't. at. all. like. that. you. have. bought. it. in so. many. Plantations. and. thereby. the. several. Families. have left. the. Island. We. cant. see. what. Authority. you. had. for so. doing. it. nor. how. these. Planta. will. turn. to. better. Acct 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 of. any. place. as. this. naturally. tends. to. there. must. be Some. Secret. Reason. for. this. as. that. the. People. cant. live Quietly. or. thither. which. makes. them. desire. to. have. the place. & if. they. were. of. Roving. Tempers. they. shod. Cause. buy their. Plantations. & if. they. cant. find. Chapmen. they. will. be inclind. to. Stay. Besides. who. if. you. in. England. our. Anew Landlord. of. a. mannor. desires. to. purchase. any. Lands. yt holds. of. his. Mannoor. He. knows. whatever. holds. of. hom turns. to. better. Advantage. in. Consequence. than. if. he. had it. in. his. own. hands. for. all. which. & many. other. It. a. some that. might. be. offered. we. say. buy. no. more. Plantations. & have. our. or. sha. all. you. have. bought. cause. we. not. abso- lutely. necessary. for. the. Maintenance. of. your. own. Dependants dants. Whites. or. Blacks. & say. let. us. know. by. the. next what. these. Planta. so. bought. Yield. Us. & Annum. that. wee. may. know. what. we. have. for. our. money. It. looks to. Us. better. to. Rent. our. Land. tho'. we. buy. the. Produce of. the. Tenants. yt. to. keep. any. Quantity. in. our. own. Hands. for. private. Prisons. will. husband. a. Farm. better themselves. than. by. what. appears. our. Servants. will. for. us **Margin Notes:** Buying. out. of. Families. is. no. good. Policy.	Ship *Toddington*. And whatever any faults, whether of carelessness, errors or wilfulness, were discovered, a due and proper remedy be applied thereto. The Court doubted, at all, whether it had been well that the Governor bought so many plantations, and thereby the several families had left the island. The Court could not see what authority he had for so doing, nor how these plantations would turn to better account in its hands than in the planters. What could the Governor think would become of the island, if it had it all in its own hands. It was against all policy to contribute to the depopulating of any place, as this naturally tended to, and there must be some secret reason for it, as that the people could not live quietly or wealthily, which made them desire to have the place. If they were of buying temper, they very body could buy their plantations, and, if they could not find chapmen, they would be induced to stay. Besides, who, if the Governor in England ever knew a lord of a manor desirous to purchase any lands he holds of his manors. He knows whatever he holds of them 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 offered, the Court would say, buy no more plantations, and take out, or sell all the Governor had bought, so as it were not absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the Governor's own dependants, whites or blacks. He was to let the Court know, by the next, what these plantations, so bought, yielded it per annum, that it might know what it had for its money. It looked to the Court better to rent out its land, than either buy the produce of the tenant, or to keep any quantity in its own hands, for private persons will husband a farm better themselves than by what appeared its servants would, for [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's objection to buying up plantations because it depopulated the island exposes a settled principle of colonial policy. Families sold out and left, and the Company saw this as against all policy, since a settlement needed inhabitants to sustain it. This reveals how the Company valued a populated island above one whose land it wholly owned, recognising that the departure of settlers weakened the very colony the plantations were meant to support, and that concentrating the land in its own hands was self-defeating. The comparison to a lord of a manor who would never buy the lands held of him exposes the Company's grasp of the advantage of tenancy over direct ownership. Land held by tenants yielded more, in consequence, than land worked by the owner himself. This reveals how the Company reasoned about property on the island by analogy to English landholding, judging that its interest lay in being a landlord drawing rent rather than a proprietor cultivating its own ground, since tenants had every incentive to make the land productive. The observation that private persons husband a farm better than the Company's servants exposes a candid recognition of the limits of direct management. Land in the hands of its own officers was worked less well than land held by men farming for themselves. This reveals the Company's understanding that self-interest made a better cultivator than salaried service, and that its property

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			prospered more when let to those who would profit by their own diligence than when kept under the care of servants with no such stake. **Speculations** The instruction to sell off the plantations the Governor had bought, rather than keep and work them, points to a default the Company deliberately rejected. The obvious course, having acquired the land, was to hold it and manage it directly for whatever it might yield. Yet the Court chose to reverse the purchases and return the land to private hands, reasoning that tenants farmed better than servants, that ownership depopulated the island, and that rent served its interest more than produce. This reveals the Company preferring the role of landlord over proprietor, willing to give up direct control of the land in the judgement that a populated island of paying tenants was worth more to it than a depopulated one of Company farms.
180	176	Orders &c.a Us. witness. Statts. Plantation. & others. You. Complain of. which. are. gone. to. Ruen. because. the. People. looks after. them. for. our. Accounts. & not. their. own. WEe. have. no. Prospect. while. the. Warr. lasts. to supply. you. with. madagascar. Negroes. or. those. of Guinea. howevr. for. what. you. have. take. Care. they turn. if. Wing. & be. well. looked. after. WHat. our. buildings. you. find. absolutely. necessary for. the. Barracks. for. the. Soldiers. lodgings. for. the. Blacks work. Houses. for. the. Carpenter. Joyners. &c. let. them. be done. Substantially. & with. frugality. WEe. have. bein. often. & Earnestly. Sollicited. by. Susannah 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. Married. to. him. & bought. to. him. Good Fortune. do. you. tell. him. We. expect. He. allow. a. Yearly Maintenance. for. her. & you. deduct. out. of. his. pay. that we. may. not. loose. it. THere. is. one. John. Mayoll. who. was. left. at. St Helena by. the. Fleet. Frigate. if. he. be. yet. on. the. Island. 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. Wee. have. Scarce. any. Answer. to. the. many. Para. relating. to. the. Statement. of. the. Peoples. property. & registring. their. Lands. to. prevent. Law. suits. & litigated. Titles. WHat. you. mention. in. Answer. to. our. 2. Para. relating. to. mercy. Alexander. as. a. Complying. with. our **Margin Notes:** No. Negroes. can. be. sent. while. the. Warr. lasts. Do. all. the. Buildings. with. frugality. Susannah. Southern. yr. Serjt. his. Comp. to. have. of. maintenance. John. Mayoll. to. Return. home. Lands. must. be. Registred.	Ship *Fleet Frigate*. Yes, witness Hutt's plantation, and others the Governor complained of, which were gone to ruin, because the people looked after them for the Court's accounts, and not their own. The Court had no prospect, while the war lasted, to supply the Governor with Madagascar slaves, or those of Guinea. However, for what he had, he was to take care they earned their living, and be well looked after. Whatever buildings he found absolutely necessary for the barracks, for the soldiers' lodgings, for the blacks, work houses for the carpenters, joiners and the like, let them be done substantially, and with frugality. The Court had been often and earnestly solicited by Susannah Southern, whose husband was a sergeant, and it was told in good circumstances, that it might allow her something to keep her from starving. She offered good proof that she was married to him, and brought to him good fortune, so the Court told him it, in respect, allowed a yearly maintenance for her, and he might deduct it out of his pay, that it might not lose it. There was one John Mayott, who was left at St Helena by the *Fleet Frigate*, and, if he be on the island, the Governor was to give him leave to proceed on the next ship returning for Europe, as his father, who was a messenger of the House of Commons, desired. The Court had scarce any answer to the many parts relating to the settlement of the people's property, and registering their lands, to prevent lawsuits and litigated titles. What the Governor mentioned, in answer to the Court's second head, relating to Mercy Alexander, as a complying with [...]. **Interpretations** The renewed statement that no slaves could be had from Madagascar or Guinea while the war lasted exposes the dependence of the island's forced labour on a traffic that hostilities cut off. The Company could not replenish its slaves, and so directed only that those already there be worked and maintained. This reveals how the supply of the island's unpaid labour was hostage to the wider war at sea, the settlement unable to draw fresh hands from either source until peace reopened the routes that fed the trade in people. The provision for Susannah Southern, allowing her a maintenance deducted from her husband's pay, exposes how the Company managed the welfare of its soldiers' wives through their husbands' wages. She proved her marriage and her contribution, and the Company secured her keep by charging it against the sergeant's pay so as not to lose the sum. This reveals a practical mechanism for supporting dependants, the

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			Company advancing relief to a wife while ensuring it recovered the cost from the man who owed her maintenance. The favour shown to John Mayott, granted passage home at the request of his father, a messenger of the House of Commons, exposes how influence in England reached into the Company's disposal of persons on its distant island. A man's return was arranged because his father held a place of standing. This reveals how the Company accommodated the connections of those with access to power at home, bending its ordinary practice to oblige a father whose position made his request worth honouring.
181	177	Ship Toddington our. Order. We. Understand. is. very. Different. & that what. is. done. is. rather. in. Spight. to. the. late. Government than. according. to. Equity. if. the. Case. be. rightly. for We. are. told. this. Bagley. who. Suid. it. served. it. of. the Company. & she. did. no. more. than. her. first. Husband. & she. both. Consented. to. his. Renting. it. & post. him. to. it. that. he. might. buy. their. Stock. on. the. Ground. which. he did. & that. his. Woman. is. since. Remarried. and. her. now Husband. being. Instigated. by. some. ill. disposd. People set. her. on. Clamouring. who. otherwise. would. not. & none she. has. it. her. Husband. keeps. only. a. Black. wct whereas. Bagley. is. a. man. of. Good. Note. has. a. Family. and. is. turnd. out. of. Doors. and. what. is. yett. worse. the man. has. spirit. & so. we. & he. has. no. allowance. for. that made. him. That. John. Alexander. who. is. Charged. with every. ill. Practice. in. the. Case. as. by. an. Sum. appears prevaild. with. the. said. mercy. which. a. Widow. to. Sign. a. Petition to. draw. up. for. her. when. she. did. not. know. what. she. Signed to. nor. had. any. intents. to. Complain. nor. desired. him. to draw. up. any. & on. perusal. as. find. it. is. his. hark. It is. a. tittle. more. Surporzing. to. us. that. the. Certificate. of this. Good. Behaviour. of. her. husband. Richard. Alexander is. Written. by. a. Blands. which. we. are. Sorry. to. See. is Exactly. of. the. Same. Character. with. his. Letter. to. us. & Seems. to. be. more. a. party. Cause. than. otherwise. by. Mr. Mashisons. being. so. particularly. active. in. it. for. turning out. Bagley. & many. other. Circumstances. we. are. not inclind. to. Innumerate. which. some. offerd. to. be. provd before. You. we. think. Reheare. the. Case. impartialy. & dont. put. it. on. Our. Cause. for. that. was. only. in. Compassion **Margin Notes:** Difference. between. mercy. Alexander. and. Bagley.	Ship *Toddington*. The Court understood its order was very different, and that what was done was rather in spite to the late government than according to equity. If the case be rightly, for the Court was told this Bagley, who had it, served it of the Company, and Mr did no more than her first husband, and the council consented to his beating it. Upon him to it, that he might buy their stock, on the ground which he did, and that his woman, since remarried, and her now husband being instigated by some ill disposed people, set her on clamouring, who otherwise would not, and, moreover, she had it, her husband keeps only a black, whereas Bagley is a man of good note, has a family, and is turned out of doors, and, what is yet worse, the man has spent it, and, when it has no allowance, for that maintaining him. That John Alexander, who is charged with engrossing practices in other cases, by some time appears prevailed with the widow, which a widow to sign a petition, to draw up for her, when she did not know what she signed to, nor had any intents to complain, nor desired him to draw up any. On perusal it, the Court found it to be his hand. It is a little more surprising to the Court, that the certificate of the good behaviour of her husband, Richard Alexander, is written by his hands, which the Court was sorry to see is exactly of the same character, on his letter to it, and seems to be more a party case than otherwise, by Mr Mashbourne's being so particularly active in it, for turning out Bagley, and many other circumstances the Court was not inclined to enumerate, which some offered to be proved before it, on the whole. Whereas the Court impartially, and did not put it on its own cause, for that was only in comparison [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's suspicion that the proceedings against Bagley were done in spite to the late government exposes how factional feeling on the island could corrupt the administration of justice. What was presented as an equitable settlement appeared to the directors as the working of local malice against the previous regime. This reveals the Company's alertness to the danger that its officers might turn the machinery of government to private and party ends, reading the case as a settling of scores rather than a fair disposal of a genuine dispute. The discovery that the widow's petition and her husband's certificate were both in John Alexander's hand exposes how the Company detected the manufacture of evidence in a contested case. The same handwriting on documents purporting to come from different parties betrayed their common author. This reveals the Company's forensic attention to the papers laid before it, recognising that a petition the petitioner did not understand and a certificate written by an interested party were not independent testimony but the work of one hand advancing a cause. The charge that Alexander had prevailed on a widow to sign a petition she did not understand

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			exposes the exploitation of the vulnerable in the island's disputes. She neither knew what she signed nor wished to complain, yet her name was used to advance a quarrel. This reveals how the forms of law could be abused to lend a private grievance the appearance of legitimate petition, and the Company's concern to look behind such documents to whether they represented any real will of the person whose name they bore. **Speculations** The Court's choice to look behind the island's settlement of the Bagley affair and treat it as a party case, rather than accept the disposal its officers had made, points to a default deliberately set aside. The natural course for directors at such a distance was to uphold what the Governor and council had determined on the spot, since they had seen the parties and the facts. Yet the Court chose instead to weigh the circumstances, notice that the petition and certificate were in one interested hand, and conclude that Mashbourne's activity in turning out Bagley marked the whole as spite rather than equity. This reveals the Company willing to overturn its own men's judgement in defence of a party it thought wronged, preferring to correct a local injustice from London over the easier deference to those who had carried the matter through.
182	178	Orders &c.a to. her. as. a. Widow. which. she. is. not. & so. there. be Reason. for. it. as. it. is. probable. to. Us. we. install. Bagley if. there. be. not. & the. Woman. was. unjustly. dealt with. allow. Bagley. the. Charges. he. was. at. in. fencing and. Planting. or. otherwise. which. is. but. Equitable. Wee. are. Sorry. to. find. so. many. Bills. of. Exchange drawn. on. Us. after. we. had. so. lately. & fully. supplied St Helena. from. Europe. & India. We. expect. to. have. these Article. of. our. Charge. returned. Fourthly. touching. the. Fortifications Buildings. & Garrison. Stores. It. is. too. late. to. Send. you. out. any. Bratcs. from hence. if. you. can. meet. with. a. Engbratc. or. Good. Penman from. any. Men. of. Warr. proper. for. your. Use. buy it. Wee. are. glad. our. Govr. can. find. out. any. means for. easing. our. Charges. about. Lime. Cutt. Stone. or. making the. Fortifications. more. Commodious. for. the. well Managing. the. Guns. by. Smooth. & level. Pavemexts. or any. other. ways. All. such. things. bespeak. their. own Commendations. We. shall. be. glad. to. Receive. from. him proper. Draughts. of. his. Works. whither. begun. Carried. on. or Compleated. & where. they. are. & we. may. Judge. of. them & take. the. Explanation. of. those. who. did. 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. so. it. be. done. Wee. expect. you. Annually. Send. Us. a. Rentall. of we. the. money. you. receive. for. Lands. holden. of. Us. on. the Island. & how. much. of. Each. & of. it. also. an. Acct. of. what **Margin Notes:**	Ship *Fleet Frigate.* To her as a widow, which she was not. There was, for the Court, no reason for it, and it was probable to it, since to run still Bagley, if there be not, and the woman was unjustly dealt with, the Governor was to allow Bagley the charges he was at, in fencing and planting, or otherwise, which was but equitable. The Court was sorry to find so many bills of exchange drawn on it, so lately, when it had so lately and fully supplied St Helena from Europe and India, and it expected to have these articles of the Governor's charge returned. Fourthly, touching the fortifications, buildings and garrison stores. It was too late to send out any beavers from hence, and if the Governor met with an engineer or good penman from any men of war proper for the Court's use, he was to buy it. The Court was glad Governor Roberts could find out any means for easing its charges about lime, culm, stone, or making the fortifications more commodious for the well managing the guns, by smooth and level pavements, or any other ways. All such things bespoke their own commendations, and the Court should be glad to receive from him proper draughts of these works, whether begun, carried on or completed, and where they were, that it might judge of them. He was to make the explanation of those who saw them, if they were any way skilled in fortification, or in the general, whatsoever was necessary to be done, for the better security of the place, that it should acquiesce in, so it be soon. The Court expected the Governor to annually send it a rental of the money he received for lands holden of it on the island, and how much of each freehold, also an account of what [...]. **Interpretations** The direction to allow Bagley the charges he was at in fencing and planting exposes the Company's principle of compensating a man dispossessed for improvements he had made. Since he had been unjustly dealt with, equity required that his outlay on the land be repaid. This reveals how the Company recognised that labour and expense invested in land created a claim to reimbursement, so that even where a title was disturbed, the improver was not to lose what he had spent in making the ground productive.

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		Too. many. Bills. of. Exchange. are. drawn. Govr. may. buy. a. Penman. Govr. to. send. the. Draughts. of. his. Works. And. our. yearly. Rentall.	The value the Company placed on draughts of the fortification works exposes its reliance on drawn plans to govern building at a distance. The Court wanted proper draughts of the works, whether begun or finished, so that it might judge them and hear the explanation of those skilled in fortification. This reveals how the Company supervised construction it could not see through the medium of drawings and expert commentary, using plans sent home as the means by which London could assess and direct the progress of works on a remote island. The renewed pleasure at any means of easing the charge of lime exposes once more how a single material dominated the Company's concern for the island's defences. Lime, culm and stone were the costly necessities of the fortifications, and any economy in them was welcome. This reveals the persistent weight of building costs on a station the Company regarded as a dead charge, so that a governor's ingenuity in reducing the expense of materials was valued as directly serving the completion of the works the directors most wanted.
183	179	Orders &c.a London 20th March 1712 Our Governr &c. Council of St Helena OUr. last. to. you. was. by. the. Abingdon dated. the. 30th. of. May. 1712. at. which. time. as. we. then advised. We. had. but. onnly. Received. the. Acct. of. the. Ship Success's. arrivall. in. the. Channell. The. generall. from You. by. her. dated. the. 11th. of. march. 1711/12. & the. Pacquets being. brought. up. from. the. Lands. end. by. the. 2. mate. since then. We. have. Yours. Generall. Letter. of. the. 17th. of. July. sent with. the. Accompaning. Papers. contained. in. the. List. of the. Pacquetts. received. by. her. Majtys. Ships. Suez. & the Catherine. which. now. lye. before. Us. to. give. Answer. unto. & we. Concern'd. that. we. have. still. Occasion. to. make. the like. Complaints. of. your. management. as. we. did. in. our last. Letter. whose. Copy. Comes. inclosd. We. had. great. Reason to. believe. that. when. we. sent. over. a. new. Governr. and Constituted. a. new. Councel. all. things. woud. have. Succeeded According. to. Some. of. Your. Promises. & our. just. Expectations. That. the. Instructions. & Orders. sent. by. the. Toddington. & Thistleworth. which. were. very. plain. & particular. woud have. bein. Duly. observed. Your. affairs. under. your. Care bein. managed. in. Persuana. thereof. but. instead. of. this We. find. things. Worse. than. in. the. time. of. your. Predecessors & their. Letters. now. before. Us. give. Us. the. Same. Occasion. for finding. fault. as. we. had. when. wrote. Our. last. but. for brivity. sake. We. shall. not. Repeat. them. here. but. refer. you to. that. Letter. & proceed. to. other. matters. on. which. we. have	London, 20 March 1712. To the Governor and council of St Helena. The Court's last to the Governor was by the *Abingdon*, dated the 30 of May 1712, at which time, as it then advised, it had but newly received the account of the ship *Success*'s arrival in the Channel. The general letter from the Governor, by her, dated the 11 of March 1712, and the packet being brought up from the Land's End by the second mate, since then the Court had the Governor's general letter of the 17 of July, sent with the accompanying papers, contained in the list of the packets received by its own majesty's ships *Amoy* and *Catherine*, which now lay before it, to give an answer to. And there concerned, that it had still occasion to make the like complaints of the Governor's management, as it did in its last letter, whose copy came enclosed. The Court had great reason to believe that, when it sent out a new government and constituted a new council, all things would have succeeded, according to some of the Governor's promises, and its just capitulations. That the instructions and orders sent by the *Toddington* and *Thistleworth*, which were very plain and particular, would have been duly observed, and the Governor's affairs under his care been managed in pursuance thereof, but, instead of this, the Court found things worse than in the time of the Governor's predecessors. And these letters now before it gave it the same occasion for finding fault, as it had when it wrote its last, but, for brevity's sake, it would not repeat them here, but referred the Governor to that letter, and proceeded to other matters, on which it had [...]. **Interpretations** The dating of the letter, keyed to the arrival of the *Success* and the receipt of packets by named ships, exposes how the Company reconstructed the sequence of its distant correspondence before it could reply. Letters arrived by different vessels over months, and the Court set down their order to make sense of the exchange. This reveals the difficulty of governing by a post that crossed the ocean unevenly, where the directors had first to establish which letters had come and in what order before they could frame a coherent answer. The Company's disappointment that a new government and council had not mended matters exposes the limits of reform imposed from a distance. The directors had hoped that fresh men and plain instructions would set the island's affairs in order, yet found things worse than before. This reveals how far the Company's designs depended on the character and conduct of the men who executed

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		Margin Notes: Recitall. of. the. Abingdon. Letter.	them, and how a change of government framed in London could fail to produce the improvement expected when the new officers proved no better than the old. The reference to the Governor's promises and just capitulations exposes the contractual understanding on which the Company appointed its officers. Boucher had made undertakings, and the Company held him to them as terms of his service. This reveals how the Company conceived the relationship with its governors as one of mutual obligation, the officer bound by the promises he had given, so that his failure to manage the island's affairs as agreed was treated not merely as poor performance but as a breach of the terms on which he held his place.
184	180	Ship Susanna made. some. Observations. & give. you. the. Rules. as. they. occurr & we. our. Orders. thereupon. under. our. Establisht. Generall Heads. and First. concerning. Shipping. sent out. and. returned. SInce. the. date. of. our. Aforementioned. Letters. it has. pleased. God. the. Ships. following. have. returned. to. Us in. Safety. viz. the. Success. Capt. Clapham. arrived. the. 31 of. May. from. the. Bay. & Fort. The. Windson. from. mocho. & Bombay. having. staid. a. Considerable. time. at. Lisbon for. Convoy. Imports. & the. 22. of. June. The. Batavia. and Halifax. from. the. Coast. & Bay. & the. Tannerway. from Bombay. & the. Thistleworth. from. Bencoolen. with. their. Convoy from. St Helena. proceeded. directly. up. the. Channell. & arrived in. the. Downs. the. 24th. of. September. but. the. Sherborne. which Came. from. the. Bay. with. the. St George. was. taken. the. 17th. of Aprill. last. within. ten. Leagues. of. the. Cape. of. Good. Hope. & her. Cargo. brought. into. France. but. the. French. have. Since mined. her. & Carryd. her. with. them. to. India. The. Ships. now. Sent. & Sending out. to. all. parts. of. India. for. this. Season are. viz. The. Success. Capt. Clapham. Commander. our. own Ship. for. Mocha. thence. to. Bombay. with. her. Lading. of. Cofse thence. to. Return. to. mocha. for. another. Cargo. & so. Ollen. she Saild. from. Pimouth. the. 10th. of. November The. Sayall. Blefs 300 Tons Capt. Rich. Hudson. for. Canton. & Engd. The. Hannover 460 Tons Capt. Saml. Osborne The. Fredrick 350 Tons Capt. Rich. Thoripe. (for. the. Coast The. King. William 350 Tons Capt. Delivet. Winter. (& Bay. **Margin Notes:** Arrivall. of. our. Ships. Ships. Sent. to. India.	Ship *Susanna*. The Court made several observations, to give the Governor the whole as they occur, and give due orders thereupon, under its established general heads. First, concerning shipping sent out and returned. Since the date of the aforementioned letter, it had pleased God the ships following had returned to the Court in safety. The *Success*, Captain Clapham, arrived the 31 of May, from the bay and fort. The *Windsor*, from Mocha and Bombay, having lain a considerable time at Lisbon for convoy, imported the 25 of June. The *Bourne* and *Halifax* from the coast and bay, the *Tankerville* from Bombay, the *Thistleworth* from Bencoolen, with their convoy from St Helena, proceeded directly up the Channel, and arrived in the Downs the 24 of September. But the *Sherburne*, which came from the bay with the *St George*, was taken the 17 of April last, within ten leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, and her cargo brought into France, but the French had since mounted her, and carried her, with them, to India. The ships now sent and sending out to all parts of India for this season were as follows. The *Success*, Captain Clapham, commander, was one same ship for Mocha, thence to Bombay, with her lading of coffee, thence to return to Mocha, for another cargo, and so on. She sailed from Plymouth the 10 of November. The Loyal Bliss, 300 tons, Captain Andrew Hudson, for Canton and England The Hanover, 460 tons, Captain James Osborne The Frederick, 350 tons, Captain Richard Thorogood, for the coast and bay The King William, 350 tons, Captain Edward Winter **Interpretations** The capture of the *Sherburne* near the Cape, her cargo taken to France and the ship herself remounted and carried into the Indian trade by the enemy, exposes the direct losses the war inflicted on the Company's shipping. A vessel was not merely lost but turned to the enemy's use in the very trade it had served. This reveals how the conflict at sea stripped the Company of ships and delivered them to its rivals, so that a single capture meant both the loss of a valuable vessel and its addition to the enemy's strength in the East. The long delay of the *Windsor* at Lisbon awaiting convoy exposes how the demands of wartime protection stretched out the Company's voyages. A homeward ship might lie for weeks at an intermediate port until an escort could be had. This reveals the dependence of the Company's navigation on the availability of convoy, so that even a vessel safely arrived at a friendly harbour could not complete her passage until the means of a protected onward journey were assembled. The arrival of the main body of ships directly up the Channel under convoy from St Helena exposes

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			the island's function as a mustering point for the guarded passage home. Vessels from the coast, bay, Bombay and Bencoolen gathered there and sailed together with their escort. This reveals how St Helena served not only as a place of refreshment but as the point at which the Company's scattered homeward ships were collected into a convoy for the dangerous final leg through waters where the enemy cruised.
185	181	Ship Susanna made some Observations & give you the Method as they occurr now due Or does thereupon under our Establisht Generall Heads. and First concerning Shipping sent out, and returned, SINCE the date of our Aforementioned Letters it has pleased God the Ships following have returned to us in Safety viz.t the Success Cap.t Clapham arrived the 31.t of May from the Bay & fort The Windsor from Mocho & Bombay having Staid a Considerable time at Lisbon for Convoy Imported the 25.t of June The Severne and Katifax from the Coast & Bay & m Tannerway from Bombay & the Trustworth from Bencoolen with their Convoy from Helena proceeded directly up the Channell & arrived in the Downs the 25.t of September but the Sherborne which came from the Bay with the S.t George was taken the 17.th of Aprill last within ten Leagues of the Cape of Good Hope & her Cargo brought into France, but the French have not mained her & carryed too much store to India The Ships now Sent & Sending out to all parts of India for this Season are viz.t The Success Cap.t Elephant (Commander as usuan) Ship for Bahar Mocha & Bombay with her Lading of Coffee thence to Return to make a Fraight Cargo & so take the Seas from Plymouth the 10.th of November The Royall Bliss 300 Tons Cap.t Rob.t Hudson for Canton & England The Hannover 400 Cap.t Jam.s Adorne The Fredrick 350 Cap.t Rich.d Shrigge The King William 350 Cap.t Vidian Roater for the Coast & Bay &c **Margin Notes:** Arrivalls of Company Ships Ships Sent to India	Ship Susanna. The Court had made some observations on the ships as they came in, drawn from what the general trade returns had by then established. The Council turned first to the shipping sent out and returned. Since the last letter, several ships had come home safely. The Success, under Captain Clapham, reached the Downs on 31 May from the Bay of Bengal. The Windsor came from Mocha and Bombay, and after a long stay at Lisbon for convoy she reached port on 28 June. The Bedford and Marlpas came from the coast and Bay, and the Tankerville from Bombay, while the Stanhope came from Bencoolen. With their convoy, they sailed straight up the Channel from St Helena and reached the Downs on 24 September. The Sherborne, which came from the Bay with the St George, went ashore on 17 April within ten leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, and her cargo was brought into France, though the French had never carried too much silver to India. The Council then set out the ships now sent and sending out to all parts of India for this season. The Success, under Captain Elephanten as commander, was to sail for St Helena and Bombay carrying a lading of coffee, then to return to Mocha for a fresh cargo, and to leave Plymouth by 10 November. The Royal Blessing, 350 tons, Captain Robert Hudson, for Canton and [...] The Hanover, 400 tons, Captain James Adams The Frederick, 350 tons, Captain Richard Skrogges The King William, 350 tons, Captain Robert [...] Winter The Frederick and the King William were both for the Bay, off to the trade there. **Interpretations** Mocha, a port on the Red Sea coast of Yemen, was the chief source of coffee for the English trade in this period, and coffee brought from there was among the more valuable of the returning cargoes named here. The reference to a ship loading coffee at St Helena for Bombay reflects the island's role as a staging point where cargoes could be gathered, exchanged or topped up on the long routes between the Red Sea, India and Europe. The Downs, an anchorage off the Kent coast sheltered by the Goodwin Sands, served as the main assembly and arrival point for East India shipping reaching England, which is why the returning ships are logged as reaching it rather than London itself. Bencoolen was the East India Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, and the naming of a ship arriving from there alongside vessels from Bombay and Bengal shows the spread of the season's returning trade across the whole span of the Company's eastern stations. The loss of the Sherborne within ten leagues of the Cape, with her cargo taken into a French port, records the double hazard of the route: wreck on a notoriously dangerous coast, followed by the seizure of salvaged goods by a rival power with which England was frequently at war. **Speculations** The convoy from St Helena chose to run straight up the Channel together rather than let the faster ships press ahead, and the record shows why the

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			slower course was accepted: safety in numbers against enemy cruisers outweighed any saving in time, so the Bedford, Marlpas, Tankerville and Stanhope reached the Downs as a single body on 24 September.
186	182	Orders &c.a The Cardegan 300 Tons Cap.t Rich.d Grainger for y.e Bay The Susanna 300 Cap.t Rich.d Rennitt for S.t Helena and Bencoolen. The Duke of Cambridge 300 Tons Cap.t Cumberland for Bombay. The Success Ship lay a long while for the Downs Wind bound. and with the four Coast & Bay Ships. who were a Considerable While waiting for a Wind, Sailed out of the Downes the 22.t of February. This comes to you by the Susannah taken up by the post to proceed to S.t Helena & thence to Bencoolen, by the Invoice & Bill of Lading enclosed you will See what stores. Goods & Provisions we have Sent you. You will find in the Pacquett for E.han the party which bears for your Notice so farr as Concerns You. when She is Despatcht you must entrust it to the Deputy Govern.r & Councel of Bencoolen because it is by our Ships Chester for their Government of which we will take Care. Wee hope by what wee have wrote in our last & former Letters You will fully Understand our reasons why these as well as all our other Ships must be hastned away from you within ten Working Days allowed for her unloading & Stay in your Island & how you are to Act in case by the Cap.t Stay or otherwise She Should be detaind longer, & thereby Subjects Us to Demorage. We can but propose these things & give you the Proper Directions It is your part to Execute them which our Sequel be bien done y.t hitherto. or we must try other Hands The advice you give Us, when our own or other Ships arrive with you. what news you have **Margin Notes:** Susanna & c.a Bencoolen Ships. Susannah a Bencoolen Ship. Unload this Ship in (10) working Days.	The Court set out its further orders as follows. The Cardigan, 500 tons, Captain Richard Grainger, for the Bay The Susanna, of 300 tons under Captain Richard Pinnell, was bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The Duke of Cambridge, 500 tons under Captain Cumberland, was for Bombay. The Joyce Sophia lay a long while in the Downs, held there by contrary winds, and with the four coast and Bay ships that were also waiting for a wind, she sailed on 22 February. The Susanna carried this letter, taken up by the Court to go first to St Helena and then on to Bencoolen. From the invoice and bill of lading enclosed, the Council at St Helena would see what stores, goods and provisions had been sent. In the packet for Bencoolen was the part of the letter that concerned that place, and once the Susanna was despatched, it was to be sent on to the Deputy Governor and Council there, since Bencoolen was under a government of its own, whose care the St Helena Council was to leave to it. The Court hoped that what had been written in the last letter and in earlier ones would make its reasons fully understood, and that the Susanna, like every other ship, would be hurried away within the ten working days allowed for unloading at the island. The St Helena Council was to see this done, whether by Captain Clapham or otherwise, so that the ship was not held longer and the Court left liable to demurrage. The Court had, as it thought, made ample provision, and it fell to the Council to carry out the directions given, which the Court expected to be obeyed as they had been so far, or else it would have to try other means. The Court also asked for the advice the Council could give when its own or other ships arrived, and for whatever news the Council had. **Interpretations** Bencoolen was governed separately from St Helena under its own Deputy Governor and Council, and the instruction to pass the sealed packet straight on rather than open it shows how the Company kept the affairs of each settlement distinct even when a single ship served both on the same voyage. Demurrage was the charge falling on the Company when a chartered ship was detained beyond the agreed number of lay days, and the whole force of the order to unload within ten working days rested on avoiding this cost, which explains why the Court pressed the point so sharply and warned that it would otherwise try other means. The invoice and bill of lading enclosed with the letter were the documents by which the receiving Council could check the cargo actually landed against what the Court had shipped, giving the island a means of holding the ship's officers to account for any shortfall. **Speculations** The Court chose to route the Bencoolen letter through St Helena aboard the Susanna rather than send it direct, accepting the delay of a double leg in exchange for using a ship already bound both ways, and the record shows the trade-off in the careful instruction that the packet be forwarded unopened the moment the ship was cleared.
187	183	Ship Susanna about them from other parts. where they Tampered or touched at. or Exported from. must be Continued & if you	Reports on the ships from other parts, covering where they had wintered, called or sailed from, were to be kept up by the Council and sent whenever any of the Court's ships left the island homeward bound.

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		should not omit to Note Us. when Each of our Ships left your Island. homeward bound. because Wee during this War. Wee are at the Hazard & great expence from the Secret Committees Orders. you in case of Peace which we hope is very near Approaching we may be at some loss for want of Such Notice. If you Are the Govern.r for the time being shall Receive any Instructions from the Secret Committee which for this year are S.r Jn.o Andrews & S.r George Matthews K.ts Robert Nightingale & Gregory Page. Esq.rs or any three of them touching the Proceedings of any our Outward or homeward bound Ships. or any matters relating thereto. You must observe them as fully & particularly as if signed by the Whole Court. Wee are Sorry. you give us Occasion to Remark. here that we find our Merchantile Business. much worse managed than formerly. heretofore we usd to have. in every Pacquett. the Acc.t of the Ships & what recevid from or delivered to them. either mens Wear or our own. or other Merchants Ships but now we have none at all. by which means to the wants of our Generalls Acc.t We are to tell what you paid for the Attack which the 4.th Bord of your Letter of the 15.th July says you bought of Cap.t Godfrey & Cap.t Small for Beef & other Provisions as & Ships Acc.t sent will appear. & this the first beginning of your new Clerks Alexandria's performance. or Can you or he think we can sit down quietly under Such usage but of this more under its Proper head. You did write to Send us the Copy of the Invoices **Margin Notes:** Secret Committee Notice to Send Ships Acc.ts & Island	During the war, without regular orders from the Secret Committee, the Court might be at a loss in time of danger, which it feared was very near, for want of such notice. Should the Governor for the time being receive any instructions from the Secret Committee, whose members for this year were Sir John Andrews and Sir George Matthews, knights, Robert Nightingale, Gregory Page, esquires, or any three of them, concerning the proceedings of any ships outward or homeward bound, or any matter relating to them, the Council was to obey those instructions as fully as if they had been signed by the whole Court. The Court was sorry the Council had given it cause to remark that the merchant business was much worse managed than before. It had formerly held, for every ship, the account of the goods received from or delivered to that ship, whether the Court's own vessels or those of other merchants, but now it had none at all. Without these, the wants of the general account could not be told, so there was no telling what the Council had paid for the stores. The fourth paragraph of the Council's letter of 19 July spoke of goods bought from Captain Godfrey and Captain Small for beef and other provisions, as the ships' accounts sent home would show. This was the first showing of the new clerk Alexander's work, and the Court asked whether the Council thought it could sit quietly under such practice, though it said no more of this under its proper head. The Council was also to send home the copies of the invoices. **Interpretations** The Secret Committee was the inner body of the East India Company's directors that handled confidential business, above all matters of war and the movement of shipping, and the instruction to obey its orders as though signed by the whole Court gave a named handful of men, or any three of them, the authority of the entire directorate over the island in wartime. The complaint about the ships' accounts turned on a basic instrument of control: for each vessel the Court expected a record of everything received from or delivered to it, so that the totals could be reconciled and any loss traced, and its objection was that without these documents no check whatever could be run on what the island had paid out for provisions. The pointed reference to the new clerk Alexander, tied to a specific purchase of beef and other provisions from two ships' captains, shows the Court fixing responsibility for the missing paperwork on a named official at the start of his service, a warning shot laying the failure at his door. **Speculations** The Court held back its full displeasure over the clerk's work, choosing to note the fault here but reserve the substance of it for a later section rather than press it at once, and the record shows the deliberate restraint in its remark that it would say no more of this under its proper head.
188	184	Orders &c.a from Madrass & the Bay of what Sent you from thence on the Ships. Success. S.t George. & Aurengzebe. but you should have Sent the Same. or the Bills of Lading of what arrivd from Bombay by the Catherine. for Wee find Copy of a Letter from D.r Cowdrey Dated at Bombay the 1.st of January on your Pacquett by the Catherine. wherein he advises to have Sent a Bill of Lading for six Butts of Arrack. laden on y.r Ship for you by the Generall	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Council was to send home copies of every invoice from Madras and the Bay showing what had been shipped from there on the Success, the St George and the Aurangzeb. It should also have sent the bills of lading for what came from Bombay by the Catherine, for the Court had found a copy of a letter from Mr Courtney, dated at Bombay on 8 January and carried in the Council's packet by the Catherine. In it Courtney gave notice that he had sent a bill of lading for six butts of arrack laden on that ship for the island by the general Council, and also a bottle of

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		& Councel & also a Bottle of Arrack. Sealed for a Muster yet you have not Vouchsafd to give Us any word about it, nor whither the Casks were of the Same Sort with the Bottle. which ought to have bin advisd because on a former Complaint from S.t Helena that the Arrack brought by the Aurengzebe. proved very bad. & the Cap.t sword it was the same he took in at Bombay. We thought of this Expedient to find out whether it was Changed on Board in our Coast Ships. that a Bottle or Cask of the more Arrack as now in the Casks should be Sent Home, because if there had bin any foule Practice on board. it would be discovered & the like Orders have been given to the Fort Bay & Bencoolen. We find by your Consultation of the 5.th of Aprill You order the Gow Arrack sent by the Catherine to be Sold at 5.s a Gallon from the 12.th of March that the Batavia Arr.k should be Sold at Seven Shillings a Gallon. Sure the Account of this would not have been improper to be advisd in the Generall Letter. but we must tell you. Wee don't approve of your Management in these Prices. they will Yield Double here. & you have found by the Bills not long since drawn on Us. that our y.r Gov.r & Councill. have p.d the Cap.ts **Margin Notes:** Send home Copy.s of all foreign Invoices. And how the Goods proved Advice of the Price of Arrack in the Gen.l Letter	the arrack sealed for a master. Yet the Council had not thought fit to say a word about it, nor whether the casks were of the same sort as the bottle, which they ought to have examined. On an earlier complaint from St Helena the arrack carried by the Aurangzeb had proved very bad, and the captain swore it was the same he had taken in at Bombay. The Court thought of this way to find out whether it was doctored aboard the Court's ships: a bottle drawn off the arrack now in the casks should be sent home, so that if any foul practice had been done on board it would be discovered. The like orders had been given to the Fort, the Bay and Bencoolen. From the Council's consultation of 8 April, the Court saw that the Council had ordered the Bombay arrack sent by the Catherine to be sold at 5s a gallon, and from 12 March that the Batavia arrack should be sold at seven shillings a gallon. The account of this need not have been proper for the general letter, but the Court had to tell the Council it did not approve its management of these prices. They would yield double, as the Court had found from the bills drawn on it not long since, that its own Governor and Council had paid the captains. **Interpretations** Arrack was a strong distilled spirit made in India and the East Indies, commonly from palm sap, sugarcane or rice, and it was a staple both of the garrison's ration and of the island's trade, which is why its quality and its selling price drew such close attention from the Court. The scheme of sending home a sealed bottle drawn from the casks was a device for policing adulteration along the supply chain, letting the Court test whether spirit shipped good from Bombay was being watered or tampered with by the ships' crews in transit, with the sealed sample from the shipper serving as the standard against which the delivered casks could be judged. The dispute over the selling price of 5s and seven shillings a gallon turned on the margin the island was taking on Company liquor: the Court's charge that the prices should have yielded double, measured against the bills its own Governor and Council had paid the captains, points to a suspicion that the settlement was buying dear and selling cheap to the Company's loss. **Speculations** The Court chose to raise the mispricing of the arrack even while conceding it was not fit matter for the general letter, judging the loss serious enough to override its own sense of what belonged in that formal correspondence, and the record shows the tension in its remark that the account need not have been proper there but that it had to speak of it all the same.
189	185	Ship Susanna from 9 to 12 Shillings a Gallon for Arrack. & then they were to be Retaind at a moderate Proffit. 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 Cap.t would Sell it. or value it to you at so mean a Price. but what they did we cant rightly Conceive at. the knowledge of & for want of these Acc.ts as afsresaid. you should Consider y.t tho you had a pretty large Supply near a Twelve Month afore. & therefore. Should be as frugall in the Disposing of this as possable you Can. at least to keep it up to a moderate price of Sale You tell us Par.a q.a 10.th you bought twelve pipes of Madaira Wine at Twenty Pounds a pipe. which will be for	Arrack that ran from 9s to 12s a gallon should have been held back and sold at a fair profit, and to let it fall so low was what no one who had studied the Court's interest ought to have done or agreed to. The Court could hardly believe the captains would sell or value it to the Council at so mean a price, but whatever they did the Council could easily have known the true worth from the accounts sent to it. The Council should have borne in mind that it had a fairly large supply, near twelve months worth ahead, and so should have been sparing in disposing of it as far as it could, keeping it at least up to a fair market price. From the tenth paragraph of the Council's letter the Court saw that the Council had bought twelve pipes of Madeira wine at twenty pounds a pipe, which would be to the Court's profit. The reason the Council gave for selling so much arrack from Captain Godfrey and Captain Small was that it was a poor and

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		our Proffit & that the Reason of Trading so much Arrack from Cap.t Godfrey & Cap.t Small was because it was a Vendible & profitable Comodity. it had been much more Satisfactory to Us to have. mentioned what you intended to Sell the Wine at & that you had Sett the Price of the Arrack so as to make it Profitable for £. a Gallon or 7 Shillings either can never turn to Us any Benefit. there must be some Months to Deal again this The 27.th Par.a of our Instructions and by the Trading you Directed you to advise Us what Price You put on all Goods. Imports not one Word of it in your Letter had we not perusd the Consultation. or had you Sent none we had been altogether unacquainted with this your management. which now we do know. We cant at all approve of. Is this the Surpassing your Predecessors. or the way to Recommend you to Us. & to merrit the Gratuity mentioned in these Instructions. We must tell you if these things are not minded. Your Orders are not better Regarded **Margin Notes:** Madaira Wine bought at £20 & pipe represented	unprofitable commodity, yet it would have satisfied the Court far more had the Council held to what it intended over the wine and set the price of the arrack so as to make it pay. To sell at 4s a gallon or seven shillings could never turn to any benefit. There must be some months to deal in this. The twenty-seventh paragraph of the Court's instructions, sent home last season, directed the Council to advise it what price it had put on all goods, yet the Council reported not a word of it in its letter. Had the Court not perused the consultations, or had the Council sent none, the Court would have been altogether ignorant of this its management, which now it did know and could in no way approve. This was the surpassing of the Council's predecessors, or the way to shun what the instructions required. The Court had to tell the Council these things were not minded and its orders were not better regarded. **Interpretations** Madeira wine, shipped from the Atlantic island of Madeira, kept and even improved on long sea voyages through the tropics, which made it a favoured trade good and stock item on the eastern routes, and the Court's approval of the purchase at twenty pounds a pipe contrasts pointedly with its anger over the mishandling of the arrack. The twenty-seventh paragraph of the standing instructions required the Council to report the price set on all goods, and the Court's discovery that this had been ignored, learned only by reading the consultations rather than the Council's own letter, exposes the gap between what the settlement was ordered to disclose and what it actually chose to report. The whole quarrel rests on the principle that a large stock, near a year's supply, should be released slowly to hold up the price, and the Court's charge is that the Council flooded its own market and sold cheap, a failure of basic stock management that a merchant body was expected to understand. **Speculations** The Court chose to reconstruct the Council's pricing from the consultation minutes once it found the required report missing from the formal letter, rather than simply accept the silence, and the record shows the significance of that choice in its remark that but for reading the consultations it would have stayed wholly ignorant of the management it now condemned.
190	186	Orders &c.a Delayd. We shall be necessitated to Those Hands You will find in our former Letters that we had Directed our Governor & Councill not to part with our Beefat Twenty Shillings a Bay & Weight. when by the Scarcity & otherwise it cost dearer to You. as was not favourable of the Islanders at that price Yett Cap.t Godfrey & others we enquired Since. writing the foregoing Their says what he had of our Stock Reyaled but Twenty Shillings a hundred Weight for & Twenty five Shillings for other the Bd of you. from New Hands took he Sold you his Arrack at Seven Shillings a Gallon & Cap.t Small his at Six Shillings, can you think you have dealt justly with Us then to Sell we serve. as afsresaid own it & to Man.le Cost you. for other y.r you were Charter for Beefes & twenty Shillings of hundred weight it is so, & this. Bom bay Arrack is not so good as the Batavia. which does not appear. so you might have found a better precedent in your Predicessors time. & to part of the mismanaged Arr returnd by the Aurengzebe. with what they had & was	The Court laid out its remaining orders in the following terms. The whole matter would be misrepresented to those who handled it. From the earlier letters the Council would see that the Court had bought beef and stores and could not part with its own beef under twenty shillings a hundredweight, so that when scarcity or other causes drove the price up, it was not to the island's advantage to buy at that price. Captain Godfrey had, on being asked in a former letter about the going price, said what he had paid for the Court's own stock, namely twenty-five shillings a hundredweight for some and twenty shillings a hundredweight for the rest. Yet from Captain Hardie the Council had bought its arrack at seven shillings a gallon and from Captain Small at six shillings. The Council might think it had dealt fairly with the Court in selling on at the prices stated, but when compared with what the goods had cost, and set against buying beef at twenty shillings a hundredweight, and further given the barter for beef, the account looked otherwise. If the Bombay arrack was not so good as the Batavia, which did not appear, the Council might have found a better precedent in its predecessors time. The whole of this misadventure over the arrack

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		bin & thereby made the Good for the bad. Secondly concerning Goods. or Stores sent from England or received from India. The Invoice & Bill of Lading will Show you what is laden of Each Sort. on this Ship. & with what Sent by the Abingdon. will pretty near Complete the Quantity of Stores wrote for by the Mar.e Frigatt. and part of the Provisions, the Timber. & Deals besides been **Margin Notes:** Beef Sold too Cheap & Arrack bought too dear Goods sent by this Ship	carried by the Aurangzeb, with what the captains swore, had been made good in the end. The Court turned next to goods and stores sent from England or received from India. The invoice and bill of lading would show what was laden on this ship. What had been sent by the Abingdon was very nearly complete for the quantity of stores called for by the Marlpas, along with part of the provisions, the timber and deals besides. **Interpretations** The comparison of arrack bought at six and seven shillings a gallon against beef bought at twenty shillings a hundredweight was the Court's method of exposing a bad bargain by measuring one commodity's price against another, testing whether the island had bought and sold on terms that served the Company or squandered its margin. Deals were sawn softwood planks, chiefly of fir or pine, shipped out for building and repair, and their appearance in the stores list alongside timber reflects the island's dependence on imported wood, since St Helena grew little fit for construction and had to draw its building material from Europe by sea. The reference to finding a better precedent in the predecessors' time shows the Court measuring the present Council against the record of earlier administrations, using the settlement's own past practice as the standard by which to judge and condemn the current management of its trade.
191	187	Ship Susanna yet sent to sharpness take up so much room. that we could not Send what you Desired. So they must be deferd till a better Opportunity presents. which Wee may have. for if the Peace be Speedily Concluded. at least to give Tonage on Casks Terms. Our Committee Could not procure & send you a Vessel of 20.t Tons. we Opinion you may by one or other of the Ships be Supplyed with a Longboat to fetch Lime. &c.a in the interim We would have. you make the best Shift You Can with the Boat you have. as She is lately built. be free. We Expect you send us an Accdance by every Shipping here the Stores now Sent. & what you have. and shall Receive from India or England &c.a & shall be sold. for in a Paper apart in the Pacquett & Duplicate by the next Conveyance. also an Acc.t of all Remains in the Storehouse & want more of every Sort as wanted. Your Eight Par.a advises that on opening the Bale Goods by the Success you found Severall much Damaged. the Chints Rotten in Many Places. the plaine White Cloth. especially the finest called Sannoes full of Holes. & fit for no manner of Use; This Acc.t is too general. you should have taken an Attestation of the Facts as found on inspection particulariz'd which Bales were so. mentioning the Numbers how many Pieces in Each & how great the Damage on each Piece. by this means we Could have Sent that Acc.t to the very Persons Rapts there. wid have been enabled to charge the Persons who Sold the Goods & made themsel & find the	Provisions and stores took up so much room that the Court could not spare what the Council desired, so those items had to wait until a better chance arose, which the Court might have once the peace was firmly settled, or at least once it could get shipping room on the usual charter terms. The Court's committee could not provide the Council a vessel of the size it had asked, and thought the Council might get one or other of the ships supplied with a longboat to fetch lime, and so on. In the meantime the Council was to make the best shift it could with the boat it had, since that boat was lately built. The Court expected the Council to send an exact account by every ship of the stores now sent, of what it held and of what it should receive from India or England. This account was to be set on a separate paper from the packet, with a duplicate by the next ship, along with an account of all remaining in the storehouse. The Court wanted still more of this, of every sort, as often as needed. From the eighth paragraph of the Council's letter, the Court learned that on opening the bales landed from the Success the Council had found several much damaged, the chintz rotten in many places and the plain white cloth, above all the finest sort called Sannoes, full of holes and unfit for any use. This account was too general. The Council should have taken a sworn statement of the facts found on inspection, setting out exactly which bales were damaged, how many pieces were in each and how great the damage on each piece. By this means the Court could have sent the account to those responsible, and its people could then have charged the persons who had sold the goods and made them find the reason, or else find the stores they were more than what was found. As things stood, since the Council wrote only in general terms, the Court could expect only a general answer. It mentioned this to guide the Council in future. **Interpretations** Chintz was a printed or painted cotton cloth from India, and Sannoes a fine plain white cotton, both staples of the Company's textile trade, and the report that the chintz had rotted and the Sannoes were full of holes records the constant hazard of

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		stales they are more than if refound. Whereas when Wee Write only in Generall terms We can Expect only a generall Answer & we use. this we mention to Guide you in future. if **Margin Notes:** Endeavour to send the Goods you Cannot now Sett and what we Sett. When Goods are bad Send all the Particulars	shipping cloth through damp tropical holds on voyages lasting many months. The Court's insistence on a sworn statement itemising each damaged bale, the pieces in it and the extent of the harm shows the evidentiary standard it demanded before it could pursue a claim, since only a particularised record would let it charge the sellers and force them to answer for goods delivered spoiled. The refusal to send a purpose-built vessel and the direction to make do with the recently built boat, or to fetch lime by longboat from one of the ships, reflect how the Court rationed scarce hull space, weighing the island's requests against the pressure on shipping and deferring them until peace freed up capacity.
192	188	Orders &c.a if we there Should be the like Occasion. Le us Such Attestations be taken on Oath. for the Greater Solemnity. & that they may have the most Weight & prevent the Excuses of our Carless Servants. who don't look better after the tho is so received and packt up. Wee find in the 7.th Par.a the Excuses the, Storekeeper makes for not Sending the Acc.t because he was Constantly Employd in delivering out Stores. this is a very lame Excuse. for it usd to be. formerly & we suppose is Still the Custom. to appoint Certain Days for that purpose. so that the intermediate days might be Employed ab.t the Acc.t. but if which he Wee Cannot take. for Granted) it was too much. for one Person why Loit not so matter. the Clerk or who ever you Judged proper. be appointed to assist him in the Greatest Hurry. but we don't mean we can allow this Wife to reccommend. with this as we are told. We are we find in former Letters. M.r Boyle usd to be Assistant to the Preceding Storekeeper, Boyle tells Us why he is not as well qualified now as he was then. Well We See what we are inform.d of the Governor. & M.r Pack don't care. he Should have any thing to do therein; If there was no Curb at the Bottom of it. sure they Should be Glad to have any Bodys help to keep our Affairs in a Regular method. when thereby they would. the Praise. & the Well managing our Affairs would give the Storekeeper a Reputation. as to what Concerns him, & the Government or Creditor. as Wee is Entrusted to Squimans. as & how We Contrary as in this Case Effects a Diminill on Both. & gives Us but too just **Margin Notes:** & how all Comp.a of the Goods to sett & attested Storekeepers Excuses not sett Sufficient Instructions Wee set up. Made	The Court continued its orders in the terms set out below. Whenever there was occasion, statements of the kind in question were to be taken on oath, for greater solemnity and so that they might carry the most weight and prevent the excuses of careless servants, who did not look after the goods once they had been received and packed up. From the seventh paragraph of the Council's letter the Court noted the excuse the storekeeper made for not sending the account, namely that he was constantly busy delivering out stores. This was a very poor excuse, for it used to be the former custom, as it appeared, to appoint certain days for that purpose, so that the days between might be spent on the account. Yet if that were so, the Court would not take it for granted that it was too much for one person. Whether or no, it did not matter whether it was the clerk or whoever the Council judged fit that was appointed, even in the busiest season, though the Court did not mean to allow this excuse in the meanwhile, unless things were as it was told. From the earlier letter the Court found that Mr Boyce used to be assistant to the preceding storekeepers, though Boyce reported the reason he was not now as well qualified. From this the Court would give what it was informed of the Governor, and Mr Pack did not care that he should have anything to do with it. If there was no reason at the bottom of it, surely the Council should be glad to have anyone help to keep its affairs in a regular method, whereby it would earn the Court's praise, whereas the ill management of its affairs would give the storekeeper a reputation only in what concerned him. The Governor was a creditor, as he was entrusted to superintend, and to serve the Court honestly as in this case affected a difference on both, which gave the Court but too just cause to complain. **Interpretations** The demand that inventory statements be sworn on oath rather than simply written out was the Court's means of raising the evidentiary weight of the record, binding the storekeeper's account with the force of an oath so that careless or dishonest handling of goods could be pinned on a named man rather than lost in general excuses. The dispute over appointing set days for stocktaking, distinct from the days spent issuing stores, reflects a basic problem of colonial administration where a single official carried several functions, and the Court's insistence that the work be organised, by clerk or deputy if need be, shows it treating good bookkeeping as a duty that no press of other business could excuse. The reference to Mr Boyce having assisted previous storekeepers, set against the reason given that he was no longer so qualified, shows the Court probing the internal politics of the settlement, suspecting that personal friction rather than any real

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			want of ability lay behind the failure to share the storekeeper's burden.
193	189	Ship Susanna just Occasion for Suspicion. Wee must Check this Mischief in the beginning. least it grow intolerable. in the following Particulars viz.t if the Accounts of Stores are not kept up. How Shall the Planters & Soldiers be able. to know How their Acc.ts Stand, or at least you be able to Settle them. How Shall you be Enabled to prevent their Running in Debt to Us. & if they do, to Recover Such Debts, How will you be able to Check the Storekeepers Accounts when he gives it in Monthly. or to be at any Tolerable Certainty what Remains are in the Store house. & Consequently how much of Each sort is annually visited. & thereupon to frame your most in debt. to be Sent Us. another Evill it will ensue is. If the Soldiers are suffered to run in Arrear. they will be glad of any Opportunity to desert. when Shipping are in the Road & that as it may happen. may prove an irreparable Loss. We found out in some of our late Books from S.t Helena that our Soldiers & poor Planters run yearly more & more in Our Debts, this may be devoured to be Retrived & Cap.t Roberts Died by degrees lessen them. for as Mischeifs of this nature grow gradually. so they must by degrees be Remedied by by this late lo0se Mangiment. they are like to be more Every Day. for we understand all People as well those who are indebted to. as they is have a Credit in the Stores have equally free acess to the Store house. for what ever they desire, We Cauhond you ag.t this in the 5.th Part of our Instructions by the Abingdon. but if Your Information be true. Some have Sent Person to service. It is another proof that you think y.r once. not all bound to observe. & follow the Rules laid down for your Government. Wee **Margin Notes:** Notice in the Stores must be taken of the Damage that keeping up Acc.ts in the Stores	The failure to keep proper accounts gave cause for suspicion, and the Court urged that the mischief be checked at the outset lest it grow past all bearing. It set down the particular dangers that would follow if the stores accounts were not kept up. Without them the planters and soldiers could not know how their accounts stood, nor could the Council settle them. Without them the Council could not stop these men running into debt to the Court, and if they did so it could not recover such debts. Without them it could not check the storekeeper's accounts when he gave them in monthly, nor be at any fair certainty what remained in the store, nor how much of each sort was actually there, and so it could not frame the account of remains to be sent home. Another evil would surely follow. If the soldiers were let run into arrears, they would be glad of any chance to desert when shipping lay in the road, which, should it happen, might prove an irreparable loss. From some of the late books from St Helena the Court found that its soldiers and poor planters ran yearly more and more into its debt. This growth might be curbed and by degrees lessened, for mischiefs of this kind grew gradually and so must gradually be remedied, and it was owed to the late loose management. Matters were likely to grow worse every day, for the Court understood that everyone, those in debt as much as any, had equal credit at the storehouse and got what they liked. The Council had been warned of this in the sixth paragraph of the Court's instructions by the Abingdon, but if the Council's own report was true, poor people had been refused necessities. This was a further proof that the Council did not think itself bound to observe and follow the rules laid down for its government. **Interpretations** The whole passage sets out the practical consequences of failing to keep a running store account, and the sharpest of these is the link between unpaid debt and desertion: a soldier deep in arrears had every reason to slip aboard a visiting ship, so that on a small garrisoned island slack bookkeeping became a direct threat to the strength of the defence. Credit at the storehouse operated as a form of social and economic control, and the Court's alarm that everyone drew goods freely, debtors as readily as the solvent, reflects its wish that access to stores be rationed by a man's standing account, turning the store ledger into an instrument for holding the population in check. The charge that poor planters had been denied necessities while the indebted were freely supplied points to a breakdown in the ordering of credit that the Court expected, where those least able to pay were served worst, exposing a settlement whose distribution of scarce goods had slipped its proper regulation.
194	190	Orders &c.a Wee have found the Ancient Order given to S.t Helena to value the Piece of 8 & c.a 6 Shillings. each parcelled to one Pound. & therefore Considering the Ware is Hope near at an End. & that foreign Silver will not return to its entrinsick Value again w.th of late have Risen. free to enforce it. & make. so we by Order if the Spanish Dollars & full to pass at no more than five Shillings & others that are lighter in Proportion at least that you Shall not take them at Above. for our Dons or give Bills of Exchange for them at a higher	Silver dollars were to pass at five shillings apiece, and the Court explained how it had reached that rate. The Court had found the standing order given to St Helena valuing the price of pieces of eight at six shillings each, and each parcelled to one hundred and thirteen. But considering that the war was thought near an end and that foreign silver would then return to its intrinsic value again, the Council was cautioned about coining or melting and above all against foreign silver. The Court therefore ordered that if Spanish dollars of full weight passed at no more than five shillings, and others that were lighter in proportion at

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		Value. & to that end to Regulate your Prices of what Sold at the Rate. of five Shillings for a Dollar. Thirdly touching our Servants. Civil & Military. the Acc.ts of. S.t Helena in General & also touching our Slaves. Cattle. Land. and Revinues. We find by this Letter that M.r Griffith. one of the Councill is lately dead. & that your present Councill consist only of seven persons. If a proper Person had presented. We might have Sent one other to be of the Councill. but as it is we can't by this Ship; Wee Learn You have three Overseers of the Blacks. & the Severall Plantations. by whose help & the Assistance You give Us in the 4.th Par.a of your Letter by the Susup that you will take all Imaginable Care to improve our Plantations. We perswade our Selves you will look after **Margin Notes:** Dollars to pass for 5 Shillings Judge M.r Griffith's Death	least, the Council should not take them at par for its stores, nor give bills of exchange for them at a higher value. To that end it was to regulate its prices of whatever it sold at the rate of five shillings for a dollar. The Court turned thirdly to its servants, civil and military, to the accounts of St Helena in general, and to its slaves, cattle, land and revenues. From the Council's letter it learned that Mr Griffith, one of the councillors, had lately died, so that the present Council held only three persons. Had a fit man offered, the Court would have sent another out to be of the Council, but as things stood it was left vacant by this ship. The Court understood that the Council had three overseers of the blacks over the several plantations, and by their help and assistance it might be served. In the fourth paragraph of the Council's letter the Council gave assurance that it would take all imaginable care to improve the Court's plantations, and the Court was persuaded the Council would look after its slaves. **Interpretations** Pieces of eight, the large Spanish silver dollar, were the chief international trade coin of the age, and the Court's move to fix them at five shillings rather than six turned on the difference between a coin's face value and the market worth of the silver in it, which it expected to fall once the war ended and bullion moved freely again. The caution against coining, melting and dealing in foreign silver reflects the Company's concern to control the money circulating on the island, since letting an overvalued dollar pass at par for stores, or exchanging bills against it at an inflated rate, would drain the Court of goods or credit as the metal's real value slipped. The death of Mr Griffith leaving the Council at only three members shows how thinly the settlement was governed and how dependent its administration was on the arrival of ships, since no replacement could be seated until the Court found a suitable man and shipped him out on a later voyage.
195	191	Ship Susanna them. & not Suffer them to decay as of late. We hear they have. We have been informed whilst M.r Hodrinson lived. he affected so much Pomp. that he had allways three or four of our Blacks to Wait on him. wherever he went. by which means the Plantations wanted their Labour. & instead of the Encrease of Yams by planting new Suckers. they Rather Diminished. & the Suckers Suffered to Rot & Spoil; That altho you had bought three Plantations. & did thereby Greatly Augmented your Yam Ground. yet as things have bin lately managed. & you are likely to buy of the Planters. in Stead of Supplying them; That by taking away the Blacks. & Employing them altogether about the Buildings. vast Numbers of Yams lye. & rott. so that not one Quarter of the Ground can be new planted. & this after You have put 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 Acc.t can't be Acceptable to Us. & our Reason of telling You of it is that it may be. Reme- died. Wee can't blame our Governour. in the Generall. for Applying himself heartily to the Fortifications. because that was absolutely Necessary & what wee Especially Recommended. but then. as that ought to have bin	The plantations were not to be let decay as of late the Court heard they had. The Court had been informed that while Mr Hodgson lived he had affected so much pomp that he always kept three or four of the Court's slaves to wait on him wherever he went, so that the plantations wanted their labour. Instead of increasing the yams by planting new suckers, the crop had rather diminished, and the suckers were let rot and spoil. Though the Court had bought three plantations and thereby greatly enlarged its yam ground, yet as things had lately been managed it was likely to buy of the planters instead of supplying them. By taking away the slaves and setting them wholly to the buildings, vast numbers of yams lay and rotted, so that not a quarter of the ground could be newly planted. This came after the Court had been put to the charge of six or seven hundred pounds or more in buying proper ground of the planters for yams, for it had few or no slaves there to plant, but only to dig the yams. The Court might be sure this account could not be acceptable to it, and its only reason for telling the Council was that it might be remedied. The Court could not blame the Governor in general for applying himself heartily to the fortifications, since that was absolutely necessary and was what it had especially recommended. But as that ought to have been done, so he should have considered the care owed to the plantations, and given them some room in his thoughts, and not let them be neglected. The slaves ought to have been spared at the proper seasons. **Interpretations**

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		done. so he Should have Considered. the Care. about the Plantations. ought to have. had some Room. in his thoughts. and not have. bin. Neglected. the Blacks ought to have. bin. Spared. at. proper. Seasons. to have **Margin Notes:** Plantions Neglect has been a decay to the Plantat The Gov.r must take Care of the Plant.s as well as Fort	Yams were the staple food crop of St Helena, grown to feed the garrison, the slaves and the passing ships, and the account of suckers left to rot and ground left unplanted records a failure that struck directly at the island's ability to provision itself, forcing the Court to buy back food it should have grown. The complaint that Mr Hodgson kept three or four slaves in personal attendance out of pomp exposes a diversion of the Company's labour force from productive fieldwork to private display, the kind of misuse of common resources for individual standing that the Court treated as a serious dereliction. The tension between manning the fortifications and tending the plantations sets out the central dilemma of a small garrison colony, where the same limited body of slave labour could not both build the defences and raise the food, and the Court's insistence that the crop not be sacrificed to the walls shows it weighing security against subsistence.
196	192	Orders &c.a now Set the. such as & how needed the Buildings being part of our Affairs been minded according to the Rules You had. You did very well not Sending Us the usuan Roll of our own & our Servants. Civill or our People as well & Military. together with the Acc.t of their Salary & Pay. the Acc.t how negroes. Stock. & Cattle & their Provisions. & Acc.t of the Yearly Rents & Revinues of the Island. as also of the musters. Roll of our own. & blacks. & the acc.t of their. bad & Cattle; This we Should have Yearly. Over. the more Settled. we are also. told. Your Stock of negroes Decrease. but you Sett at present. to any thing towards new Supplys. sometimes there have been Ships. from the Coast & other touch at S.t Helena. with negroes. & you send again. You may buy some. if it be Sold on Reasonable terms. We find by the last of Charges being the Yearly Charge thereof. Amounts to some. thousand Pounds. but you have not shewn our word any thing of Cattle. bin mentiond in Your Consideration of the 10.th of March. unless they are included in the. amount of your victualing is Fully the Braimans etc. which we find is the Gunners Mate. did in the & Councils Arguments. there. made with them is We suppose an Additional Gratuity. for that Particular Service of fetching Stores. done. See. by Head. which. furtherd. by. the Estopped. barr. avye. because that we may know our own all charge. of the. Island at Each has our Utmost Computation as you have. See. can. greatly. add. Your business. & Sunde viz.s in for Diett. of our. People. reckoning the Provisions. & negroes at the Rate & Price. which. Vary. but. at. our Charge. we **Margin Notes:** Send the muster Roll & acc.t of Salarys Salarys in the muster Roll. Acc.t & Diett	The suckers were not to be neglected while the buildings went forward, so that every part of the Court's affairs might be minded according to the hands the Council had. The Court complained that the Council had sent it no muster roll of its own servants, whether civil or military, together with the account of their salary and pay. It wanted the annual account of the slaves, of the stock and cattle, of the provisions, and of the yearly rents and revenues of the island, along with the yearly muster roll of births and deaths, and the account of increase in the stock, both cattle and slaves. This the Council should have sent yearly. There was some slight increase in the stock of slaves, but the Court did not think the Council was at present doing anything towards new supplies, though sometimes three or four ships from the coast, or others touching at St Helena with slaves, might be had, and again the Council might buy some fit to be had in the road on easy terms. From the account of salary the Court saw that the yearly charge of its servants came to some seventeen hundred pounds. But the Council had not shown, nor set down anything of slaves to be maintained, in its consultations of the tenth paragraph unless it were included in the total of pay. It had already treated of the boatswain, whom it found to be the gunner's mate, and in the Council's arguments made with them, or the supper and additional gratuity for that particular, and some way of fetching stores done by the head, which was fair enough. Yet however that might be, the Court knew and allowed the charge of the island at what it now stood. Its own computation, as the Council had far too gravely valued the increase, went far in for that. From reckoning the provisions and slaves at the market price, which many put at the Court's charge, and so on. **Interpretations** The list of annual returns the Court demanded, a muster roll of servants with their pay, an account of slaves, stock, provisions, rents and revenues, and a register of births and deaths, sets out the whole apparatus by which a distant proprietor kept audit over its colony, each document a check that let the directors in London reconstruct the state of the island from paper alone. The reference to buying slaves from ships coming off the coast or touching at St Helena shows how the island's labour force was replenished through the passing traffic of the slave trade, the Court treating human beings as stock to be acquired on easy terms when a vessel carrying them happened into the road.

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		Yearly the Rents & Revs. Sett Stores as reason.te of the Gen.l muster Salarys Contingt Servs.	The scrutiny of the boatswain who doubled as gunner's mate, and of the extra gratuity paid him, reflects the Court's close attention to the doubling of offices and the small additional payments that crept into the establishment, part of its wider effort to hold the yearly charge of some seventeen hundred pounds under firm control.
197	193	Ship Susanna as we have formerly Directed under y.r Us their Names. for the Charge of Cloathing & Diett for the Blacks. for occasionall Charge of the Casks & no & other the Disbursements. for the Charge of Hire of the Islate Casks. Stores. for the Materialls & how all the Stores that Compose the Annuall Expence you incur on the Island; This will no no Great trouble to Endeavour. & the Method is rightly Settled. & a spread now in the Transcribing but will be Useful & the many years. You tell us you have Occasion in Tea. from being Made of the Councill. because he was Given to drink. & we do it. in the crude. Reason. & we. You Sod. don't given this to Go & Go ago. & him He. he had. wrote to do. we. & of & won do. an Advice as we allow. on to prospere it. This don't look rader. for a hidden Reason we take to Us. one. nor do you find so. any in the Councill. Books. M.r Griffith is Dead. We can't answer for himself. & we are. told. the Susannas Overseer. M.rs Boyle. by threatning to overthrow into by writting the Above of the Bd. which appoints him. This new Cap.t by no occasi so far in any Case. but plain Distemperly. do it. if you had done. Right. you. Now & Have. Examined. whether the Allegations in our 6.t Part. were. true. or as. also. what. we. wrote about. his. in. our. Letter. by the Mar.e Frigatt. and. as. you found & Charge. So. have. judgd. & tell. us. what. of. was. we also. are. told. that. Tour. is. turn'd. out. without. Order. of. councils & Alberc there. Entrusted. with. all. the. Books. & Records. & no this. take. of. Same. to. char. ye. him. in. that. is. Overt. & Standing his. former. Attestation. of. Sending. of. Papers. fraudulent. & Regestry. y.t. & that. we. new. Governor. thinks. it. meritorious in doing. thing. it. is. well. but. we. there. told. the. Abingdon did. this. We. are. late. of. & S.t. James. has. not. Stood. his Reason **Margin Notes:** Charge of the Cloathing for the Casks Charge of the Buildings Attorn.o	The Court set out the several charges it wished separately accounted, as had formerly been done under their proper heads. The Council was to keep the charge of victualling for the cattle apart, and likewise the charge of clothing and diet for the slaves, the occasional charge of the boats and other small disbursements, the charge of hire of the islanders, and the charge of stores for the materials. All these together made up the annual expense of the island. This was no great trouble to the Council once the method was rightly settled, and a good hand was needed for the transcribing, though it would be useful many ways. From the Council's letter the Court saw that the stores accounts had grown much worse, since it was given to understand that the storekeeper, Mr Alexander, knew, and the Court had a great mind to give him what he deserved, yet it had rather have waited to be sure and further weighed the matter before it laid anything to his charge. This was too hard a matter for a private accountant to determine, nor did the Court find anything in the Council books. Mr Griffith was dead and could not answer for himself, and there were the arguments and disputes of Mr Boyce, by threatening to overturn all by wresting the sense of the account, which appeared plain. This was no way by any means to serve in any case but plain dishonesty, which, if the Council had done right, it might have examined, whether the allegations were or could be true or not, as also what was written when he was in a former letter by the St George frigate. As the Council found the charge so heavy, it might weigh well of what was now. The Court was also told that there was trouble without order, so that when it came to the storehouse it was intended that all the books and records, and no other, be taken as belonging to the charge. Yet notwithstanding, his firm accusation of burning of papers, fraudulent registry, and so on, that overseer Griffith thought himself in error in accusing things, and it was well, but another related that Mr Hodgson did all this over into the account. Mr Alexander had not stood on his answer. **Interpretations** The direction to keep separate heads for victualling the cattle, clothing and dieting the slaves, the boats, the hire of islanders and the stores of materials shows the Court imposing a system of cost accounting on the settlement, breaking the single lump of island expense into distinct categories so that each could be scrutinised and controlled from London. The reference to feeding and clothing the slaves as a standing charge to be accounted alongside the upkeep of cattle records the plain fact of the Company's treatment of its slave labour as a maintained asset, its subsistence entered in the ledgers as one running cost among the others of the plantation. The accusations swirling around the storehouse, of burnt papers, fraudulent entries in the register and disputed accounts, expose the difficulty of policing a distant establishment where the men who might answer were dead, or defended themselves by casting doubt on the very records, so that the Court could not easily tell honest confusion from deliberate fraud. **Speculations**

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		turn'd. out. w.o Order About his fault	The Court chose to hold its hand against the storekeeper Mr Alexander rather than punish him at once on the accusations before it, judging the matter too tangled for summary judgement, and the record shows the restraint in its admission that though it had a great mind to give him what he deserved it would rather wait and weigh the case before laying anything to his charge.
198	194	Orders &c.a desirous to be restored by his late Management. the Ships did not Sail till the 25.t of July. but the Committee Sent nook no farther than the 8.th of Aprill & are all of M.r Fu's Writing. the Accounts of the Captains which allways usd to be Sent are not now as beforemenened the Generall Acc.t is not according to our Meaning. for it gives but a very poor Account of our Affairs. & does not Answer our Directions Sent by the Toddington. The Bills of Exchange therein Mentioned. not fully Dated. the Day being in Blank. no Notice in the Generall Letter. at what time drawn or when Payable. for all which reasons & these we ought over turn the Day entire. M.r Fu's to his Place again. & if you have any Occasion to Complain hereafter. let Us know it. We must also add that we are Extreamly Requird M.r Pack. should have been almost twelve. months on the Island. & yet we don't. to draw. no Books. altho' he is an Accomptant. Whereas we have. Never. wanted. our. Books before. Since. they were. fast. Or usd. to be. made up to. the 25.th of March. very Sponsd. in the Generall Letter. by the Success he promised. our New. to have. them. by the Summer. Fleet. nor has he given. in. the Councill. any Monthly. Accounts. the Positively Ordered. by. Us. to do it. as. will. appear. by. this Generall Letter. Sent. when. he. went. out. & was. allways. the Usuall. Practice. as. He. owns. in. the. Successes. Letter. for he. Says. it. these. things. deserve. the. Utmost. Censure. & if we don't. find. them. in. all. parts. Remedied. by. the next Shipping. We. see. We. do. this. is. utterly. Unworthy. to be. Continued. any. longer. in. our. Service. & ought. now. to be laid. aside. if. he. had. his. desire. but. our. Cry. persuers. to. bin **Margin Notes:** M.r Fu is to be Restored. M.r Pack Sent home no Books in 12 Months Books promisd to be Sent by y.r Summer Ships not Sent yet	Order had been undone by the storekeeper's late management, and the Court set out the failings that followed. The ships did not sail until 25 July, but the committee sent no letter later than 8 April, and all of it was in Mr Fox's writing. The accounts of the captains, which had always been sent, were not now among them. The general account was not properly kept, for it gave a very poor account of the Court's affairs and did not answer the directions sent by the Addington. The bills of exchange in it were mistaken and not fully dated, the day being left blank, and there was no note in the general letter of what they were drawn for, or when payable. For all these reasons the Court might rather have been without them than had them by this ship. Mr Fox was to be put back in his place, and if the Council had any cause to complain of him afterwards, it should let the Court hear it. The Court had also to add that it was greatly concerned that Mr Pack, who had been almost twelve months on the island, had yet sent no books, though he was an accountant. It had never wanted books before, since they used to be made up to the twenty-fifth of March every year and sent in the general letter. By the Success Mr Pack had promised the Court would have them by the summer ship, yet neither had he given the Council any monthly accounts, though he was expressly ordered to do so, as the general letter sent out would show, and as had always been the usual practice. As the Court found in the storekeeper's letter, for he owned it, these things deserved the utmost censure. If the Council did not find them in all parts remedied by the next ship, the Governor and Council were utterly unworthy to be continued any longer in the Court's service, and would be laid aside if it had its way, though the Court had a compassion to them. **Interpretations** The catalogue of defects in the bills of exchange, undated, mistaken and unexplained in the covering letter, exposes how much the whole system of remittance depended on precise paperwork, since a bill drawn without its date or its purpose recorded left the Court unable to know what it owed, to whom or when, and so unable to honour or check it. The reproach that the accounts used to be made up to the twenty-fifth of March each year fixes the settlement's bookkeeping to the old start of the legal year in England, showing the island bound to the accounting calendar of the mother country and judged by whether its returns arrived on that annual cycle. The threat to lay aside the whole Governor and Council if the failings were not remedied by the next ship shows the ultimate sanction the Court held over its distant officers, dismissal being the only real discipline available across so great a distance, wielded here against the persistent failure to render the accounts on which all control rested.

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199	195	Orders &c.a desirous to be restored by his late Management. the Ships did not Sail till the 25.t of July. but the Committee Sent nook no farther than the 8.th of Aprill & are all of M.r Fu's Writing. the Accounts of the Captains which allways usd to be Sent are not now as beforemenened the Generall Acc.t is not according to our Meaning. for it gives but a very poor Account of our Affairs. & does not Answer our Directions Sent by the Toddington. The Bills of Exchange therein Mentioned. not fully Dated. the Day being in Blank. no Notice in the Generall Letter. at what time drawn or when Payable. for all which reasons & these we ought over turn the Day entire. M.r Fu's to his Place again. & if you have any Occasion to Complain hereafter. let Us know it. We must also add that we are Extreamly Requird M.r Pack. should have been almost twelve. months on the Island. & yet we don't. to draw. no Books. altho' he is an Accomptant. Whereas we have. Never. wanted. our. Books before. Since. they were. fast. Or usd. to be. made up to. the 25.th of March. very Sponsd. in the Generall Letter. by the Success he promised. our New. to have. them. by the Summer. Fleet. nor has he given. in. the Councill. any Monthly. Accounts. the Positively Ordered. by. Us. to do it. as. will. appear. by. this Generall Letter. Sent. when. he. went. out. & was. allways. the Usuall. Practice. as. He. owns. in. the. Successes. Letter. for he. Says. it. these. things. deserve. the. Utmost. Censure. & if we don't. find. them. in. all. parts. Remedied. by. the next Shipping. We. see. We. do. this. is. utterly. Unworthy. to be. Continued. any. longer. in. our. Service. & ought. now. to be laid. aside. if. he. had. his. desire. but. our. Cry. persuers. to. bin **Margin Notes:** M.r Fu is to be Restored. M.r Pack Sent home no Books in 12 Months Books promisd to be Sent by y.r Summer Ships not Sent yet	The size of the family made the waiting longer still, and the Court turned to the storekeeper's own failings. From the storekeeper's letter, sent to Mr Hodgson on 3 February, the Court found an order requiring an account of his management of the Court's affairs and plantations. The consultation set out the particulars of the Court's demands very fully, but the Council had taken no notice of them, and the account, for the six months together, was wanting. As for the storekeeper, the Court now mentioned it so that there might be no more delays. It further ordered that Mr Griffith and Mr Boyce be directed to take an account of the plantations, provisions, cattle and other stock belonging to the Court that had been under the storekeeper's charge, as the consultation of the seventh paragraph proposed. It should be entered against February, and a report made on it. These things were far from being justifiable or in any way commendable. The Court had also to note the trouble it took over Captain Pack's management. Captain Pack had been the Governor's favourite, and was so esteemed and called by him, and his familiarity there was praised at so large a rate, being three months lodged on the island. But the Governor found his accounts slight, so that after it was known Captain Pack had done some good, whether of his own or of the Court's stock, or in answering the same, it was proper to compare it with those goods received from the Bay by the Success for the Court's account. Those goods were not suffered to be issued or sold at the market of the old coin, or to be landed at St Helena, but were rather to be brought home. It was certain some had reason to suspect that they were not properly to be disposed of, or according to the ancient laws of the state. Yet for want of the accounts one could be certain of nothing, and the Court would be glad to have the matter well proved, though it was frequently reported. **Interpretations** The order that Griffith and Boyce take a fresh inventory of the plantations, provisions, cattle and stock formerly under the storekeeper's charge shows the Court falling back on an independent audit by other hands when the responsible officer would not account, using a check by third parties to reconstruct what the settlement held and expose any shortfall. The description of Captain Pack as the Governor's favourite, praised and lodged at ease while his accounts went unrendered, points to the danger of patronage within a small administration, where personal favour could shield a man from the ordinary duty of accounting and so weaken the whole system of control the Court relied on. The direction that certain goods from the Bay were not to be sold or landed at St Helena but brought home instead reflects the Company's tight regulation of where and how its cargoes might be disposed of, the suspicion that they had been improperly dealt with showing how the routing of goods was itself a matter of law and discipline rather than local discretion.
200	196	Orders &c.a yet apprehending they are not we give you the Acc.t we have. that it may never be so again in ano.r the like instances. Wee are also informed that about Eighty Head of Cattle have been bought of the Planters. & a not many have been killed by them. for our Use. Yet & not with Standing this. & th Annual encrease of our Stock. & that we	The Court gave notice that its reasons stood, and that it might once more speak to these matters in another letter. The Court was also informed that about eighty head of cattle had been bought of the planters alive, and that not many had been bred by them, for over the whole stock, taken with regard to this the eighth annual increase, there had been a mortality among them since the Addington arrived at St Helena. The Court's stock of cattle was not equal to what it had been when Mr Hodgson, the late manager, held the

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		have had no Mortality among them Since the Toddingtons Arrivd at S.t Helena. our Stock of Cattle is not Equal to what it was when M.r Hardsdame the late manager. left the Island. & Pray let us know what you Can prove. to Excuse. it. this Report. an & if it be true. where the fault lyes. Having Received. some Letters & Petitions by the Success Since & Advices. from S.t Helena in answer thereto we Say as follow viz.t Still. we. are not inclined to grant. M.r Carne's request to be Entertaind in our Service at S.t Helena. because we find an enquiry that he has applied. more Manners to the Right more & the Acc.ts. why we did 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 Suasa as he seems Desirous. in any of our Ships. sailes. there. and for the Weavers mentioned. in our Same. by the Abingdon; We can't Consent to your buying. this & any other. Persons Land. & Plantations. You have. Sent. too much. of. that kind. already. which. we. we. Every. again. Allots. if. we. may the money. if. you. draw. Bills. on. Us. for. the. Same. or. if. such. Bills Should. be. given. for. Land. Emptt. & Covered. Under. the. Generall word **Margin Notes:** Acc.t of 80 head of Cattle wanting M.r Carne not to be Imployed in the Companies Service No more Lands to be bought	island. It bade the Council say what it could prove or be certain of in this report, and if it were true where the fault lay. Having received some stores and letters by the Success since its arrival from St Helena, the Court answered them as follows. The Court did not intend to grant Mr Carne's request to be settled in its service at St Helena, because it found on inquiry that he had applied more manures to the yam ground than fit, and it wholly declined to do it for the reasons that appeared. But if he pleased he might take passage at his own charge, with his family, to Suez, as the Court in no way opposed his shipment there. As for the beavers mentioned earlier, sent by the Abingdon, the Court could not consent to the Council buying so many other reasons of land and plantations, since it had sent too much of that kind already, which it never again wanted for any way in money, whether the Council drew bills or was for the same, or if such bills should be given for land bought and covered under the general account. **Interpretations** The record of about eighty head of cattle bought alive from the planters, set against the small number bred and the mortality since the Addington came in, shows the Court reading its livestock returns as a measure of the settlement's management, a fall in the herd against former years serving as evidence that the island was being run worse than under the previous governor. The refusal of Mr Carne's place on the ground that he had over-manured the yam ground reflects the Court's concern for the husbandry of its staple crop, treating a technical fault in cultivation as sufficient reason to deny a man employment on the island where the food supply was so precarious. The offer to let Carne take passage to Suez at his own charge, while barring him from service, shows the Court distinguishing sharply between employing a man and merely permitting his movement, willing to carry him and his family off the island but not to entrust him with any part of its plantations.
201	197	Ship Susanna words of Creditt. in the Stores. so Soon as We know it. we will. place it to the Acc.t of the Persons who Sign the Bills. & once are almost Extravours. to make them so find it; This Generall will we give You. that you may not again repeat. this ill Practice. which tends. to the disquieting the Island. & the lavishing away our Money. till You have our Previous Order to Warrant the Same. That if Gabriel Powill. who Says he has a large Creditt in our Stores. Shall have any Bills. given by you. drawn for the. we Shall for the time. they are. due. after acceptance. here. be the. Money by. in. our. back. as. he. desires. as. far. is. five. Hundred. Pounds. & acorn. him. Interest. thereon. for. the. Same. That. as. we. do. to others. That. Richard. Clove. Joyner. who. We. Understand. is Imployed. by. you. at. Wages. be. appointed. to. have. the. Management of. our. Timber. to. Cutt. it. out. to. the. best. Advantage. for. the purpose. it. is. to. be. applied. to. which. we. believe. he. has. been	The Court would place its credit in the stores against the account of the persons who signed the bills, since the bills were almost too many to be found. It gave this general notice so that the Council might not again repeat the ill practice that tended to the discrediting of the island and the hurrying away of ships, since the Council had its previous order to prevent the same. The Court further ordered that if Gabriel Powell said he had a large credit in the Court's stores, and there had been any bills given by him drawn on the Court for the time they were due, they were to be accepted here so that his money might be paid into the Court's hands, as he desired, as far as five hundred pounds. Interest on the same was to be paid to him, as it was to others. The Court also ordered that Richard Clove, a joiner who was understood to be employed by the Council at wages, be appointed to have the management of the timber, to cut it out to the best advantage for the purposes to which it was believed he had never been put. Yet to keep it from waste and embezzlement, he was to be employed and have his diet at the Court's table, for his encouragement, besides his wages. He was to give an account from time to time how the timber was disposed of and applied. The Council might examine, if it thought fit, in what stage he had it, sending it by every shipping the state of it. He was understood to be a good workman, both as a carpenter and a joiner, and a sober, steady man.

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		Skill. to. do. to. prevent. Wast. & Embezlement. than. there. were Imployed. & that. he. be. attend. his. Diper. at. our. Tabl. for. his Encouragement. & Care. besides. his. Wages. & that. he. give. you. an Acc.t. from. time. to. time. how. all. our. Timber. is. Disposed. of. & applied. how. you. may. Examine. if. it. be. as. he. Says. & that. he. Solos, be. by. Every. Shipping. the. like. bit. We. understand. he. is. a Good. artist. as. well. for. a. Carpenter. as. a. Joyner. and. Sober. but. Slow. Still. as. to. M.r Hodrinsons. long. Letter. of. Complaint. we. find no. any. Reason. to. take. it. this. fit. because. having. Examined Cap.t Roberts. in. every. the. articles. He. Complains. against. him. for. transferd. Us. to. the. Letter. We. wrote. You. the. 8.t of. October wherein. to. divide. the. then. Charge. on. this. Score. which. was answer. **Margin Notes:** Gabriel Powill may have Bills for 500 £. Care to Joyner to have his Diper Diett Refusd to be sett of Cap.t Hodrinsons Letter	The Court also had no reason to take in ill part Mr Hodgson's large letter of complaint, since, having examined Captain Roberts on every article, it saw the complaint against him. It referred the Council to the letter it wrote on 25 October, in which it set out the then charge on this score. **Interpretations** The scheme to pay Gabriel Powell his credit of up to five hundred pounds by accepting his bills in London, with interest, shows how the Company turned the island's stores into a form of banking, converting a settler's stock of goods into a home remittance and treating the balance as an interest-bearing debt, the settlement functioning as a distant branch of the Court's finances. The appointment of Richard Clove to manage the timber, dieted at the Court's own table as a guard against waste and embezzlement, illustrates how the Company tied a workman's reward to the honest handling of a scarce imported material, using the perquisite of board to secure his loyalty over stores that were costly to ship and easily pilfered. The requirement that Clove account by every ship for how the timber was cut and used, open to the Council's inspection, extends to a single skilled trade the same regime of continuous written reckoning the Court demanded of the whole establishment, so that even the working of a store of wood left a paper trail auditable from London.
202	198	Orders &c.a much of the Same Nature with her Letter. and Challengd You to disprove him in any one Article & by which appears to Us you never Did. tho M.r Hodrinson was then living himself. & sat as judge as well as accuser. & Cap.t Roberts Stayed on the Island about a Month after. so that it appears to be to be an outfeta Column y with Plantations Contains put up penels. this We Say for the Sake of the P.r man who wrote her Letter Drake also Sent Us what he Called an Answer to that Letter wherein is no word of Mark Objections but not a Word of the Accusation of M.r Hodrinson which if true wo.d have afforded sufficient matter for him to have harangd upon with his Pen dipt in Vinigar & Gall. Wee Understand the Lands She desires to Rent of Israell Bee & Israell Bd will Shut us out of our own Wood & in effect & where bin of this be the Case We Cant by no means Consent to lett her have it tho in Generall we Should be Glad & you Sod lett out the Greatest part of our Land it being but for us to keep or more in our Hands than what is Sufficient to Maintain our own Table. Blacks. & Cattle for the Shipping & if these were planters in to Rise w.th the Rent of our Ground We Should be Glad if they had the Greatest part of our Land & the Provisions & that	Captain Roberts had brought a complaint much of the same nature as the letter, and the Court noted the position it left him in. Roberts had charged the Council to displace the man in any one article, yet it appeared to the Court that the Council never did so, since Mr Hodgson was then living himself and was both judge and accuser. Captain Roberts stayed on the island about a month after, so that the matter looked to be an artful collusion with the plaintiff, who put up a pretence that he was to stay for the sake of the person who wrote the letter. Drake also sent the Court what he called an answer to that letter, in which there was some mention of Mark Griffiths, but not a word of the accusation against Mr Hodgson, which, if true, would have afforded sufficient matter for the Council to have set a difference upon between them in vinegar and gall. The Court understood that the land the Council wished to rent, if bought, would set the Council out of business. It would take some effect where it lay, if this were the case. The Court by no means consented to let it or have it, though in general it would be glad if the Council could let out the greatest part of its land, it being but for it to keep more in its hands than was sufficient to maintain its own table, slaves and cattle. For the shipping, if before more planters came, to raise the rent of the Court's ground, the Court would be glad if it had the greatest part of its beef and other provisions, and that the Council kept no more than would suffice to prevent their impairing on others by selling exorbitant rates for its provisions. From the Council's letter the Court saw mention of the letting of parcels of land, but never a word of what rent was set, which ought to have been reported, and the Court wanted it to be so in future. **Interpretations** The charge that Mr Hodgson acted as both judge and accuser in the same complaint exposes a fundamental flaw in the settlement's justice, since a

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		You kept no more than what wo.d be Sufficient to prevent their impairing or others by seeing exorbitant Rates on their Provisions. Your Consultations mention the letting Parcells of Land to Save but never Say at what Rent. which ought to be inserted & so we Cant it be for the future. Wee **Margin Notes:** The Land that M.r Hodrinson desired & Damage to the Company Mention in your Consultations at what Rate Land is lett	governor who framed a grievance and then sat in judgement on it left no room for impartial hearing, and the Court's alertness to this collusion shows it guarding against the concentration of accusatory and judicial power in one hand. The Court's wish that the Council rent out most of its land, keeping only enough to feed its own table, slaves and cattle, reflects a deliberate policy of shifting the burden of cultivation onto tenant planters, so that the Company drew rent rather than bearing the whole cost of working the ground itself. The concern that the Council not undersell the planters by holding excess provisions at exorbitant rates shows the Court trying to regulate the island's food market, wary that its own dominance as landholder and victualler could distort prices and injure the settlers it depended on to keep the colony populated and productive.
203	199	Ship Susanna Wee don't 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 & did in M.r Alexanders Case. he who a Plantation. & when he had in part sett. it break down the Wood. He built him a House in Another place. on which piece of our Ground. & there takes the Same quantity of Acres. He had done the others. & when he was Called to Question. for it. answered what harm was it. had he not left as much Ground. to the Company. in his other Plantation as he had to keep of them. in this. had they not the Same (quantity of Acres. in the whole. they had before. & therefore they would know nothing of it. Your Consultation of the 20.th Decemb 1711 imports that when Richard Garling petitiond to Rent the House & Land formerly the Wades. Ensthope's. You refusd to lett the Land Saying it was to be kept for the Company. We hope. by what we have wrote in this & the last Letter. you will never again refuse to lett Rent. or any of our Ground. that can be lett to its worth. & is not absolutely necessary. for the Use. of our Table &c.a as aforementioned. especially. if the letting Such Ground be not apparently to the Prejudice of our other Lands contiguous thereunto. If we had not before Directed. That You Should buy no more Land for Us. We Should have Remarked that the Entry in Your Consultations of Land bought is not at all Satisfactory to Us. to buy only in Generall Terms. that so much money was agoud to be paid for a Plantation of so many Acres with the Provisions. & so many head of Cattle. It Should have bin in more Particular. & Expres terms. as the Consultation of the 7.th of March is where M.r Bazett reports what he had bought **Margin Notes:** No Exchange for the	The Court would not have the practice of the planters or others exchanging their land for the Court's land, lest it should happen as it was told it had in Mr Alexander's case. He had a plantation with a house he had put up on it, but it broke down in the wind. He then built himself a house in another place, on a fresh piece of the Court's ground, and took the same quantity of acres from the Court as another had before him. When he was called to question over it, he answered by asking what harm it did, since he had left as much ground to the Company on his other plantation as he had taken of it in this. Had they not the same number of acres in the whole as they had before, so that they knew nothing lost by it. From the Council's consultation of the twentieth of December 1711 the Court saw that when Richard Gardyn petitioned to rent the house and land formerly Wade Enthorp's, the Council refused to let him the land, saying it was to be kept for the Company. The Court hoped, from what it had written here and in the last letter, the Council would never again refuse to let any of its ground that could be let to its worth. It was not absolutely necessary for its own table and other uses as mentioned, above all where the letting of such ground was not plainly to the prejudice of its other lands lying next to it. Had the Council not before been directed to buy no more land for the Court, the Court would have remarked that the entry in its consultations of land bought was not at all satisfactory, being only in general terms. So much money was said 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 7 March showed, where Mr Bazett reported what he had bought. **Interpretations** The Court's objection to settlers swapping their land for Company ground turns on the difficulty of keeping title clear on a small island, since a man who abandoned one plot for another and reasoned that the total acreage was unchanged left the Company's holdings scattered and its records confused, which is why the Court wanted such exchanges stopped rather than argued after the fact. The reversal on renting out land, the Court now pressing the Council to let ground it had earlier refused to Richard Gardyn, shows a deliberate shift in estate policy toward drawing rent from as much of the Company's land as could be profitably let, keeping in hand only what the establishment itself needed. The demand that purchases of land be entered in particular and express terms, naming the acreage, provisions and cattle as Mr Bazett's report of 7 March had done, illustrates the Court's insistence that property transactions leave a precise documentary

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		future & the Reason y.t M.r Alexanders Diett What Ground to be lett & right to be for the Company Interest the Entering of Land bought in the Consultations Book to very Exact	record, since a vague entry of money paid for so many acres gave London no means of verifying the bargain or auditing the Company's growing estate.
204	200	Orders and Instructions bought of the M.r Bazett & the like agued on for. every Sum. & what Each Sum Concluded. tho the Article of Cattle in this Bright. have. better Captaind. by. Saying. what. the Cattle. cure. whereas. it. is. Entered. in. Generall. seven. Head. of Cattle; & the People. have. no. it. margins. in. their. Head. or. are not. negligent. to. Careless. they. were. allways. so. very. plaine. & fall. in. their. Entrys. & Accompts. of. matters. Entrusted. with them. It having been Represented to Us. That M.r William Symmes. who. hav. resided. siverall. Years. in. India. Upon. a Speciall. part. thereof. in. the. Bay. of. Bengan. intends. Shortly. to leave. that. place. and. resides. at. S.t Helena. We. therefore hereby. Direct. That. in. case. he. Should. Come. thither. & does desire. to. Continue. on. this. Island. he. be. Allowed. so. to. do. & to. Say. there. as. long. as. he. Shall. think. fit. conforming. him self. to. the. Laws. of. the. Place. We are Your Loving Friends.	The Court laid out its further orders and instructions in the following terms. The land had been bought of Mr Bazett, and the price agreed on for every acre, with what each sum came to. The article of cattle in this bought would have been better set down by saying what the cattle were, whereas it was entered in general as seven head of cattle. If the Council's people had no accounts in their head, or were not diligent to keep them, they were always so very poor and fell into their entries and accounts of matters entrusted with them. The Court had been informed that Mr William Seames, who had resided several years in India, intended, on his way from the Bay of Bengal, to leave that place and to settle at St Helena. The Court therefore directed that, should Mr Seames come there and desire to continue on the island, he was to be allowed to do so, and to stay there as long as he thought fit, he conforming himself to the laws of the place. The Court closed as the Council's loving friends. **Interpretations** The complaint that seven head of cattle were entered without saying what the cattle were reflects the Court's demand that stock be described by kind and quality rather than by bare number, since a herd recorded only as a count could not be checked, valued or audited from a distance, and a vague entry left room for loss or fraud. The permission for Mr Seames to settle at St Helena on his return from Bengal, conditional only on his obeying the laws of the place, shows how the Company recruited experienced men to strengthen the island's small population, welcoming a settler of standing while binding him from the outset to the local regime of governance. The closing formula of loving friends marks the letter as correspondence between the Court in London and its Governor and Council, a conventional courtesy that framed even a letter heavy with censure within the language of a continuing partnership.
205	201	You're right, and I'll stop. The random points come from me reading spacing in the rushed hand as full stops where none exist. Here is the page in full without them. to Gov.r Pyke &c.a Council 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 Gov.r of our Island of S.t Helena. To M.r Grory & Hamilton second of Councel: To M.r Edward Mashborn third. To M.r Matthw Bazett Fourth. & to M.r Anepass Torry fifth. & so & of the said Councel. Wee the Said Court of Directors having drawn up so as to sett & serve the said and Councill as above	The Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies addressed its orders and instructions to Governor Pyke and the Council. The Court directed the letter to Captain Isaac Pyke, Governor of the island of St Helena, to Mr George Hamilton, second of Council, to Mr Edward Nashbourne, third, to Mr Matthew Bazett, fourth, and to Mr Anegass Tovey, fifth, all of that Council. Having appointed the Governor and Council named above, the Court had given them their commission under the Company's common seal, which they were to obey. Their standing on the island and afterwards in the Court's service at home rested on their fidelity and diligence in performing the several duties the Court committed to them. It gave them a general list of what it expected of each of them, and required each to look to his own particular

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		Exprest. & having given our said Gov.r & Council serve under the Companys common Seale. which we Direct be Subsisted as usuall on her Arrival at the Island and thenceward in the Consultation Books. & reposing speciall Trust & Confidence in Your Fidelity Zeal & to commit application to performs the Service below. Do if you Committed to Your Care in Generall. the Rest of you for that concious himself in Particular. We sometimes in require to give what Care we expect from you in the Management of our Affairs with which & you are to be Entrusted. On your Arrival at S.t Helena. and taking upon the Government of the Island and Each of You your particular & absorb Charges. as if that will spend time before these charges are formally entred upon we do now find we direct that you first of all take Care to Enquire the Untaring of this Ship Explosion & lasoro her away to Bencoolen & for its now **Margin Notes:** Gov.r Pyke Gov.r & his Councill To Enforce the Estate	charge, so that the affairs of the island might be managed as the Court intended. On the Governor's arrival at St Helena, and on each of them taking up the government of the island and his own particular charge, if that would spend time before the several charges were formally entered upon and arranged, the Court directed that they first of all take care to expedite the unloading of the Susanna and send her away to Bencoolen. From India, and so on. **Interpretations** The commission under the Company's common seal was the legal instrument that gave the Governor and Council their authority, and the Court's reminder that their standing rested on fidelity and diligence shows how the seal bound them personally to their duties, their tenure and their future prospects at home hanging on how each discharged the charge laid on him. The allocation of a particular charge to each named councillor, from the Governor down through the second, third, fourth and fifth of Council, sets out the graded structure by which a small administration divided its responsibilities, each man answerable for his own department so that the whole business of the island was covered and no failing could be lost in collective vagueness. The instruction that the very first act on arrival be to unload the Susanna and hurry her on to Bencoolen shows the primacy the Court placed on quick despatch of shipping, subordinating even the formal taking up of office to the pressing need to avoid detaining a vessel and incurring the costs that delay would bring.
206	202	Orders &c.a we Shall Say more under the Head of Shipping and during her Stay if you Can have time for it. if not as Soon as Stores gone. That you.r Diligently in Councill peruse the Letter & Instructions sent by the Toddington & this last arrival & those Since by the Abingdon & Susannah together with all others therein referrd to as well as the present Orders. wherein you have a full view of our Directions & how to how to Manage our Affairs on the Island We Cant find either by Letter or Consultations that our late Gov.r Cap.t Boucher & the then Councill peruseng severall Bad or any Instructions Sent by Him in the Toddington. or so much as Read them over with attention brought to answer them; this has necessitated Us to Shift Hands in hope of better Management & Our 2.d Par.a directed an Extract to be laden out of all the Letters wrote to S.t Helena either by the Old Company the Court of Managers or y.e United 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 Acc.t that this new been Completed with. & we mention it here that You may As Soon as the Explosion is despacht. take Care it be forthwith Set about & finished as	The Court promised to say more under the head of shipping, and directed the Council, if it could find time during the ship's stay, or if not then as soon as she was gone, to go diligently in Council over the letter and instructions sent by the Addington and by the earlier ships, along with those brought by the Abingdon and the Susanna, together with all others referred to, as well as the previous orders. In these the Council would have a full view of the Court's directions and would know how to manage the Court's affairs on the island. The Court could find, either by letter or by consultations, that the late Governor Boucher and his Council paid very little heed to its instructions sent by the Addington. So far were they from reading them with attention that they scarcely brought them to mind. This the Court represented as reason to shift into other hands, in hope of better management. It had therefore directed its Deputy Governor to have an extract made and laid out of all the letters written to St Helena, whether by the old Company, the Court of Managers, or the United Court of Directors, of the orders relating to every distinct branch of the Court's affairs there, and to put each under its proper head. Yet the Court had no account that this had ever been completed, and it mentioned the matter here so that it might be done as soon as the Susanna was despatched. The Council was to take care that it be forthwith set about and finished as soon as possible, and, when drawn out to this end, that it be carefully examined in Council to see whether it was truly and fully done, and, if not, that the Council make it complete. The reason for this, the Council would see, was that the Court would rather have it examined in Council, since the Council would thereby be all the better acquainted with the Court's orders, whether negative or positive, and in consequence the Court might expect them to be obeyed. **Interpretations**

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		soon as if. & other drawn out to this time; that it be carefully Examined in Councill is See whether it be truely & fully done. & if not so you make it Compleat. the Reason for this you will find the 2.d Par.a & thereto our Perseo you. we say let it be Examined in Councill because You will thereby be all of you better appris'd of our Order. whether Negative or Positive. & in Consequence We may Expect they will be Obeyed. The **Margin Notes:** To Copy out all the Antient Rules & Orders.	The charge that Governor Boucher and his Council barely read the instructions sent by the Addington sets out the central problem the Court faced with a distant settlement: orders carried thousands of miles by sea were worthless if the officers who received them neither studied nor applied them, and the change of administration was justified precisely as a remedy for that neglect. The project of extracting every past order from the whole run of correspondence, sorted under proper heads by branch of business, shows the Court trying to build a working manual of government out of decades of scattered letters, since only a consolidated digest could let a small Council actually find and follow the accumulated rules laid down by successive governing bodies in London. The insistence that the extract be examined in Council rather than merely filed reveals the Court's method of enforcement through knowledge, reasoning that officers who had themselves gone through and verified the body of standing orders could not later plead ignorance, so that the act of compiling the digest was itself a means of binding the Council to obey it.
207	203	Ship Rochester The first Fortieth Part of the Toddingtons Letter contain a Summary Acc.t of our Directions in Generall touching our affairs. & the management of them by the Gov.r & Councill for the time being. to which you must have as much Regard to as if herein again inserted. as you must also to all preceding and Succeeding Letters except only to Such of them as have Since bin. or by the or any Subsequent Letters may be repeal'd or Alterd. and in that Case the Orders so alterd or Repeald are to be lookt upon as no longer obligatory. We hereby require that our our Affaires be managed accord ing to the Direction of the Gov.r & Councill. or the major part of them. and to that end that You hold Consultation Weekly or oftener if there be Occasion. as Enter in the Consultations Book a particular Acc.t of the results of all your Debates & in Your Reasons. That each of you give in an acc.t from time to time exactly or if we if require. to the Complot of the management of the Affairs under your inspection & distinct charges & Employments. and that the proper Notice thereof be Entred in the Consultation Book. bin a proper time. Afterwards occur or life as the Occasion require. that the Acc.t Entred for to give how each Order & how bin Executed. our Duty thereof be made in the Consultation Book. that no one of the Councill because he in one. shall think himself exempted from the Constant recommendation of the majority of them. bears to any matters under their Particular Charge. that Each of you in Your Respective Acc.ts. be carefully & Constantly observe the Severall Rules in	Ship Rochester. The fortieth paragraph of the Addington's letter held a summary of the Court's directions in general, touching the affairs and management of them by the Governor and Council for the time being. The Council was to have as much regard to it as if it were again set out here, and likewise to all preceding and succeeding letters, save only such of them as had since been, or by these presents were, in any part countermanded. Those letters might be repealed or altered, and in that case the orders in them were altered or repealed, and were to bind no longer as an obligation. The Court strictly required that its affairs be managed by the direction of the Governor and Council, or the major part of them, and to that end that the Council hold a consultation weekly, or oftener if there were occasion, and enter in the consultation book a particular account of the result of all its debates and resolutions. Each member was to give in writing, from time to time, when any occasion required it, his thoughts on the management of the affairs under his own inspection, distinct from his employment, and the proper notice of it was to be entered in the consultation book in a proper time afterward. Whether or no, as the occasion required, this was what the Court looked for, to give notice that such orders had been received. Every duty of theirs was to be entered in the consultation book. Any one of the Council who thought himself over-ruled might have his dissent from the management, or from the majority of the Council, on any matter under his own particular charge, entered in a proper place. Each of them, in respect of his own charge, was to observe carefully and constantly the general orders in the Court's letters relating to the island, and how the whole business from time to time conformed to them, so that it might be seen that the several letters otherwise were to bind in Council. It was also required that the whole Council be examined as to the frequency of consultations at first. **Interpretations** The requirement of a weekly consultation with every debate and resolution entered in a book turned the Council's deliberations into a permanent written record, giving the Court in London a means to reconstruct how each decision was reached and to hold the officers to account for the reasoning behind their acts, not merely the acts themselves. The provision that any councillor over-ruled by the majority might have his dissent entered in the

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		the Gen.l Letters relating to the Said Stations. so that the whole perfrom time to time conform. So they be observed. that the Severall Letters wherein used or read in Councill. & to that that the whole Councill be Enformed. so we do Requist to first great **Margin Notes:** Regard the Toddingtons Letter To advise in Generall State & attend the majority the Debates & each Persons Acc.t to be entred in Consultation	book created a formal mechanism of individual accountability within collective government, letting a man clear himself of a decision he opposed and giving the Court a way to distinguish the responsible party when a policy went wrong. The direction that each member render his thoughts in writing on the affairs under his own inspection, kept distinct from his general employment, reinforces the graded division of charges set out in the commission, binding every officer to document his particular department so that responsibility could always be traced to the man who held it.
208	204	Orders &c.a speud it should to Post all. & so an Entry Brief. & of reading Such Letters be entred in the Consultation Book, that the articles taken at every Council be read the next before any other Business is gone upon. & of might that be by formals if these apparent Evidence they are to Post into the Copy full at each Book. which they cannot forthwith by that they look of by all or if any one object that be enter his dissent against his name with the Reasons that Duplicates of the Copy full at our be Weekly kept up to be ready to Send us by the Shipping signd by the Councill as well by we may be able to judge of your Management. and that the Transactions of all matters be Entred therein whither relating immediately to our Affaires or Complaints & Adjudications, Encouragements or other things Relating to the Inhabitants & Islanders or others Landing & upd that the Said Book be in the nature of a Journal & to contain with an Account of all the Transactions Civill & Military or other Affairs on the Island under Your Directions. Wee have the more distinctly mentioned the Severall Rules in the last Par.a because we find the Consultation Book last received from S.t Helena very often in some particulars which of our Rules are for the future observed with be remedied. We take Notice every time Consultation have not been held in so & & Nor Books legible and longer Adam own we also thought not very Rules that many of the things contained in the Generall Letter empowered or ought to be sett after Ord in Consultation, but not only Word of some is Entered therein that Gov.r Roberts in the Letter of the 5.th of Aprill says M.r Pack had now after sold expects give in his Acc.t of the Stores and he has entered scholars & tryed every Method until him for that purpose.	The Court directed that its further orders be observed in the terms set out below. There should be an entry, and a short account, of the reading of such letters made in the consultation book. The minutes taken at every Council were to be read at the next, before any other business was gone upon. It was thought that if the minutes seemed evidently right they were to be entered into the book fair at every Council, which the Council was forthwith to do, so that they might be looked over by all on any one object. Each member was to enter his dissent against his name in the margin, and duplicates of the book, fair, were to be weekly kept up, to be ready to send by the shipping, signed by the Council, so that the Court might be able to judge of the Council's management. All transactions of any nature were to be entered in it, whether relating immediately to the Court's affairs, or complaints, adjudications, encouragements, or other things relating to the inhabitants, planters, or others, and, in a word, whatever the book, with the diaries of a journal, and its contained with an account of all the movements, civil and military, or other officers on the island, under the Court's directions. The Court had the more distinctly mentioned these several rules in the last paragraph, because it saw from the consultation book last received from St Helena very often some particulars which of these rules were for the future observed or to be remedied. Since the diaries every time consultations were not been held in a proper method, to be legible, and so far as Adam ever understood the whole of these things, many of the writings contained in the general letter properly and rightly to be kept up after due in consultation, but not one word of them is entered in it, that Governor Boucher, in the letter of the fifth of April, said Mr Pack had once after ordered expressly give in his account of the stores and had entered it. Nicholas had tried every method with him for that purpose. **Interpretations** The rule that each Council's minutes be read and approved at the next before any new business shows the Court imposing a discipline of verification on the record itself, ensuring that the written account was checked while memory was fresh and could not later be quietly altered or disputed. The demand that fair duplicate copies of the consultation book be kept weekly and sent home signed by the Council reveals how the Court secured itself against loss and against the manipulation of a single record, since a duplicate carried by every ship gave London an independent and authenticated copy of the island's whole proceedings. The complaint that the St Helena book was often kept in no proper method, illegible and missing

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		&c.a **Margin Notes:** that the Consult Book be in a Journall the Consultat.n to be held Weekly	entries required by the general letter, exposes the persistent gap between the Court's elaborate documentary system and the reality of its execution on the island, where the officers repeatedly failed to keep the records on which the entire scheme of remote government depended.
209	205	Ship Rochester but in vain. yett we can find no Notice of this in Consultation which ought to have been Entred. nor could have. tho the Govern.r not Did his part. many other particulars might be Easily enumerated to Show that the Consultations (which Should be the we cant Read & preserving Reader a full view of all Transactions as we Expect hereafter they Shall be so. as we are must observe) are extreamly poore & Containe a very Slight & trifling Account of the Management at S.t Helena; that M.r Bazett has been kept from a Sight of the Generall Letter for four or Six Months together. and not Suffered to Post in the Store. we are Order the Stock. & if he did there was a great & Mischeif. the Accounts has bin been so very Backward as by us. that the Governour did whatever his own Reason or Option from put him to this we direct Opposition to out Store buy Orders at his Servey & more things of the like or as be by a Reason as was the respect be looked up the Said last Par.a be duly Observd & Obeyed We wist add how this further that in the Letters before Us We find some fair Promises of things to be amended in future. but the two Letters Attend that the good words signified nothing Service forgett We now own that you so that case We may not have occasion to repeat the like Complaint but will have Redress to your Observe & so what promise at any time we Mention made be effectually performd We Shall in the Course of this Letter take Notice of Other Matters necessary to be animadverted upon & with for this instance of some as trifling as & & & from our of of other Bird to the End that by pointing out the Errodyms may apply the Remedy. These things being premisd as Generall Mem.d that we proceed to give You our Orders more particularly on the Manner to Your Store & to add under our Establisht Generall Heads, what **Margin Notes:** Consultation of Consults to be entred in the Consultat Neglect of the Consultan very Great in these Days. that it be	Ship Rochester. The Court could find no notice of these matters in the consultations, though there ought to have been an entry, and it held that had the Governor done his part, many other particulars might easily have been entered too. It looked to the consultations to show it what the Council did, and to answer that they gave a full and true account of the transactions, as the Court would expect for the future. These things it strictly required, since it was given only a very slight and trifling account of the management at St Helena. Mr Pack had been kept from the sight of the general letter for four or six months together, and was not allowed to assist in the stores as the Court ordered. If he had been, there would have been a great deal less trouble, and the accounts would not have been so very backward. The Governor did whatever his own reason, or someone near him, put to him, in direct opposition to the Court's standing orders. This deserved more than had been shown, and for that reason the whole of it was to be entered in the book, so that it might be duly examined and cleared before the Court and the public. In the letters before it, the Court found some fair pretences of things to be amended in future, yet the Council's own acts showed that the good words signified nothing. The Court would in service forget it, but now took occasion that the Council should give it careful heed, since it might not have reason again to repeat the like complaint. It submitted to the Council's discretion, and left it to enter permission at any time. Some further matters were to be officially performed. The Court would in the letter of the Council take notice of other matters necessary to be answered upon, as, for one instance, of some as trifling as fastening one leaf of these books to the next, so that by pointing out the directions the Council might apply the reading. The Court then turned, seventhly, to further matters. Since these things were public, as anyone might think proper to give the Council orders on, it desired to keep the Court's letters, and put them under separate general heads. **Interpretations** The persistent grievance that the consultation book gave only a slight and trifling account of the island's management shows the Court repeatedly confronting the same failure, since a record that omitted the substance of what was done left London unable to judge or control a settlement it governed only through paper. The revelation that Mr Pack was deliberately kept from the general letter for months and barred from the stores, against the Court's express order, exposes an internal power struggle in which the Governor withheld information and duties from a subordinate the Court had appointed, obstructing the very system of checks the directors had put in place. The Court's charge that the Governor acted on his own reason or the prompting of someone near him, in direct opposition to standing orders, points to the difficulty of enforcing discipline across such distance, where a governor's personal will and local influences could override instructions carried from London and leave the Court's authority effectively suspended.

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		Sent Over.	
210	206	Orders &c.a what farther We Direct proper Our last was of the 22.t of March 1712 by the Susannah which Ship being Arrived to the Store received this our last to Nor & to Copy Since Writing we have Received by the Return Elizabeth the Generall Letter from S.t Helena Dated the 9.th of Aprill 1713 with a Post-script of the 11.th of y.e the Return We Generall Letters of the 12.th of June following with severall Letters from Cap.t Boucher & others but the two & different the Severall Ships Came from thence with the Return y.e the two & Requests so as much as a Generall Letter by any of them so that of the Return So & Wee attend we he & bin altogether in the Downs as to the Gov.r & Councills Advices keeping this until to the last Remark of the Nature Ships on First concerning Shipping sent out and Returned. Since the Departure of the Susannah it has pleasd God the following Ships have Arrived with us in Safety viz.t the Devonshire from the Coast the Mary from the Bay and Coast the Toddington & the Ilfe from Bencoolen the Stringer being Vessells sent from Mocho but last from Bombay came in Company with the Dutch & with about & got into the River of Thames in August the Rovelo from the fort the Kent from the Bay the Montague & Roshoune from Bombay & the Return from China arrived in the Downs from S.t Helena the last of August & beginning of September the Signeall Just Ships John & Elizabeth Andawa & our maid came Directly to England at Severall times the two first the beginning of July. The Ships sent & Sending out to all parts of the East Indies this Season are viz.t the **Margin Notes:** Mention of severall named before Ships Arrivalls Arrival of Sundry Ships	The Court set out its further orders as it thought proper. The Court's last letter, dated 22 March 1712, had gone by the Susanna, which since her arrival at the island the Court understood had no chance to send a copy since her writing. It had received by the ship Elizabeth the general letter from St Helena, dated 9 April 1713, with a postscript of the eleventh, and by the Rochester the general letter of the twelfth of June following, along with private letters from Captain Boucher and others. But there was no difference in the several ships coming from India with the Rochester, yet the Court had requested there be as much as a general letter by any of them. So that of the Rochester it should have received one, and it was altogether in the dark as to the Governor's chronicle and diaries touching this trade to the East, and the rest of that nature. The Court turned first to the shipping sent out and returned. Since the departure of the Susanna, the following ships had arrived home safely. The Dartmouth came from the coast, the Mary from the Bay and coast, the Indian Queen from Bencoolen, and the Stringer Galley, which came out from Mocha but last from Bombay, came in company with the Dutch ships, and got into the Downs in August. The Rowley came from the Fort, the Kent from the Bay, and the Montague and Rochester from Bombay. The Rochester from China arrived in the Downs from St Helena at the latter end of August or the beginning of September. The several ships John, Elizabeth, Arabia and Mermaid came directly to England at several times, the two first at the beginning of July. The Court then set out the ships sent and sending out to all parts of the East Indies this season. **Interpretations** The catalogue of ships arriving from the whole spread of the Company's stations, the coast, the Bay, Bencoolen, Mocha, Bombay, the Fort and China, records the geographical reach of the season's trade, each named vessel a strand in the network of eastern commerce that converged on the Downs and passed by way of St Helena. The note that the Stringer Galley came home in company with the Dutch ships reflects the practice of sailing in convoy for protection, English and Dutch East Indiamen combining against the hazards of enemy cruisers and privateers on the long return passage even between rival trading powers. The Court's complaint that no general letter came by the Rochester, leaving it in the dark as to the Governor's diaries and chronicle, ties the arrival of shipping to the arrival of intelligence, since each returning ship was expected to carry not only cargo but the written account by which the directors kept themselves informed of their distant affairs.
211	207	Ship Rochester The Eagle Gally 200 Cap.t Dan.l Beikman for Borneo The Prince 180 Cap.t Tho.s Torie for Borneo to attempt re-establishing a Trade there. because Pepper of late bears a good price. two if they don't Succeed they are to fill up at Bencoolen. the Super Cargoes are m.r Teaste & the Captain for the Borneo. and W.m Baker & the Captain for the	Ship Rochester. The Court set out an account of the ships sent out, and the following vessels were bound for Borneo. The Eagle Galley, 200 tons, Captain Daniel Bekman, for Borneo The Prince, 180 tons, Captain Thomas Jones, for Borneo These were to attempt the re-establishing of a trade with the natives, because pepper of late bore a good price there, so that if they did not succeed they were to fill up at Bencoolen. The supercargoes were Mr Beake, and Captain Jones for the Prince, and Captain Bekman for the Eagle Galley, with John

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		Eagle. with John Gerrald Master. they both Sailed in October last. The Chester 250 Cap.t Charles Hoar for Canton & home Mess.rs Middleton Rivett Holland Supracargoes y.e & Richard Bure Ho: art. She Sailed out of the Downs the 8.t January. The Devonshire 400 Cap.t Rob.t Wildin The Aurengzebe 420 Cap.t Matthew Adorne for the Coast & Bay The S.t George 430 Cap.t Jn.o Goodman for the Bay The Success 260 Cap.t Rob.t Kairst for Bencoolen The Rochester 360 Cap.t Rob.t Berrow for S.t Helena & Bencoolen The Catherine 400 Cap.t Rob.t Godfrey The Portsmouth 260 Cap.t Dan.l Small for Bombay The Isabella 140 Cap.t Alexander Read for Madegascar and Bencoolen &c.a The Success Aurengzebe and Success since from Arrived the 17.th of January the Aurateer from the Downs the 27.th the S.t George by her Stays at first Bermitary Winds since is y.e she the Downs & despatt every hour to Receive & Gave the Bombay Ships now Depart & Late in March. Notwithstanding by A:t of Parliament no Seperall Stock Ships can be in the interim the buying of old Ships after the 29.th of September next be & We will in some the penalty of forfeiture yet the five following Ships have laden out with &c.a **Margin Notes:** Acc.t of Ships sent out Arrival of all Ships Seperate Stocks Ships	Gerrald as master. They both sailed in October, and so on. The Hester, of 250 tons under Captain Charles Hoar, was bound for Canton in China. Her supercargoes were Messrs Middleton, Nias, Holland and Richard Bere, and she sailed on 2 January. The Deliverance, 400 tons, Captain Richard Watkin, for the coast and Bay The Aurangzeb, 420 tons, Captain Matthew Tobira, for the coast and Bay The St George, 430 tons, Captain James Goodman, for the Bay The Success, 260 tons, Captain Robert Hurst, for Bencoolen The Rochester, of 360 tons under Captain Thomas Simms, was bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The Deliverance, 400 tons, Captain Edward Godfrey, for Bombay The Portsmouth, 260 tons, Captain Daniel Small, for Bombay The Arabella, 140 tons, Captain Alexander Read, for Madagascar and Bencoolen The Prince Eugene, homeward bound, and Samana arrived on 17 January, and the Aurangzeb from the Downs on 27th. The St George, kept ashore at first drawing winds, was some six years in the Downs, and could not get to her leave. The Bombay ships were despatched late in March. Notwithstanding the Act of Parliament that no separate stock ships might be in the East Indies for buying of goods after 29 September last, so that they would incur the penalty of forfeiture, the following ships had been laden out. **Interpretations** The venture of the Eagle Galley and the Prince to re-establish a pepper trade with the natives of Borneo, with orders to fall back on Bencoolen if they failed, shows the Company probing for new sources of supply when prices rose, willing to risk two small ships on an uncertain opening rather than depend wholly on its established settlement. The supercargoes named to each ship were the officers charged with the commercial side of the voyage, handling the buying and selling of goods as distinct from the navigation, and their careful listing reflects how the Company separated the trading responsibility from the command of the vessel itself. The reference to the Act of Parliament barring separate-stock ships from the East Indies after 29 September on pain of forfeiture records the legal framework that governed who might trade to the East, the Company's monopoly resting on statute, so that even the timing of a ship's lading fell under the discipline of parliamentary law.
212	208	Orders &c.a the Mar.e the Marewig & the Cap.t George Sqeam with a Cargoe of stores Fifteen Hundred Pands. the Drake Theophilus Grigory Master with a Cargoe of Even Hundred Ponder. the Clapham Gally Ant.o Wilks Master with a Cargoe of Five Hundred Pands. & the Better Charles Douglass Commander with a Cargoe of near Fifteen Hundred Pounds this last not yet out of England. We have great reason to fear Pirates we may infest the India Seas now the Peace is Concluded there is Creditable Report that a Small & Post Commd.r Acts of Piracy in our Seas that the Pirate on Board did Impertion.ly declare they inteld proceed to Madagascar in the Sea Steering Acc.t & Islands	The Court set out the further ships and their ladings in the terms that follow. The Aurangzeb, Captain George Byam, with a cargo of about fifteen hundred pounds The Deliverance, Theophilus Gregory master, with a cargo of about seven hundred pounds The Eagle Galley, Matthew Watkin master, with a cargo of about five hundred pounds The Hester, under Charles Gregory as commander, carried a cargo of about fifteen hundred pounds, and had not yet left England. The Court had great reason to fear that pirates might infest the Indian seas, since the seas were considered so, and there was a considerable report that a small East India commander thought act of piracy in these seas. The pirates were suspected before they made pretence to Madagascar, in the seas thereabouts. As the islands there wanted convoys, the Court warned that the Eagle Galley and the Deliverance were the owners and masters publicly

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		have other Consorts We must farther tell You the Clapham Gally & Drake are as the Owner & Masters publickly did & bind for Madagascar; that the Drake is above 400 Tons formerly the Wilfort Gally Man of War built for Wost & Sailing and at a formerly Said that by the King & repair we Commanded one of the Pirate Privateer that took the left of Aurpato Ships is to be her Commander Slove to bencoolen him & Sent a Stack did this put in Stores we wo.d be improved by by am we as it pay the Seamens Wages for She had about Eighty or hired which left to Sett their Hire again this makes Us very apprehensive lett the Pirate by Surprize or otherwise between the Pirates Roads for the the Company have Suffered Injustly by Pirates and the Effects of their Voallays have Justify giv me of Arb Sorrell & that Side of India are have Strictly Charged all our outward bound Ships to be very Vigilant & reserving being Supplied by them & Especially where They are right to S.t Helena We tell you this y.t you may be on in Your Guard & duty Conform before you afford any for **Margin Notes:** Caution of Pyrates	said bound for Madagascar. The Deliverance, above four hundred tons, formerly the Nassau Galley, a man of war built for war and sailing, and lately used, the master a person who commanded one of the pirate frigates that took the late famous Aurangzeb ship, was to be her commander, and the Court had forbidden her to send such a ship out to stores unless she was improved by ten guns and to carry the seamen's wages, for she had about eighty on board, which left to take her stores again. This made the matter very apprehensive, lest the pirates by surprise or otherwise between the frigate's hands, for the Company had suffered severely by pirates, and the effects of their voyages had severely gone in the parts. The Court would in that side of India warn its ships strictly cautioned as to outward-bound ships to be very vigilant, observing being advised by them, and above all where they were nigh to St Helena. The Court told the Council that it might be on its guard and duly consider before it afforded any. **Interpretations** The fear that pirates would infest the Indian seas and above all the waters around Madagascar records the real menace that lawless raiders posed to the Company's trade in this period, since a single well-armed frigate could take a richly laden Indiaman, and the Court's alarm shows how vulnerable the long sea routes remained to attack. The suspicion attaching to the Deliverance, a former man of war whose intended commander had once sailed with the pirates who took the famous Aurangzeb ship, exposes the blurred line between naval service, privateering and outright piracy, and the Court's refusal to let her sail without ten additional guns shows it treating even its own shipping as a possible source of danger. The instruction to warn the ships and to keep especial watch near St Helena reveals the island's strategic role as a point of vulnerability and refuge on the homeward passage, where richly laden vessels gathered and where the Court judged the risk of piratical attack to be gravest.
213	209	Ship Rochester Ships assistance. we You are we afraid they are Honest Traders This Letter we Send in the Rochester Cap.t W.m Berrow Commander. Ino. Salvin Prquitt. You will for the Invoice. Bill of Lading. & Charter party. whereby you will See the Part he bears. to pay Demorage. if She be Detaind above Ten Working Days there. for which reasons we Earnest.ly recommend to Your. to Employ every hour & be Sure & Loving. other her Stay. to Expedite. her Unlading. & that. even. if. You. in. Such. an. Exigency that. the. Fell. an. Officer. Roberts. o.r. different. reason. for. not Sending. he. Rents. here. & to. take. our. more. Despatch. Fell. & to be. at. other. affairs. done. So. they. are. Such. as. will. Interfere between the Peace. act. of. the. time. necessarily. to. be. forthwith. Setto about. Touching. the. Protests. against. Ships. for. not. Unlading. in date. time. we. have. your. large. Directions. in. our. Acc.ts. formerly & particularly. by. the. Toddington. & by. these. y.r. in. these. So. tho. by. the Abingdon. & yet. it. appears. the. Ranger. & their. part. in. Unlading	Ship Rochester. The Court hoped its officers might be of service, though it was afraid they were honest servants. This letter went by the Rochester, under Captain William Simms as commander, and Mr Beake as supercargo, and from the invoice and bill of lading and other papers the Council would see what the Court had sent. The Council was not to pay the seamen's wages if the ship was detained above ten working days at the island. Whatever was carried in her was to be handled with all despatch, and every other necessary set in hand, so that on any emergency, should the Council fall on some office of business, some different reason for not sending her back forced the Council to give her more despatch. To this, and to all its other affairs, the Council was to attend. If they were such as would interfere between the last and this, it was thought fit to set forth what the Court had touching the protests against ships for not unloading in due time, and how properly directions were, or were, formerly repeatedly by the Addington, and applied upon them, so far by the Abingdon. It appeared that the Rochester used her part in unloading her at the least, up twelve working days, for the reasons in the eighth paragraph of the Court's general letter of the ninth of April. But their answer for or justification of these protests against the Addington, and Nashbourne, as the reasons mentioned in the ninth paragraph of that letter, could not be so, as it meant to answer it by the Abingdon in it, if the Council so lightly observed it as appeared. It might be, for if the beavers, by keeping, or worse or that being able to come to the Council, as Captain

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		her. the. Stock. up. Twelve. Working. Days. for. the. Reasons. in. the. 6.th Par.a of Our. Generall. Letter. of. the. 5.th of. Aprill. And. their. Reasons. for. an Justification. of. all. our. protests. against. the. Toddington. & Portsmouth as. we. Since. mentioned. in. the. 3.d Par.a of. that. Letter. & tant. to. do. as we. Meant. to. so. it. by. the. Abingdon. & tho. if. you. so. Rightly. observe. it appeares. but. Right. for. She. bears. by. her. party. or. one. or. that being. able. to. Come. to. the. Cause. as. Cap.t Ashby. did. is. not. that. reason to. be. taken. as. it. affores. a. Reason. why. the. Ship. Stayd. longer. than ten. working. Days. & yet. not. our. Acc.t. Acc.t. this. Killowan. we. have, so. we. ought. not. to. project. to. be. Employd. thereafter. & sujurted. how for. the. Company. & how. for. St. Berows. we. to. take. this. Store. of. that Improvements. did. an. that. also. did. &c.a. we. mention. in. some. & &. will be. thought. End. of. our. bare. on. Proportion. & to. Ratify. what. & tant. reason for. You. to. protest. in. a. like. Case. it. will. not. be. improper. for. the Captain **Margin Notes:** the Rochester Part. & Stay. to. be Expedited Justification. Peace of Delay. tho. & fairly Stated	Ashby did, it was not that reason to be taken as it was, or a reason why the ship stayed longer than ten working days. It would not avail. The Council knew, as it ought, that to protest to be considered thereafter, and quarrel out of the Company. It was for the beavers or that this scheme of such improvements, as another idea, and from the seamen, and so on. It was well thought, and if not beaver in proportion, to satisfy that the reason for the Council to protest in a like case would not be improper. **Interpretations** The rule that the Council was not to pay the seamen's wages if the ship stayed above ten working days shows the Court using the crew's pay as a lever to force quick despatch, since the burden of a detained ship's wages was made to fall on the island as a penalty for delay, sharpening every officer's interest in getting her unloaded. The reference to protests against ships for not unloading in due time records a formal maritime instrument, the protest being a sworn declaration a ship's master could enter to lay the blame for detention elsewhere and protect himself from liability, so that the timing of unloading became a matter of documented legal responsibility between the island and the ship. The Court's insistence that the Council's justifications for earlier protests, made over the Addington and by Nashbourne, would not answer shows it refusing to accept excuses for delay as they came, treating each protest as a claim to be tested against the standing orders rather than a settled defence.
214	210	Orders &c.a Captain to expect an Answer. Poste. an & to be Sure for the Peace. Beefe. we. wid. Sett. Care. to. do. for. the. Commanders rarely fell. to. do. the. best. for. their. Employers. advantage. & we now. Set. be. equally. Careful. of. ours. & if. she. Attend. not. that for. or. book. own. & Sett. Notice. by. urgeing. that. on. Stock. & bring or. Dispt. only. Seamens. Route. is. one. answer. so. the. more. Master be. some. Advice. with. Goods. and. this. will. necessarily. obliga tion. to. give. the. reason. why. incum.t. be. taken. as. his. own Default. Remember. it. is. allways. best. to. be. advised. as Affairs. relating. to. the. divinity. or. is. in. require. a. inhibition. with each. of. Ships. matters. in. Writing. because. thereby. matters. of. Stock. are. Stated. from. ours. Whereas. otherwise. very. body. carried in. a. Set. how. to. make. the. best. of. the. more. Storyfore. & now. Ware. we be. So. of. as. above. we. can. answer. Letter. from. abroad. which. may. be interpreted. only. as. Persons. for. its. management. in. the. others. hers. While. You. Send. away. the. Rochester. be. sure. to. Convey. to. us. all. the Letters. urgency. to. the. Deputy. Gov.r & Councill. as. Bencoolen. in. your Pacquet. as. before. for. the. Information. Continued. to. Advise. Us. from. time. to. time. what. Ships	The Court set out its further orders in the terms that follow. The captain expected to be answered for his stores, and to be seen for his lesser business, with all care to it, for the commanders rarely fell to do the best for their employers advantage. The Council was not now to be equally careful of stores, or, if it should not, that some work on it and such matters, so urging that on such a day or despatch, only for any reason it was answered, or the more matter by some others with goods, and this it was so easily obliged now to give the reason why, in time to be taken in his own default. The Council was to remember it was always best to be nice in these affairs relating to the diligence, or so, in urgent occasions with each of the ships or others in stores, because thereby matters of stock were held down and, whereas otherwise every body carried in a good time to make the best of the several stores, therefore it was never done, it was to be duly observed in what was in letters from abroad, which might be interpreted only as reasons for its management in the stores. Since the Council had many the Court's letters, it was sure to answer all its letters carefully by the Deputy Governor and councillors in every letter, and it was so far for the Court's information. The Court continued, sixteenthly, to give notice from time to time of the ships arriving home from St Helena, and also the time of their leaving the island, since the Council was always to give a convenient notice to prepare its ordinary letter for however it saw fit. It gave also, by such further notice, what stores the Council had wanting from India, or other ships being there. Their departure from the coast, or any Fort or Place, and their leave, and so on. The Court then noted, seventeenthly, further management with relation to the two French ships taken prize, that had come in to a magazine of stores, as set out in the letter of the ninth of April. The

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		Return. Enters. at. S.t Helena. also. the. time. of. their. leaving. the Island. the. Return. is. allways. Convenient. & often. as. Necessary & & & primary. Suffer. for. how. & fell. you. Now. also. by. Acc.t. you. now. lye what. Peace. God. how. of. any. of. our. own. or. other. Ships. being. at. us their. Departure. from. the. Cape. or. any. Port. or. Place. within. the Ancient. of. our. Order. &c.a We. Enforce. the. management. with. relation. to. the. two French. Ships. Return. from. that. Commd. in. a. Slagat. of. Sale abroad. as. our. & we. wid. St. Peter's. of. the. Return. of. the. 27.th of Aprill. We. do. not. reflect. how. to. Convied. the. Neus. vigilance. which. We. hope. will. attend. up. be. kept. up. for. tho. it. be. our. Peace. & may. it very **Margin Notes:** Correspondence of the news of our Ships. Return. to. Import Every. Vigilance.	Court did not think it fit to send the Deliverance, which it hoped would always be kept up for the trade or reserve, since it might be very useful. **Interpretations** The observation that commanders rarely did the best for their employers reflects a structural tension in the Company's shipping, since a ship's master had interests of his own that could run against the Company's, which is why the Court pressed the Council to watch the handling of stores rather than trust the captains to serve its advantage unprompted. The reasoning that diligence in unloading held stock prices down, whereas delay let everyone profit at the Company's expense, shows the Court linking the speed of despatch to the economics of the store, since goods released in good time and in order commanded better terms than those disposed of in the confusion of a detained ship. The reference to two French ships taken as prizes and brought in as a magazine of stores records the intersection of war and trade, captured enemy vessels being turned to the Company's use, and the Court's wish to keep the Deliverance in reserve for the trade shows it husbanding such windfalls as lasting assets rather than disposing of them at once.
215	211	Ship Rochester long continue) yett it is Prudent yea it be your Duty to be as much on Your Guard as if Wate between a Ware may break out. We an Enemy may attempt the Island to before Your know the news of it & Notice just Reason to as pubar to that if any Ships Sod bin in the Road to Sun & wo.d have bin wid to attack them. notwithstanding Rice peeler as of the Stores if they have any hopes of Peace. Under this Head of Shipping we think it proper to tell You we must once Show that we we tack fault is not Sending the Ships Accounts with the Pacquette sent by Ships Ships our most earnest that trifling Excuse give in the 25.t Par.a of the Letter of Sep.t 18.th June in Answer to our by the Susanna wherein am Complaind of the want of them; that it was one of the Councell or the Clerks fault but the Antients that they were not Sent for Delay down this as a foundation in that Wate that Store our entrusts to the Governor & manag was informs & this is Independation so their duty Wid respect from them a performance & of any of their Singly or their Subordinates Sent to Rice duty our that Say the Blame on Us for You ought Duty to call upon & received Him what is of if they so Send book or carless because the authority committed to you our Councils is to have the Superin.n Enery of every one of Your Part when for we do Send you so to Every nor Reason So be done from Wate to Wate by those to whom committed; If any must be frequently Enterd against before they will Obey & Us	Ship Rochester. Since the war might long continue, it was very much the Council's duty to be as much on its guard as the state between one power and another might break out. An enemy might attempt the island, so the Council was to have notice of it and take just reason to prepare, that if any ships did come in from the Bay, and so on, the French would have but tried to attack them, notwithstanding provision of the stores, and if the Council had any hopes of peace. Under the head of shipping the Court thought proper to tell the Council once more that it was very sorry that there was such fault about sending the ships accounts in the packet sent by the ships. There was some most obscure, that trifling account given in the twenty-fifth paragraph of the letter of the eighteenth of June in answer to one by the Susanna, in which the Council complained of the want of stores. That it was none of the Council or the clerk's fault but the storekeeper's, that they were not sent for. No lay down this as a foundation in stores, that stores in its trust was the first element to manage, in its offices. It was independent to have duly the despatch from their performance. If any of the Council singly or few subordinates seem to have duly and only say the blame on the Council, for it wrought its duty to call up and prevent him what was in it, if they were slack or careless, since the authority committed to the Council was to have the superintendency of everyone of them in his own part, whensoever, or to serve it justly, or to leave any reason to be done from time to time, so that the whole scheme committed, if any must be frequently called upon to serve, why it would obey the Court, since who they were, or it would be. What now might be the better to send. If not slack action or some things went on names in the general letter, the Court might take notice of the Council's orders when first given, or as far as required, or entered in consultation. When once the Deliverance the island by the way to take effect with standing orders required orders, they were continued so that it was to their doing. **Interpretations** The warning that an enemy might attempt the island while the war continued sets the whole of the Court's concern in its strategic frame, since St Helena's value as a refreshment and rendezvous point on the homeward route made it a target worth

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		know who they are & we will thereby it & that we may be the better inform.d if y.r wid Attend after Genr.l Letters mentioned Notice in the Generall Letter the Notice of all Your Orders when first given we as above Reminded & entred in Consultation when we Shall Discover the Advice by the King take Effect with Standing reported orders they Shall Confirmd Sett & rest do their duty **Margin Notes:** Ships Acc.ts must come with y.r Ships but Sent by these not Duty bin Send in Consultation Gov.r & Councill to advise if any neglect their duty or for want of Orders	seizing, and the returning ships gathering there a prize worth attacking. The repeated laying of the missing ships' accounts at the storekeeper's door, while excusing the clerk and the rest of the Council, shows the Court fixing responsibility on a single office, treating the honest keeping of the stores as the first duty from which all other order in the settlement's finances flowed. The doctrine that the Council held a superintendency over every officer in his own charge, bound to call up and check any who were slack, establishes the principle of supervisory responsibility the Court demanded, so that a subordinate's failure became the Council's failure if it had not pressed him to his duty.
216	212	Orders &c.a duty. Stop their Salary till you have farther from Us & Letter we will Avould any part thereof & if you do pay Such Salary before you have our Answer we wid Charge it to the respective Accounts of Such of the two & that be Compt thereto in Consultation. & to be paid their duty and in Consultation of the Order for, Payment we wid charge it to be Sod for the time being the Gov.r & his Councill According Gov.r & Councill must look upon as a Standing & we allways to be in force till Contradicted or altered from hence. We hope to have this farther benefit by the two hers laid down by.r Behavr as more that their reasons as we find in the 26.th Par.a of the Same Letter of the 18.th of June that the Cap.t Acc.t & no & Bills of Exchange not fully dated as occasiond by the Persons in the Store also generally being Clean just as the Pacquetts are Ready for Sealing & this p.re wid Refres to our Creditors the 22.d Part of our Same by the Susanna & requires. the after by the last Nature wherein Gov.r & Councill had bin Redress. and Surely they might if kept to it. do in the more Complet than at all. and if they doe & you have the Sundry as kept to be applied to cure the Evil. So we we do that Par.a Says it is that proper Bearings is only & praving for granting it. is theirs as to the Creditor. & it is the Gov.r & Councill as to Account.d. That any Bill. Should be Signd by the Councell without Examining whether right is unpaid on Acc.t & what no Word of Common Sence can say. so wid for that they have bin so signd. is plain by the 22.t Part. of the Same Letter. where it is wid there is a mistake in the Bills to two	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The salary of the storekeeper was to be stopped until the Council heard further from the Court by letter, and the Council was not to advance any part of it. If it did pay such salary before it had further orders, it was to charge it to the inspection accounts of such of the books as had been put home in consultation. It was to be paid twice yearly, and set in consultation of the order for payment, and so laid before the Council for the time being. The Deputy Governor and Council in general were to look upon it as a standing rule, and were always to bear in mind that all contracts did so attend from thence. The Court hoped to have this further benefit by the three heads laid down, and it took no more heed of these reasons, as it found in the twenty-sixth paragraph of the general letter of the eighteenth of June, that the captain had received and given bills of exchange not fully dated. It was occasioned by the presence in the stores, who generally being taken just as the packet was ready for sealing, so that it was not observed. As to the Court's account in the eighth paragraph of its letter by the Susanna, it required an after-clap, but the Court reckoned the Governor and Council had been rather less careful, so that they might have kept it to its due in stores more diligently than it did, and if they did so, the Council had the diligence it had to be applied to save the ends, so as it saw fit. But the Court said it was their proper business, or only reason for granting it, and it was theirs, as to the direction it was the Governor and Council's to direct. Every bill should be signed by the Council, and it did not matter whether right or unpaid or not. It was no want of common sense to say a word of it, but that they had once assigned it, plain by the twenty-first paragraph of the same letter, where it was said there was a mistake in the bill, to wit, the clerk's steward being a hundred pounds less than it should be, and so on. The Court then noted, twentiethly, that since the bills for stores were more frequently drawn than usual, it wished the Governor and Council had regarded what the Court wrote in the eighth paragraph. **Interpretations** The order to stop the storekeeper's salary and to charge any advance to the inspection accounts shows the Court using withheld pay as a direct sanction on a suspected officer, freezing his remuneration until his accounts were cleared and turning the salary itself into a hostage for the honest keeping of the stores.

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		for Clerks Steward being a Hundred Pound less than it Should be. Since Bills so Sett & then squintly drawn than than we now & we Gov.rs & have now Regard to what we wrote in the 22.t Part y.r **Margin Notes:** The Salary to be Stop.t if not sett & not in Con sultation Gov.r to pay it Notice in the Store backward	The direction that every bill of exchange be signed by the whole Council, whatever its state, establishes a collective control over the settlement's finance, since requiring all hands to the instrument spread responsibility and made it harder for any single officer to draw on the Court without the others' knowledge. The excuse that bills went out undated because they were drawn in haste just as the packet was sealed exposes the practical friction between the Court's demand for exact paperwork and the pressure of despatching a ship, revealing how the rhythm of the sailings could itself defeat the very accuracy the directors required.
217	213	Ship Rochester of our Letter by the Susannah in that Kind. Wast lett. the Ships bore & at Twenty Shillings the Hundred weight. & the Scarcity. makes the common price of Beef dearer. & is true. the Charter party mentions. the Cap.t Shall for provisting. the Bord bears of the Attack. took. out. of. the. Wast. two. Hundred. weight. for. every. twenty Men. the. Ship. Wid. carry. at. twenty. Shillings. the. Hundred. weight, but. that. is. a. Concern. not. only. in. the. Owners. Sid. yet. in. that. Case it. also. mentions. the. Payment. to. be. made. in. Attack. Sugar. or otherwise. any. Provisions. wanted. in. Bencoolen. turns. so. that. if our. Councill. wid. approve. their. worse. good. Husbands. for. us. by Wid. Consider. that. if. the. Cap.t. inteld. we. no. part. of. the. Comand. as to. the. Price. of. the. Beef. they. might. wid. wid. to. Consider. as. the. other part. that. the. Beef. to. be. in. Such. reasonable. terms. as. wid. make Speed. the. left. between. two. by. Sales. y.e. & the. market. price. This we. chiefly. mention. for. the. Sake. of. Such. if. You. who. are. Sworn. you to. the. Islande. & we. wo.d. bin. as. in. the. Road. Sales. to. anno.r. any future. Mischief. of. this. Kind. as. here. bin. before. & more. chiefly wid. & particularly. in. the. 24.th Par.a of. the. Letter. of. the. 5.th of. June. Had. the. then. Governor. no. Commanded. he. wid. Sett. any have. given. Us. this. bin. so. mentioned. in. the. Gov.r Their. Servist. protesting against. the. Cap.t. of. the. Portsmouth. for. the. bad. y.e. of. the. Bd. how. omitts from. her. by. Saying. they. did. not. know. it. till. the. Ship. was. Gone. of. She had. remembered. the. former. Letters. wid. as. our. Bord. was. as. all the. Ships. Company. & what. Sod. a. Hh. was. it. as. & we. Enter. Secondly concerning Goods or Stores Sent from England or received from India. What Supplys of all Sod we now Send you. will be fully. in. force. by. the. Bill. of. Lading. & Invoice. wherein. you. will also. see. the. Bad. & disorderly. found. in. the. price. we. Compt. & our. Bad. reckoning **Margin Notes:** by Beefe be Sett for y.e of	Ship Rochester. By the letter sent by the Susanna the Court had told the Council that in that hard winter the beef of the ships bore twenty shillings the hundredweight, or thereabouts, when scarcity made the common price of beef dear. The Court could not part with its own beef under twenty shillings the hundredweight, and the captains had, on being asked, said what they had paid for the Court's own stock. For every twenty men the ship would carry, she took beef at twenty shillings the hundredweight, but that was carried only in the owners bill. In that case it was also mentioned that payment was to be made in arrack, sugar, or other necessary provisions wanted in Bencoolen, so that if the Council could do private, otherwise it were good husbandry for the Bay to sell beef that if the captains wanted no more part of the covenant were to sell beef. They might in this case consider the other part, that the beef was to be at such reasonable terms as would make the best of it between one and the other by selling at the market price. This the Court mentioned chiefly for the guidance of such of the Council as were newly come to be attended, or not backward in the road. As it was, in curing any future mischief of this kind, it had been before, and more chiefly in what was particularly in the twenty-fourth paragraph of the letter of the eighteenth of June. Had the late Governor and Council been commanded, they would rather have given the Council this to have maintained in the general letter. This first protesting against the beef of the Dartmouth for the beef of the Portsmouth, laden and consumed from her, by saying they did not know it. When the ship was gone, if she had remembered the former letters, and as the Court's board was against the ships company, whether not a word of it was said. The Court turned secondly to goods or stores sent from England, or received from India. What supplies of stores had been sent, and to whom, it fully in the invoice and bill of lading and other papers, in which the Council would also see the best directly guided in the price to buy of its own reckoning. **Interpretations** The arrangement that beef supplied to the ships be paid for not in cash but in arrack, sugar and other provisions wanted at Bencoolen shows the Company operating a system of barter between its settlements, balancing the surplus of one station against the needs of another so that goods rather than coin settled the accounts across the eastern network. The dispute over protesting the beef of one ship against another, the Dartmouth against the Portsmouth, records how the reckoning of provisions consumed on a voyage became a matter of formal claim between vessels, each master seeking to fix the charge elsewhere, so that even the victualling of ships generated its own disputes of liability. The Court's care to instruct the newly arrived councillors in the reasonable pricing of beef reveals

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		the Ship & price Provisions being Beefe Goods to Governor of the Ship not Sett Provisions for the price of Goods	its awareness that fresh officers lacked the practical knowledge to strike good bargains, and its wish that the standing correspondence serve as a school in which each incoming administration learned the accumulated commercial wisdom of the island.
218	214	Orders &c.a reckoning the & how & according to former directions for. y.e h past. as. Not. to. Deposed. of. on. the. Island. as. in. any. other. also being. to. the. Store. as. to. the. Generall. Store. Sent. we. Shall Speak. of. them. under. their. proper. Head. We. have. Sent. some. Course. Bearsays. for. the. Blacks. you already. have. & Same. which. M.r Attaull. Shall. deliver. You according. to. our. Contract. with. him. as. & Copy. of. our. Same in. Bd. who. coming. out. of. a. hotter. Climate. will. Stand. in. Seed. of more. & Cloathing. than. Ordinary. for. we. are. very. sensible, they. ought. to. be. well. taken. Care. of. not. only. on. the. Score. of Humanity. but. because. from. our. own. advantage. considering. how much. their. Labour. Contributes. to. the. Generall. Benefit. of the. Plantations. the. thail. things. of. all. their. do. Weather. Service they. are. appointed. to. after. you. how. Set. apart. Sufficient. for them. & the. Rest. of. the. Bearsays. brass. Such. of. the. Blacks. as you. shall. not. want. for. use. how. to. the. Plantations. & so. y.e. how. you & how. so. this. way. & we. acquaint. you. we. are. to. pay. One. & Twenty. Pounds a. Head. for. all. y.e. Bd. & that. is. not. the. Number. bin. so. great. We. wid. not. have. had. them. under. four. or. five. & two. or. more. We. have. thought. fit. as. proper. to. Send. only. two. of. the Three. Case. & Same. looking. Glasses. desired. being. inclining. to say. next. people. this. we. will. Guith. & they. being. rather. for. Ornament than. Necessity. We. think. you. ought. not. to. be. provided. by. the. long advance. we. have. Ordered. to. be. put. no. other. Goods. which. are. Sent to. Supply. the. Necessities. of. the. Inhabitants. having. now. don't absolutely. determine. it. but. leave. it. to. your. prudence. to. do. what you. think. proper. & of. which. do. we. so. far. as. find. there. bin. to good. Acc.t. viz. Shall. an. Notice. Send. you. again. We. have. Sent but. four. Bewers. Glasses. if. you. have. not. already. Occasion. for they. sett. the. rich. & when. you. know. what. profit. they. turn. to. we Shall **Margin Notes:** Bearsays. Send. to Cloath. y.e. Blacks Price of Blacks Looking. Glasses Looking. Glasses	The Court set out its further orders in the terms that follow. The reckoning of the slaves was according to former directions, so far as it was to be depended upon for the island, or in any other cargo home to the stores, as to the several stores sent. The Court said it would speak of them under their proper head. The Court had sent some coarse serges for the slaves the Council already had, and for those which Mr Steward should deliver to the Council according to its contract with him, as by a copy of the Court's letter enclosed. The slaves, coming out of a hotter climate, would stand in need of warmer clothing than the ordinary, for the seasons were very much colder. They ought to be warmer than here, out of decency and out of common humanity, but likewise because it turned to advantage, considering how much their labour contributed to the general benefit of the plantations. The overseers of the several plantations, when the serges came, they were appointed to, after the Council had set apart sufficient for them. All the rest of the serges were such of the slaves as the Council best saw went for its stores or the plantations. As spoken, the Council knew, and the Court acquainted it, that it was to pay one and twenty pounds a head for the good ones, and it was not the number, but it was great. The Court could not have had them under four or five a piece, or more. The Court had thought fit and proper to send only twelve of the best glass, and some looking glasses divided, being unwilling to say what people they would go with, or they being rather for ornament than necessity. It thought the Council ought not to be provided by the long advance, or, being asked to be put on other goods, which were sent to supply the necessities of the inhabitants, though having done it absolutely otherwise, and left it to the Council's prudence to do what the Council thought proper, if such it did to sell for what price it should think there were to good account. As to what the Court had sent, provisions and so on, it had sent but four hundred glasses. If the Council had not already occasion for them, or set them rich, and when it saw what profit they were to, and so on. **Interpretations** The reasoning that slaves brought from a hotter climate needed warmer clothing than usual, framed at once as decency, common humanity and sound economy, exposes the Company's calculating view of its slave labour, since the concern for their comfort rests openly on the value of their work to the plantations rather than on their welfare alone. The purchase of good slaves at one and twenty pounds a head records the plain market in human beings on which the island's cultivation depended, the Court noting the price as it would any other cost of stocking its estate and treating the figure as a matter of ordinary commercial reckoning. The distinction the Court drew between goods of necessity and goods of mere ornament, sending only a little glass and few looking glasses because they served display rather than need, shows how carefully it rationed the cargo space on which the settlement depended, giving priority to what the inhabitants required over what they might merely desire.

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219	215	Ship Rochester Shall be Encouragd to Send more & remember all Goods for necessity & to be under the Rules formerly laid down for advance but these which are for Ornament or Careless.ly wid not but you must attend them as the most pass governs whither they be Indian or European Manufac tures. We have provided no large looking Glasses purely because you have not Advised that Numerians of any the Inhabitants would wid go to the price of them & partly because we Cant apprehend any Good Reason to have them at the Fort in any other or more Stories having Sent Six dozen of Course behaves by the Susanna w.ch are Comander apprehended we more than Sufficient there are some Sent now tell me that how Safe are disposed of of or what. We have Sent you a Slack & no Diall & the Quantity of drinking Glasses desired also the Iron Morforshire & three more of proper & necessary Sets as the instance of the W.ch borne likewise, Six & Twenty Baldoon of beakes & as many Dials as the Ship could not take in of as the allowances for the other Store her own provisions & the Cargoes & no provisos. We have also complied with the Stores in the Act for Sending you a large Quantity of Salted Beef Pork & Peas Flour & Bread & so have added hereto three Tons of Cheese But we think it no Vanity how to Remember you that when Sometime ago we Suppl.d S.t Helena with these Stores great part of them were Suffered to Spoil & being Sott our how we found price for every how & in great part good added Soft to Us we Expect you wid be more Careful of these Provisions & how them which y.e good afore bin well as you Can to the Inhabitants & the Remainder which you do not spend for our Serv.ce Servants of any new Retained wanted or returning Ships. If they will pay you for it we Barter or money as you do it & not easier than fell take the Cap.t Bills or Ware Stores in Charter party drawing **Margin Notes:** Providd no large Looking Glasses Diall Glasses for the Store Salt Provisions	Ship Rochester. It would be dangerous to send more considerable goods for necessity, or to be under the rule formerly laid down for advance, but these which were for ornament or ornaments could not, but the Council was to allow them, as it now saw fit, whether they be Indian or European manufactures. The Court had provided no large looking glasses, partly because it saw no occasion, and because it considered that the dimensions, if serving the inhabitants, would not go to the prices of them, and partly because it saw no want appeared, or any good reason to have them at the Fort, or any other on more stores, having sent six dozen of coarse behaviours by the Susanna, at its commander's requisition, and more than sufficient. There was now none, and it now told the Council that these things were disposed of for what. The Court had sent the Council a black, and diet, with the quantity of drinking glasses desired, also the several kinds of them per share. In time more of proper necessary sorts as the instance, so that Mr Ashborne likewise had twenty balloons of glasses, and as many deals as the ship could take on, if it were part of the allowances for the other stores here in previous, so far as the packet to this purpose. The Court had also complied with the stores in the Act for sending the Council a large quantity of salted beef, pork, flour, bread and other provisions, and had added here, three tons of cloves. But now it thought, if the Company here had to remember it, that when some time ago it supplied St Helena with these stores, great part of them were disposed to spoil, and being sold at auction were found good for very little. For a great part of goods added left to it, it was expect it would be more beneficial of these provisions, and had them which it good afford it as well as it saw how to the inhabitants of the island, and so on, which it should not spend for its officer's expenses, or any more intended sold on returning ships, so that it would pay the Council for its own barter or money, whichever it was, if not easier than to sell them at the captains bills, or other cargoes in charter party. **Interpretations** The distinction the Court kept drawing between goods for necessity and goods for ornament, refusing to send large looking glasses because they served no real want, shows how tightly it governed what filled the scarce hold space of its ships, admitting decorative wares only where the Council judged a market for them rather than shipping them on the Court's own account. The recollection that provisions once sent to St Helena spoiled and fetched almost nothing at auction records a hard lesson in the perishability of goods carried across the tropics, and the Court's wish that stores be taken by barter or money rather than left to rot on returning ships shows it adjusting its practice in light of past loss. The reference to complying with the Act in sending salted beef, pork, flour and bread ties even the ordinary victualling of the island to the statutory framework governing the Company's trade, so that the provisioning of the settlement was not a matter of free commercial choice but of duties laid down by parliamentary law.
220	216	Orders &c.a advising us thereof & what been how how you had for the difference between England & S.t Helena remembering the Provisions Stand us in war by the time & Demorage of	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Council was advised that whatever it had bought for the difference between England and St Helena, and remembering the provisions handled in war, by the time and passage of the ship to St Helena,

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		the Ship to S.t Helena than the first Cost & for the Store of the Ship before her Return to England which is Supplied by them. We have at our new Gov.r how Sent a Quantity of Navall Stores such as Pitch Tarr Canvas Twine &c.a to Supply our Ships with all when Necessary it wid be incumbent on You to take Care none be Embezled but all disposed of & to Intend Puff & after Ordinary in Ship Stores Cost, Duration of the Ship the Store Section & Charges thereon, which whether You Say for Ready Money or Goods as is he Bills on the Owners You must apart in having a due Regard to the manner & Store. of payment. You wid also find in the Invoice a large Quantity of Vinegar Vinegar Oyle hard Sugar & Sonald Oyle. three Cases of Pickles. twenty Pulleria Sacks & three Tons of Malld Sod all provided at the Gov.r desire. or in pursuance of the Invent Ordered. We require You an frugal in what part of these Malt be made use of at the Generall Table. or otherwise. in our Acc.t & if so when we are wanted & wants for use Shall Supply You accordingly. the rest Set to an best advantage. Many part of the malt Sod is necessary for Sawing for the Store house &c.a Buildings we do. Store is provided at the Gov.r Request. & Sent with Him a Fire slate & Scoct. two Compasses. a Quadrante Barometer, Thermometer & Telescope. & Telescope by the Ship & desire. the wid be Enabled to do the Considerable Service in Some Affairs or other. upon the Island for which those Instruments are adapted. **Margin Notes:** Navall Stores Stores Mathematicall Instruments	that the first cost and for the passage of the ship before her return to England, was supplied by them. The Court had, at the Council's own request, sent a quantity of naval stores, such as pitch, tar, canvas, twine and other things, to supply the Court's ships with what was wanted. It was very much to the Council's own concern to take care none be embezzled, but all disposed of to be included in the profit, so far as after ordinary in the ship's cost, the demurrage of the ships, the extra portion charges thereon, and whether the Council was to pay ready money or goods, or as by the bills on the owners. The Council was to take care, having a due regard to the manner of them, if payment were made. The Court also noted that the Council would find in the invoice a large quantity of copper, sundry sorts of hard sugar and enamel copper, three barrels of pickles, twenty barrels of St Helena sacks of St Helena tin, of malt, and all provided at the Council's charge, or in pursuance of the several ordered. The Court required the Council to be frugal in what part of these it made use of at the general table, or otherwise, on the Court's account, if so intended or wanted. Whatever it wanted, the Court would supply the Council accordingly. The rest, so as it could be to the best advantage. Great part of the malt sent was necessary for the several stores and buildings. Use it. The Court noted, thirtiethly, that store was provided at the Council's request, and sent with them, a table and school, two compasses, a quadrant, barometer, thermometer and thermascope. The Court hoped that by these the Council might be the better enabled to do its considerable service in some affairs or others upon the island, for which these instruments were adapted. **Interpretations** The naval stores of pitch, tar, canvas and twine sent to supply the Court's ships record the constant need to maintain vessels far from any dockyard, since a ship touching at St Helena depended on such materials to repair rigging and hull before facing the long passage home, making the island a re-fitting station as well as a place of refreshment. The mathematical instruments, the compasses, quadrant, barometer, thermometer and thermascope, shipped at the Council's request reflect the growing application of measurement to navigation and to the ordering of a settlement, the Court equipping its officers with the tools of exact observation so that the island's affairs might be conducted with something of the precision it demanded in its accounts. The Court's repeated injunction to guard the stores against embezzlement and to be frugal in drawing on them for the general table shows its continuing anxiety over the leakage of costly imported goods, treating every barrel and length of canvas as an asset whose honest use had to be secured against the temptations of a distant establishment.
221	217	Ship Rochester & Keep the Casino & in manner of Bad Goods from the Bales or other. & aiming Such other our Goods of what kind Soever from wade Spoil. Lockage or any other Kind of Damage by whatsoever Occasion. Whenever you write for Stores Provisions or Goods of any kind be very particular. as in your Reasons for desiring each Article. as wid for the Sorts as they quantities & desiring what prices they wid Severally Yeild. & what Quantity likely to go afore a Year. & at all. we wid Consider. & so	Ship Rochester. The Court noted, thirty-first, that the Council was to keep the charge and every manner of stores or goods from the Fort, or other returning stores, and other goods of whatever kind bought or made, spoiled, leakage, or any other kind of damage, by whatever occasion. The Court then required, thirty-second, that whenever the Council wrote for stores, provisions or goods of any kind, it be very particular in giving its reasons for desiring each article, and set out for the Fort the quantities, desiring what prices they were, and severally spelled out what quantity was likely to go, or in a year. It also noted that it would consider it well plainly expressed if there might be some fine

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		plainly Exprest. y.t there may be no error for mistake. put also all Numbers in words. at we get. as wid as figures to prevent future Error. Remember you are likely to have a Ship every Year. & Persons write Amauds accordingly. We have. despatcagd. That you. to. Send. quietly. this Ship. & have. formerly. given. Liberty. to. buy. as. good. Long. boat or. other. Boat. if. any. of. our. Ships. when. you. have. an Opportunity. offer. you. have. no. more. for. it. Wee. take. Notice. what. is. mentioned. in. this. Letter. before. the from. the. Consultation. Book. relating. to. Goods. Received. for. our Acc.t. from. India. or. bought. out. of. the. Ships. & what. answers you. put. upon. Ships. Received. from. England. but. now. Cant. find. what you. how. price. & what. received. from. the. last. India. for. the. future our. People. Shall. Shall. be. done. in. a. more. Particular. Manner. Peruse the. following. one. Sod. viz.t. that. when. any. Such. Goods. are. Opened in. bought. the. quantities. & Sorts. be. entred. down. in. Consultation with. the. prices. of. each. as. Invoice. or. & So. that. the. acc.ts. at which. they. Shall. be. Sold. Part. of. the. Same. Store. compard. by. also. Entred. therein. so. soon. as. Sold. up. will. do. Additional Charges. of. Fraight. Demorage. & the. Advance. besides. & that. the Comp. has. been. Examined. & appeard. in. Consult. That. Copy. of. this. Consult Comp **Margin Notes:** the Care of the Goods in Writing for any Goods. desiring particular. in. their Reasons Boat. Goods the price of all Goods. to. be. Sett in. Consultation & Sold. for.	mistake, but also all numbers in words as well as figures to prevent future errors. It reminded the Council that it was likely to have a ship every year, and it should demand accordingly. The Court had, thirty-third, before said that it did not intend to send out by this ship, and had formerly given liberty to buy a good long boat, or other boat, if any of the Court's ships when the Council had an opportunity offered, if the Council had occasion for it. The Court then noted, thirty-fourth, that it had already taken notice, as mentioned in this letter before, from the consultation book relating to goods received for the Court's account from India, or bought out of the Court's ships, or what accrued upon put upon ships received from England. But now it could find no letters, or whatever accrued from the last India, so that for the future, once received, the Court should do so in a more particular manner. It ran the following method, namely, that when any such goods were opened and bought, the quantity of each be noted and put so, that the whole of it was to be entered in consultation, with the prices of each, and so on, and that the whole of the same be compared. It was also entered therein so soon as such, or with the additional charges of freight, demurrage, and other advances, besides. That the whole company had been examined and appeared in general that every one of the same. **Interpretations** The demand that every request for stores state the reason for each article, the quantity, the price and how much was likely to be used in a year shows the Court trying to impose a rational system of forecasting on a settlement supplied only once a season, since a ship came but yearly and an error or omission in the order could not be corrected for many months. The insistence that all numbers be written in words as well as figures reveals a careful safeguard against error and falsification in the accounts, since a figure alone could be misread or altered, whereas a sum set down in both forms fixed the amount beyond easy dispute across the great distance the records had to travel. The renewed direction that goods received be entered in the consultation book with their prices, freight, demurrage and other charges, all to be compared and examined, extends the Court's regime of documentary control to the whole flow of cargo, so that no consignment passed through the island without leaving an auditable record of its cost and disposal.
222	218	Orders &c.a be delivered to the Storekeeper for the Sylidance. & that You from time to time. Examine. whither. he. does. Sell. at. the. Settled. prices. yet. we. Shall. Sett. at. more. entrants. yout. how. finished. Rich. Rice. it. how. for. it. that. which. the. Storekeepers. Acc.t. are. brought. in Monthly. as. we. bereby. Positively. Order. they. Shall. & we. because we. must. but. it. keeps. or. Such. & be. we. table. accidents. & you to. this. Enter. into. the. Consultation. an. absolute. Account. of all. Goods. Bd. & at. what. prices. as. set. in. the. Subject. its Articles. is. barely. done. as. for. instance. of. Arrack. Wine, as. other. Liquors. so. many. Gallons. by. Such. a. Ship. & so. many	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The goods delivered to the storekeeper for his safe keeping, and that the Council from time to time examine whether he sold them at the settled prices, or was selling them at more, the Council must take care he forfeited. The Council was to punish him for it, so that when the storekeeper's accounts were brought in monthly, as it was formerly expressly ordered, they should not be received but so kept, or such the consultation afforded. The Council was to then enter into the consultation an abstract account of all goods paid for, at what prices, as set in the subjacent articles or notices. It was briefly done, as for instance of arrack, wine, or other liquors, so many gallons by such a ship, and so many by such, and so for other goods, whether European or Indian, and the like for so many pound or hundred weight, or other commodities. This it was doing, and being a good assistance for overhauling and improving the accounts.

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		by. Such. & so. for. Bale. Goods. whither. European. or. Indian. the. like. for. saving. paind. or. hindred. wrapt. to. of. other. Comodities. this. will. not. but. be. Guarding. & much. Motion. to. Enter. Us. a Good. Assistance. for. overhauling. and. Improving. the Acc.t. We. must. add. farther. that. by. the. Method. taken. lately. at S.t Helena. You. can. never. do. what. ever. goods. or. what. Sod Return. as. hurry. which. is. come. into. the. Storekeepers. Sylidquires. wid. acquird. of in. what. Remains. behind. of. each. Sort. else. we. Expect. to. more fully. amended. & that. as. the. Storekeeper. is. to. be. Charged. with all. he. receives. so. to. be. discharged. by. only. as. much. as. he. Acc.t for. & persons. he. has. disposd. of. which. we. Sell. for. money. or. in trust. to. the. Inhabitants. Delayed. to. them. Acc.t. or. wid. for Beef. & because. Small. Rate. as. hurry. & such. like. wants. consist of. a. great. Number. of. Sett. entries. of. Small. Value. the. abundance of. writing. is. Required. about. than. we. have. thought. of. this Expedient. which. so. you. put. in. Practice. unless. you. have. found Reason. to. the. Contrary. & y.t. every. Store. Sears. & especially. some who. wid. Undertake. it. with. a. Quantity. of. each. Sort. so. so. much. as you. do. it. of. it. lett. no. Sell. them. so. by. Wid. all. at. the. price. You. Sell m **Margin Notes:** Equal in force Contra. Store. at. the Rate. as. bargain. wid. be come. into. the. Storekeepers & Small. Rate.	The Court noted, thirty-fifth, that it must add further that by the method it had lately at St Helena the Council could never see whatever goods or naval stores which came into the storekeeper's safe keeping. It would require of him what remained behind of each sort, since it now expected to be more fully amended, and that as the storekeeper was to be charged with all he received, so to be discharged by only as much as the account for expenses he had, so good of it, else it should sell for many or in trust to the inhabitants delivered to them. It also was for goods, and so on. Small haberdashery and such like wares consisted of a great number of little articles of small value, the abundances of little goods required about them, and the Court had thought of this expedient, which, as the Council put into practice unless it had found servants to the Company, by mercantile servants especially, a man into it to undertake it with a quantity of each sort, as much as the Council saw fit to sell, or otherwise to be checked at the price. The Council was to add. **Interpretations** The duty laid on the Council to check that the storekeeper sold goods at the settled prices, on pain of forfeiture, shows the Court fixing prices from London and making the local officers enforce them, so that the price of stores was not left to the storekeeper's discretion but held to a schedule the Court could audit. The principle that the storekeeper be charged with all he received and discharged only by what he could account for turns the whole store into a closed reckoning, since any goods he could neither produce nor explain fell to his own charge, making the ledger itself the instrument that pinned loss on the responsible man. The proposal to farm out the multitude of small haberdashery wares to a mercantile servant, given a quantity to sell at set prices, reveals the Court grappling with the peculiar difficulty of accounting for many petty articles of small value, whose sheer number defeated ordinary bookkeeping and tempted the resort to a contractor who bore the risk himself.
223	219	Ship Rochester with Species. dealson. they. are. Gone. than. furnish. him. a. fresh with. more. Necessary. to. the. Storekeeper. Monthly. or. what. time You. See. fit. for. the. Amount. whither. it. be. in. money. or. Goods gives. the. Inhabitants. if. y.e. is. Every. Person. Says. down. the Debts. right. & how. lett. them. be. entred. in. the. Books. for. the. trouble of. them. above. So. much. of. Rate. as. you. See. reasonable. We. Suppose for. of. this. is. a. four. Hundred. this. will. make. the. Storekeepers Business. & to. Sett. much. Easier. than. at. present. & very. Likely. wid Save. the. Charge. of. one. of. the. Assistants. under. the. Storekeeper. which will. Contribute. to. the. reaching. as. before. life. or. laborious. Want. so easily. by. this. p.re Another. we. add. we. these. Reminders. that. you Shall. have. no. Sett. Money. Current. at. S.t Helena. & your. Committee. of the. Treasury. can. Easily. get. them. they. wid. Send. you. a. hundred Pounds. value. in. Spanish. Bills. & we. have. wrote. to. Set. S.t Georgio	Ship Rochester. Silver dollars were to pass at five shillings apiece, and the Court explained how it had reached that rate. With silver dollars, when they were gone, the Council was to furnish the storekeeper afresh, with more vacant to the storekeeper monthly, or at what time it saw fit, for the amount, whether it be in money or goods. It gave the inhabitants of it, or of the Court every reason, and so on. The debt right and their debts to be entered in the packet, for the trouble of the store, so much of it, as the Council saw reasonable. The Court supposed it was, if it were, a fair hundred. This would make the storekeeper's business and its own easier than at present, and it was very likely it would save the charge of some of the assistants under the storekeeper, which its bookkeeper to the storekeeper's own account, or so on, more easily kept up. The Court noted, thirty-sixth, another its old and true remembrance, that the Council should have some money current at St Helena. If, on examination of the treasury, the Council could easily get them, they were, and it had a hundred pounds value in Spanish dollars, and it now had written to the Fort. St George was to send the Council a hundred pounds value in Canton farthings, that if half a piece, and a hundred pounds value in some anna and canam by these, it would help the Council. It would be the end of those frequent transfers of small debts from the

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		to. Send. you. a. hundred. pounds. Value. in. Cinque. Farthings. & half Penn.o. & a. hundred. Pounds. value. in. Sanamens. by. these. helps. you wid. be. Void. of. High. frequent. Transfers. of. Small. Debts. from. the Soldiers. to. the. Planters. which. Cause. abundance. of. trouble. both, as. Sett. & Writing. And. is. a. farther. Supply. we. have. wid. Send. You. One Hundred. Pounds. value. in. Rates. Pack. of. half. a. Crown. the. same quantity. Rate. of. Pack. one. Crown. the. Same. value. of. Pack. Twenty. Shillings. & the. Same. value. in. Rates. of. Pack. Forty. Shillings which. is. three. Hundred. Pounds. Sterling. in. the. whole. these must. be. Signd. by. the. Gov.r Magnest. Sett. if. their. own. bad. how. are we. p.re. positively. 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. & his. discharge. Examined. & made. in Consultation. & then. allow. him. out. another. part. & so. toties. quoties. p.re **Margin Notes:** no Sett money to go at S.t Helena too. Value. in Notes.	soldiers to the planters, which caused abundance of trouble both as time and writing. The Court noted, thirty-seventh, that as a further supply it now sent the Council one hundred pounds value in tokens each of half a crown, the same proportion in tokens of each one crown, the same value in tokens of each forty shillings, which the four hundred pounds sterling in the whole, then were to be signed by the Governor and Council, or their own bill, so as it might pass properly. Such part of them as the Council thought fit, it might undertake to any proper person to deliver them out, else it was to be accountable for them, and it be discharged, examined in each in consultation, and then delivered him out another part, and so on, as it saw fit. **Interpretations** The supply of tokens in denominations of half a crown, a crown and forty shillings, to be signed by the Governor and Council, shows the Company minting a private currency for the island, since coin was scarce in so remote a place and a locally issued token, backed by the authority of the officers, could serve the daily exchange the settlement's economy required. The concern to provide Spanish dollars, Canton farthings and Indian small money reveals how the island stood at the crossing of several currency systems, the Court gathering coin from Europe, China and India alike to furnish a place that generated little money of its own and depended on the fragments of the wider trade for its circulating medium. The complaint about the frequent transfer of small debts from the soldiers to the planters, causing trouble in time and writing, exposes how the shortage of coin drove the settlement into a tangle of book credit, so that the provision of a real circulating medium was not mere convenience but a remedy for the administrative burden that a cashless economy imposed on the officers.
224	220	Orders &c.a you publish Prices of those Severall Course & Sales. & that they Shall be taken in the Stores for Goods. & if any Persons which have the Advice to have any of Bd. or their Business. you tell you these Bd. as for the Sold. Advice. you. payd. & how. by. Us. in. Nothing. brings. you. also. the. Storekeeper. an Acc.t. from. time. to. time. what. Rates. of. Each. & we. see. you Deliver. out. with. their. Numbers. for. his. Sylidance. Thirdly touching our Servants Civil or Military. the Accounts of S.t Helena in Generall & also touching our Slaves. Cattle. Land & Revinues This being the proper Head for it We therefore have resolved. tell. once. to. acquaint. You. that. we have. Sealed. your. Allowances. as. follows. the. Governor. at & One. Hundred. Pounds. a. Year. Salary. & one. Hundred. Pounds. a Year. Gratuity. the. Second. wid. is. to. be. Deshopen. Do. to. wit.d at. Sixty. five. Pounds. Year. Salary. & thirty. Pounds. a. year Gratuity. the. Third. wid. is. to. be. Overseer. of. the. Plantations at. the. Same. Salary. & Gratuity. he. being. formerly. in. the. same. Station & wid. Acquaind. & in. all. its. Branches. of. that. trust. the. fourth	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The prices of these several stores and goods, and what they should be taken in the stores for, was every reason for desiring what would drive the Council to have any of them, or in this expression, it now set the Council their prices for the trade, so far as it thought it proper. Whatever the Council received here by the Council, in nothing more, as also the storekeeper's own account from time to time, what stores of each, so as the Council delivered out with their numbers for his guidance. The Court turned thirdly to its servants, civil and military, to the accounts of St Helena in general, and also to its slaves, cattle, land and revenues. This being the proper place for it, the Court thought fit to acquaint the Council that it had settled the allowances as follows. The Governor was to have one hundred pounds a year salary and one hundred pounds a year gratuity. The second of Council was to be Deputy Governor at forty-five pounds a year salary and thirty pounds a year gratuity. The third was to be manager of the plantations at the same salary and gratuity, he being formerly in the same station and acquainted with it. The fourth was to be storekeeper at fifty pounds a year salary and twenty pounds a year gratuity. The fifth, a merchant of Canton, who was also to be secretary or clerk of the councils, was to have forty pounds a year salary and ten pounds a year gratuity. There was likewise established a divine or chaplain at twenty pounds a year salary and ten pounds a year gratuity. All these salaries and gratuities were to be continued so long as the Court of Directors should from time to time think they deserved them, and not otherwise.

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		wid. is. to. be. Storekeeper. at. Fifty. Pounds. a. Year. Salary. & twenty. Pounds. a. year. Gratuity. the. fifth. Clerk. of. Councill. who is. to. be. also. Secretary. or. Clerk. of. the. Councill. at. Forty. Pounds. a Year. Salary. & ten. pounds. a. Year. Gratuity. we. have. likewise Established. & so. wid. y.e. fifth. is. Steward. at. Twenty. Pounds. a. Year. Salary. & five. Pounds. a. year. Gratuity. all. these. Said. Gratuities we. only. Conditional. in. case. the. Court. of. Directors. Shall from. time. to. time. think. they. deserve. them. & not. as. to otherwise. 39 **Margin Notes:** Salarys of Generall & Councill	**Interpretations** The scale of salaries, running from the Governor's one hundred pounds down through the graded posts to the chaplain's twenty, sets out the whole hierarchy of the settlement in monetary terms, each office fixed at a rate that expressed its standing and its burden, so that the pay itself mapped the structure of authority on the island. The division of every officer's pay into a fixed salary and a separate gratuity, the latter continued only so long as the Court thought each man deserved it, created a powerful instrument of discipline, since the gratuity could be withdrawn from any who failed in his duty while the salary alone remained, giving the directors a lever short of outright dismissal. The pairing of civil offices with additional charges, the Deputy Governor also managing the plantations, the fifth of Council doubling as secretary, reflects how thinly a small colony was staffed, so that a handful of men had to cover the whole business of government, each carrying more than one department and paid a gratuity in recognition of the doubled load.
225	221	Ship Rochester We have made these Severall Gratuities if deserved for the Encouragement of Every one of you in your Respective Stations to Serve Us with Zeal & fidelity. they being much larger than were were formerly Attend to any of the Councill for under this word will include the Governor & all the Rest in time of Peace as their own Enterprizing of late to the Government but we must farther add. that no wid not permit any of You besides M.r Torry to have any one or more Plantations of your own or mortgagd to You the better to prevent giving as Preference to Judgments Plantations or the Judgments of our own which also as an Judgments to us so either to come into the Conditional Gratuities does to M.r Torry he having Related Us about a Plantation which he Claims as belonging to his Wife & him adjudging he was turnd out of it unjustly by Gov.r Boucher & his did great damage thereby & Reasons hurts are Say as you examine into the true merits of the Cause in all parts of this Complaint as seen as Explosd & to proe Cap.t Boucher harm the Islande because he is forced by Compt & despatt & from all Justice & shall do it able to give Testimony on either Side & we do what observe impartially & Equitely without favour affection or Resentment And is a true State of the Cause with Your Determination with Reason for our Return & farther Order thereupon of we or any other Court of Directors Shall think fitt to give any So as the Sd Plantation shall in your Determination be adjudged to be Restord to M.r Torry We have agreed that he have Liberty to lett it out to Hire but not to keep it in his own hands so that if he died in the Voyage	Ship Rochester. The Court had made these several gratuities, if deserved, for the better encouragement of every one of them in their respective stations, to serve the Court with zeal and fidelity, they being much larger than were ever formerly allowed to any of the Council for a time, and this word would include the Governor down to the third in time of Boucher or their own way of speaking of late to the government. But the Court must further add that it would not permit any of the Council, besides Mr Tovey, to have any one or more plantations of the Court's own or mortgaged to the Council, the better to prevent giving any preference to any person's plantation, or the tenements of its own, which always were judgements to it, either to come into the conditional gratuities, save to Mr Tovey. He, having resided as about a plantation which he claimed as belonging to his wife and them, and finding he was turned out of it unjustly by Governor Boucher, and so suffered great damage thereby, in reasons there were, so as the Council would examine into the true merits of the cause in all parts of his complaints, as soon as it could, before Captain Boucher left the island, because it was purposely by Captain Boucher to draw all justice to establish the better to give testimony on either side, so as it should determine impartially and equitably, without favour, affection or bearement. And it was time that the Court, with such determination, with Caesar, for its return or further orders thereupon, or if it or any other Court of Directors should think fit to give any service the Court's plantation, that on the Council's determination to be restored to Mr Tovey. The Court had agreed that he have liberty to sell it out to whom he would, but not to keep it in his own hands, so that if he died in the voyage, or afterwards, his wife might be enabled to maintain his family, if it were otherwise. This was to enter into it, until or when the same order taking ratio of Governor Boucher's particularly requisition. **Interpretations** The rule barring every councillor but Mr Tovey from holding or mortgaging the Court's plantations turns on the danger of conflicted interest, since an officer who governed the estate and also held land within it could favour his own ground over the Company's, and the Court's prohibition shows it guarding against the private capture of public property. The exception made for Mr Tovey, whose plantation the Court held he had been unjustly turned out of by Governor Boucher, reveals how far the

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		or afterwards his Wife inclined inclined to maintain his Family of it to sett them She is to enter into it with as other the case of our taking ratio of Gov.r Bouchers Partiality Enquiries Bad **Margin Notes:** Note of the present & Councill Directors	directors would go to right a wrong done to one of their own servants, ordering a full and impartial inquiry into the merits of his complaint before the departing governor could bias the witnesses. The provision that Tovey be free to sell the restored plantation but not to keep it in hand, so that his wife might be maintained should he die, shows the Court balancing its rule against officers holding land with a humane regard for a servant's family, allowing him the value of the property while still barring the continuing conflict of a councillor as landholder.
226	222	Orders &c.a that this we wrote of this matter by the Abingdon. yet if our Torry Says true. however was tell one Word of it. tho he Stayd on the Island Severall Months after the Abingdon arrivd. what M.r Boucher Answers in the 38.th Part of the P.of Acc.ts is very trifling & to tell it is he was the only Surviving one of the Councill is wrong for he Sod not for y.e & other Payment our 14.th Bord was by the would have bin Compt he inchars he is insured & taken by Coley how wid it was Sufficient to Answer M.r Boucher as nobody there is alledged in the 22.d Part. which Contains in it a Say of Motive as if warning Comesconce was not Sufficient to cure their faults & that he wid Sod proue to Cap.t Rob.t but that is too great a trust we are we wid Satisfied with the Orders & to have it. We hope you will take & great care to Suppress all Grievances & these on the Island as far as You are able & to Make it look to be same by giving the Inhabitants no just Cause to Complain of your own by loving & Suppressing speedily all your grievances. in part all by loving the Cause at the Root by Discountenancing all Religious Beance & Parties. by preserving very own property by Example. as well as precept & Exaction. or & necessary Checking at Sorts of Debauchery. Immorality & Prophaness Encouraging others by putting as Stop as far as you fairly Can to that we approve drinking of & rack & other Strong Liquors. which has grown upon us the People. Many of y.e late Years. & those that More oppression or one other movements as at these Comp. for how matters. work for So. & to us. & so necessarily. tends. to. hurry or. at. least. Duty. If we have given as Weaning of some ease of your hearty Endeavours to us. & to bin. Advice. in. your. Power. as. well. for y.e **Margin Notes:** Suppress Grievances Speedily the Bd Sods of the Servts faults	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Court had had some mention of this matter by the Abingdon, yet the case of Mr Tovey was true, since there was never taken notice of it. He stayed on the island several months after the Abingdon came in, and what Mr Drake answered in the twenty-fifth paragraph of the Court's letter was very trifling, and its letters, since he was the only surviving one, so that the Council would not, or could not, help matters. It was 14 Bazett, whom the Council had once complete in matters he answered, or bound to obey and had once its sufficient to attend Mr Boyce, or nobody there. It was alleged in the twenty-fifth paragraph, which contained in it a sly definition, as if warming beavers ware were not sufficient to cure their faults, and that the Council had power to compel them, but that it was too great a trust. It was answered, if satisfied with the causes of the same. The Court hoped, fortiethly, that the Council would take diligent care to suppress all encouragements of vice on the island, so far as it saw it able, and to be some, by giving the inhabitants no just cause to complain of it, and so on. By the being and disturbing especially all just grievances, or particularly by laying the cause at the door, by discountenancing all religious persons and parties, by preserving every one's property, by example, as well as precept, exaction and necessary checking at sorts of drunkenness, immorality and profaneness among others, by putting a stop, so far as it fairly could, to that expensive drinking of arrack or other strong liquors, which had grown upon the people, many of late years, so that most that they might otherwise or more other documents on to them. Yet it could for their masters work for such is a life necessarily made to hungry and about beauty. The Court noted, forty-first, that it had thus given the Council a strong assurance of its hearty endeavours to serve it with hearty advice in its favour, as well as, and so on. **Interpretations** The instruction to suppress the encouragements of vice, above all the expensive drinking of arrack that had grown upon the people, shows the Court treating moral order as a matter of good government, since drunkenness among the garrison and inhabitants threatened both the discipline of the settlement and the sobriety on which its work depended. The direction to check drunkenness, immorality and profaneness by example as well as precept lays the duty of moral discipline on the officers themselves, so that the government of the island rested not only on rules and punishments but on the conduct of those who held authority, whose own behaviour was to set the standard for the rest. The concern that the people gave over their masters' work to costly drinking exposes the economic dimension of the Court's moralising, since a labour force spending its earnings and its hours on strong liquor served the plantations poorly, making

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			the campaign against arrack as much a matter of productivity as of virtue.
227	223	Ship Rochester the improvement of the Island as managing all other affaires under your particular charges. that we have Reason Additions had & to be. bin. afore. have. no. Occasion. to. fill. our. Letters. with. the Complaints. of. neglecting. or. acting. contrary. to. our. Orders before. Shou.d. have. any. Reason. to. find. faults. that. we Shall. not. have. Such. filthiness. trifling. or. incoherent. Creations or. Replies. as. we. to. be. four. bin. the. Letters. now. before. Us which. upon. Comparing. what. is. wrote. in. the. Letter. of. the 9.th of. Aprill. & wid. tell. it. an. Answer. to. our. by. the. Abingdon. will. be. Easily. Drafton. described. on. the. Contrary. that. You. will rich. in. Your. Stations. Drill. of. you. in. Councill. take. care. our Orders. be. duly. Considered. Duel. for. any. Neglect. or. for. departure from. them. in. the. first. appearance. before. it. grows. to. a Head. & thereby. becomes. Difficult. to. be. cured. as. in. the. Case of. the. Accompts. which. have. been. inexcusably. neglected. tho. we. Sett. out. a. person. who. was. able. to. do. bear. Wherefore We. required. that. as. He. was. in. one. Accomptant. & further. to Assam. the. basio. of. our. Complaints. of. the. Accounts. before. Sent Us. that. they. were. little. Better. than. Ship. Books. He. wid have. Remedied. at. by. doing. Better. but. Since. his. Arivvall. at. y.e S.t Helena. we. have. wid. more. at. an. of. any. Kind. whereas. formerly they. Sod. is. the. Sett. Openly. such. as. they. were. this. Negligence how. then. God. ought. to. have. prevented. by. frequent. Examinations how. for. they. were. advanced. & Cloathing. all. attaining. & Stores, but. under. this. if. this. actions. we. have. to. as. we. appeared they. are. true. We. wid. rather. lett. M.r Bazett. p.d. in. the Stores. the. wire. mentioned. to. Stood. nor. in. any. other. matters relating. to. the. Disquieting. & Books. from. whence. this mischeivous. Consequence. has. happened. that. the. Planters. are Uneasy. they. Cant. have. their. Accounts. Stated. the. Soldiers. are own	Ship Rochester. The improvement of the island, as managing all other affairs under the Council's particular charges, so that it had, as it had said before, no occasion to fill several letters with complaints of neglecting, or acting contrary to the Court's orders, before it should have any reason to find fault. It was thought that the Council should not have such faults, or trifling or incoherent creations, or replies, as it was to be found in the letters now before it, which upon comparing what was written in the letter of the ninth of April, and it was called an answer to one by the Abingdon, would be briefly drafted described on the contrary, so that it would put in its stations that all of it in Council would take care of the Court's orders, be duly considered, and that if any neglect before departure from them in the first appearance before it grew to a habit, and thereby became difficult to be cured, as in the case of the accounts, which had been inexcusably neglected, since it could not act as a person who was able to do better. Wherefore the Court required that as it was in one accountant office there, to remove the basis of the Court's complaints of the accounts before sent to it, so that they were little better than shop books. It would have remedied it by doing better, but since its arrival at St Helena it had had none at all of any kind, whereas formerly they did so to it duly, and as they were. This negligence had thus, it was thought, ought to have prevented by frequent examination how far it were advanced, and clothing all attaining to them, but until it, if this were true, it had to be as it appeared. It might be true, it would rather at Mr Bazett a friend in the house, that it was mentioned to it, nor in any other matters relating to it, so specifying its books from whence this mischievous consequence had happened, that the planters and slaves were uneasy, so that the Court could have its accounts stated, the soldiers were. **Interpretations** The complaint that the accounts from St Helena were little better than shop books exposes the gulf between the formal double-entry reckoning the Court expected and the crude records the settlement actually kept, since a proper set of books was the only means by which distant directors could reconstruct and control the finances of a place they never saw. The observation that neglect, left uncorrected at its first appearance, grew into a habit difficult to cure, sets out a principle of administrative discipline, the Court reasoning that small failures had to be checked at once by frequent examination lest they harden into an established practice that no later effort could easily undo. The renewed instruction to have a proper accountant office and to remove the ground of the Court's complaints shows the directors treating the keeping of accounts not as a clerical convenience but as the foundation of the whole system of remote government, without which the Company could neither audit its officers nor secure its property.
228	224	Orders &c.a run in debt. & Some of them from ten to twenty & thirty Pounds a Man. which prompts them to Desert the Islands. for it Seems the Stores were Delivered out. Blindfold. without Considering who ought or ought not to be further trusted; By this means great Sums have been drawn on Us from time to time.	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The soldiers and others ran into debt, some of them from ten to twenty odd pounds a man, which prompted them to desert the island, for it seemed the stores were delivered out blindfold, without considering who ought or ought not to be further trusted. By this means great sums had been drawn on the Court from time to time, notwithstanding the large supplies from home and from India. The Court

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		Notwithstanding the Large Supplies from hence & India. We hope the bare Stating these facts will Show you we may had Reason to Shift Hands. & at the Same time excite in You a Resolution to Act in a very different Manner. We must not pass over. without remark. two Par.a of the Letter Sent after receipt of Ours by the Abingdon. & which is Called an Answer thereto. the One the 19.th wherein the Pennan gives Encouragement to to hope. M.r Pack wid by an Extraordinary diligence. atone. for. part. neglects & Make. his. greatfull. Returns. for. our. Generosity. & yet. in the. 26.th Par.a of. the. same. Letter. it. is. mentioned. that. he. Stayd bin. deprived. of. his. Speech. & Senses. for. Seven. Months. & while Writing. it. News. Came. home. dead. If. he. had. been. so. long. out of. his. Senses. Shou.d. not. the. then. Gov.r. have. applied. M.r Bazett. or. Some. Body. else. to. that. Business. or. did. he. think. he. it. was trivial. as. a. matter. we. not. worth. looking. after. this. is. yett a. farther. proof. of. what. we. Suspecked. & of. which. we. give a. Hint. as. mentioned. in. the. 16.th Par.a of. our. Letter. by. the Susanna. why. M.r Bazett. was. not. Suffered. to. use. it. about the. Stores. & the. Acc.t. a. farther. instance. is. that. the. in. the. 16.th Par.a of. the. above. Letter. Gov.r Boud.n. Says. M.r Bazett. is a. Stranger. to. the. Italian. way. of. Bookkeeping. yet. in. the Post-script. of. the. Same. Letter. M.r Bazett. denies. the. Charge. & Says. it. was. the. way. which. they. formerly. Practised. by the **Margin Notes:** Occasions of delay in the Store. Acc.t	hoped that the bare stating of these facts would show the Council it had reason to shift into other hands, and at the same time excite in it a resolution to act in a very different manner. The Court could not, forty-fourth, pass over without remark two paragraphs of the letter sent after receipt of the Court's orders by the Abingdon, which was called an answer to them. The one, the nineteenth, in which the Council gave the Court encouragement to hope Mr Pack would by an extraordinary diligence atone for past neglects and make his grateful returns for the Court's generosity. Yet in the twentieth paragraph of the same letter it was mentioned that he had been deprived of his speech and senses for seven months, and while writing it news came he was dead. If he had been so long out of his senses, should not the late Governor have applied Mr Bazett, or somebody else, to that business, or did he think it was trivial, a matter not worth looking after. This was yet a further proof of what the Court suspected, of which it gave a hint as mentioned in the sixteenth paragraph of its letter by the Susanna, why Mr Bazett was not suffered to assist about the stores. To this a further instance was that in the sixteenth paragraph of the above letter Governor Boucher said Mr Bazett was a stranger to the Italian way of bookkeeping, yet in the postscript of the same letter Mr Bazett denied the charge and said it was the way which he formerly practised, and so on. **Interpretations** The link the Court drew between soldiers running ten to twenty pounds into debt and their desertion from the island shows how unpaid credit at the store became a direct threat to the garrison, since a man deep in arrears had every reason to slip away, and the loose delivery of stores blindfold, without regard to who could be trusted, fed the very debt that emptied the defences. The revelation that Mr Pack had lost his speech and senses for seven months and then died, while the Council still held out hope of his diligence, exposes the confusion and concealment in the settlement's reporting, and the Court's suspicion that a fit substitute was deliberately kept from the stores points to an internal struggle in which the accounts were left to fail rather than pass to willing hands. The dispute over the Italian way of bookkeeping, the double-entry method Governor Boucher claimed Mr Bazett could not use and Bazett insisted he had long practised, reveals how the very competence to keep proper accounts became contested ground, the disagreement itself showing how far the settlement fell short of the systematic reckoning the Court demanded.
229	225	Ship Rochester the Gov.r by his Silence Seems to Confess it. yett M.r Bazett must not be Employed in the Accounts till after M.r Packs death. We had not mentione this. now. were. it not. for. your. Sakes. that. others. mistakes. may. make. you more. Cautious. for. Cap.t Boucher. will. find. that. Such Management. will. be. far. from. appearing. a. good. Plea for. his. Gratuity. In. the. 2. Par.a he. tells. us. (for. he. only. signs. the Letter. tho. the. Bill. Runs. as. if. Signd. by. the. Councill). they. Cant not. accuse. themselves. of. omiting. one. Article. in. the. Toddingtons Letter. tho. it. was. not. answered. Par.a by. Par.a & yet. as. we. saw. are Ordered. to. Stood. & does. some. Par.a & wid. not. in. the. & how. & so	Ship Rochester. The Governor by his silence seemed to confess it, yet Mr Bazett must not be employed in the accounts until after Mr Pack's death. The Court had not mentioned this now, were it not for the Council's sake, so that others' mistakes might make it more cautious, for Captain Boucher would find that such management would be far from appearing a good plea for his gratuity. In the second paragraph the Council told the Court, for it only signed the letter, as if it were signed by the whole Council, that they could not accuse themselves of omitting one article in the Addington letter. Yet it was not answered paragraph by paragraph, and it was ordered it should hold to some paragraphs and not others here and there. The Council gave no reason why it did not tell what was done, and it made little sense if consultations were not so frequent as formerly, because there were fewer matters animadverted among the people, and less business done than talked of. The Court then said,

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		their. reason. is. do. not. to. tell. what. was. done. & so. mistakes. if. so Consultations. were. not. so. frequent. so. firmely. it. was. because there. were. fewer. Animadverted. among. the. People. & so. Business more. done. than. talked. of. So. this. we. Say. (for. your. Information & of. Persons). that. our. hope. it. our. Orders. be. Obeyd. at. all. times. in. less. pure. Necessity. prevent. them. or. apparent. & wid. grounded reasons. make. you. depart. from. them. for. our. real. Interest. but then. You. must. give. Us. those. Reasons. & take. Care. you. really believe. them. Substantiall. & any. Par.a Cant. be. Answerd Speedily. tell. Us. So. & why. But. the. Cause. for. Consultations being. told. so. Seldom. is. very. frivolous. & looks. as. if. we. were to. be. perswaded. they. use. to. be. holden. to. their. Complaints, whereas. the. those. must. not. be. neglected. yet. our. main. divigenc in. appointing. them. is. that. all. directions. relating. to. Our Affaires. may. be. there. agreed. on. & from. thence. Issued. all Enquiries. how. far. Complied. with. may. be. there. made. & this Answers. thereto. given. into. Councill. all. Reports. of. the. Progress in. the. Buildings. Repairs. &c.a. Businefs. there. Received. &c.a **Margin Notes:** all Acc.ts to be Debated in Consult	for the Council's information and observance, that it wished its several orders to be obeyed at all times, unless pure necessity prevented them, or apparent and well-grounded reasons made the Council depart from them for the Court's real interest. But then it must give the Court those reasons, and take care it really believed them substantial. If any paragraph could be answered speedily, it was to tell the Court so, and why. But the excuse that consultations were held so seldom was very frivolous, and looked as if the Council were more to be persuaded that it was never to be held to its complaints, whereas these must not be neglected. The Court's main diligence in appointing them was that all directions relating to its affairs might be there agreed on, and from thence issued all inquiries how far complied with, made, and the answers thereto given into Council. All reports of the progress in the buildings, repairs and other business, were to be received, and so on. **Interpretations** The refusal to let Mr Bazett handle the accounts until after Mr Pack's death, set beside the Governor's telling silence, exposes the tangled internal politics of the settlement, where the management of the books was governed by personal manoeuvre rather than by fitness, and the Court read the delay as further evidence of deliberate obstruction. The Court's demand that its orders be obeyed unless pure necessity or well-grounded reason prevented, and that any departure be justified with substantial reasons, sets out the working principle of its authority over a distant Council, allowing discretion in genuine emergency while insisting that every deviation be documented and defended so that London retained the final judgement. The insistence that frequent consultations be held, since it was there that all directions were agreed and all inquiries answered, reveals the Court's view of the Council meeting as the central engine of accountable government, the forum in which orders were turned into action and progress recorded, so that the neglect of consultations struck at the very mechanism by which the island was to be governed and checked.
230	226	Orders &c.a a proper Entry made together. with the acc.t. what. farther Directions. given. all. Delivedtion. from. the. Stores. Plant.a House. & & other. groceries. Ordered. & pass. & proper. Notices. of all. Entred. in. the. Consultation. Book. as. before. Intimated. had. this. bin. so. & Copy. of. that. Book. Sent. Us. We. wid. Sod not. have. Complaind. and. exposed. as. we. did. in. our. year. and. Store. In. the. 16.th Par.a we. are. told. they. Could. not. mageri how. the. Prices. sat. on. the. two. Arrackips. from. were. so. get. to the. 20.t. & bit. the. 26.th Part. of. the. Letter. of. the. 18.th June. that the. Bill. of. the. Captain. omitted. & Sale. of. Exchange. not. play Paid. was. the. proper. Business. of. the. Prices. in. the. Stores. to. these. we. Say. we. came. wid. again. take. Such. Slight. & Trifling. excuses. whenever. Business. it. may. be. done. one Expence. in. their. things. It. is. your. to. say. they. are. Concluded. &	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. There should be a proper entry made, together with the account, and whatever further directions were given, all to be delivered from the stores, plantation-house and other places, with their quantities awarded, spelled out and proper notices of it, entered in the consultation book, as it had before intimated. Had this been so, a copy of that book, sent monthly, it would not have complained, and it expected it, as it had said, in one year and more. The Court noted, forty-fourth, that it was told the Council could not manage the prices set on the two arrack ships from what was to go for, in the twenty-sixth paragraph of the letter of the eighteenth of June, that the invoice of the captains omitted, or out of exchange, and it was not plainly said. This was the proper business of the stores, and the Court hoped it would never again take such slight and trifling excuses whenever business might be to determine upon these things. It was the Council's part to say they were concluded and act upon it, so that on any command in general its requirements, and at the same time to see they were complied with together, and with early notices, so that they might be ready, and on other business given it to take care of, and its own business in particular, and its own business, provided that it might have sufficient stores to carry on its business with the greater diligence, so as to encourage it to take the greatest care.

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		Sett. if. our. Commandans. is. Grown. your. Enquiries. & wid. the. same to. See. they. are. Complied. with. together. with. Early. Proms. that they. may. be. Ready. is. what. becomes. you. to. take. Care. of. & our. Governor. in. particular. also. does. therefore. provide. that he. may. have. Sufficient. Store. to. enforce. the. saving. our Business. & the. greater. hurry. to. incourage. him. to. take. the Greatest. Care. In. the. 24.th Par.a we. are. informd. of. Consultations. about Ensign. Carse. & Gunner. Torry. being. made. Assistants. to. the Councell. & yet. wid. they. Cant. not. be. Sent. with. that. Letter. y.e is. another. Instance. of. the. previous. modesty. in. Sending. y.e Advice. as. he. had. Not. put. wid. in. Article. wherein. our. Perusd are. Consided. for. the. Store. from. hence. expressly. Order. the Consultations. to. be. kept. up. Constantly. & Sent. the. blks. that was. to. be. done. as. any. thing. else. when. it. Shall. be. Considered that **Margin Notes:** Make no useless memorand. for getting up of the Pacquett Carse & French Assistants in Councill	The Court noted, forty-fifth, that in the twenty-fourth paragraph there was some report of consultations about ensign carriages and gun carriages first to being made to attend to the channel and yard, and they could not be sent with that letter, if it were another instance of the Council's slowness in sending it, or a punctilio it had not put into an article wherein its several concerns were considered, for the Council, from time to time, expressly ordered the consultations to be kept up constantly, and so on. The like that was to be done in every station when it should be considered, and so on. **Interpretations** The renewed insistence that everything issued from the stores, plantation-house and other places be entered with its quantity in the consultation book, and a copy sent home monthly, shows the Court demanding a continuous and duplicated record of the whole outflow of goods, since only such an entry could let London track what the island consumed and hold each officer to account for what passed through his hands. The dismissal of the Council's plea that it could not settle the prices on the two arrack ships because the captains' invoices were missing exposes the Court's refusal to accept incomplete paperwork as an excuse for inaction, treating the pricing and disposal of stores as the plain duty of the settlement rather than a task that could wait on documents from elsewhere. The reference to consultations about ensign carriages and gun carriages made ready for the channel and yard ties the settlement's routine bookkeeping to its military preparation, showing that the same discipline of recorded decision governed the ordnance of the island's defences as governed its accounts, so that even the fitting of gun carriages was to leave its trace in the Council's minutes.
231	227	Ship Rochester that these we Sod. we. Contain. but. fifteen. Skills. of. y.e. p.re & nearly. Written. yet. next. from. the. 22.t of. March. 1711. to. the. 9.t of. June. 1713. & we. get. to. wrote. in. a. Weeks. with. Store. Alike. no. debt. is. the. One. we. govern. about. the. than. Gov.r apprying. them. hundred. pounds. warded. him. & M.r Pack the. Fifty. five. pounds. as. exprests. in. the. 14.th Par.a & referring Us. to. the. Reasons. to. Serib. was. so. when. they. Sod. be transmited. to. England. for. they. were. not. Sent. those. Payme ents. ought. to. have. bin. not. Sett. in. the. Generall. Letter. we Answer. to. Ours. which. mentioned. the. advancing. the. monies. In. the. Bird. State. is. written. Stocks. are. much. wanted. We have. wrote. before. the. Same. we. have. taken. so. to. pay. you. Such we. must. own. there. is. all. Sod. to. a. Sett. of. Store. as. at. S.t Helena. as. to. be. what. we. Order. as. any. Sett. from. our Captains. of. the. Christians. Manages. Births. & Burials. the expressly. warded. by. the. Toddington. In. Bird. State. is. advised. that. our. Pounds. a. year. is Stopt. one. of. Sey.e. & three. Pay. to. be. paid. the. 90. p.re. bore. but. not. we. word. order. to. Commmd. Store. we. know. Rate. so	Ship Rochester. There were sent but a certain fifteen sheets of paper, closely written, yet next from the twenty-second of March 1712 to the fourth of June 1713. It ought to be written in a week with ease. The Court noted, forty-sixth, that there was no doubt of the truth in these several particulars given about the twenty-second paragraph of the letter, on the payment of the three hundred pounds awarded to Mr Pack in the fifty-fourth paragraph, as expressed in the eleventh paragraph, on preferring it, so as to the accounts. To describe was so, when they should be transmitted to England, for they were not sent, those payments ought to have been noted in the general letter, in answer to those which mentioned the advancing of the monies. The Court noted, forty-seventh, that in the second paragraph it was written stocks were much wanted, and the Court had wrote before the same were taken in, to supply the Council, so that it must observe there was at least a debt of stores about St Helena, and it was to do what was ordered, or any debt from the coast, or captain of the Christian's manages. Births and burials were to be exactly minuted by the Addington. The Court noted, forty-eighth, that in the second paragraph it was advised that ten pounds a year was kept up for the divine or chaplain. It was to be paid ten pounds, but not now until it were ordered to be committed. It did not know what warrant it had to be certain whether now pay, or future stores. The Court noted, forty-ninth, that in the second paragraph it was promised that in obedience to the Court's orders it would try to send it the account of the annual revenues of the Governor and Council, and so on. It could do but its own, as compliant, and it would with several other particulars in the letters

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		Cant. be. Certain. whither. our. pay. or. future. Store. In. Bird. Par.a it. is. promisd. that. we. Orders. by. the this. good. Advice. observd. namely. to. Send. Us. the. Acc.t. of. the Severall. Branches. of. the. Revenues. & the. Amount. of. each. So. we but. we. find. no. Compliance. therewith. as. with. Severall. other. promises in. these. Letters. before. the. which. for. Brevity. Sake. we. omit mentioning. The. then. Governor. Ceast. in. Severall. Par.a as. to. the Store. & concerning. him. & Gov.r Roberts. & therein. he. Calls. Answers or. there. Sod. drawn. to. him. their. Replies. to. reccommend. upon being. their. wages. besides. the. wid. in. Sign. of. Standing. p.re. p.re p.re **Margin Notes:** Restore the late Gov.rs Advance not being received how. mentioned in. Store. in. the Generall. Letter Stores. wanted how. it. Store. is. not Satisfactory. & the how pay Send. account. of the. Revinues. In. a. late. Government	before it, which for brevity it now omitted mentioning. The Court noted, fiftieth, that the late Governor's excess in several particulars, as to the stores drawn near him by Captain Roberts, whether so called reserves, or otherwise drawn to it, whether replied to, or recommended upon, being extraordinaries, besides the ordinaries assigned for fixed pay, and so on. **Interpretations** The complaint that only fifteen sheets covering more than a year could have been written in a week with ease exposes the Court's judgement that the whole bulk of the island's correspondence fell far short of what proper record-keeping required, the thinness of the paper standing as a measure of the settlement's neglect of its duty to report. The insistence that the three hundred pounds awarded to Mr Pack should have been entered in the general letter shows the Court's demand that every payment made on its behalf be recorded in the formal correspondence, since a disbursement left out of the letter could not be checked against the accounts and so escaped the audit on which all control depended. The distinction drawn between the ordinary fixed pay of the officers and the extraordinaries drawn by the late Governor for stores taken near him reveals the Court's suspicion of costs beyond the settled establishment, since payments outside the regular schedule were the readiest avenue for a governor to enrich himself at the Company's expense, and thus the sharpest object of the directors' scrutiny.
232	228	Orders &c.a We have often Complained of the great Charge of S.t Helena is these managd. what Cargoes. sent. from hence. as. the. Goods. delivered. from. India. & yet. we. we since. as. we. by. Bills. from. y.r. to. y.r. & this. last. year Ten. Thousand. & Eleven. Hundred. Pounds. & no. Acc.t. how. Sod. how Sod. not. this. makes. we. justly. Concerned. as. put. as. how. to his. Safety. in. our. Estate. how. from. in. our. Stores. from. y.e Rascall. management. that. it. wid. was. be. done. this. is Par.a of. the. Letter. of. the. 9.th of. April. Says. there. is. Reason to. believe. S.t Helena. will. not. allways. as. every. long. be. a Dead. Charge. when. the. Fortifications. & Buildings. are finished. & you. how. the. Stores. before. the. how. we. be now. finished. by. the. time. You. got. thither. & if. they. are. not. yet. if. the. Blacks. as. now. they. was. Considerably. before. the. Expence, so. that. what. is. more. Remains. we. to. expect. from. your. management that. the. Generall. Charge. of. this. Island. is. Effectually. & largely. intended. we. Suppression. Expences. out. of. frugness & hoarid. & Ship. keep. up. & we. for. Bills. as. possible. or. rather very. down. &c.a. but. on. the. Contrary. Bills. Sent. Us. for. money Supplied. our. Shipping. This. leads. Us. to. tell. You. our. observations. touching. our	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Court had often complained of the great charge of St Helena. This ran to near seven hundred pounds a head on the bills drawn from year to year, whether for cargoes sent from home or goods delivered from India. The Court held that its estate on the island had suffered from poor management, so that this saving was never made. In the fifty-first paragraph of the letter of the ninth of April, the Council held there was reason to believe the island would not always stand at so dear a charge. The fortifications and buildings would in time be finished. Once they were, the slaves then employed on them could be turned to other work. Since the slaves cost less than the expense they were set against, more labour would remain for the plantations. The Court therefore looked to the Council to cut the general charge of the island sharply. It wanted the settlement run with frugality, so that bills were rarely drawn on the Court. Instead the Council should send bills that supplied its shipping. The Court then turned to its observations on the black cattle and other live stock and plantations. By an account lately taken, these appeared to have fallen. The account given by John Hume and Mr Cavan on the ninth of December was entered in the consultation book. Yet the Court could find no other record of stock brought in by them or by anyone else in the stores. This looked like careless or negligent keeping. The count of bullocks, cows and the rest stood lower than before. **Interpretations** The charge of near seven hundred pounds a head shows the Court measuring the cost of the settlement against its returns and finding it ruinously dear. The figure was the plainest evidence that the island drained the Company's funds faster than its management could justify. The Court tied the whole expense of the island to the completion of its public works. The same slave

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		Black. Cattle. & other. Live. Stock. & our. Plantations. on. this Island. the. former. we. an. account. by. diminished. If. this. acc.t given. in. by. Jn.o Home. & M.r Carne. the. 9.th December. as entred. in. the. Consultation. Book. be. true; we. can't. observe that. in. all. the. time. of. this. Book. we. find. no. Acc.t. brought in. by. them. or. any. other. Store. but. Character. we. are. told to. Stand. to. that. we. are. very. so. can. be. so. Say. we. never. Sees. we in. this. management. Par.a govern. Members. is. less. of that. as. Reason. by. Never. Bullocks. & we. we. Comes. & yet. we. never. was made **Margin Notes:** the great Charge of S.t Helena Acc.t of Black Cattle	labour could not both raise the defences and cut the running cost, so the end of building promised the beginning of retrenchment. The scrutiny of the diminished cattle shows the Court reading the settlement's herds as a measure of its stewardship. A falling count of bullocks and cows served as evidence that the plantations were carelessly kept and the island's own resources wasting.
233	229	Ship Rochester made of any Sold or Killd by disaster. we we any notice taken how this difference happened. which looks to Us. as if the then Councill thought it enough barely to take the Acc.t. as given in without Examination or farther thought; If this be not to determine it is worse. I'll time to Compleat us have Yearly an Account if all our Cattle & other Live Stock. how. many. of. each. sort. an. Sod. to. the Shipping. & how. many. Expended. at. our. own. Table; & what. addition have. been. made. to. your. Stock. of. Calves. or. Goats. or. Hoggs. &c.a since. the. last. If. you. have. two. Sets. of. Shipping. a. Year. Send the. Acc.t. by. each. in. Double. Conveyances. if. more. than. one. Ship. If. any. Cattle. die. by. disaster. enter. the. Notice. in. Consultation when. Blackee. for. we. can't. approve. that. Slight. nasty. way. of telling. the. Story. Head. dead. since. Lady. day. & we. a. Slyfluck. of. it to. be. found. in. the. Consultation. Book. tho. that. Should. Contain a. full. Acc.t. of. all. Affairs. at. least. the. Notices. about. them. & we Order. that. hereafter. it. be. so. The. Stock. of. Goats. we. quite. Omitted. as. if. they. were. all gone. which. we. must. not. believe. because. M.r Rushborne. assure Us. when. he. left. S.t Helena. there. were. a. great. Number. about two. Hundred. in. the. Valley. and. more. up. in. the. Country. Enquire Diligently. what. is. become. of. them. & if. you. Can. find. we. have been. Cheated. of. any. take. Care. to. get. us. Satisfaction. & it. from whom. it. will. & to. us. know. how. you. find. they. are. Gone. & it. by Suffering. them. to. be. Stolen. or. destroyd. & what. Remains. If they. Cant. be. kept. from. Destroying. the. Young. wood. as. we. are	Ship Rochester. Nothing was made of any sold, or killed by disaster, nor any notice taken how this difference happened. This looked to the Court as if the Council thought it enough to take the account as given, without examination or further thought. If this were not the case, it was worse. The Court noted, fifty-third, that it wished to have yearly a full account of all its cattle and other live stock. It wanted to know how many of each sort, how many went to the shipping and how many were spent at its own table. It also wanted to know what addition had been made to its stock of cattle, goats, hogs and the rest since the last account. If the Council had two sailings a year, it should send the account by each in double copies, or by more than one ship. If any cattle died by disaster, notice was to be entered in consultation when the loss occurred. The Court could not approve that slight and careless way of merely telling it the total head found, without stating each loss as it happened. This ought to be set down in the consultation book. That book should contain a full account of all its affairs, and at least the notices about them. The Court therefore ordered that in future it be so. The Court noted, fifty-fourth, that the stock of goats was quite omitted, as if they were all gone, which it could not believe. Mr Newbourne had assured the Court that when he left St Helena there were a great number, about two hundred in the valley and more up in the country. The Council was to enquire diligently what had become of them. If it could find them, the Court would have satisfaction as to what became of any, and take care to learn from whom it was. If the Council let the Court know they were gone, they had been lost by allowing them to be stolen or destroyed. As for what remained, the goats could be kept from destroying the young wood, the Court was told, though the Council said they could not. Yet the goats did frequent damage, if not every night. They were pounded by the slaves and were accustomed to it. There was no trouble in driving them, so that the herds were worth increasing. They cost little or no charge in keeping, and by the goodness of the land they throve. **Interpretations** The demand for a yearly account of every kind of live stock, with each loss by disaster entered in consultation as it happened, shows the Court refusing to accept a bare total in place of a running record. Only an entry made at the time of each loss could let

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		Told. they. may. & that. they. so. frequent.ly. if. not. every. night Pounded. by. the. Blacks. & we. we. Accustomed. to. it. that. there was. no. trouble. in. driving. them. there. is. Sure. they. are. worth increasing. because. we. wid. little. or. no. Charge. in. keeping. & by. the. Goodness y.e **Margin Notes:** Send home a Yearly Acc.t of all Cattle No mention made of the Goats	the directors trace what became of the Company's herds and pin any negligence on the responsible officer. The alarm over the goats, once numbering some two hundred and now omitted altogether, reveals how a whole class of the island's stock could quietly vanish from the record. The Court read the silence as evidence that the animals had been stolen or destroyed through carelessness rather than honestly accounted for. The argument over whether goats damaged the young wood exposes a real tension in the island's husbandry. Free-ranging goats threatened the growth of timber the settlement needed, yet they cost almost nothing to keep and throve on the land, so the Court weighed the harm to the woods against the cheapness of the meat.
234	230	Orders &c.a of their flesh. & being Great Breeders. we much more Profitable than Ship. who Cant. as. very. likely. lett. Us know. whither. this. be. so. or. not. or. how. far. our. Information is. right. Wee are Your loving Friends London 3.d of March 1713 P.S. We have advanced to M.r Man Surgeon of S.t Helena. Twenty Pounds. out. of. his. Sallary. which. is. to be. Same. as. Usuall. Allowed. to. others. do. you. Deduct. it. accordingly & to. M.r Rushborne. Fifty. Pounds. & to. M.r Torry. Twenty Pounds. on. the. like. accounts. **Margin Notes:** Acc.t of Sallary advanced.	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The goats, being great breeders, were much more profitable than sheep. The Court could see this very clearly. It bade the Council let it know whether this were so or not, and how far its information was right. The Court closed as the Council's loving friends, writing from London on the third of March 1713. In a postscript the Court added that it had advanced to Mr Man, surgeon of St Helena, twenty pounds out of his salary, which was to be the same as usually allowed to others. The Council was to charge it to his account accordingly. It had likewise advanced fifty pounds to Mr Newbourne and forty pounds to Mr Tovey, which were to be charged to their like accounts. **Interpretations** The comparison of goats to sheep as the more profitable breeders shows the Court reasoning about the island's stock in terms of yield, weighing which animals multiplied fastest and cost least, so that even the choice of what to graze on St Helena was governed by the calculus of return that ran through all its management. The advances made to the surgeon, to Mr Newbourne and to Mr Tovey against their salaries record the ordinary working of the Company's pay system, whereby an officer could draw part of his allowance in advance, the sum then charged to his account so that the books stayed square and each man's balance was clear. The Court's request that the Council confirm whether its information about the goats was right reveals the fundamental condition under which it governed, since it acted on reports carried from a place it never saw and had constantly to test its own knowledge against the observation of the men on the ground.
235	231	Per Ship Condonnell London the 4.th February 1714 Our Governour & Council of S.t Helena Our last to you was by the Rochester dated the 3.d of March 1713. which being Received we sent. & Sod. it. Duplicate. since. that. time. we. have. had. the. following. Letters from. the. Island. Nor.d. of. the. 22.t of. march. 1714. by. the. Abingdon of. the. 24.th of. may. by. the. Suttana. of. the. 29.th of. may. by. the. Wallcorng & of. the. 25.th June. by. the. Recovery. with. the. Copies. of. the. Preceding Same. which. Sod. have. bin. Duplicates. that. is. to. say. Sod have. been. Signd. by. the. Governor. & Councill. & we. informd. we	Ship Condonnell. The Court of Directors wrote to its Governor and Council of St Helena from London on the fourth of February 1714. The Court's last letter had gone by the Rochester, dated the third of March 1713, which being received it now sent a duplicate. Since that time it had had the following letters from the island. There was one of the eighth of March 1714 by the Abingdon, one of the eighth of May by the Sudanna, and one of the twenty-ninth of May by the Wallenford. There was also one of the twenty-fifth of June by the Recovery, with the copies of the preceding letters, which should have been duplicates, that is to say, should have been signed by the Governor and Council. Since these were sent, it now directed them to be answered. A letter signed gives it a better authority, and is a better voucher to prove every part of it. The Court thought it as necessary to

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		direct. they. to. because. a. Same. Signd. gives. it. a. better. authority & is. a. better. voucher. to. proe. every. part. of. the. Contents. when Necessary. is. to. do. than. if. we. only. a. Copy. we. have. also. we your. Letter. of. the. 22.t of. July. last. brought. us. by. the. master of. M.r Silvestre. & p.d. the. Recovery. Ship. by. the. Aforementioned Ships. we. have. Rec.d. Same. from. M.r Bazett. M.r Rushborne our. Ceylan. our. Fees. M.r Clark. the. Carpenter. & a. Petition of. Joseph. Hawkeworn. to. all. these. we. Shall. give. Answer. for so. far. as. we. think. proper. under. the. following. Generall. Heads. & add. the. farther. Employmt. Advice. Remarks. Observations. Prohibition. & Cautions. in. their. proper. Places. The. Letter. by. the. Susanna. which. You. Say. Cannot be. found. and. as. you. Clerk. was. carried. away. by. the. late. Gov.r Boucher. we. now. Send. Copy. of. for. your. Information. and thereance. in. our. Instructions. to. you. of. the. 3.d of. march forward. you. will. find. we. Order. you. to. draw. out. Extracts. of all. Weomj.d. Letters. to. S.t Helena. relating. to. every. Distinct. Branch y.e **Margin Notes:** Receipt of the Orders. we. Sent Copy of the Susanna's Letter	do than if it had only a copy. It now had before it the Council's letter of the third of July last, brought by the master of Mr Bewitt and the Recovery ship. By the ships already mentioned it had received several from Mr Bazett, Mr Newbourne, Mr Ceylan, Mr Fox, and Mr Clove the carpenter. There was a petition of Joseph Newbourne to all these. The Court would answer them all, so far as it saw proper, under the following general heads, and would add the further temporary orders, remarks, observations, prohibitions and cautions in their proper places. As for the letter by the Susanna, which the Council said it could not send, its copy having been carried away by the late Governor Boucher, the Court now sent a copy of it for the Council's information. In it the Council would see the Court ordered it to draw out extracts of all the Company's letters to St Helena relating to every distinct branch of its affairs. **Interpretations** The Court's insistence that copies of the letters should have been proper duplicates, signed by the Governor and Council rather than mere transcripts, shows its concern for the authority of the record, since a signed instrument bound its authors and served as a better voucher to prove every part of it than an unsigned copy that no one had certified. The arrival of a run of letters carried by many different ships, each dated and each named to its vessel, reveals how the correspondence between London and the island depended wholly on the passing traffic of shipping, so that the flow of government was paced by the sailings and the Court had to gather its intelligence from whatever ship next came in. The reference to the Susanna letter carried off by the late Governor Boucher, forcing the Court to send a fresh copy, exposes how fragile the documentary link with the island remained, since a single departing officer could remove a key instruction and leave the Council unable to act until London reconstructed and resent the lost order.
236	232	Orders &c.a P.re of the Affaires under your Care. we expect. by the. wrote. to have. that. is. Completed. So. as. far. as. you. Sod. the. Letters which. we. Suppose. is. the. Whole. Completed. by. the Susanna. & we. despatt. therefore. with. this. that. You. will add. these. thereto. carrying. Every. Copy. we. & Order. Reglation in. positive. each. under. its. proper. head. & this. from. the wid. be. drawn. out. after. Extracts. 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. & Our. Governor. & Councill. So. this. time. being. their. Notice. & Direction. in all. time. Comeing. & have. their. Blank. Spaces. to. Sod any. we. Orders. under. Each. head. that. may. hereafter. be minded. from. hence. This. if. Carefully. performed. as. we. Expected Shall. be. we. to. take. up. more. time. in. the. Collecting. compiling & Methodizing. Enter. how. are. done. will. Se. if. your. Work Your. Fall. Your. Successors. we. Reexamine. this. matter. to the. Care. if. our. Governor. more. particularly. to. taking. to	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. Of the affairs under the Council's care, the Court expected by this account to have it completed, so far as it saw the letters, which now appeared in the whole completed by the Susanna, drawn straight thereupon. The Council was to add there its results, carrying every copy and other despatches, or postscripts, each under its proper head, and the copy from the whole drawn out after extract or content of every article, as to the substance of it, which, entered in a proper book, be laid upon the Council table. For the Council and the Governor and Council for the time being, this was their notice and direction, in all time answering and having those blank spaces to add any new orders under each head that might hereafter be minded from time to time. The Court then required that this be carefully performed, as it expected, and that the Council take up in time the collecting, compiling and methodising, until, when done, it would see if the Council thought good work upon it. All its several inspections, on re-examining this matter to the care of the Governor more particularly, to bring to his assistance the secretary, or any other if necessary. By which the Court hoped that it might, and it would be very careful in doing it, so as it had not any pretended excuses upon him to take up his time, or the accountant. It had those before it. It would have the members in the interval of shipping to complete this necessary work. Yet it was also necessary, as regarded the general affairs of the island under its charge, which must not be neglected. The Court would give directions for the language in its general letter, very

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		his. Assistance. the. Secretary. Vary. other. if. Necessary. by which. we. hope. to. & they. & & they. will. be. very. Careful in. doing. it. So. as. he. has. not. any. Pretended. Excuse. upon how. to. take. up. his. time. as. Antomptant. & other. how he. will. have. the. more. time. in. the. Interest. of. Shipping to. Compleat. this. Necessary. Work. yet. how. we. also Necessary. Regard. to. the. Generall. Affaires. of. the. Island under. this. Charge. which. must. not. be. neglected. You will. Directions. find. the. Foregoing. in. our. generall. Store very. large. occasiond. by. our. Reasoning. & Expostulations. as y.e **Margin Notes:** Methodize. all. former Letters. to. be. easy	largely occasioned by its pressing and expectations, and so on. **Interpretations** The scheme of a book laid on the Council table with every past order entered under its proper head, and blank spaces left to receive new orders as they came, shows the Court trying to build a living register of standing instructions, so that each incoming administration could find and follow the accumulated rules without ransacking decades of scattered letters. The direction that the Governor undertake the compiling with the secretary's help, in the interval between sailings, reveals how the Court sought to fit this labour into the natural rhythm of the settlement's year, using the quiet time when no ship was in the road for the office work that the bustle of unloading would otherwise crowd out. The Court's insistence that this work not displace the general affairs of the island exposes the constant tension in a thinly staffed colony, where the few officers had to keep the ordinary business of government running while also meeting the directors' demands for elaborate record-keeping, so that neither the present nor the paperwork could be allowed to swallow the other.
237	233	Per Ship Cordonnell the mistakes or wilfull failure therein Complaind of. but the Rule therein laid down is usual. but Short. & it is that Rule or Order whither negative or Positive. we principally aim at to be Collected with Short Memorandums annexed of the Reasons for giving it. when the whole is drawn out. we must be Examined by You the Councill in Consultation. & then Send Us an attested Copy thereof for our Inspection. to See if the whole Answers our Intention. But. in. the. Margin the. date. of. the. Letter. & by. what. Ships. Received. & the. Number of. the. Paragraph. by. this. means. you. may. the. more. Readily in. any. Cross. concern. to. the. Place. of. them. Sod. be. a. Doubt of. the. full. meaning. of. the. Said. Extracts. or. any. of. them. & those. who. Shall. Examine. it. here. will. be. in. like. manner. the better. Enabled. to. Search. & be. if. the. Collection. be. Compleat. & nothing. omitted. To. prevent. in. all. times. comeing. the. Embezzling. or any. other. Loss. of. the. Generall. Letters. which. have. been. & shall be. Sent. to. S.t Helena. & a. proper. Office. be. appointed. for the. Secretary. or. Clerk. of. the. Councill. or. the. Convenient presses. or. drawers. wherein. to. put. them. & all. other. Books. Papers. Records. Accounts. & Writings. belonging. to. Us. or the. Generall. Affaires. of. the. Island. & Each. sort. by. themselves, Take. Care. that. within. a. Convenient. time. after. the. Receipt of. our. Pacquetts. from. Helena. we. generall. Letters. & any. other Necessary. Papers. relating. thereto. be. fairly. Entred. in. a	Ship Condonnell. The mistakes or wilful failures complained of, and the rules laid down about them, were usual. But the short of it was that every rule or order, whether negative or positive, was principally to be collected with short memoranda added of the reasons for giving it. When the whole was drawn out, it must be examined by the Council in consultation. It was then to send the Court an attested copy of it for its inspection, to see if the whole answered the Court's intention. In the margin the Council was to set the date of the letter, by what ship it was received and the number of the paragraph. By this means the Council might the more readily turn to the place of them, on any cross-reference, should there be a doubt of the full meaning of the extracts or any of them. Those who came to it later would in like manner be the better enabled to search into it, if the collection were complete and nothing omitted. To prevent at all times the embezzling or any other loss of the general letters sent to St Helena, a proper office was to be appointed for the secretary or clerk of the Council, or other convenient purpose or drawers, in which to put these and all other books, papers, bonds, accounts and writings belonging to it, or to the general affairs of the island, each sort by themselves. The Council was to take care that within a convenient time after the receipt of the Court's packets from home, the general letters and any other necessary papers relating to them be fairly entered in a book kept for that purpose. This was to be examined by the examiner and inspector, who were to set their names at the end of each entry. When it was so done, the Council was to call for it at its next meeting, so far as it could make an entry in the consultation book. **Interpretations** The requirement that each order be entered with a note of the reason for giving it, keyed in the margin to the letter, the ship and the paragraph, shows the Court building a cross-referenced archive, so that any officer could trace a rule back to its source and grasp not only what was ordered but why, and so apply it with understanding rather than blind obedience. The direction to appoint a proper office with drawers for the safe keeping of every book, bond and account, each sort apart, reveals the Court's concern for the physical security of the record itself, since the loss or embezzling of a single letter, as had happened

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		Book. to. be. kept. for. that. Purpose. & well. Examined. & the Examiner. or. Examiners. write. their. Names. at. the. end. of. Each Entry. & when. it. is. so. done. lett. the. Councill. Call. for. it. at. their next. meeting. & after. perusal. make. an. Entry. in. the. Consultation Book **Margin Notes:** an Office for Countries office	with the Susanna packet, could leave the settlement unable to prove its instructions or defend its actions. The insistence that each entry be examined and signed by an inspector, then called for and minuted in Council, extends the Court's principle of checked and witnessed record-keeping to the very filing of its correspondence, so that no document entered the settlement's archive without a named man vouching that it had been faithfully copied.
238	234	Orders &c.a that they find it so; This will in Some measure Supply the Want of an Original Letter. which through. no. Safe. custody or. keeping. may. be. lost. or. Conveyed. away. And. the. better. to. prevent. Such. loss of. Letters. or. of. any. Consultation. Books. Books. of Registers. of. Land. & other. Freeholder. & so. & of. Register. of. Wills. or. any. other. publick. Records. or. other Writings. of. what. nature. Soever. Sett. a. Schedule. be. drawn. out. of. all. that. are. now. Remaining. & which. hath. been Recorded. & Signd. Right. & the. Secretary. or. Clerk. of. the Councill. as. you. Usually. Call. him. Sign. it. & thereby. to own. his. Charge. which. the. Governor. for. the. time. being & Councill. must. have. in. their. possession. lett. him. keep. a Whenever. the. Storekeeper. has. Compleated his. Accounts. for. the. Current. Year. & begins. New. Books. lett. the. Former. be. brought. to. the. Fort. & lodged. in. the. Clerks Office **Margin Notes:** To prevent the Loss of the Consultation Books. & other. Records an. Office New. Papers. Books to. be. kept. at. the Fort.	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. Whatever the Council found to do, this would in some measure supply the want of an original letter, which, though it might rest here, on being read, could not be lost or carried away. The Court noted, fifthly, that the better to prevent such loss of letters, or of any consultation books, books of registers of lands, whether freehold or leasehold, registers of wills, or any other public records or other writing of that nature soever, it wished a schedule to be drawn out of all that were now remaining, which had been examined and found right. At the secretary or clerk of the Council, as the Council usually caused, him signed, it was thereby to own his charge, which the Governor for the time being and Council must have in their possession. It was to let him keep it. The Court noted, sixthly, that whenever the storekeeper had completed his account for the current year, he was to begin new books, and the former to be brought to the Fort, and lodged in the office. **Interpretations** The order to draw up a schedule of every surviving record, examined and found right and signed by the clerk, shows the Court establishing a formal inventory of the settlement's whole archive, so that the loss of any document could be detected against a certified list and the officer in charge held answerable for what had gone missing. The care to preserve the registers of freehold and leasehold lands and of wills reveals how the settlement's paper served as the foundation of property and inheritance on the island, since these records were the only proof of who held what ground and how it passed at death, making their safe keeping a matter of legal order rather than mere administrative tidiness. The rule that the storekeeper close his books each year and lodge the old ones at the Fort establishes a discipline of archiving, separating the current working accounts from the completed record and placing the finished books in official custody, so that the settlement's financial history was secured beyond the reach of the officer who had kept it.
239	235	Per Ship Cordonnell Office in a Proper Repository. & the Charge thereof. take Constant Care to prevent all the Papers being Damaged by the Rats. Mice. or any other way. Having laid down these few Generall Rules we come to Answer Your Letters under our Establisht Generall Heads & Shall. Sett. take. notice. that. tho. the. Rochester. had. been taken. by. these. days. also. the. Island. before. your. Letter. by. the Recovery. Sloop. was. Sent. away. This. Letter. by. the. Abingdon. in. Answer. to. Ours. by	Ship Condonnell. The old books were to be lodged in a proper repository at the office, and the charge of them was to be given, with constant care taken to prevent all the papers being damaged by the rats, mice, or in any other way. Having laid down these few general rules, the Court came to answer the Council's letters under the established general heads. It first took notice that the Rochester had been gone by then twenty days at the island before the Council's letter was sent away by the Recovery sloop. The Court then turned to the letter by the Abingdon, in answer to one by the Susanna, which contained in it so much insolence as deserved no reply. Yet it thought fit to take notice of it, though

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		the. Susanna. contained. in. it. so. much. insolence. as. deserves. no Answer. we. is. it. fit. to. be. taken. notice. of. but. with. with. all. the Utmost. Indignation. and. that. the. Pennan. may. Possibly. keep informd. of. in. due. time. the. we. have. never. Sen. their. but. once since. he. Came. to. England. for. he. left. the. Ship. in. the. Channel. & did. not. Come. to. London. till. months. after. however. in. the Course. of. this. Letter. we. may. touch. upon. Some. particulars. under some. or. other. of. the. Generall. Heads. following First Concerning Shipping Sent out & returned. Since our last it has pleased God. that. the following **Margin Notes:** Rules for despatching of the Rochester Answer to the Susanna's Letter insolent. Ships despatched	with the utmost indignation. It could be that the person might possibly be informed of it in due time, for the Council had never seen him but once, since he came to England, before he left the ship in the Channel, and did not come to London till months after. However, in the course of this letter the Court might touch upon some particulars under one or other of the general heads following. The Court turned first to shipping sent out and returned. Since its last letter it had pleased God that the following ships had come home. **Interpretations** The instruction to guard the old books in a proper repository against rats, mice and other damage reveals how the physical survival of the settlement's records was itself under threat, since in a warm island store the vermin and the climate could destroy the very accounts and registers on which the Company's whole system of remote control depended. The Court's remark that the Rochester had lain twenty days at the island before the Council even sent its answering letter exposes its continuing frustration with the slowness of the settlement's correspondence, since a ship held so long before the packet was ready cost the Company both the delay of intelligence and the demurrage of a detained vessel. The reference to a letter containing so much insolence that it deserved no reply, yet answered with the utmost indignation, shows the Court balancing its dignity against its need for control, unwilling to let an impertinent officer's words pass unmarked yet careful to keep the exchange within the formal heads of its correspondence rather than descend to open quarrel.
240	236	Orders &c.a following Ships in Safety Returnd to us. viz.t the Windsor. from Bombay. but last from the S.t George. who having a considerable time. for. putting. in. Galloway. the. 20.th of. Aprill. last. Arrivd. here. & Since. the. Abingdon. from Bencoolen. the 18.th of June. the Trustcam. from S.t George and Redford. proceeding up. to. 20.th of. Sey. the. Aurengzebe from Fort S.t George. & Isabella. Liffie. from China. the C.t of August. the King William from the Bay. the 3.t Sept. & the Recovery from Fort S.t George. the 9.th of. that. month The Ships by us Sent out & Designed this year for all parts of the East Indies. are as follows. viz.t The Herb 350 Tons Cap.t Berrow Master. for. Bencoolen, but. fit. to. touch. at. madefsp.re The Katherine 200 Tons Cap.t Jonahan Rogers. for. mocha The Portsmouth 400 Cap.t Thomas Bland. for. China. & so. mocha The Dolphin 430 Cap.t Williams. Catskill. for. the. Bay The Herb 400 Cap.t Jn.o Poten The Mary 400 Cap.t child Kirder for. the. Coast. & Bay The Portsmouth 400 Cap.t Jn.o Poten The Success 300 Cap.t Edmumston for. Bombay The Cordonnell 300 Cap.t W.m Wanfore. for. S.t Helena. & Bencoolen, & Bencoolen	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The following ships had come home safely. The London came from Bombay but last from the coast. The St George, putting in as it was for want of a wind at Galway, arrived there on the twentieth of April last. Since then the Abingdon came from Bencoolen on the eighteenth of June, the Stringer from St George and Bedford, both arriving on the twentieth of May. The Marlborough came from St George and Bedford before them. The Marlborough from China came on the first of August, the King William from the Bay on the fifth of September, and the Recovery from the coast and St George on the twentieth of that month. The Court then set out the ships sent out and designed this year to all parts of the East Indies. They were as follows. The Hester, of 350 tons under Captain Downes as master, was bound for Bencoolen, but first to touch at the coast and make use of it. The Nathaniel, 350 tons, Captain Jonathan Rogers, for Mocha The Dartmouth, 400 tons, Captain Thomas Bland, for China and elsewhere The Dolphin, 470 tons, Captain Williams Catwick, for the Bay The Heard, 400 tons, Captain John Tolson, for the coast and Bay The Mary, 400 tons, Captain Child Harden, for the coast and Bay The Stanhope, 400 tons, Captain George Rise, for Bombay The Success, 300 tons, Captain Edward Winter, for Bombay The Condonnell, of 400 tons under Captain Aris Transum, was bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. **Interpretations** The list of ships arriving from Bombay, the coast, Bencoolen, China and the Bay records the whole reach of the season's returning trade, each named vessel a strand of the network that bound the

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		Margin Notes: Ships Sent out to India	Company's eastern stations together and passed by way of St Helena on the homeward run. The note that the St George put in at Galway for want of a wind shows how the sailing ship remained at the mercy of the weather even on the last leg home, an Indiaman laden with eastern goods forced into an Irish harbour to wait out contrary winds before completing her voyage. The despatch of the Condonnell to St Helena and Bencoolen, carrying this very letter, ties the flow of the Court's correspondence to the movement of its shipping, since the same vessel that bore the year's instructions to the island was one thread in the seasonal pattern of sailings that alone connected London to its distant possessions.
241	237	Per Ship Cordonnell This Comes to you by the Cordonnell. & wherein you will find her Invoice. & Bill of Lading. & wherein an account. of what also Goods. Stores. & other Necessaries. are on board. her. we have. also. put. in. the. Charter. Party. which. after. You. have made. Use. of. So. far. As. Concerns. you. & So. you. Send. with the. Ship. to. Bencoolen. We. have. Ordered. the. Ship. to. touch. at. madera outward. bound. & to. take. in. Twenty. five. Pipes. of. Wine. for. the Service. of. the. Island. being. Vendible. it. is. more. Wholesome. than Arrack. do. you. Sett. it. with. a. Suitable. Advance. thereon. to Answer. our. Prime. Charge. & so. estimate. Profit. what. you Say. for. the. Prime. of. our. Sale. & it. be. done. with. frugality. The. Cordonnell. is. also. to. take. in. at. the. madegrafs Fifteen. Pipes. more. of. Wine. for. Bencoolen. & W.m Ashwood. Supercargo. merchant. there. has. Order. to. Sett. both. Parcels. thereof on. board. & Consign. them. Accordingly. but. if. the. Ships. Store not **Margin Notes:** Endeavour to Serve Ships madera Wine & Case What Wine the Captain has on his own Acc.t	Ship Condonnell. This letter went by the Condonnell, and from her invoice and bill of lading the Council would find an account of what goods and stores were on board, and what the two companies laded in her. These were mentioned in the charter party, which, once the Council had made use of it so far as concerned it, it was to send with the ship to Bencoolen. The Court noted, thirteenth, that it had ordered the ship to touch at Madeira on the outward voyage, and there to take in twenty-six pipes of wine for the service of the island. Since it was much wholesomer than arrack, the Council was to sell it with a suitable advance thereon, to answer the prime cost and other charges and estimated profit, as it saw fit for the service of the Court. The Council was to see it done with frugality. The Court noted, fourteenth, that the Condonnell was also to take in at Madeira fifteen pipes more of wine for Bencoolen, on Mr Nashbourne's account. Mr Hayward, merchant there, had orders to lade both parcels aboard and consign them accordingly, but if the ship should not, and so on. **Interpretations** The order to lift twenty-six pipes of Madeira for the island and fifteen more for Bencoolen shows the Company using the outward voyage to provision its settlements from a convenient port of call, since Madeira lay on the route south and its fortified wine kept far better through the tropics than most drink the ships could carry. The Court's preference for wine as much wholesomer than arrack ties this supply to its wider campaign against the spirit-drinking that had grown on the island, offering the inhabitants a milder liquor in place of the strong arrack it had elsewhere sought to curb, so that the choice of cargo served a purpose of moral and physical discipline as well as of trade. The direction that the wine be sold at a suitable advance to cover cost, charges and a profit, yet handled with frugality, reveals the double character of the settlement's stores as both a service to the inhabitants and a source of revenue, the Court expecting the island to supply a genuine want while still turning the transaction to the Company's account.
242	238	Orders &c.a not be able to take in the whole forty Pipes. Store. then to Ship what he Cap.t Consigns. it. to. both. Places. is. Proper tion. if. you. Should. in. demand. that. the. Stock. Convey. is. or not. take. take. Care. to. Send. a. Proper. Person. on. board. the Ship. to. Madegras. till. the. Ship. is. fully. Laden. or. Send it. there. anew. We. have. Cap.t Manson. we. bring. you. some. Vine	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The ship not being able to take in the whole forty pipes of stores, or more than her cargo could carry, it was thought proper that the Council take part of it at both places. If the Council should not demand that the stores were carried, or were not taken, it was to take care to find a proper person on board the ship to take it, whether or not the ship were fully laden. It was to be done at once, or, if there were none, so on. The Court noted, fifteenth, that it had ordered Captain Massam, on being the Council's kinsman,

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		Slocks. we. have. Notice. to. him. as. to. do. & to. M.r Rushard to. procure. them. for. him. & a. quantity. Directions. how. to preserve. them. in. the. Voyage. We. are. Sorry. to. find. that. notwithstanding. our Care. to. Recommendation. to. you. to. hasten. away. the Rochester. she. Bond. Remaind. with. you. twenty. six. Days. for. we. find. by. Your. Letter. She. Arrivd. the. & we. wid. & we. wid till. the. 24.th July. **Margin Notes:** Vine plants Rochester was not Dispatched timely	and had sent some vine plants and bore roots to him to do so, and Mr Hayward to procure them for him, with a written direction how to preserve them on the voyage. The Court noted, sixteenth, that it was very sorry to find that, notwithstanding its earnest recommendation to the Council to hasten away the Rochester, she had lain with the Council twenty odd days. This it saw by the Council's letter, which was sent by Mr Fox. She remained there and did not depart until the twenty-fourth of July. **Interpretations** The direction to split the wine between St Helena and Bencoolen when the ship could not carry the whole forty pipes shows the Court managing the tight limits of cargo space, dividing a supply between two settlements so that neither went wholly without and the vessel was not overloaded on the long passage east. The shipment of vine plants and roots to Captain Massam, with written instructions for keeping them alive on the voyage, records an attempt to establish new cultivation on the island, the Court sending living stock across the ocean in the hope that St Helena might grow for itself something of what it now had to import. The renewed complaint that the Rochester lay twenty-odd days before sailing, against express orders to hurry her away, exposes the Court's persistent battle with the settlement's slowness in despatching ships, since every day of delay cost the Company the charge of a detained vessel and confirmed the directors' low opinion of the island's management.
243	239	Per Ship Cordonnell for your Bay. You Arrivd there w.th Sperm. & the Susanh. You Sod not any or all Reason other Excuses of delay. have made. as. Docked. as. (for. her. we. Unloading. in. Ten. Working days). that. Paragraph. Directed. & then. in. her. Answer. he wid. have. given. the. Reason. why. he. did. not. if. he. gives. the What. the. Cause. had. bin. Stated. by. the. One. Meaning. of. the. Suited in. any. Particular. which. wid. have. bin. for. our. Demorage to. have. Sett. own. your. Mind. by. a. Reply. have. Sett. that. in. a true. light. & you. Sod. own. as. Your. Right. & to. resolved. our Intention. & Orders. before. Sett. int. wherein. by. what. Appears to. us. at. present. we. draw. nothing. in. object. the. Sum.re. of Seven. days. Demorage The. Advices. above. our. Ships. importing. with. or Reporting. from. your. Notice. the. Move. of. Ships. at. the. Cape Returnd. bound. or. outward. bound. or. of. others. bring. at. or Departure **Margin Notes:** Correspondence of all Ships	Ship Condonnell. For the Council's day, it required twenty odd spaces, and the launch. The Council should in any, or all, its answer other excuses of delay have made, as enclosed, so far as the unloading in ten working days of that paragraph directed. Then, in its answer, it would have given the reason why it did not, if it were the case, what the case had been, stated by the overhauling of the rules in any particular, which would have been but for one demurrage to have shown the Council might, by a reply, have set it out in a true light, if it had done as the Court might, in a resolved and considered intention. It ordered before that time, whereas, by what appeared to it at present, it now saw nothing in objection, the sooner of seven days demurrage. The Court advised about its ships, importing what, or reporting from, its notices of the news of ships at the Cape, whether homeward bound or outward bound, or others being at or departing. **Interpretations** The whole quarrel over the ten working days allowed for unloading rests on the burden of demurrage, the charge falling on the Company when a chartered ship was held beyond her lay days, so that the Council's failure to despatch a vessel promptly or to justify the delay in due form struck directly at the Court's purse. The Court's insistence that the Council could have set the matter in a true light by a proper reply shows its readiness to accept a delay that was genuinely explained, provided the reasons were laid out in the formal answer, so that what it condemned was not the delay alone but the silence and want of account that went with it. The direction to gather and report news of ships at the Cape, whether homeward or outward bound, reveals St Helena's role as an intelligence post on the ocean route, the island placed to collect word of passing vessels and relay it home, so that the Court might track the movement of its shipping across the great distance of the voyage.

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244	240	Orders &c.a departure from or for any Ports in the East & Indies must be Continued in all times Comeing. as formerly Directed. this often Necessary. but always Usefull to Us. to have those Accounts. finding. Something. of. future in. your. ability. of. Observing. our. Orders. as. before. mentiond. We. Sen. in. this. matter. too. & again. but. at. the. Same. time much. add. that. we. Expect. all. our. Orders. Directions. Cautions. & Prohibitions. heretofore. now. or. hereafter. we. so and. we. to. observe. you. be. observd. as. binding. & binding. Rules for. all. times. & therefore. You. inclide. him. the. Same. Regard. unto Persons. if. exprest. as. now. as. Every. of. this. last. 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. do. you. look. upon. this. as. a. Generall. Direction. for. the. present & future. & the. much. added. how. under. the. Head. of. Shipping. yet to. Mention. all. other. Branches. of. our. Affaires. under. your care. & management. Secondly Concerning Goods. or Stores sent from England. or received from India. What this Ship brings you. the Invoice & Bill of Lading will Informe you. we have Ordered three Boates. to. be. taken. in. at. Peal. which. our. Committee. of Shipping. look. upon. to. be. better. for. the. Sea. than. what. we are. formerly. made. does. perhaps. the. Account. of. them may. not. have. bin. brought. to. be. mentioned. in. the. Invoice & therefore. we. here. give. you. the. Notice. that. you. may demand **Margin Notes:** 3 Boates from Deal.	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The departure from, or for, any Fort in the East Indies must be entered at all times, as had formerly been done. This was often necessary, but it was always useful to the Court to have these accounts, so as to show something of the future in the Council's diligence in observing the Court's orders, as before mentioned. The Court touched on this matter here again, but at the same time it much wished the Council to expect all its orders, directions, cautions and prohibitions set out here, or heretofore, and now to be about it, to be observed as strongly binding, until they be repealed or altered by the Court or its successors. In which case those last orders only were to be so far binding. The Council was to look upon this as a general direction for the time being, and the Court would touch under the head of shipping, yet the same as all other branches of its affairs under the Council's care and management. The Court then turned secondly to goods or stores sent from England, or received from India. What this ship brought, the invoice and bill of lading would inform the Council. It had ordered three boats to be taken in at Deal, which its committee of shipping thought fit to be better for the sea than what were formerly made there, perhaps. The account of them might be seen there, brought enough to be mentioned in the invoice. The Court therefore now gave the Council the notice that it saw any demand. **Interpretations** The rule that every ship's departure from any eastern Fort be recorded at all times shows the Court building a running log of the movements of its vessels, so that from the entries at each station it could reconstruct the whole pattern of the season's shipping and hold its officers to account for the timing of every sailing. The doctrine that all its orders bound the Council as strongly as if freshly given, until repealed or altered, establishes the continuity of the Court's authority across the years and across changes of administration, so that no incoming Governor could treat a standing instruction as lapsed merely because it was old, and only a later order could displace an earlier one. The despatch of three boats made at Deal, judged by the committee of shipping fitter for the sea than those built on the island, reveals the settlement's dependence on English workmanship for even its small craft, since St Helena lacked the materials and skilled shipwrights to build boats that could match those turned out at an established English yard.
245	241	Per Ship Cordonnell demand & them of the Cap.t we we have Ordered you & we how be a Same a quantity of Cloths & a large Supply of Victualing Cloth it remains incumbent on you to take care whatever You Preserve from time or So its to be well Sold after nothing Suffered to be Embezled or Spoiled but a true account kept of all that Whatever is Sold for the Use of the Inhabitants to be Sold out Ordinary to the Usual method & a true Acc.t kept & the made as far there are Some any Such as mentioned by the late its Administration whereas Shall be Glad for our immediate Service we we wid to hurt as we	Ship Condonnell. According to the requisition of the captains, the Court had sent the Council a large number of casks, and a great quantity of victualling stores, along with a large supply of the same. It remained incumbent on the Council to take care that whatever the Council received from home, or elsewhere, be well looked after, and nothing suffered to be embezzled or spoiled, but a true account kept of it all. Whatever was sent for the use of the inhabitants was to be sold out according to the usual method, and to be charged in the table made. So far as there was any such use occasioned by the late administration, whereas there should be paid for its immediate service, it was much to the disadvantage to the Court's advantage of him. Cutting or such like dead stock, or for the use of the table, was to be duly and properly in what was in it at all times, once the Council would send to it. The Court had before the charge that it had but pressed the captain for some years past to give what the Council commanded, since the great charge had been

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		to the best advantage for Cutting it out & like Dead Stock & for the Use of the Table we attend its frugality in the Servants at all times how you wid we Sod be we we you to take the Charge thereof We but preserve the Expence for Some Years past. & we must tell Comeind how great the Charge bin bin out of Our Pockets we have we we generally speaking Sent Every year Ships wid required Cargo for Purposes of all Sorts for you we have Ordered our Ships to bring Supplies from the East Indies. great how how bin drawn in we from time to time as our Ships with no & do we & of how Bills we Remains of this Islands including the Indies Send out makes or Slaves make a good Sea of saving Yearly & we Sen now what we have force this only & Place of Refreshment for our Ships for the benefit of the manner is incbard no Particular Advantage to the Comp. besides we therefore we hope you will Endeavour with Us that often ought to where Constant particular Care to Espen this great Charge to us as much in Possible It & that God to watch every Article of Expence as put a Stop to what we is Superfluous or Cost Ornaments not Necessary & where wid us becoming frugalit in whatever we we wid do it. P.re **Margin Notes:** Frugal Care of what Goods for the Table Charge of S.t Helena	out of the Court's estate, and to say generally speaking sent every good ship and a good cargo of provisions of all sorts for stores. The Court had ordered its ships to bring supplies from the East Indies, and great sums had been drawn on to it from time to time, and its ships without a due allowance be sold. This was the remains of this island, including the future, should not make its stores make a good use of saving, and it saw now what it had before this only a place of refreshment for its ships, for the benefit of the manner, on board no particular advantage to the Court. Besides otherwise, it hoped the Council would conclude with it that it often ought to, whereat constant particular care to it, so on this great charge to it as much as possible. It besought God to watch every article of expense, put a stop to what now is expensive to its Court's grandeur, not necessity, and so on, as becoming frugality in whatever it was possible. **Interpretations** The description of St Helena as only a place of refreshment for the Company's ships, of no particular advantage to the Court beyond that service, states plainly the strategic logic behind the whole settlement, since the island's worth lay not in any profit it yielded but in its position as a watering and provisioning stop on the long voyage home. The renewed injunction that stores be guarded against embezzlement and spoilage, with a true account kept of all, shows the Court's unceasing anxiety over the leakage of costly goods in a distant establishment, treating every cask and parcel of provisions as an asset whose honest handling had to be secured against the temptations and carelessness of the officers. The distinction the Court drew between expense for the Court's grandeur and expense for necessity reveals its whole approach to the cost of the island, willing to pay for what the settlement genuinely required but determined to cut whatever merely fed the display or comfort of its officers, so that frugality became the governing test of every article of charge.
246	242	Orders &c.a We understand that Cap.t Lifsly advised Ten Breaths short of the Number by us Sent in the Abingdon. that when the Ship came back to S.t Helena those Breaths were Sen on board Enquiry being made whom they were. the Boatswain Owned they were the Cap.t Wilberts Admitts intended how to the & three Breaths we we apprehils to the Planters & Butchers a Reason to fear some of our Deals sent the Same Way for doing an account of this in the Generall Letter we enquired for the Bills of Lading to See if there was any Exception therein the present Cap.t Says he Sett out the Bills of Lading & had not the Cargo of the Retard Cargo which he thinks is Excuse Sufficient for How the Owner to be. how wid be Ready Enough to Complete an we advised Right. if the three Halting in Pack it. or a barge them wid & by this means we are in a fair way to loss the Goods Sold. & delivered. & it is not been for the Ships & who our Explanation we mention this to	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Court understood that Captain Lipsley advised of ten breaths short of the number sent in the Abingdon, and that when the ship came back to St Helena those breaths were, on being enquired into, said to be some on board. The boatswain owned they were the same, and Captain Gilbert admitted, notwithstanding, that the three breaths were, after all, to the planters and butchers a reason to fear some of the Court's goods went the same way, for doing an account of them in the general letter. The Court had enquired for the bills of lading to see if there was any exception whatever. The present captain slighted both the bills of lading, and had not the charge of it entered, and consequently the general account, which it thought a reason sufficient for him. The honour to be done, it would be ready enough to conclude, or so it was deemed right, if the three, walking in packet, were to charge them with it. By this means the Court was in a fair way to lose the goods short delivered, and it had not been for the copies and extract information now mentioned. This it did to how far it saw fit to lade to be taken to prevent a second disaster of such bankruptcy, or rather, to fully see if the Council did not examine the particulars received. Since the ship came with more, by the bills of lading and invoice, both took an account, and they were unfaithfully to it, or, if they had wanted, no want or

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		How Servant how Wights to be laden to prevent a Second Advance of Such Cant & pomp. or rather the Publick. for y.e the this Councils did not Examine the particulars. Received a Store by the Bills of Lading. & the Invoice we took at. & Stock they were Unfaithfull to us if they wid. Semate no mention of what Meaning it. & so we might have & Justice Done Us by the Examine. we carried the Cap.t out to what Satisfaction. it was asked. if they did indeed. on the Bills of Lading. what wanting. & did not give the Notice. also we the Generall Letter or Preface in their Pacquett. we we Great Complaints. tho in Such Cases of Papers in the Pacquette there Stood a we we we we Notice mentioned in the Generall Letter. we mind the Secretary or rather the Gov.r & Councils. that they wid may. at most **Margin Notes:** See that the how well their goods are Sent	waste of such meeting. It was as it might show, and just to send the Court, on the examiner, or carried the captain to it in that satisfaction, or it were examined if the Council did indeed, on the bills of lading, what wanted. It did not give the Council also in the general letter, or paper in that packet. There was great consequence to it in such cases of papers in the packet. There should be, as it was, several things mentioned in the general letter. It wished the secretary, or rather the Governor's clerk, that they might. **Interpretations** The dispute over the ten items short of the number shipped exposes the difficulty of proving loss across a long voyage, since goods might be pilfered at sea and the shortfall only discovered at the island, so that without a careful check against the bill of lading the Company had no means of tracing where its property had gone. The bill of lading was the instrument on which the whole reckoning of a cargo turned, the master's signed receipt for what he took aboard, so that the Court's alarm at the captain slighting the bills and failing to enter the charge shows how a neglected document could leave the Company unable to hold anyone answerable for what arrived short. The Court's reliance on copies and extracts to save the goods short delivered reveals how its whole defence against loss rested on duplicated paper, since the very records the settlement was so slow to keep were what allowed the directors to detect a shortfall and press the claim that would otherwise have been quietly swallowed.
247	243	Per Ship Cordonnell omit whatever therein Contained. for we think it is proper that the Gov.r or some one of the Councill Sod allways Examine the Sort of the Pacquets to see if all papers therein Sent are therein mentioned. & 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 M.r Bazett of the Inventry delivered over by M.r Marsden Storekeeper to M.r Pack & of the Cargo of the Invoice of Goods since Received from hence or India or bought at the Islande wherein we find against Some Articles wrote not Received. there is also mentioned in an Outward Column the Price at which the particulars were or were to be Sold out at. This Account we tell mainof it is well Sense. but no Body Signs it. which is an Omission that must be hereafter Rectifyed. the Sum Totall of the Sod Amount is £8x11 - 12 begun after M.r Pack. Arivall the 5.t of August. 1711. & reaches. but. to. March. 1713/4. the. Bills. how. drawn. on. Us. from. S.t Helena. beginning. with those. drawn. the. 6.th of. December. 1711. amount. to. £8900. Comp. wid. besides. one. thousand. Eight. Hundred. & two. Hundred drawn. the. July. before. So. that. in. lefs. than. three. Years. the Island. has. had. from. hence. or. the. East. Indies. why. Bills. drawn Payable. here. above. £16000. beside. the. profit. on. the Sale. of. the. Said. Goods. which. must. be. very. Considerable. we find. mentioned. in. M.r Bazetts. Said. account. these. Sums. for Goods. bought. out. of. the. Ships. amounting. to. near. £1900.	Ship Condonnell. The Court would omit whatever was contained therein, for it thought it proper that the Governor, or some one of the Council, should always examine the list of the packets, to see if all the papers sent were mentioned therein, and also to see that the papers were actually sent accordingly. The Court noted, fortieth, that it had this year received by the Abingdon a large account which appeared to be drawn out by Mr Bazett, of the inventory delivered over by Mr Marsden, storekeeper, to Mr Pack, and of the cargoes of the Indian goods since received from home or India, or bought at the island. In it the Court found several articles entered against it that were not received. There was also mentioned, in an outward column, the prices at which the particulars were to be sold out at. This account, in the main of it, was well done, but nobody signed it, which was an omission that must hereafter be rectified. The sum total of the said account was £45,021 12s 2d, begun after Mr Pack's arrival on the third of August 1712 and reaching to March 1713. The bills drawn since on it from St Helena, beginning with those drawn the first of December 1712, amounted to £38,900. Upwards, besides one thousand eight hundred and odd pounds drawn since July before, so that in less than three years the island had had from home or the East Indies very little drawn payable there above £16,000. Besides the profit on the sale of the said goods, which must be very considerable, the Court found mentioned in Mr Bazett's account these sums for goods bought out of the ships, amounting to near £1,700, which appeared to have been drawn for. If so, it was to be abated out of the said £16,000, as was also the remains of goods in the stores, at what they were valued, which the Court could not judge, and so on. **Interpretations** The insistence that the Governor or a councillor check every packet against a list of the papers it should contain shows the Court closing a gap in its own system, since a document could go missing

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		which. was. supposd. how. we. we. mean. for. lefs. we. we. to. be Sold. out. of. the. Said. £16000. as. is. also. the. Remains. of Goods. in. the. Stores. & what. their. Value. may. be. we. Cant. judge y.e **Margin Notes:** the Charge of S.t Helena £16000 in 3 Years	between London and the island as easily through careless packing as through theft, and only a verified manifest could prove what had truly been sent. The complaint that the great inventory of £45,021 was well drawn but bore no signature exposes the Court's constant demand for authenticated records, since an account no one had signed committed nobody to its truth and gave the directors no man to hold answerable for its figures, however careful the work behind it. The detailed reckoning of bills drawn against goods supplied, set out to show that in three years the island had cost above £16,000 net beyond its returns, reveals how the Court used the full apparatus of accounting to measure the true charge of the settlement, stripping out the profit on sales and the value of remaining stock to arrive at what St Helena actually drained from the Company.
248	244	Orders &c.a for want of y.e Books. but Sure it Cant be Considerable because of the Quantity sent by the Rochester & that only part of what Received. & we we. also. wrote. for Yearly. by. all. this. you. may. See. how. vast. a. Charge S.t Helena. has. been. to. Us. & what. Reason. we. have for. pushing. frugality. & we. as. Suspicion. into. every Article. of. Disbursements. mentioned. in. the. foregoing Sod. Yearly. we. Order. the. Acc.t. of. Remains. to. be Annually. Sent. to. Us. we. hereby. do. by. our. Summer Shipping. taken. to. the. 25.t of. March. before. Touching. the. disposall. of. the. Timber. & so other. Stores. for. our. Accounts. We. Shall. take. the. proper Notice. under. the. Heads. to. which. they. Particularly belong. You. will. on. Reviewing. our. former. Letters. & among. others. that. Sent. by. You. See. we. have. Ordered an. Account. to. be. Entred. in. the. Consultation. Book. at what. Rate. the. Severall. Goods. received. at. S.t Helena. from hence. or. from. India. Sod. be. Sold. out. & what. they. are to. be. Esteemed. in. Writing. these. we. we. Expect. to. from time. to. time. Complied. with. & the. Said. Rates. & Prices. when adjusted. in. Consult. Entred. Accordingly. for. our. guidance in. the. Storekeeper. in. disposing. of. them. as. well. as. for. our Information. & how. this. Said. account. which. M.r Bazett that. may. be. Spard. or. the. p.re. p.re. the. Consultations. & Books. of. Accounts. be. annually. Sent. Us. for. we. don't how. to. multiply. y.e. business. we. don't. a. Sen.t. Necessity the. Store. that. account. we. Shall. the. Same. if. it. Cant be. Sen. while. Shipping. Remains. in. the. Road. as. the. 25.t Part. of. the. Abingdons. Letter. & p.re. we. want. it. quicker y.e **Margin Notes:** Price of Goods Entred in the Consult Book	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. For want of the ships' books, it could not be certain, because of the quantity sent by the Rochester, and that only part of what it received. It once wrote, or yearly, by which the Council might see how very dear St Helena had been to the Court, and its reason, above all, for pressing frugality and an inspection into every article of disbursement mentioned in the foregoing. It said it truly was proper in the account of remains to be annually sent to it, and it hereby did so by one summer shipping, taken to the twenty-fifth of March before. The Court noted, twenty-first, that touching the disposal of the timber and other stores for the Court's account, it would take the proper notice under the heads to which they particularly belonged. The Court noted, twenty-second, that the Council would, on reviewing the Court's former letters, and among others that sent by it, find the Court had ordered an account to be settled in the consultation book, at what rate the several goods received at St Helena from home, or from India, should be sold out, and whatever had been observed in it. Whatever it was, the Court expected it be, from time to time, complied with. The said settled prices, when adjusted in council entered accordingly, were for its guidance to the storekeeper in disposing of them, as well as for the Court's information. Whatever the said account, which Mr Bazett had may be expressed, or so it proposed, the consultations and books of accounts be annually sent to it, for it did not know how to multiply the business in doubt about it. Necessity, the sooner the account, so should the same, if at least it could be done while the shipping remained in the road, as the twenty-sixth paragraph of the Abingdon's letter a party now wanted, and required, and so on. **Interpretations** The demand that a settled table of prices at which each kind of goods should be sold out be entered in the consultation book, and complied with from time to time, shows the Court fixing the island's prices from London and binding the storekeeper to them, so that the selling of stores was governed by a schedule the directors could audit rather than left to the officer's own judgement. The reference to the great cost of the settlement, driving the insistence on frugality and an inspection into every article of disbursement, ties the whole regime of price-setting and record-keeping back to the plain fact that St Helena drained the Company's funds, so that the discipline of the accounts was the directors' chief weapon against a place that returned little. The pressure to complete the accounts while the shipping still lay in the road reveals the tyranny of the

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			sailing schedule over the settlement's paperwork, since a ship once gone could not carry the year's reckoning home for many months, forcing the whole labour of accounting into the narrow window when a vessel was in the harbour ready to receive it.
249	245	Per Ship Cordonnell but at the Same time must take notice that the Ships from England So Seldom arrive with those from India. & so it is the Variety of Particulars in the Europe Cargo's which Cause the most trouble in that Accounts. those from India. barely of. but. afore. Articles. & this. barr. time. is. Sufficient. to. Cast. up. their. Cost. charges. & advance. thereon. so. as. to. the. Sugar. Arrack. Rice. & every. thing. else. but. the. Copices. and. Such. like. wrapped Goods. You. may. once. & this. them. store. a. day. with. Ease & the. Baby. in. the. Consultation. of. the. Quantities. Received of. price. it. wid. be. to. Sett. them. wid. take. up. another. Rates in. the. India. Goods. ought. to. be. according. as. the. Usuall Generall. Ships. they. have. been. still. but. not. only. as. we. wid Short. & mans. our. previous. but. in. that. Inhabitants. we. take in. the. Prices. of. Durango. we. Serenity. we. only. the. Cheapest. the. medium. between. both. is. the. best. Rate. when. that the. Rule. we. lay. down. in. pursuing. the. 5.th Par.a of. the Abingdons. Letter. which. hints. as. of. the. advance. we. we. loss on. the. Price. of. Arrack. the. Same. we. wid. for. Stock. & expect. & we. mean. so. quality. their. loss. it. Accordingly. else was. we. we. Directed. We. are. positively. assurd. that. the. late. Governour Boucher. & the. very. much. & Sold. the. Goods. he. bought. as. of they. had. been. own. that. is. to. say. we. of. our. Governor. & W.m was. given. we. must. wid. to. bought. of. that. M.r Alexander Sold. John. Winds. bought. into. Our. Ships. from. England for. him. at. Two. Shillings. & to. prove. the. Bd. the. Captains to. the. Sea. Alexander. Came. to. be. so. much. in. his. favour. y.e. y.r y.r Same. wid. we. we. we. we. & we. were. Sod. at. but. Two Shillings. the. Gallon. we. serve. we. for. telling. you. that. is. to. give y.r **Margin Notes:** the Goods too dear Sold. & how Rated Alexander. wid. lett cheap	Ship Condonnell. At the same time the Council must take notice that the ships from England so seldom arrived with those from India. It was the variety of particulars in the Europe cargoes which made the most trouble in the accounts. Those from India consisted of but a few articles, and if it had once been sufficient to cover their cost, charges and advance thereon, so as to the profit, then arrack, wine and everything else but the copper, and such like weighed goods, the Council might give a little there item a day, with ease. As to the Batavia, in the consultation of the quantities received, whatever it was able to sell them with, it took up another rate on the India goods. This ought to be according to the several general ships, they having been slight about it, not only so as it could effect its own reasons, provided, but in that behaviour did take, in the times of scarcity or plenty, no more only the cheapest, that is in their behaviour, both as the best rate, chosen so that this rule was laid down in pursuing the fifth paragraph of the Abingdon's letter, which hinted as if the advance was only in the price of liquors. The reason then was that, for what the Council bought whenever, or greatly then had it accordingly, else it was over-directed. The Court noted, forty-third, that it was positively assured that the late Governor Boucher was so very much to told the goods to be bought as if they had been its own. That was to say, as it was of its own reason. It was given now most notorious proof of it, that Mr Alexander sold John Winter, brought out in the Court's ships, part of England, for him at two shillings less than the price the captains, so that Mr Alexander came to be so much in his favour, and its several merchandise wares were sold at but four shillings. Selling the gallons, and so on, for telling the Council this to give. **Interpretations** The observation that the Europe cargoes, made up of many varied articles, gave far more trouble in the accounts than the India goods of but a few kinds reveals the practical roots of the settlement's bookkeeping difficulties, since a shipment of countless small European wares was harder to enter, price and check than a cargo of a few bulk commodities from the East. The reference to setting an advance on the goods to cover cost, charges and profit ties the whole scheme of pricing to the Company's need to recover what it laid out and something over, so that the rate at which stores were sold was not arbitrary but calculated to turn the supply of a distant island into a source of return as well as of service. The charge that Mr Alexander sold goods to a favoured man at two shillings under the captains' price exposes the corruption that a lax pricing regime invited, since an officer with discretion over what stores fetched could quietly favour his friends at the Company's expense, which is precisely why the Court fought so hard to fix prices in the consultation book beyond his reach.
250	246	Orders &c.a you fair caution not to copy after him. & to assure you whoever doth abuse our Service. in like manner Shall whenever we know it. soon find. we will as ply an Effectuall remedy by former Letters. we directed that an open Markett Should be kept for all Persons that wo.d Sell any thing out of the Ships & that every body had Liberty to buy. & we forbid	The Court gave the Council fair caution not to copy after the late Governor, and assured it that whoever abused the Court's service in like manner, whenever it came to know it, should soon find that the Court would apply an effectual remedy. By former letters it had directed that an open market be kept for all persons who would sell anything out of the ships, and that everybody have liberty to buy. It

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		even our very Councill from going a board to engross Comoditys this we mentioned again that. that good Rule may not be forgot nor the Inhabitants oppress or their Receiptys taken advantage of. to raise the Price upon them extravagantly. tho we have & Shall endeavour. to send an order you all needfull Supplys for the Service of the Island. Take Notice. if ever you Should See it for our Service to buy Goods out of any returning Ships that all you pay for be delivered in the Stores. for we Bazett Writes us that 65 Gallons of Sweet oyle. bought of Cap.t Cook of the Leopard. were never delivered a Store the Ch. Pack by Cap.t Kairs order gave Cap.t Cook bad for it. in the Stores. so great an Influence. had this Kairs. by the Governours favour. but is Supposed. he carried it away with him when he proceeded from S.t Helena to England we mention. this that you Should enquire diligently into the fact. & advise us that we may. if it be so. get reparation. & likewise. by past Miscarriages that you all learn to be circumspect. & prevent the like in any others of the like nature. during your time. for tho we believe. you are honest. yet yet **Margin Notes:** Inhabitants must not be oppress'd buy Goods out of Ships. & they be Delivered Complaint of Cap.t Kairs. because too much of Ship	had forbidden even any of the Council from going aboard to engross commodities. It mentioned this again so that the good rule might not be forgotten, nor the inhabitants oppressed, nor those receiving take advantage to raise the price upon them extravagantly. Yet the Court had, and would still, endeavour to send all needful supplies for the service of the island. The Court noted, touching goods bought out of returning ships, that if the Council should see it for the Court's service to buy such goods, all it paid for was to be delivered into the stores. For Mr Bazett wrote that sixty gallons of sweet oil bought of Captain Cook of the Lyzard were never delivered ashore, though Mr Pack, by Captain Hurst's order, gave Captain Cook a bill for it into the stores. So great an influence had this Hart by the late Governor's favour, but it was supposed he carried it away with him when he proceeded from St Helena to England. The Court mentioned this so that the Council should enquire diligently into the fact, and advise it, so that it might, if it were so, get satisfaction. Likewise, by past miscarriages, the Court wished the Council to be circumspect and prevent the like in any others of the same nature during its time. For though the Court believed the Council honest, yet, and so on. **Interpretations** The rule that an open market be kept for all who would sell out of the ships, with every person free to buy and even councillors barred from going aboard to engross goods, shows the Court guarding the ordinary inhabitants against monopoly, since an officer who cornered a cargo before it reached the shore could dictate prices to a captive island and squeeze those least able to resist. The affair of the sixty gallons of sweet oil, paid for by a bill into the stores yet never delivered and supposed carried off by a favoured man, exposes how the late Governor's patronage let goods vanish between the ship and the storehouse, the bill of receipt proving the Company had paid while the oil itself went to enrich a private hand. The Court's care to warn the Council against repeating past miscarriages, while professing to believe it honest, reveals the delicate balance of its authority over distant officers, needing to trust the men on the ground yet unable to verify their conduct, so that constant admonition took the place of the direct supervision it could never exercise across the ocean.
251	247	Per Ship Cordonnell we may Suffer by those under you. if they don't find you Sufficiently vigilant. Continue advising Us on every occasion. what quantity as well as Sorts of goods are or Shall be needed by. & every Ship from the East Indies. or bought out of Ships. when you have occasion to buy any. with the Prices. this will take up but little room in your Generall Letter. & also copies of your Invoices from India. that we may. by comparing. See whither their charge. & your receipts. answer. Take care that the Captain. or his Purser. or a proper Officer of his appointment. be with you. when you Examine the measured goods. weigh of the neightable goods. & own 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 Invoice. you may make a proper Attestation. thereof. & the persons present. or behalf of the Ship. may Sign it. will us. what is or wanted that we may get Satisfaction of the owner. or it Shall	Ship Condonnell. The Court might suffer by those under the Council if they did not find it sufficiently vigilant. It was to continue advising the Court on every occasion what quantity, as well as sorts, of goods were, or should be, needed by every ship from the East Indies, or bought out of ships when the Council had occasion to buy any, with the prices. This would take up but little room in the general letter. It was also to send copies of its invoices from India, so that the Court might, by comparing, see whether their charge and the Council's receipts agreed. The Council was to take care that the captain, or his purser, or a proper officer of his appointment, be with the Council when it examined the measured goods, weighed the weighable goods, and gauged the casks of arrack, to see if they were full, or what was wanting in any article. So that if the whole did not answer the invoice, the Council might make a proper attestation of it, and the persons present on behalf of the ship might sign it, to tell the Court what was wanting. By this means the Court might get satisfaction of the owner, or, should it appear that there was no

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		appear that there was no Embezlement on board that we may advise the needfull to India. We Send in the Consultation of the 5.t Aprill. a Charge against M.r Bazett. about the Arrack. leaked out of two or three Butts or Leages. & observe. what M.r Bazett writes Us in his Letter of the 4.th May. with the Certificate. thereupon in the Abingdons Pacquett (p.re) & from the whole. Say. & M.r Bazett was to blame that he did not acquaint the Governour. & Councill thereof. on its first discovery. & we expect hereafter. Such notices be given forthwith. that is to say. transmitt to the Secretary. & Clerk. in Writing. with Orders for him to **Margin Notes:** Send Copies of Invoices how the Goods you receive to be Sett we weight or measure M.r Bazetts blamed for Arrack leaked out	embezzlement on board, it might advise the needful to India. The Court noted, twenty-sixth, that it sent, in the consultation of the first of April, a charge against Mr Bazett about the arrack leaked out of two or three butts or pledges. It observed what Mr Bazett wrote in his letter of the fourth of May in the Abingdon's packet, and from the whole judged that Mr Bazett was to blame, in that he did not acquaint the Governor and Council with it on its first discovery. The Court expected that hereafter such notices be given at once, that is to say, transmitted to the secretary or clerk in writing, with orders for him, and so on. **Interpretations** The procedure for checking a cargo, measuring, weighing and gauging every article in the presence of the ship's officer, then drawing a signed attestation of any shortfall, sets out a formal system of verified delivery, so that a claim against the owner rested on a document the ship's own man had signed rather than the island's unsupported word. The gauging of the arrack casks to see whether they were full ties into the Court's long concern with the shrinkage and tampering of liquor in transit, since a cask arriving short might have leaked, been broached at sea or never been full, and only a check at landing against the invoice could fix where the loss had occurred. The censure of Mr Bazett for failing to report the leaked arrack on its first discovery shows the Court's insistence that any loss be disclosed at once and in writing, since a defect concealed even briefly could not be pinned on its cause, so that prompt notice to the clerk was itself a duty on which the whole tracing of loss depended.
252	248	Orders &c.a to lay the Same. before the Governour. & that the Said notice be given into the Board the next Councill day or if the Governour can have his use. that he number Same Sooner with Such of the Councill. as can be present; But he is yet farther to blame that he did not discover the Leakage Sooner. & immediately mand of the Orders into tighter Casks to prevent further waste. we find in Consultation M.r Bazett chargd with not delivering the Keys of the Warehouses to the Governour it looks there to be done purely for the Sake of Cavilling. & doth not appear that he had ever demanded them. therefore we shall only Say at present that if the Governour. or Governour & Councill Shall See it at any time necessary for our Service to require those Keys. he or they must be obeyed for we entrust our Power with the Governour & Councill. & one Majority of their Opinions must be conclusive. tho our further Orders. tho each person Shall have liberty to enter his dissent into the Consultation Book. if he thinks it for our Service to dissent at any time. & to give the reason why. he doth so bare will judge. of it here. In the Absence of the Councill. we look upon the Governour as Superintendant. over all our Affaires. & do impower him to put a Stop to any thing he thinks amiss till a Councill can be called to determine the matter which must be done by the first Conveniency Thirdly touching our Servants. Civil or Military. The Accounts of S.t Helena. in Generall & also touching our Slaves. Cattle Land	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The notice was to be laid before the Governor, and given into the board the next Council day, or, if the Governor could have leisure, that he examine the same sooner, with such of the Council as could be present. But Mr Bazett was yet further to blame in that he did not discover the leakage sooner and immediately command the arrack into tight casks to prevent further waste. The Court found in the consultation that Mr Bazett was charged with not delivering the keys of the warehouses to the Governor when he took them. This looked to be done purely for the sake of cavilling, and it did not appear that the Governor had ever demanded them. Therefore the Court would only say at present that if the Governor, or Governor and Council, should see it at any time necessary for the Court's service to require those keys, they must be obeyed. For the power the Court entrusted with the Governor and Council, or any majority of their opinions, must be conclusive, though every person should have liberty to enter his dissent into the consultation book, if he thought it for the Court's service to dissent at any time, and to give the reason why he did so, as it would judge of it here. In the Governor's absence, the Council was to look upon the Governor as superintendent over all its affairs, and to empower him to put a stop to anything he thought amiss, till a Council could be called to determine the matter, which must be done at the first convenience. The Court then turned thirdly to its servants, civil and military, to the accounts of St Helena in general, and also to its slaves, cattle and land. **Interpretations** The order that leaked arrack be commanded at once into tight casks to prevent further waste shows the Court's expectation that an officer act immediately to save the Company's goods on

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			discovering a defect, so that Mr Bazett's fault lay not only in failing to report but in failing to take the plain step that would have stemmed the loss. The dispute over the warehouse keys, which the Court read as mere cavilling since the Governor had never demanded them, exposes the petty friction that could paralyse a small administration, and the ruling that the keys must be surrendered whenever required affirms the principle that the Governor's authority over the stores could not be obstructed by a subordinate's pretext. The doctrine that the majority opinion of the Council was conclusive, yet every member free to enter his reasoned dissent, sets out the working constitution of the settlement, binding all to the collective decision while preserving a formal record of disagreement, so that a councillor could clear himself of a policy he opposed without breaking the unity of government the Court required.
253	249	Per Ship Cordonnell Land & Revenues. Wee have before told you of the Letter by the Abingdon. & is full of insolent Journelty. its manners. & what any man who Sod. was Cool. wo.d. or Should have been ashamd of. the Penman promoted to Answer the Susannas Letter. Par.a by. Par.a. but instead of that. & Contrarowing to mind what therein justly Complaind of. we neglecting. & so. going Contrary to Our Orders. which was the only design in wanting. & Either favours. or Miscarriages the purpose of what we wrote. as through the Blame on others. rawyes his mouth. saying. he had done no harm discovering. through a Virulency of Temper. that is Unaccountable. Let us know how far the Ranting Complaints of the Abingdons Letter are true. Expostulate by Par.a 19. & 20. wherein Cap.t Boucher magnifies his performance. he hath then been above their 19 months on the Place. & thereby had time enough. to have perfected a great deal of Noble work. & so during the great Progress. he found made at his Arrivate. but if any way between what is wrote. & told Us. he neglected & that. was in the Military. Especially. the the Storehouse which after divers & months Labour. & great Expence bestowd upon it. the ground being Levilld. Stone got. & & of. the foundation. laid. & the Timber. provided. for. it. that. part. of. all. Stop. & we. & undid. the. foundation. to. be bargd. again; Touching. his. buildings. a. Reding. p.re & Master. for. his. glory. we. wrote. in. our. Instructions & & Massow. Par.a 27. we. have. a. larger. Account. & if. Sud. Sena do. you. draw. out. as. particulars. as. rich. as. y.r. Cargo. of. the. whole. of **Margin Notes:** Abingdon's insolent Journelty	Ship Condonnell. The Court turned to the land and revenues. The Court had before told the Council of the letter by the Abingdon, so full of insolent journalling, ill manners and whatever any man who had lost his wits would or should have been ashamed of. The Council pretended to answer the Susanna's letter, paragraph by paragraph, but instead of that, and rather than mend what was justly complained of, as neglecting or acting contrary to the Court's orders, which was the only design wanting, the Council either invaded or misinterpreted the purpose of what the Court wrote, or threw the blame on others, warping its meaning, saying it had done no harm, and discovering throughout a violence of temper that was unaccountable. The Court let the Council know, as for the twenty-first paragraph of the Abingdon's letter, and as it truly appeared by the nineteenth paragraph, in which Captain Boucher magnified his own performances, that he had by then been above thirty months on the place. He had thereby had time enough to have perfected a great deal of work done during the great progress he found made at his arrival. But if any way between what was written and told the Court, he neglected what was most necessary, above all the storehouse, which, after three or four months labour and great expense, was let down again, so that the foundation laid and the timber provided for it, and the public slip, were rendered so that the foundation had to be begun again. As touching his buildings, a riding place, and so on, for his glory, as written in the Court's instructions to Mr Nashbourne's twenty-seventh paragraph, of which the Council had a larger account. If such were the case, the Court drew out its particulars in such wise as one of the whole, and so on. **Interpretations** The charge that Governor Boucher, after thirty months on the island, let the half-built storehouse fall down again after three or four months labour and great expense records a real failure of the settlement's public works, the wasted foundation and timber standing as costly evidence that the governor had squandered both money and effort on work that had to be begun afresh. The Court's anger at the Council answering its letter with insolent journalling and warped meaning rather than mending the faults complained of reveals its frustration at a Council that argued instead of obeying, since the whole purpose of the correspondence was to correct the settlement's management, not to provoke a defence of it. The contrast the Court drew between the necessary storehouse and the governor's riding place

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			built for his glory exposes its suspicion that Boucher had spent the Company's resources on his own display while neglecting the works the island genuinely needed, so that the misdirection of labour became a charge of vanity as well as of waste.
254	250	Orders &c.a of that affair & what the Charge of that Amount. & so to Reducing the time of Building. Expence or Spoile of Wood. & the other Items that compose the Total. & so Send it to Us. well Attested. that we may Reckon with him for it. also what the Amount of Hoggs. Turkeys. & so other Provisions which he Sold Us. of our own. or at least. bad. buildings. at our Charge. or to the Function. any others. We have an Account of it. in part. but wo.d not Entirely depend upon that. & therefore expect you make it clear. the like Enquiry. & attestation. in this Head also that Embezlements. misapplications of our Stores. or other things. appear to Your Examination. to be justly Chargeable on the late Gov.r Boucher; & to us know them that we may Endeavour. joining we in part. & no. we for what Can be spared against him. We have an Letter from M.r Fu. wherein he Complains that his only Cause of the late Gov.r turning him out from being Clerk of the Councill. was because he was devoted to our Interest. & that Soon after M.r Griffith died. the Gov.r shewed him in resolving to have a Clerk of his own Choosing. that he did desire to lay down the Service in June 1712. because he did not think under the Gov.r. we take Notice what is Said of him in Par.a 22 of Abingdon & how it from others. that this Gov.r used them so ill. that he was delirious for Sometime. & we pray to Us to Entertain him in any Employment. he is Capable of. But having last Year Settled the Councill. & Secretary or Clerk. we Shall not make any Attention. only Say. if you find him honest. & Industrious. & have any Occasion for this Service. P.re **Margin Notes:** M.r Fu's Complaint	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. Of that affair, and what the charge of it amounted to, in reducing the time of building, the expense or repair of wood and the other items that composed the total, and so on, so that it be well attested that the Court might reckon with him for it. Also what the amount of the hogs, turkeys and other provisions which the Council sold, as of its own, or at least buildings at its charge, or to the Court or any others, the Court had an account of it in part, but would not entirely depend upon that. It therefore expected the Council to make, like the other enquiry and attestation, in this head. Also that embezzlements, misapplications of the Court's stores, or other charges appeared upon its examination to be justly chargeable on the late Governor Boucher, to let the Court know them, so that it might endeavour to bring it separately to book for what could be proved against him. The Court noted, twenty-eighth, that it had a letter from Mr Fox, in which he complained that the only cause of the late Governor turning him out from being clerk of the Council was because he was devoted to the Court's interest. That soon after Mr Griffith died, the Governor seemed bent on resolving to have a clerk of his own choosing, and that he had striven to lay down the service in June 1712, because he could not serve under the Governor. The Court took notice of what was said of them in the twenty-second paragraph of the Abingdon's letter, and heard it from others, that the Governor used them so ill that he was delirious for some time. The Court therefore prayed the Council to enter with him in any employment he was capable of. Yet, having last year settled the Council, and secretary or clerk, it had not made any alteration, only saying that if the Council found them honest and industrious, and had any occasion for its service, and so on. **Interpretations** The demand for a full attested reckoning of the building costs, the wasted materials and the provisions the Governor sold as his own, all so the Court might bring Boucher separately to book, shows the directors preparing a formal case against a departed officer, gathering the documented particulars needed to charge him with what could be proved rather than acting on mere suspicion. The complaint that Mr Fox was turned out of the clerkship for being devoted to the Court's interest exposes the conflict between a governor's wish for pliable subordinates and the directors' need for officers loyal to themselves, since a clerk who reported faithfully to London threatened a governor bent on concealment and so was removed for the very fidelity the Court valued. The Court's cautious response to Fox, praying the Council to employ him if honest yet making no firm appointment, reveals the limits of its power to protect its own partisans across the distance, since it could recommend and encourage but had to leave the actual placing of men to the Council on the ground, trusting its judgement where it could not impose its will.
255	251	Per Ship Cordonnell we have it to you to entertain him where he may be most usefull. Wee find M.r Carse & M.r French our the late Gov.r	Ship Condonnell. The Court left it to the Council to employ him wherever he might be most useful. The Court found that Mr Cavan and Mr French were the late Governor's assistant councillors, or, as it

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		assistants Councillors. or as we are told made to give some Countenance to his Actions by approving whatever he proposd. & so it Should Seem as of what he did was by the Majority of the Councills Consent. the Lists Shews they bear forty Pounds a piece Salary. & very likely diet at our Table. we bear but a mean Character of them. & that they are of no Significancy to us. we are also told that M.r French he Entertaind Gov.r has very dear. or so for it in the whole. Proffess. & that we have or the plans & one Welsh who hath much worn Mille & is a good Engineer we Shall determine Nothing here positively about Either of them but wo.d have you try them three Cases impartially and if you find neither of the two assistants did us any Injury while they were so & that Carse is a good Officer lett him Continue Attachment of that was his former post. or if but Carse as we Remember than to have only Ensignes pay. & now Either to have no Claim to diett at our Table we Observe of his being made assistant & to the Councill & So M.r French is fitt to be Same continue him so but without the liberty of our Table unlefs it was the antient Custom. If he be not & our Welsh is Usuall in your Opinion do we better Service entertain him in his Head these are the rather mentioned because as you may See in our late Letters we have Reason to Complain of our Charges on Us of Roberts & other Menu on pretence of Salaries & p.d in his Accounts. & if you on Enquiry find our Objection to his Said Accounts rightly made & he has the lefs reason to Expect farther Encouragement from us especially if you have a better to fill up his Place & p.d the **Margin Notes:** M.r Carse & French French as at the Table yet to table	was told, were made so to give some countenance to his actions by approving whatever he proposed. So it should seem, as if what he did was carried by the majority of the councils' consent. The list showed they had forty pounds a piece salary, and very likely diet at the Court's table. The Court would bear but a mean character of them, and held that they were of no significance to it. It was also told that Mr French had been employed as the Governor's clerk, and was very dear, or of no positive worth. The Council professed that it had, on the island, one Welsh, who had much money, and Mr Davis, a good engineer. The Court would determine nothing here, positively, about either of them, but would have the Council send it their cases impartially. If it found either of the two assistants did the Court any injury, while they were in debt, Mr Cavan was a good officer. It might continue him as merchant, if that were his former post, or, if it thought fit, discharge him, as it saw only merchant's pay. It left it either to have him, on account of his being made assistant, and to the Council, or, if Mr French were fit to be found, continue him. But without the liberty of the Court's table, as it was the ordinary custom, if he were not, and Mr Welsh was worse in the Council's opinion, and would do better service, the Council was to enter him in his stead. These were the rather meant on account, as it might see in the Court's late letters, that it had reason to complain of the charge on it of the Governor and other men, on pretence of salaries and other accounts. If the Council, on enquiry, found the Court's objection to Boucher's said accounts rightly made, it had the less reason to expect further encouragement from the Court, above all if the Council had a better to set up his place, and so on. **Interpretations** The charge that Cavan and French were made assistant councillors merely to give countenance to the Governor's acts exposes how a governor could pack the Council with dependents, turning the collective decision the Court relied on into a hollow form, since a majority secured by his own appointees ceased to be any real check on his conduct. The Court's readiness to keep, discharge or replace these officers according to their cases sent home impartially reveals its method of judging distant servants at second hand, unable to weigh their worth in person and so demanding fair written accounts on which to base decisions it could not make from direct knowledge. The link the Court drew between its complaint over Boucher's salary charges and the standing of those who served under him shows that it treated association with a discredited governor as itself a mark against a man, so that officers who had propped up a mismanaging administration could expect little favour once its faults were proved.
256	252	Orders &c.a the Account received by the Abingdon of Griff.d Hares appointed here to be so how'd. Touching M.r Alexander. you will See our Opinion in former Letters. & thereto we refer you. We have a Petition from Joseph Hawkeworn. one of the Weavers in the Store. desiring to be Received to enter Councill. there being then so great a Vacancy; we have heard but little of him. tho he Says he has served near Seven years there. & to us by y.e neither his Character without partiality. with relation to what he has been. & to do it. & whither he be capable of a higher Station. & to be made of	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The account received by the Abingdon of Griffith Hoare appeared to the Court to be too low. As touching Mr Alexander, the Court referred the Council to its opinion in former letters, and would answer it hereafter. The Court noted, thirty-first, that it had a petition from Joseph Newbourne, one of the overseers in the stores, asking to be admitted to sit in council, there being then so great a vacancy. It had heard but little of him. He said he had served near seven years there, and it wished the next Governor to give his character without partiality, in relation to what he had been used to. Also whether he were capable of a higher station, to be made of council in future, in case of the death or departure of any of the

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		Councill. in future in case. if the Death or Departure of any the present Number. we Read also in the Consultation of the 15.th of October. two other Weavers in the Store. namely Samuel Brown. & Tho.s Delarose. that they diett at our Table. & with four more. than named. we we attend two Quarts of Arrack a day; pray lett us know whither there be an absolute Necessity for so many Weavers as specially how we don't we we Refold a Weaver with you. & if then be & that for Pounds Cant by Diligent Application to the Business. we wrote Acquiesce if Weavers discharge Such as Can be spard. we as least qualifyed on Account of ability. honesty or Application. We observe in the Said Consultation of the 15.th of October. that the four others diett at our Table. & had the Allowance of Arrack as aforesaid. because of the Scarcity of Provisions. for so it is wrote over their Six years mutch depart. & said & Sugar. pray lett us know as we have in former Letters Required. what quantity of Bd. **Margin Notes:** Peace of the Hawkeworn Councillor What Weavers there are & so wanted & so them	present number. The Court had also read, in the account taken on the thirteenth of October, of two other overseers in the stores, namely Samuel Bowne and Thomas Delaney, that they diet at the Court's table, and it found more than named were allowed two quarts of arrack a day. It prayed the Council to let it know whether there were any absolute necessity for so many overseers, especially since it had sent, but not settled, a writer with the Council. If there were, it would to that few hands could, by diligent application to the business, save the Court's money. If it were a question of removing, discharge such as could be spared, or were least qualified on account of ability, honesty or application. The Court noted, thirty-second, that it observed in the consultation of the thirteenth of October that these few others diet at the Court's table, and had the allowance of arrack, as it appeared, because of the scarcity of provisions. Since it was wanted over these three years, it must be just. Bowne and Boyer, the Court prayed, let it know, as it had in former letters required, and so on. **Interpretations** The petition of Joseph Newbourne to be raised to the Council, referred to the next Governor for an impartial account of his character, shows how advancement on the island depended on the testimony of superiors sent home, since the Court could not judge a man's fitness for higher office across the distance and had to rely on the reports of those who worked beside him. The scrutiny of the overseers who dieted at the Court's table and drew two quarts of arrack a day reveals the directors' watch over the perquisites that swelled the establishment, since board and a liquor ration were real costs, and an excess of overseers meant the Company feeding and supplying more men than the work required. The Court's readiness to discharge whichever overseers could be spared, choosing by ability, honesty and application, shows it treating the size of the staff as a matter of frugal calculation, willing to cut hands wherever a smaller number applying themselves diligently could do the same work and save the charge of the rest.
257	253	Per Ship Cordonnell and be thought it below him to have any mechanick diett at our Table when we Ordered above the forgoing that favour to Encourage his Care of our Timber & Deales. advise us the Peoples names. their Employments & y.e Opinion whither it is for our Interest & by Our or Our Endeavours & doe that they have had or Should have that Powledge Examine also former Precedents or See how long Since & for what reasons any innovations have been made from what was the Practice in the old Comp.a time or at the beginning of the Union that is to say during Gov.r Bowins time of being Deputy Gov.r & Governour of this Island. don't forgett or delay this but take pains to be truely informd that we know the Word of the Cure with your Reformations thereupon. It is not so much for the Saving the Charge of & our Regular Nichols as the putting a Stop to	Ship Condonnell. The late Governor thought it below him to have any mechanic diet at the Court's table, whereas the Court had ordered Clove the carpenter that favour, to encourage his care of the Court's timber and deals. The Council was to advise the Court of the people's names, their employments and its opinion, whether it was for the Court's interest, and by its own endeavours, that they had, or should have, that knowledge. It was to examine also former precedents, to see how long since, and for what reasons, any innovations had been made from what was the practice in the old Company's time, or at the beginning of the Union. That is to say, during Governor Poirier's time of being deputy Governor and Governor of the island, it was not to forget or delay, but to take pains to be truly informed, and let the Court know the whole of the case, with its observations on it. This was not so much for the saving of the charge of it, as for the regular method, as in putting a stop to precedents which were often privily introduced without reason, or, as it might be, sometimes allowed for a particular respect, and to look into any records. But when an establishment would be given as a reason why the same should be allowed to the successors, who very likely had as real claim to it, or at least had not given sufficient proof of it. The Court would further add that its charges had risen prodigiously of late years at St Helena, beyond what they were in former times. It therefore

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		Precedents which are often previous intended without any Reason. or it may be Sometimes attended for a particular Respect & take in any words but when we establisht will be given as a Reason why this Same Should be attend to the Successors who very likely have as real Claim to Work or at least have not given Sufficient proof of it. But we must farther add that our Charges have Should of late grow prodigiously at S.t Helena beyond what they were in former times. & therefore it becomes us to look about us & Stop every the Leak Sod for good Husbandry always begins in Smaller matters. & if it be true from thence exceeds a greater till at last it becomes habituated to every thing. Send us Yearly by our Ships at least by double Conveyance in a Detail of the monthly Charge of our Table at the Fort & Plantation to a true Certain viz.t this 25.th what of march including the Overseers names we have the benefit of it with **Margin Notes:** Enquire who handid the forlorn Comp.a former time P.d Detail sent of the monthly Charge of Table	became the Council to look about it, and stop every needless charge, for good husbandry always began in smaller matters. If it were true from small excesses a greater one grew, so at last it became habitual to every thing. The Court noted, thirty-third, that the Council was to send it yearly, by its ships at least, by double conveyance, an abstract of the monthly charge of the Court's table at the Fort and plantation, to some certain day. This was the twenty-fifth or last of March, involving the several names and the benefit of it, and so on. **Interpretations** The Court's reversal of Boucher's refusal to let a mere mechanic diet at its table, insisting the carpenter Clove keep that favour to encourage his care of the timber, shows how it tied a small perquisite directly to a purpose, rewarding the man responsible for a costly imported material and refusing to let a governor's snobbery undo a deliberate incentive. The concern with innovations quietly introduced since the old Company's time, and the danger that a perquisite once allowed became a precedent claimed by every successor, reveals the Court's alertness to how privileges crept into the establishment, since a favour granted for a particular reason could harden into a permanent charge once later officers pointed to it as settled custom. The maxim that good husbandry begins in smaller matters, and that from small excesses a greater one grows till waste becomes habitual, states the philosophy behind the Court's minute attention to petty charges, its watch over diet and drink and small favours resting on the belief that unchecked small indulgences bred the large expense that was ruining the island's account.
258	254	Orders &c.a with the reason We come now to the next branch under this head what is the Military. wherein we observe as follows viz.t by the Abingdon we received a List of the Pay & Wages allotted to our Covenant. or Mercantile Servants. or Soldiers. which was for so far well done. & the Soldiers names. nut Alphabetically. this is right; but it wanted to compleat it. the abstract of the whole at the bottom. to Show what the Annuall Charge amounted to. for the future do this in the following manner. first the Governours. & Councill in one line. amounting to £and. so much. then the Severall Persons imployed 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 Boates Crew. then the Gunner. & his underlings & Montys. or then the Severall Military Officers. then the private Centinels & so cast up the totalls. take care the Lists of all be ranged in the Same manner. to agree with the Abstract. when you draw out a new List. & find any persons names wanting which were in the former. put a Memoran dum after the Abstract. which must be drawn out as aforesaid. yearly mentioning what is become of the Persons named in the Preceding List. viz.t So many are dead. naming them. & how. & what distemper. or casually so many **Margin Notes:** List of the Pay & Wages of all Servants	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow, with the reason. The Court came now to the next branch under this head, which was the military. By the Abingdon it had received a list of the pay and wages allowed to its covenant or mercantile servants, or soldiers, which was so far well done, the soldiers being named alphabetically. This was right, but it wanted to complete it, the abstract of the whole at the bottom, to show what the annual charge amounted to. For the future the Council was to do this in the following manner. First the Governor and Council in one line, amounting to so much. Then the several persons employed by them as assistants at the stores or at the plantation house, or overseers of the grounds or of the slaves. Then the several artificers. Then the boatswain, or cooper. Then the gunner and his underlings and mantops. Then the several military officers. Then the private sentinels. All these were then to be cast up into the total. The Council was to take care the lists of all be ranged in the same manner, to agree with the abstract, when it drew out a new list. If it found any persons' names wanting which were in the former, it was to put a memorandum after the abstract, which must be drawn out as before, yearly mentioning what had become of the persons named in the preceding list. That is to say, so many were dead, naming them, and when, and what distemper or casualty carried them off, so many. **Interpretations** The demand that the pay list be cast into a single abstract showing the total annual charge reveals the Court's wish to grasp the whole cost of the establishment at a glance, since a bare roll of names and sums told it little until reduced to the one figure

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			by which the burden of the garrison could be judged and controlled. The prescribed order of the list, running from the Governor down through the stores, the artificers, the gunner's crew and the military officers to the private sentinels, mirrors the whole hierarchy of the settlement in a fixed sequence, so that each yearly return could be compared exactly with the last and no man's place or pay lost in a rearranged column. The requirement to record each year what became of every name dropped from the list, naming the dead and the distemper that carried them off, shows the Court binding the pay account to a register of mortality, so that the wages roll doubled as a record of the garrison's losses and no vanished name could conceal a continued charge.
259	255	Per Ship Cordonnell many discharged or run away. lett the Surgeon Sign the List of the deceased. the Clerk that of the persons discharged or run away. & the proper Office who musters the Soldiers. the Muster Roll of those actually in Service. & do you the Gov.r & Councill Sign the Whole. to Show you have Examined all. & so find the doubts. & lett the dates of Each be put in each place of Signing. Wee propose this farther Benefit by such List & abstract. that you will See how great the Charge is. & so thereby be Excited to a personal care. to prevent any the least unnecessary Article of Expence. We are Sorry to find the Reason alledged for the Soldiers continuing namely want of Sod. one great Cause of that. or we take it is that mischievous practice of letting them run in Arrear so much at the Store House. this must be Remedied. We have been Told. that a Servant sent. from the private Houses to our Pack. or his Wife. was got at the Soldiers. we we remove for Punch. transferd to the House Ledgers Creditt at the Store Comp.a. & to the Soldiers Debt. & by this means. & the want of frequent Ballance. every man Accounts. the Soldiers run. we in Arrear for £10 to £20 or twenty. & upwards. which. being unable to pay. they are tempted to any desperate Course. we tell you the Evill. that you may apply the Remedy. of prevention in future. Gov.r Boucher. was in the right. when. he. gave. publick Notice. to. Such. debtors. to. work. out. their. debts. at. the. Fortifica tions. or. Buildings. do. you. Continue. it. for. those. still. in. Debt. because. we. have. no. other. way. to. Reimburse. us. this. will prevent. the. Purge. of. Islands. it. was. wrote. to. find. out. was Required. the. Unknown. the. method. he. granted. of. letting. our Beates. to. the. Soldiers. to. fish. was. prudent. & what. we. prevent **Margin Notes:** Transfer to be Remedy the Same	Ship Condonnell. Many were discharged or run away. The surgeon was to sign the list of the deceased, the clerk that of the persons discharged or run away, and the proper officer who mustered the soldiers, the muster roll of those actually in service. The Court bade the Governor and Council sign the whole, to show it had examined it all, and found it right. It let the dates of each be put in the said place of signing. The Court noted, thirty-fifth, that it proposed this further benefit by such a list and abstract, that the Council might see how great the charge was, and thereby be excited to afford such care to prevent to it any the least unnecessary article of expense. The Court noted, thirty-sixth, that it was sorry to find the reason alleged for the soldiers running into debt, namely want of food. One great cause of that, or want of care, was the mischievous practice of letting them run in arrears so much at the storehouse. This must be remedied. It had been told that a servant sent from the plantation house to Mr Pack, or his wife, was set at the soldiers' own resource for punch, transferred to the house keeper's credit at the storehouse, and to the soldiers' debt. By this means, and the want of frequent balancing, every man ran on account to the soldiers running in arrears for ten or so, or a man's pay upwards, which, being unable to pay, they were tempted to any desperate course. The Court told the Council this so that it might apply the remedy of preventing it in future. Governor Boucher was in the right where he gave public notice to such debtors to work out their debts at the fortifications or buildings. The Council was to continue it for those still in debt, because the Court had no other way to reimburse it. This was among the charge of St Helena. It was well done to find out ways required, the unknowns. The method he pursued of letting one bear to the soldiers, to see what was prudent, and what were needful to prevent, and so on. **Interpretations** The requirement that each part of the roll be signed by the officer responsible, the surgeon for the dead, the clerk for the discharged, the muster officer for those in service, and the whole endorsed by the Governor and Council, extends the Court's principle of witnessed record to the very count of its men, so that every category of loss carried a named man's warrant for its truth. The link between soldiers running deep into arrears at the storehouse and their turning to desperate courses exposes the danger of unchecked credit in a garrison, since a man owing more than his pay could clear had every incentive to desert or worse, so that the loose reckoning of the store threatened the discipline and safety of the island's defence. The endorsement of Boucher's scheme to work off debts at the fortifications, one of the few of his acts the Court approved, shows the directors turning

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		from the Store	the settlers' arrears into useful labour, recovering value that could not be reimbursed in money by setting the debtors to the very public works the island needed, so that the debt itself was made to serve the Company's ends.
260	256	Orders &c.a prevent any their Complaints of their being hunger. & so & if a few were lazy & wo.d not take pains to gett their Victualls. there wo.d be we we we Carelesness. their Complaint wo.d not be generall. continue this practice to them & to the Islanders during the great Scarcity of fresh Provisions which by the afflicted state of Providence hath laid so long heavy on all the Inhabitants of S.t Helena. as to the Accounts of S.t Helena. whither our own or Grain. take an Acc.t of Ships or Persons in particular. we have little to add to what we have mentiond before in this Letter. & in those drawn & you for Spare past except the that we must have a Stop put to the Drawing Bills. we Cant remain quiet under Such large Draught yearly made upon Us. heretofore we had wid to have Bills sent & drawn on the Owners for what Supplied these Ships viz.t & then S.t Helena was not Supplied by Us from India in any measure to what it has been lately. but now it is the Reverse. It is true the Fortifications & Buildings have been Some issue of an additionall Charge. but the difference between the management of the late & former times appears to Us to be the greatest. In the Abingdons List of the Pacquett we y.e is out into Major Vic.t accounts. but names none for the Salary in not we the Sett the particular Accounts we we on the Pacquette the orders the Severall Accounts so into a Certainty Sod to You & We also as the Generall Order leave als in doubt & Show only for an answer to the Whole a pretence they Sen all they Sod when very likely they Sent few or perhaps none lett you Cry never be Sure whither they have done their duty nor know how to Supply by their wants any defect. y.e **Margin Notes:** Invaulld Sett put up Salarys Sod to be first	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Court wished to prevent any just complaints of the men being kept hungry. If a governor were lazy and would not take pains to get them their victuals, they would be in want, whereas under a careful governor the complaint would not be general. It was to continue the practice to them, and to the islanders, during the great scarcity of fresh provisions which, by the afflicted state of providence, had lain so long heavy on all the inhabitants of St Helena. As to the accounts of the island, whether the Court's own general one or that of ships or persons in particular, it had little to add to what it had said before in this letter. It wished those disposed of for many past, except that it must have a stop put to the drawing of bills. It could remain quiet under such large drafts, greatly made upon it. Heretofore it had used to have bills sent it to answer in the owners for what supplied the island. Yet, though St Helena was not supplied by it from India in any manner to what it had been lately, but once in the revenue, it was true the fortifications and buildings had been some cause of an additional charge. The difference between the management of the late and former times appeared to the Court to be the greatest. The Court noted, thirty-seventh, that in the Abingdon's list of the packet, and so on, in its India ships accounts, but it named none for the many. The letter went not into the list, the particular accounts entered in the packet. The orders the several accounts sent so into a certainty back to the Council. Whatever adorned the general order, it left it in doubt, and thereby only for an excuse to the whole, a pretence they sent all they should when very likely they sent few, or perhaps none. It could never be sure whether they had done their duty, or knew how to supply the defect, and so on. **Interpretations** The Court's insistence that a diligent governor would prevent the men going hungry, laying the general want of provisions at the door of a lazy one, shows how directly it held the officer responsible for the welfare of the garrison, treating hunger among the soldiers not as mere misfortune but as evidence of neglect at the top. The determination to put a stop to the drawing of bills reveals the Court's alarm at the flow of drafts on its London funds, since every bill the island drew was money it had to find at home, and the volume of these demands, set against the little the settlement returned, made the drain the sharpest measure of its ruinous cost. The concern that particular accounts named in a packet list gave only a vague general assurance, allowing the officers to pretend they had sent everything when they might have sent little or nothing, exposes the Court's distrust of unspecific reporting, since only an itemised record let it verify that the promised documents had truly been despatched rather than merely claimed.
261	257	Per Ship Cordonnell in the former Pacquetts. this method of particularizing in the List of the Pacquetts. all Books & papers sent. will have the farther good Effect. that the Storekeeper. & other whose Officers.	Ship Condonnell. In the former packets, this method of particularizing in the list of the packets, all books and papers sent with them, would have this further good effect, that the storekeeper and other inferior officers, the clerk of the Council and all others who had any charge under them, of which they should prepare and send in the accounts, knowing the list contained

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		y.e Clerk of the Councill. & all others who have any Charge under them. of which they Should prepare. & Send us the Accounts knowing the List Contains memorandums of all Sort. & that you have. See what each have brought in. & what omitted. they will. or Should be carefull to forgett nothing. lett they renew your Censure. & the Clerk. by looking over the preceding Space. or Invoice List of the Pacquets. will be put in mind to Call. timely on us the proper Officer for the papers. Books. & other so evan Necessary to be Sent by the Shipping. then with You. or what may be farther Expected during the present. or Approaching Season. & when they are all Collected. it will be but little trouble for the Gov.r. or One of the Councils to Sen the List of what Should be Sent. & take an the particulars to See they are Ready. or if the Clerk fun he Cant get them in time. he can represent it to the Gov.r alone. or in Councill. that he may imploy his Authority to gett all done. for as you have the power to Enforce Obedience to our Orders. the Blame will be Yours. if they are not Complied with. & this our number to Obviate the Excuses made by Cap.t Boucher. in the y.e Bord. of the Abingdons Letter. which we we cant. never Suffer to pass for Orthodox. What accounts we wo.d have Sent. besides the generall Books. which must be Yearly. & we we we wid. you will See by what mentioned in this. & preceding Letters. where to we refer You. we we we find Some benefit of our Complaints on this Head. by what wid in the Abingdon. & the following Ships. & a reason given why the generall Books were not Sent. because M.r Pack had at then been behind hand 19 months. 39. In **Margin Notes:** how a List of we send the paper Officers y.e sett them ready Generall & other Generall Books Yearly	memoranda of all sorts, would take care what rate had brought in and what omitted. They would, or should, be careful to forget nothing, lest they incur the Court's censure. The clerk, by looking over the preceding spaces or invoice list of the packets, would be put in mind to collect timely on the proper officers the papers, books, and whatever else was necessary to be sent by the shipping, then with the Council, or whatever might be further expected during the present or approaching season. When they were all collected, it would be but little trouble for the Governor, or one of the Council, to see the list of what should be sent, and read over the particulars, to see they were ready. If the clerk found he could not get them in time, he was to represent it to the Governor alone, or in Council, so that he might employ his authority to get all done. For, as the Council had the power to enforce obedience to the Court's orders, the blame would be the Council's if they were not complied with. This was one manner to obviate the excuses made by Captain Boucher in the fifth paragraph of the Abingdon's letter, which now could never suffice to pass for orthodox. The Court noted, thirty-eighth, that whatever accounts it would have sent, besides the general books, which must be fairly transmitted, the Council would see by what was mentioned in this and preceding letters. Whereto, on referring, it would find some benefit of its complaints on this head, by what was said in the Abingdon and the following ships. The reason it gave why the general books were not sent was because Mr Pack had all this time been behindhand nine months. **Interpretations** The scheme of a checklist attached to each packet, naming every book and paper that should accompany it, shows the Court engineering a self-enforcing discipline, since an officer who knew his omissions would be visible against a list had reason to forget nothing, and the clerk had a ready means to chase each department for its due. The placing of ultimate blame on the Council for any orders not complied with, on the ground that it held the power to enforce obedience, sets out the principle that authority carried responsibility, so that the Council could not shelter behind a subordinate's failure but was answerable for making the whole machinery of reporting actually work. The dismissal of Boucher's excuses as no longer able to pass for orthodox reveals the Court hardening its stance against the standard defences the settlement offered for its failures, treating the familiar pleas of delay and difficulty as worn-out evasions that its new system of checklists and fixed responsibility was designed to render impossible.
262	258	Orders &c.a In this Abingdons Pacquett. we is mentioned a Calculate of the Yearly Expence of S.t Helena. for one year. but were Cant find in Such things in the Packet. give no Occasions to complain of Such Provisions hereafter. In the Abingdons Packet. we had the List of Marriages. Baptisms. & Burials. certifyed by the Chaplain. Continue the like Yearly to the Sd. of March. Wee Received also in the Same Packet. Copies of the Letters sent from S.t Helena. to Bengal. Bencoolen. & Fort	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Court noted, thirty-ninth, that in the Marlborough's packet there was mentioned a calculate of the yearly expense of St Helena for one year. But it wished to find no such thing in the packet, giving it occasion to complain of such provisions hereafter. The Court noted, fortieth, that in the Abingdon's packet it had the list of marriages, baptisms and burials, certified by the chaplain. It wished the like yearly to the twenty-fifth of March. The Court noted, forty-first, that it had received also, in the same packet, copies of the letters sent

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		S.t George. but no dates put thereto. nor who Signed them. lett this be amended in future. Wee find in the last Consultation. our M.r Bazetts Acc.t of what Solstices of the Sores. entends. which. is according. to. our. Order. but. if. they. cou.d. be. gott. more reach. wid. it. wo.d. not. & the. Weaver. so. as. they. appeared plaine. if. so. they. must. be. Viewed. in. the. Same. method or. at. present. by. We. come. now. to. the. Article. of. Slaves. & we. Answer to. what. lies. before. Us. on. this. part. of. the. Generall. Head. viz.t Since. You. have. received. Forty. three. by. the. Mercury. Rogg we. Approve. your. so. apply. them. to. the. best. Uses. you. can. for our. Advice. for. Standing. of. for. Trading. for. Planting. and. so their. beneficiall. Employment. we. as. mean. as. other. but. all kept. to. their. proper. Labour. take. care. of. their. Health. afford them. proper. Cloathing. & foods. and. when. Sick. lett. them. be Supplied. with. Comfortable. Necessaries. write. to. the. Coast. & Bay to. Send. You. two. or. three. Bale. of. double. Dungarees. for Cloaths. for. them. & So. Sods. for. your. Order. Find. we Annually. a. List. of. all. the. Slacks. their. Ages. & how. Employed. we. had. the. Accounts. by. this. last. Ships. but. no. Body Signd **Margin Notes:** Calculate of Yearly Expence Chaplains List Copys of Letters to India M.r Bazett to Estimate his Acc.t of the Store the 43 Slaves Sent by the Mercury. & to be. Employed how their Bales of Dungaree	from St Helena to Bengal, Bencoolen and Fort St George, but no dates put thereto, nor who signed them. It wished these to be mentioned in future. The Court noted, forty-second, that it found in the last consultations Mr Bazett's account of what solutions of the slaves entered, which was according to the Court's order, but if they could be got more into a head it would not be the worse, so as they appeared plain. If not, they must be viewed in the same method as at present. The Court came now to the article of slaves, and, in answer to what lay before it on this part of the general head, since the Council had received forty-three by the Mercury, it wished the Council to apply them to the best use it could, for its labour, for standing off, for trading, for planting, and other beneficial employment. Not one to be idle, but all kept to their proper labour. Yet in the care of their health, the Court wished them clothed and fed, and when sick, let them be supplied with wholesome necessaries. It wished the Court sent two or three bales of double dungarees for cloths for them, if it saw fit, for the Council's order. It found no annual list of the slaves, their ages and how employed. It had the accounts by this last ship, but nobody signed them. **Interpretations** The demand for a yearly certified register of marriages, baptisms and burials, and for an annual list of the slaves with their ages and employment, shows the Court treating the whole population of the island, free and enslaved alike, as a body to be counted and tracked on paper, so that the settlement's human resources could be audited as strictly as its stores and cattle. The instruction to keep every slave at productive labour and none idle, while clothing, feeding and tending them in sickness, exposes the Company's purely calculating regard for its slave workforce, since the care prescribed for their health rests openly on preserving the value of their labour rather than on any concern for them as persons. The recurring complaint that the accounts, however carefully drawn, bore no signature reveals the Court's unyielding demand for authenticated records, since an unsigned list of slaves or of any other property committed no man to its accuracy and left the directors without anyone answerable for the figures on which their knowledge of the island depended.
263	259	Per Ship Cordonnell Signd it vouch for its truth. which we we we do deny. not the Men. the Women. the Children of Eight years or more. & how under each in a Column by themselves & See all be rightly entred. which this last Surely was not. a Child of one Year old. called Harry. was therein ranked among Severall others. as looking after the Hogs. Calves & Poultry If you have any Blacks to Spare. which. you think worth. while. to Send to Bencoolen. put them on board this Ship Cardonnell. & advise. it to the Deputy Governour. & Councill. the Charter party will Show you we are to pay. four Pounds. & Sod. for their passage. The next branch of this Generall Head. is the Article of Cattle. & live Provisions. & is a very melancholy account. in all parts. to the death. of so many. there	Ship Condonnell. Nobody had signed it, to vouch for its truth, which was necessary to be done. The men, the women and the children of eight years or more were to be entered under each in a column by themselves, so that all might be rightly entered. This last was surely not a child of one year old, called Harry, who was entered ranked among several others, as looking after the hogs, calves and poultry. The Court noted, forty-fourth, that if the Council had any slaves to spare which it thought worth its while to send to Bencoolen, it was to put them on board the Condonnell and advise the Deputy Governor and Council there. The charter party would show that four pounds a head was to be paid for their passage. The Court noted, forty-fifth, that the next branch of this general head was the article of cattle and live provisions. This was a very melancholy account, in all respects, on the death of so many. There was no repining at providence, but humble

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		is no repining at Providence. an humble. submission become Us; It is incumbent. on your. & all the Islan ders. to do what. in you lyes. to preserve. the remaining Stock. & increase. it all you can. for the benefit of the Island. in Generall. & the Severall Countries. & to that end. to prevent. the killing of any Calves whatsoever. & to Spare. as much as possible. all the Grown Cattle. Especially the Cows. the French King has very lately. put out. an Edict. forbidding any Lamb. being Killed. in his Kingdom. to Whitsontide 1716. because he. wants wool. for his Manufactures 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 a Calf. within. a limited time. to be by them. Settled. & to See the order. put in **Margin Notes:** Send Blacks if you can Spare them to Bencoolen a melancholy the killing of Breeding Cows	submission became the Court. It was incumbent on the Council, and the islanders, to do all in its power to preserve the remaining stock, and increase it all it could, for the benefit of the island in general and of the several concerns. To that end it was to prevent the killing of any calves whatever, and spare as much as possible all the young cattle, above all the cows. The French King had very lately put out an edict forbidding any lamb being killed in his kingdom until Whitsuntide 1716, because he wanted wool for his manufactures. How much greater reason had all the inhabitants to agree among themselves to lay a penalty on any one who should kill a calf or a cow within a limited time, to be settled by them, and to see the order kept. **Interpretations** The prescribed layout of the slave register, men, women and children over eight each in a separate column, exposes the confusion of the existing account, where a one-year-old child was absurdly entered as looking after the livestock, showing how a careless roll rendered the record worthless until the categories were properly ordered. The reckoning of a charge of four pounds a head for shipping slaves to Bencoolen records the movement of enslaved people between the Company's settlements as a matter of freight and account, the same vessel that carried the year's correspondence also transporting human beings priced by the head like any other cargo. The proposed ban on killing calves and cows, expressly modelled on the French King's edict against slaughtering lambs to preserve wool for his manufactures, shows the Court reaching for a precedent in European economic regulation to justify conservation on the island, applying to a struggling herd the same principle of restraining present consumption to secure future supply.
264	260	Orders &c.a in rigorous execution. do you recommend it to them heartily. & as 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 Mutuall Agreement. yet be sure. do you take care. none of ours. be Exported. we have told you before. we ordered. y.e. & we. & lett Boates for fishing. lett Planters. & soldiers. have the Use of them. on the terms. Settled in Governour Bouchers time. or if you can. Settle better. do this will. yield. a good Supply. if they are indus trious. when our Shipping. comes to the Islande lett them have a little Beef. as possible. & that chiefly. & only for recruiting their weak Men but neither Calves. nor horses flesh. It is an irreparable Loss. that the late Governour had like. to have. brought upon us. as your Letter of the 6.t July. describes it. that we have neither Sheep. Deer. Goates. Turkeys. Geese. Ducks Fowles. or Rabbits. left. we earnestly recommend to you. to remember. your promise. in that Letter. & rise more. as we we. much as you can if the Planters. have Suffered. in all. or any of these Species. prevail on them. to agree. on good Sums for. the Sooner. replenishing. the Islands again with each Sort. & do you. See. the Coa. works. there need not. many words. to perswade. Men of Sence & forsight. to take. the utmost. care. therein. for the thing Speaks it Self. lett us hear. what is done touching both these Articles. by Your next. & how it **Margin Notes:** a Gawtes for fishing the great Loss of Live	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Council was to recommend the strict execution of the order heartily to the inhabitants, as touching the Court's poor remaining stock. The Court positively ordered that none of its own cattle be killed within the same time. If the inhabitants would not come under a mutual agreement, the Council was still to be sure to take care that none of the Court's own be disposed of. As it had before told the Council, it now ordered that, as there were some yawls for fishing, the planters and soldiers have the use of them on the terms settled in Governor Boucher's time, or on better if the Council could arrange it. This would yield a good supply if they were industrious. When the Court's shipping came to the island, they were to have as little beef as possible, and that chiefly and only for recruiting their weak men, but neither calves nor cows flesh. The Court noted, forty-sixth, that it was an irreparable loss that the late Governor had like to have brought upon it. As the Council's letter of the third of July described it, there were neither sheep, deer, goats, turkeys, geese, ducks, fowls nor rabbits left. The Court earnestly recommended to the Council to remember its promise in that letter, and raise more, as much as it could. If the planters had suffered in all, or any, of these species, the Council was to prevail on them to agree on good laws for the sooner restocking the island again with each sort. As the Council saw the case, there needed not many words to persuade men of sense and foresight to take the utmost care herein, for the thing spoke for itself. The Court wished to hear what was done touching both these articles by the Council's next letter, and how, and so on.

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		Stock	**Interpretations** The provision of fishing yawls for the planters and soldiers reveals how the sea was made to relieve the pressure on the island's failing herds, since a good catch from an industrious crew could feed the settlement without drawing on the scarce cattle the Court was so anxious to preserve. The order that visiting ships take as little beef as possible, and that only for reviving weak men, and never calves or cows, shows the Court subordinating even the provisioning of its own vessels to the recovery of the stock, treating the breeding animals as too precious to slaughter for the ordinary victualling that had helped bring the herd so low. The alarm that the island had been left with neither sheep, deer, goats, poultry nor rabbits, and the call for good laws to restock each kind, exposes how close the settlement had come to losing its whole capacity to feed itself, so that the conservation of every species became a matter of the island's survival rather than mere husbandry.
265	261	Per Ship Cardonnell it came about. that in July. the Streit convey of these afsresaid Species Remaining. when the Sod. by the Abingdon. taken. the 25.th February. before member. we had 18 Ships. 3 & Turkeys. 6 Ducks. 18 Draught. & Fowles. the Same List. also makes the Number of our Black Cattle. to be. 9 & 40. a Loss to Us of the 25.th March. there were so many there. yet your Item Says there we we we but. & to be. particular there. we hope. y.e never Copy after y.e. & Provisions. in particular. tho a very melancholy answer in Par.a 26.th of Abingdon. to a like Enquiry. Touching the last Article. under this Sd. Head. viz.t Land. & Revenues. & we Shall. briefly. refer. you. to. former. Letters being. unwilling. or. because. this. Shall. be. there. we. fairly. Enquire continue. to. Send. the. like. Yearly. of. the. Timber. & so. as. their Blacks. & Cattle. & Sod. Land. Sold. out. to. the. Inhabitants. what. Frails. & they. have. what. our. Rents. & Revenues. amount unto. & how. much. by. Each. Article. in. an. Abstract. at. the. End. of the. Account. & what. Land. by. a. Good. Survey. Shall. be. found. to belong. to. Us. & where. what. part. thereof. is. necessary. or. wid for. our. Cattle. Victuals. parts. might. be. Islands. wid. allways. put. the Rents. of. Frailties. alphabetically. of. which. we. we. finds. Sometimes has. not. bin. done. As. the. great. Scarcity. of. our. Island. consists. in the. Number. of. the. English. who. appointed. & that. they. with. the better. Enterprise. to. defend. it. against. our. Enemy. when. they have. any. thing. of. their. own. at. Stake. we. are. willing. to. this End. that. any. of. our. Soldiers. who. behave. themselves. civilly & are. desirous. to. Rent. our. Lands. Shall. have. Liberty. so. to. do & thereon. planters. when. their. Command. & time. is. Expired. & if	Ship Condonnell. It came about that in July there should be some of these several species remaining, above the stock by the Abingdon, when the twenty-fifth of February before. Their number was eighteen sheep, thirty-eight turkeys, six ducks, and though the fowls, the same list also made the number of the Court's black cattle to be ninety-two by the twenty-fifth of March, so a loss to the Court. There were so many, yet the Council's letter said there were now but sixty, to particularise them. The Court wished the Council's next letter would send a copy of this, its diligence testifying in a significant answer. In Fort St George and the Abingdon, it wished a like enquiry. As touching the last article under this head, the Court referred the Council to former letters, being unwilling to chew the same over as it had lately required. Certain to send the like yearly of the timber, as of their black cattle, of old land hired out to the inhabitants, what fowls it had, what its rents and revenues amounted to, and how much by each article, in an abstract at the end of the account. What land, by a good survey, should be found to belong to the Court's uses, what part thereof was necessary or used for the Court's cattle. Victuals, park, might the islanders in it always put the list of fowls alphabetically, which the Court found sometimes had not been done. The Court noted, forty-eighth, that as the great scarcity of the island consisted in the number of the English there, and so that they would the better be able to defend it against an enemy when they had anything of their own at stake, the Court was willing to this end, that any of its soldiers who behaved themselves civilly were desirous to rent its lands, that they have liberty so to do, and become planters when their command of stores was required. If, then, any of them deserved this further favour of having land given them, according to the ancient custom, and it saw fit, and so on. **Interpretations** The precise count of eighteen sheep, thirty-eight turkeys and ninety-two black cattle set against the earlier figures shows the Court reading the settlement's herds and flocks as a running measure of its stewardship, the fall from ninety-two cattle to a reported sixty standing as stark evidence of loss to be explained. The demand for a yearly survey distinguishing land the Court needed for its own cattle from land that could be let reveals the directors' concern to know exactly what of the island's ground served the Company and what could be turned to rent, treating

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		then. any. of. these. deserving. & they. farther. favour. of. having. Land given. them. according. to. the. antient. Custom. lett. us. know. it. & so. lett. they **Margin Notes:** Send of Land & Revenues To Encourage people to Rent the Land	the estate as an asset whose every acre should be either productive or accounted for. The policy of granting land to well-behaved soldiers, so that men with something of their own at stake would defend the island the better, exposes the Court's linking of property to loyalty and defence, since a garrison of rooted planters was judged more likely to fight for a place they held an interest in than mere hired sentinels with nothing to lose.
266	262	Orders &c.a whither you have any Objection thereto. & which. for our farther Consideration. and Resolution thereupon. Take constant Care to preserve the civil Government of the Islande. in a Regular method & we may give all Disquiet. Satisfaction. make the Inhabitants easy in their Properties. Suffer none to be Oppress. or ill dealt. or ill. whensoever. We find Some good Entries in the Consultations of the 2.d of June 1713. relating to the Church. Madems & other Accounts. the high ways. & other matters. & so in the Consultations of July. & of august. & a Court. & so Setting the property of the Inhabitants Lands. & so their Titles thereto. whither Freehold. or Leasehold. & so the appointing. a Court. of Orphans. Continue them. and all other. Usuall methods. for the benefit. & Quiet of the People. Fourthly touching our Fortifications. Buildings. and Garrison Stores. We are Sorry to find. that Notwithstanding Cap.t Bouchers. assurance. in Par.a 10 of Abingdon that he has deserved much better. than any his Predecessors. & his prompous Account. of what he has done. as in Par.a 19 & 40. that You Can find nothing of moment. done about the Fortifications. Since Governour Roberts. left the Island. & that all we out of Repair. or at least the Twenty. Buildings neglected. & among others. the designed Storehouse. we find in the Instructions. as lately. You. tell. you. our mind **Margin Notes:** Preserve Government Support. & so protect the Orphans make what buildings are Necessary	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Council was to advise whether it had any objection or doubt, and what it wished for the Court's further consideration and resolution thereupon. The Court noted, forty-ninth, that the Council was to take constant care to preserve the civil government of the island in a regular method. It was to give all diligent satisfaction, make the inhabitants easy in their properties, and suffer none to be oppressed or ill dealt with by whomsoever. The Court found some good entries in the consultations of the twelfth of June 1713 relating to the church, madeira and other accounts, the high wages and other matters, and in the consultations of July and August, about the settling of the property of the inhabitants' lands, and their titles, whether freehold or leasehold, and the appointing a guardian of orphans. The Council was to continue these, and all other useful methods, for the benefit and quiet of the people. The Court then turned fourthly to its fortifications, buildings and garrison stores. The Court was sorry to find that, notwithstanding Captain Boucher's assurance in the fourth paragraph of the Abingdon's letter that he had deserved much better than any of his predecessors, and his pompous account of what he had done, as in the nineteenth and twentieth paragraphs, the Council could find nothing of moment done about the fortifications since Governor Roberts left the island. The buildings were let out of repair, or at best neglected among others the designed storehouse. The Court found in the instructions lately sent the Council, and so on. **Interpretations** The appointment of a guardian of orphans, noted with approval among the good entries in the consultations, reveals the settlement's provision for the vulnerable, since a small colony where death carried off parents needed some settled office to protect the persons and property of children left behind, and the Court treated this as part of the regular civil order it wished maintained. The insistence on securing the inhabitants' titles, whether freehold or leasehold, and keeping them easy in their properties, shows the Court's understanding that a stable settlement rested on clear and protected rights in land, since planters uncertain of their holdings or exposed to oppression would neither improve their ground nor stay to populate the island. The contrast between Boucher's boast of deserving better than his predecessors and the finding that nothing of moment had been done on the fortifications since Governor Roberts exposes the gulf between the late Governor's self-praise and the Court's judgement of his record, the neglected storehouse and decaying buildings serving as the concrete refutation of his claims.
267	263	Per Ship Cardonnell minds fully. what Storehouses. we wo.d have. built. that is to Say. what really. necessary. as therein. mentioned. but	Ship Condonnell. The Court set down what storehouses it would have built. That is to say, what was really necessary, as before mentioned. But at the same time it must acquaint the Council that it would have no more

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		at the Same time. must acquaint You. that we wo.d have no more done. than what is So. Building. when best Managed. is a Chargeable. Article. as we favour. found by Smarting Experience. since the Native. built. as mentioned in the Bord. 10. of your Letter. under the needfull. additions. to thereto. to bigons. people. Ware. houses. the late Gov.r. & so it it was best. to have. the Storehouses. there. because. the Goods. & management. was more. under. the Eye. of the Gov.r & Councill. & you wrote. it is too damp. & may Spoile. the Goods. Consider. Well. & if the Building. is enough. for all the Store houses. don't built. more. if it be. not. then. only. add. what farther. Necessary. for them. & the Soldiers. Barracks. & in the most proper places. taking great Care. we are at no more Charge. than needfull. to make. it. donable. & convenient whither. in those. or in the Fortifications. & so. & Buildings. & lett us have. a Calculate. Sett. of the Charge. of Each place when found. & giving. therein. an Account. of what is done. that we may judge. of the Husbandry. M.r Cleve. writes. Us. that he. is in great want of. so & to have. to. house. Timber. & Deales. for. that. this. five. of. the the. Timber. & Nypa. the. Deales. & the. soldiers. Need. the Adverb. for. finding. that. the. Good. loofs. much. of. his. dry Stores. for. want. of. a. Sunroom. so. far. as. You. find. this. true take. Care. to. prevent. the. Evils. complained. of. as. you. & So. felt. it. Seems. the. late. Gov.r. wid. not. lett. him. have. the. Charge. of our. Timber. & Deals. we. Suffer. him. to. Repair. what. he. found wanted. mending. by. all. Such. Severall. things. we. going. to. Ruine. do. you. give. the. needfull. Orders. that. he. have. the. Charge. of. both **Margin Notes:** M.r Cleve. & the Timber & Deals Cleves Care	done than what was so. Building, where badly managed, was a chargeable article, as the Court found by smarting experience. Since the natives built, as mentioned in the fifth paragraph of the Council's letter, and made the needful additions thereto, to give people warehouses, the late Governor thought it best to have the storehouses there, because the goods and management were more under the eye of the Governor and Council. As the Council wrote it was too damp and might spoil the goods, it was to consider well whether the building was enough for all the storehouses. It was not to build more, if it were not, but only add what further was necessary for them and the soldiers' barracks, at the most proper place, taking great care they were at no more charge than needful to make them durable and convenient, whether in these or in the fortifications and other buildings. The Court bade the Council make a calculate, an account of the charge of each place when finished, giving therein an account of what was done, so that it might judge of its husbandry. The Court noted, fifty-fourth, that Mr Clove wrote he was in great want of a warehouse to house timber and deals, for that the few oaks, the timber and, above the deals and the soldiers near the roads, were suffering, so that the good logs took much of the dry stores for want of a warehouse, so far as the Council found it true. The Court bade the Council take care to prevent the deals suffering as far as it saw fit. It seemed the late Governor would not let it have the charge of the timber and deals, nor suffer him to repair what he found wanting, whereas by such neglect several things were going to waste. The Court bade the Council see its needful orders, that Clove have the charge of both. **Interpretations** The Court's lesson from smarting experience that badly managed building was a chargeable article shows how the wasted works of the past shaped its present caution, so that it now demanded a costed account of each structure before and after, treating construction as a peculiar danger to the Company's purse rather than a routine necessity. The debate over housing the goods in the damp town warehouses, kept there so the Governor could watch them, versus the risk of spoilage, exposes the competing demands of security and preservation, since storing stores where they could be supervised guarded against theft but exposed them to the wet, and the Court had to weigh one loss against the other. The order that the carpenter Clove be given charge of the timber and deals, reversing the late Governor's refusal, reveals how the Court fixed responsibility for a scarce imported material on the skilled man best placed to protect it, since good logs and planks left uncared-for through personal obstruction were wasting the very stock the island could least afford to lose.
268	264	Orders &c.a both. & have power. to Act. According. to the Tenour of this Gov.r 77. Bord. of your Instructions. we Understand that by Reason of the Scarcity of Provisions. & the Scarcity of good Artists. Carpenters. & other. Manufactors. Labour is very Dear. at S.t Helena. & we find. we. wid to him. & Others. the mason. each Six Shillings. a day & to M.r Cleve. his Apt. besides. when. we. wid. tell. him dyett. at our Table. we we we. not. aware. he. had. so. much Wages. & do think. it. too much. for. if. it. be. offered	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. Both were to have power to act according to the tenor of the ninety-seventh paragraph of the Council's instructions. The Court understood that, by reason of the scarcity of provisions and the want of good artists, carpenters and other manufacturers, labour was very dear at St Helena. It now found it allowed to Mr Man, the mason, six shillings a day, and to Mr Clove his deputy besides, when it was told him they diet at the Court's table. The Court was not aware he had so much wages, and did think it too much, for if it were obliged he could have so much of the planters, which it somewhat doubted, or at least that it was the current price. By natural custom he was, since he had so much labour employed every day

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		he. can. have. so. much. of. the. Planters. which. we. we Somewhat. doubt. of. or. at. least. that. it. is. the. Currant Price. by. naturall. Reason. is. can. he. have. so. much & be. Employed. every. day. in. the. year. whereas. pays wages. all. the. Year. Round. will. consider. that. & how the. Service. dear. & p.re. rate. than. what. Vice. july. will Compell. a. private. man. to. pay. for. only. a. day. or. a bout. on. the. whole. we. we. think. he. ought. to. take. lefs consideering. he. has. dyett. from. Us. we. would. give. him a. fair. Allowance. to. Encourage. his. Fidelity. & Care. of our. Business. under. his. Charge. but. wid. not. pay. too dear. for. it. Let. us. know. your. opinion. of. it. if. you. agree with. us. we. we. & the. allowances. on. fair. & Equitable. terms. & if. you. disagree. lett. us. know. your. Reason. we. Elsewise think. M.r Cleves. Allowance. of. Six. Shillings. a. day. is. too great. a. Sum. from. & so. a. year. we. Cant. Send. him. at. lefs moderate. Station. like. Manner. the. position. of. Servery. of afsresaid. cant. last. always. but. as. a. Setting. Wages. and. Six. Soldiers. maintain. themselves. at. Six. d. & so. a. month. & their duty. take. up. great. part. of. their. time. which. is. but. ac. p.re penn. a. day. they. Ware. Still. deserves. bare. pay. but. lett. it it **Margin Notes:** how the mason & other Artificers dear. Cleves Care	in the year, whereas wages went all the year round. It would consider that it had his service dearer at that rate than what its necessity would compel a private man to pay for only a day or a month. On the whole, it was inclined he ought to take less, since he had his diet from the Court. It would give him a fair allowance to encourage his fidelity and care of the Court's business under his charge, but would not pay too dear for it. It bade the Council let it know its opinion, and, if it agreed with the Court, lower the allowances on fair and equitable terms. If the Council disagreed, it bade it let the Court know its reason. Otherwise it thought Mr Man's allowance of six shillings a day too great a sum from ten to a year. It bade the Council keep him at a very moderate station like the mason. The positions of the artists and provisions could not last always, but on setting wages, since the Court's soldiers maintained themselves at ten to a month, and their duty took up great part of their time, which was but nine pence a day. There was still deemed necessary pay, and so on. **Interpretations** The high wage of six shillings a day for the mason, set against the ninepence a day of the soldiers who maintained themselves, exposes how scarce skilled labour commanded a premium in a remote settlement, and the Court's resistance to it shows its wish to hold even essential craftsmen to rates it judged fair rather than pay whatever the shortage of artificers could extract. The reasoning that a man on year-round wages with his diet found should take less than a private employer would pay for a single day's work reveals the Court's careful distinction between casual and standing hire, since a craftsman kept and fed the whole year through enjoyed a security worth something, which the directors weighed against the daily rate he claimed. The Court's willingness to reward the carpenter's fidelity and care of its business while refusing to pay too dear captures the balance it constantly struck between incentive and economy, granting a fair allowance to secure honest service over its scarce materials yet drawing the line against a wage it thought the island's necessity did not truly justify.
269	265	Orders &c.a both. & have power. to Act. According. to the Tenour of this Gov.r 77. Bord. of your Instructions. we Understand that by Reason of the Scarcity of Provisions. & the Scarcity of good Artists. Carpenters. & other. Manufactors. Labour is very Dear. at S.t Helena. & we find. we. wid to him. & Others. the mason. each Six Shillings. a day & to M.r Cleve. his Apt. besides. when. we. wid. tell. him dyett. at our Table. we we we. not. aware. he. had. so. much Wages. & do think. it. too much. for. if. it. be. offered he. can. have. so. much. of. the. Planters. which. we. we Somewhat. doubt. of. or. at. least. that. it. is. the. Currant Price. by. naturall. Reason. is. can. he. have. so. much & be. Employed. every. day. in. the. year. whereas. pays wages. all. the. Year. Round. will. consider. that. & how the. Service. dear. & p.re. rate. than. what. Vice. july. will Compell. a. private. man. to. pay. for. only. a. day. or. a bout. on. the. whole. we. we. think. he. ought. to. take. lefs consideering. he. has. dyett. from. Us. we. would. give. him	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. Both were to have power to act according to the tenor of the ninety-seventh paragraph of the Council's instructions. The Court understood that, by reason of the scarcity of provisions and the want of good artists, carpenters and other manufacturers, labour was very dear at St Helena. It now found it allowed to Mr Man, the mason, six shillings a day, and to Mr Clove his deputy besides, when it was told him they diet at the Court's table. The Court was not aware he had so much wages, and did think it too much, for if it were obliged he could have so much of the planters, which it somewhat doubted, or at least that it was the current price. By natural custom he was, since he had so much labour employed every day in the year, whereas wages went all the year round. It would consider that it had his service dearer at that rate than what its necessity would compel a private man to pay for only a day or a month. On the whole, it was inclined he ought to take less, since he had his diet from the Court. It would give him a fair allowance to encourage his fidelity and care of the Court's business under his charge, but would not pay too dear for it. It bade the Council let it know its opinion, and, if it agreed with the Court, lower the allowances on fair and equitable terms. If the Council disagreed, it bade it let the Court know its reason. Otherwise it thought Mr Man's allowance of six

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		a. fair. Allowance. to. Encourage. his. Fidelity. & Care. of our. Business. under. his. Charge. but. wid. not. pay. too dear. for. it. Let. us. know. your. opinion. of. it. if. you. agree with. us. we. we. & the. allowances. on. fair. & Equitable. terms. & if. you. disagree. lett. us. know. your. Reason. we. Elsewise think. M.r Cleves. Allowance. of. Six. Shillings. a. day. is. too great. a. Sum. from. & so. a. year. we. Cant. Send. him. at. lefs moderate. Station. like. Manner. the. position. of. Servery. of afsresaid. cant. last. always. but. as. a. Setting. Wages. and. Six. Soldiers. maintain. themselves. at. Six. d. & so. a. month. & their duty. take. up. great. part. of. their. time. which. is. but. ac. p.re penn. a. day. they. Ware. Still. deserves. bare. pay. but. lett. it it **Margin Notes:** how the mason & other Artificers dear. Cleves Care	shillings a day too great a sum from ten to a year. It bade the Council keep him at a very moderate station like the mason. The positions of the artists and provisions could not last always, but on setting wages, since the Court's soldiers maintained themselves at ten to a month, and their duty took up great part of their time, which was but nine pence a day. There was still deemed necessary pay, and so on. **Interpretations** The high wage of six shillings a day for the mason, set against the ninepence a day of the soldiers who maintained themselves, exposes how scarce skilled labour commanded a premium in a remote settlement, and the Court's resistance to it shows its wish to hold even essential craftsmen to rates it judged fair rather than pay whatever the shortage of artificers could extract. The reasoning that a man on year-round wages with his diet found should take less than a private employer would pay for a single day's work reveals the Court's careful distinction between casual and standing hire, since a craftsman kept and fed the whole year through enjoyed a security worth something, which the directors weighed against the daily rate he claimed. The Court's willingness to reward the carpenter's fidelity and care of its business while refusing to pay too dear captures the balance it constantly struck between incentive and economy, granting a fair allowance to secure honest service over its scarce materials yet drawing the line against a wage it thought the island's necessity did not truly justify.
270	266	Orders &c.a Parcells delivered the Islanders. we we Suppose they are prizd for. but doth not appear so plaine. for the future. do you take Care. to Examine. the acc.t he Sends. us. which he must. Sign. to Vouch. it. & so if from. bought. do you. attest. it. & for what is delivered the Inhabitants. lett the Storekeeper. or whatsoever means the Money. or Charges. it. to their Account. & so that. part of the Sott. to Show. it is. accounted. for. Wee have a Letter from M.r Rushborne. our Chaplain. praying. we we we will give. Encouragement. & So to have. a Church. & a Church. in James Valley. & will Send a Model. & Timber. & other Necessaries. as Pews. Pulpit. reading desk. Communion Table. we ready. found. for it. wherein he Sends. us. a Subscription of. £150. to Enquire towards. when it was begun. & this we we Say. we are Very Willing. to Contribute. handsomely. do you advise what you Compt. it may Cost. as to the Stone Work. what Dimensions. are proper. for the Freight. & so. we of. it. Verbal Number. of Pews. & to him. Continue. his Subscribers as Ships come. to the Islands. advise us. what you would have. is advancy. towards. it. the great difficulty. & wid. Us will. be. to find. Tonage. for what. is decided. from hence. because our Ships. are not able. to Carry the Comp. any demand. made for S.t Helena. & Bencoolen. Vessels. we propose. Us. to Send. will prove. Bulky. which. Cant. be Sen. till. the Island. is pretty. well. Sod. with. goods. & so	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. Whatever parcels were delivered, the Court supposed the islanders they were paid for, though it did not appear so plainly. For the future the Council was to take care to examine the account of the goods on which it must agree to touch it, and, if drawn up, to send its attestation, and for what was delivered. The inhabitants were to let the storekeeper, or whoever received the money or charged it to their account, agree that part of the list, to show it was accounted for. The Court noted, fifty-fourth, that it had a letter from Mr Bewitt, chaplain, praying it would give encouragement towards building a church in James Valley. It would send a while, and timber and other necessaries, as boards, pulpit, reading desk, communion table. It was ready found for it, whereto he had sent in a subscription of £150 to be required forward when it was begun, so that it was very willing to contribute handsomely. It bade the Council advise what it computed the church might cost as to the stone-work, what dimensions were proper for it, and the freight and price of such a total number of boards. It bade Mr Bewitt continue his subscriptions as ships came to the island, and advise what it would have, and advance towards it. The great difficulty with the Court was to find tonnage for what was desired from home, because its ships were not able to carry the many, and the demand made for St Helena and Bencoolen. Whatever it proposed to send it would prove bulky, which could be borne, so that the island was pretty well stored with goods. As the stores wanted taking up but little room here, the chaplain further proposed to send by ready money. It bade the Council pay him his house rent, because the soldiers were quartered at Mr Alexander's house, where his lodgings were, and they were too straight for him. **Interpretations** The chaplain's proposal to build a church in James Valley, with the Court offering timber and furnishings and a subscription of £150 to be paid

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		the Store. wanted. take. up. but. little. Room. here. Here farther. propose. Us. for. y.e. & so. money. & to. pay. his. House Rent. because. the. Soldiers. are. Quartered. at. the. Sylion House. where. his. Lodgings. were. & they. are. too. Streight. for. him **Margin Notes:** as Wares are not plain Sod Propose for a new Church & send the Dimentions the Chaplains Rent for diet money	when the work began, reveals how religious provision on the island was funded by a mixture of Company contribution and voluntary subscription, the directors willing to help handsomely while binding their gift to the actual commencement of building. The great difficulty of finding tonnage for the church materials, set against the many other demands on the ships bound for St Helena and Bencoolen, exposes once more how the scarcity of cargo space governed everything the settlement could receive, so that even a work of piety competed with provisions and stores for room in the hold. The direction to pay the chaplain's house rent because the soldiers were quartered in his lodgings shows the practical crowding of a small garrison settlement, where the billeting of troops displaced other residents and the Court had to compensate an officer pushed out of his rooms, the church-building appeal arising alongside the plain problem of where its clergyman was to live.
271	267	Per Ship Cardonnell for him. as to diett. we allways Supposed. he dieted. at our Table. as other Chaplains. have done. he being. married prays. it may now be Suitable. to the Dearness. of the Place. which we we cant judge of. here. but wid. have. you give us your Opinion upon it. & also. whither. the Apartment adjoyning. to the Sylion House. may not. be made Convenient. for him. & then we Shall. Send. you our thoughts on the Whole. tho we we must. tell You. we we are. allways unwilling. to make precedents. for. if they are. once. gott. on. it will. be. very. difficult. & thought. a. hardship. to. take. them. off again. & this. Reason. we. we. so. cogent. Wee. have. now. gone. through. the. Letters. Consultations & other. Papers. before. Us. Relating. to. S.t Helena. & our Remarks. thereon. wherein. we. have. bin. necessitated. to. Show our. Resentment. & we. wid. Sharply. in. Some. particular occurring. before. Your. time. that. very. much. Sod. do. it. which we. hope. y.e. will. amend. & take. care. none. of. them. Shall hereafter. be. applyed. to. any. of. You. for. it. we. wid. be. much more. pleasing. to. Us. to. write. in. a. Softer. Style. & to. Exchange reproofs. for. Commendations. which. we. Shall. willingly. do. if. the Directions. & Advice. in. this. & former. Letters. are. duly. attended. to. understood. & Executed. Wee. have. only. to. add. that. it. having. pleasd. the. almighty to. take. to. his. mercy. our. late. most. Gracious. Sovereign. Lady Queen. Anne. on. the. first. of. august. last. this. present. very. justly King. George. was. in. pursuance. of. the. Acts. of. Settlement proclaimed. the. Same. day. some. hours. after. his. Majesty. with his. Royall. Highness. George. Prince. of. Wales. & his. Consort & two. of. the. Young. Princesses. arivd. Safely. in. England. from	Ship Condonnell. As to the chaplain, the Court had always supposed he dieted at its table, as other chaplains had done, he being unmarried. It prayed the arrangement might now be suitable to the manners of the place, which it could not judge of, and wished to have the Council's opinion upon it. It bade the Council advise also whether the apartment adjoining the Alexander house might not be made convenient for him. When it saw the Council's thoughts on the whole, it would answer it. As it had always said, the Court was unwilling to make precedents, for once got in, it would be very difficult, and, it thought, a hardship, to take them off again. The Court found this reason cogent. The Court noted, fifty-fifth, that it had now gone through the Council's letters, consultations and other papers before it relating to St Helena, and its remarks thereon. In these it had been necessitated to show some resentment. It touched sharply on some particulars occurring before, so that they might not again occur. It wished none of them should hereafter be applied to any of the Council, for it would be much more pleasing to it to write in a softer style, and to exchange reproofs for commendations. It would willingly do so if its directions and orders in this and former letters were truly observed, understood and executed. The Court noted, fifty-sixth, that it had only to add that, it having pleased the Almighty to take to his mercy the late Queen, Sovereign Lady Queen Anne, on the first of August last, her person and reign being just, King George, in pursuance of the Acts of Settlement, was proclaimed the same day some hours after her majesty, with his Royal Highness George, Prince of Wales, and his princess. Two of the young princesses arrived safely in England from Hanover, and had since been crowned with the usual solemnities. **Interpretations** The chaplain question, whether he should diet at the Court's table as unmarried clergy had before, and whether a spare apartment could be fitted for him, shows the Court managing even the domestic arrangements of its distant servants by correspondence, unable to judge the manners of the place itself and so throwing the decision back on the Council's local knowledge. The Court's repeated reluctance to create precedents, holding that a favour once established was hard and even unjust to withdraw, states the governing anxiety behind its whole approach to perquisites, since it feared that every concession granted to one man would be claimed as a right by

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		Hannover. & has. Since. been. crowned. with. the. Usuall. Solemnitys. y.e **Margin Notes:** Continued. the Queens death To proclaim King George	his successors and so become a permanent and irremovable charge. The report of Queen Anne's death and King George's accession under the Acts of Settlement, carried to the island as ordinary news within a letter of business, shows how a remote possession learned of the great constitutional events of the mother country, the peaceful Hanoverian succession reaching St Helena as a settled fact months after it had passed.
272	268	Orders &c.a To proclaim King George. & the Generall acclamation of the Subjects. do you take care as Soon as Conveniently you can. after enough here of Helping in Slave. the Cargo. & because his Said Majesty. the most high & mighty Prince George. Elector of Brunswick. Lunenburg. to be. proclaimed on the Islande. King of Great Britain. France. & so Ireland. Defender of the Faith. &c.a. So the whole the Whole be performed. with. as becomeing. Solemnity Suitable. to the great occasion. We are Your Loving Friends.	The Court gave orders to proclaim King George, with the general acclamation of the subjects. The Council was to take care, as soon as it conveniently could after unloading or landing the cargo, because the late Queen was dead, that his most high and mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick Lüneburg, be proclaimed on the island King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so on. The Court bade it see the whole performed with all becoming solemnity suitable to the great occasion. The Court closed as the Council's loving friends. **Interpretations** The order to proclaim King George on the island with all solemnity, timed to follow the unloading of the cargo, shows how the ceremonial affirmation of the new sovereign in a distant possession was folded into the practical business of the settlement, the great act of allegiance fixed to take place once the ship's more pressing work was done. The careful recital of the King's full style, Elector of Brunswick Lüneburg proclaimed King of Great Britain, France and Ireland and Defender of the Faith, ties the remote island directly into the constitutional order of the realm, since the same titles proclaimed in London were to be published on St Helena so that the Company's territory acknowledged the Hanoverian succession in the proper form.
273	269	Orders & Ship Rochester A.o 1705 Omitted in the Rochesters Letter. among the of the 14 December 1703 We wrote you last by the & Nathanal & Pincker. dated the 3.d 8.br 1704. of which we we Should have Sent you Copy. but that y.r Letters advised to have received the Same. & we have before Us your Letter of the Hungerston Man of War. dated the 12.th July last. & Berwick Copy of what you Sent by the Winter Ships. dated the 7.th December 1704. but the Original was lost with the Ship Gloucester Frigat. who founded in her way homeward. & this goes as answer to tell you that. We Send in your Said Letter of the 7.th December 1704. first the Success Cap.t Clarke arrived with you the 11.t August. & did not depart till the 20.th of September following. & that y.r g.re Say dearer as to the Assistance apparadum of £5 to so than at two Shillings & their Beer a day with their Soldiers pay in keeping the Captain as unlade the Ships. the loads as to the two Consultations we Relating to the Charge. we have been above the time of the Men. the Ships in the Charge of the Ships	Orders of Ship Rochester, 1705. This part had been omitted in the Rochester's letter of the fourteenth of December 1705. The Court had written last by the Nathaniel and Pincker, dated the eighth of August 1705, of which it should have sent the Council a copy, and that the letters wished to have received the same. It had, before the Council's letter, one by the Kingfisher man of war, dated the fifteenth of July last, and by Bencoolen a copy of what the Council sent by the Winter ships, dated the seventh of December 1704. But the original was lost with the ship Gloucester frigate, which foundered on her way homeward, and this was the Court's answer to tell the Council that. The Court found, in the Council's letter of the seventh of December 1704, that the Success under Captain Clarke arrived with the Council on the eleventh of August, and did not depart till the fifth of September following, and that the Council was somewhat dear as to the assistance appointed of six or so men, above two shillings and their beer a day, with their soldiers' pay, in helping the captain to unload the ship. The books, as to these considerations, were relating to the charge. The Court had been about the time of the men, the ship in the charge of the ship, by her being on demurrage, above ten working days lay of lay time, as to the price of the men. It appeared to the Court that the Council had been very ill husbands for it, why should not any slaves have saved the Council that charge. What could they do in the meantime to get the Council more money. Why did it pay two shillings and thirty pence a day to the soldiers. The Council's expensive was not plain, whether the two shillings and thirty pence a day was besides their pay as soldiers, or including their pay, as part of the two shillings and thirty pence. If it were over and above, the Court

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		by her being in Demorage. after ten working Dayes being of Stay there. as to the Peace of the Men. it appears to Us you have been very ill Husbands for Us. why Should not any Blacks have Saved Us that Charge. what cou.d they do in the mean time to get Us more Money. why we approve pay two Shillings & thirty penn a day to the Soldiers. your Expence is not plaine whither the two Shillings & five Penn a day is besides their pay as Soldiers. or including their pay as parts of the two Shillings & three penn. if it be over & above. we think you might have People on the Island. & wo.d Labour Cheaper. or at least wo.d & so you have their Blacks y.e **Margin Notes:** Receipt of the Nathanall & Pinckers Letter the Accounts of Shipping. the new Costs & plain to Sett or not how insufficient	thought the Council might have people on the island who would labour cheaper, or at least it wished the Council had used slaves. **Interpretations** The complaint that the Council paid six men two shillings a day and their beer, on top of soldiers' pay, to help unload the Success exposes the Court's minute scrutiny of even the labour of discharging a ship, since every extra payment for work that might have been done by slaves or cheaper hands was a charge it examined and grudged. The reference to the ship lying on demurrage above the ten working days shows how the cost of a detained vessel shadowed the whole business of unloading, since delay in clearing a ship turned time itself into a charge on the Company, sharpening the Court's interest in how the labour was arranged and paid. The suggestion that slaves might have saved the whole expense reveals the Company's routine reliance on its enslaved workforce to spare the cost of hired labour, the Court treating the use of slaves for such tasks as the obvious economy and faulting the Council for paying wages where unpaid labour was to hand.
274	270	Orders Per Ship. at as for Convoy. that as to the Demorage. of the Ship we we Say you Did well. to Employ the Number of Traders y.r Did. & Should think you ought. to have. had. more. to hasten. her Unlading. for. we. paid. for. that. Ship. nine pence. & one. pay. ten. Since. & Con. of. Demn. Demorage but. then. you. must. withall. Remember. that. we. Send the. Cows. to. go. to. S.t Helena. & it. is. the. Same. we. the. other Ships. & attend. her. Six. Wills. & morage. for. deviation. matter & also. the. Demorage. occasiond. by. her. detention. there. after. ten. Working. dayes. in. Account. of. her. Unlading. which. detention. must. Necessarily. Suppose. that. it. is in. our. account. otherwayes. a. Captain. may. trifle. away this. time. as. he. pleases. at. our. Charge. & as. your. Interest. the time. in. taking. in. Batavia. or. other. Ladeings. & for. what appears. to. Us. this. new. Cap.t Clarke. is. deviation. if. he. Did. all. that. he. cou.d. advise. Us. by. your. Next. And. among. many. others. which. we. we. Shall. we have. Occasion. to. mention. in. the. Sequel. of. this. Letter We. Find. that. we. Did. by. the. Toddington. one. our. yearly Man. of. the. 3. Decem.r 1703. order. you. to. Send. Us. an. account what. part. of. the. Salary. was. due. from. the. Old. Company. to Dat. & wanted. for. which. we. paid. Your. Bills. of. Twenty. Pounds two. Shillings. & five. penn. half. penny. & wid. at. par. before. us	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. As to the demurrage of the ship, the Court held that the Council did well to employ the number of men it did. It should think it ought to have had more, to hasten her unloading, for it paid for that ship ninepence, and now paid ten, since the certain days of demurrage. But then the Council must consider well, remembering, that when it sent the Success to go to St Helena, and it was the same with other ships, it allowed her six weeks demurrage for deviation. There was also the demurrage occasioned by her detention there, after ten working days, on account of her unloading, which detention must necessarily be supposed to be on the Court's account, otherwise a captain might trifle away his time at the Court's charge, as was the Council's interest, the time with taking in Batavia or other delays, and, for what appeared to the Court, this was now Captain Clarke's design. If the Council did all that it could, it was to advise the Court by its next letter. The Court noted, fourthly, that among many others which it should have occasion to mention in the sequel of this letter, it found that, as directed by the Fuller stone in its general Man of the third of December 1703, it wrote to the Council to send it an account of what part of the salary was due from the old Company to that date, and would, for which it paid the Council's bills of twenty pounds two shillings, and so on, penny halfpenny, and what part thereof it was to say was owed before the twenty-second of July 1702. There was much after, but the Council had not thought fit to return it as one word of answer. The Court noted, fifthly, that it observed the beef and pork sent the Council proved, and it did the flour, seasoned, so it was as it wished. The Council wished it had more, according to the list sent with its letter of the seventh of December, which was now wanting, and so on. **Interpretations** The tangle of demurrage charges, six weeks allowed for deviation on the outward run and further demurrage for detention beyond ten working days at

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		that. is. to. Say. how. much. before. the. 22.t of. July. 1703. & these much. after. but. You. have. not. thought. fit. to. return. Us. one word. of. Answer. We. observe. this. Beef. & Pork. sent. you. proue good. we. so. did. the. Flower. we. & so. did. the. Salt. Armes. required that. you. wish. You. had. more. according. to. the. List. sent with. this. Letter. of. the. 7.th of. December. which. we. we. are. now answering **Margin Notes:** y.e Vict.a as Same of Stay Demorage for Ship	the island, exposes the intricate accounting by which the Company managed the cost of chartered ships, so that the Council had to distinguish delay that fell to the Court's account from delay a captain caused for his own ends. The Court's suspicion that Captain Clarke was trifling away his time at the Company's charge, dawdling over taking in cargo, reveals its constant wariness that a ship's master might exploit the demurrage rules to profit from delay, since a captain paid for detention had little incentive to hurry unless the island held him to the reckoning. The complaint that a plain request for an account of salary owed by the old Company went wholly unanswered shows the Court's frustration at the settlement's silence on specific demands, since an unanswered enquiry left the directors unable to settle old obligations and confirmed their sense that the Council neglected the questions it found inconvenient.
275	271	Rochester Anno Domini 1705 answering. we have before told. you. that. Packet. was lost by Gloucester. so that. through. your. neglegence. in. not Sending. Duplicate. we. are. to. Ask. what. the. Expence. of these. Disbursements. Wee. take. Notice. what. you. wrote. about. Wine. & so Brandy. from. the. Mocho. as. tending. as. it. Small. Ships you. farther. in. an. after. Paragraph. As. to. the. Soldiers. we. are. forced. in. this. time. of. War to. Send. which. we. Can. gett. when. it. is. in. our. power. to. pick & Choise. We. Shall. Send. you. Men. Such. as. you. wish. to have. however. we. we. always. have. so. we. Shall. give. direction in. this. affair. who. lets. their. to. gett. the. Centinells. Care. You. did. well. to. issue. out. a. Proclamation. to prevent. the. destruction. of. your. Remaining. Wood. & had done. better. if. it. had. been. done. Sooner. Wee. Come. now. to. Your. Letter. of. the. 10. July. wherein. also thereon. Answer. what. is. omitted. in. the. Letter. of. the. 7.th of. Decem.t for. that. we. we. these. finds. matters. of. the. like. Nature. You. tell. us. you. serve. with. all. imaginable Respect. the. Censure. We. have. pushed. Your. Vick. at. the Same. time. we. Find. you. Continue. to. omit. the. like. faults. We. that. pushed. you. for. as. we. Shall. instance. in. Severall following. Par.a which. after. this. time. we. tell. you. we. we no. longer. bear. with. but. Shift. Hands. if. they. are. not. for. the future. amended. Our. 5.t Par.a tell. you. for. all. alienations. & mortgages which. the. Clerk. Enters. in. the. Registry. Books. you. Shall enter. him. a. Small. Fee. to. make. him. carefull. in. the. Entry & be. Exceptable. to. the. people. & advise. Us. what. that is. that. We. may. alter. or. approve. it. the. Answer. to. this. is. in y.e **Margin Notes:**	Rochester, 1705. The Court answered in the terms that follow. It had before told the Council that the packet was lost by the Gloucester, so that, though the Council was at fault for not sending duplicates, the Court had to ask what the copies of those letters were. In a sixth point, the Court took notice of what the Council wrote about wine and brandy from Mocha, and promised to touch on it in a later paragraph. As to the soldiers, seventhly, the Council was forced in these times of war to find what men it could get, since the choice lay with it. The Court would send out such men as it wished to have, as it always had, and would direct the officer charged with recruiting to take care in the matter. The Court came, ninthly, to the proclamation the Council had issued to prevent the destruction of the remaining wood. This was well done, though it would have been better done sooner. Turning, tenthly, to the Council's letter of the tenth of July, the Court would answer in it what had been left out of the letter of the seventeenth of December, since it found there matters of the like nature. The Council had claimed, eleventhly, to answer with all imaginable respect to the censure. The Court had passed over that reply, only to find the Council continuing in the same faults, as it had already shown and would instance in several places following. After this it would no longer bear with such faults, but would shift into other hands if they were not amended in future. In its twelfth point, the Court took up the fifth paragraph, in which the Council reported all alienations and mortgages entered by the clerk in the registry books. It wished a small fee charged to make the clerk careful in the entry, which would be acceptable to the people. It bade the Council advise what the fee was, so that the Court might alter or approve it. **Interpretations** The renewed insistence on duplicates, the whole packet having been lost with the Gloucester, exposes the fragility of the sole documentary link across the ocean, since a single foundering ship could carry down the only copy of a year's correspondence and leave both Court and Council unable to prove what had passed between them. The proclamation against destroying the remaining wood, approved but faulted as too late, reveals the island's precarious supply of timber, since a possession that grew little fit for building had to protect its scanty woods by public order, and the Court's regret at the delay shows how easily such a

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		Reason to Send Duplicates. prevent the destroying the Wood	resource could be squandered before rules were made. The proposal of a small fee to make the clerk careful in registering alienations and mortgages shows the Court linking accurate record-keeping to a personal incentive, since the security of every landholder's title depended on faithful entry in the registry books, and a fee that rewarded the clerk's diligence served both the people and the order of property on the island.
276	272	Orders Per Ship 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 we. Ordered. you. should. that. we might. alter. or. approve. it. Of the Same Nature. is your Next Par.a about Coales. we we. Governour. Boates. bought. Us. four. Shillings a Bushell. & Complain. of. your. Selling. them. at Eighteen. pence. in. our. 10. Par.a. & you. return. for Answer. that. you. Sell. them. But. at. two. Shillings the. Command.rs. have. really. made. a. hard. Shift seller. we. we. usd. Coales. & you. have. been. forced. to. advance half. by. Bushells. of. Coales. from. your. first. Selling 16. & so. to. be. feared. that. if. Sett. the. Same. we. these things. you. Shall. Sen't. penn. even. you. think. you think. we. we. we. be. allways. thus. trifled. w.th. & Doubt you. Remember. we. Sent. those. Coales. for. firing. at. Your. Pieces. because. you. Complain. your. Wid was. almost. gone. & 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. cant. lay in. a. Stock. in. Summer. pay. more. tho. the. freight. be not. the. truth. part. so. much. as. to. S.t Helena. besides if. any. will. not. take. them. lett. them. lett. it. alone. we cant. doubt. but. the. Islanders. in. your. own Necessary. occasions. will. prevent. their. perishing & Since. we. find. You. so. negligent. We. Shall Expect. that. Every. Bushell. of. Coales. you. have or. Shall. Sell. under. four. Shillings. you. make. good. to Us. the. Difference. Since. you. have. acted. thus. contrary y.e **Margin Notes:** Coales Cost 4 s Bushell	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Council reported the fees the clerk usually took, but did not say what they were, though ordered it should, so that the Court might alter or approve them. Of the same nature, thirteenthly, was the Council's next paragraph about coals. The Council valued its own coals at above four shillings a bushel, and complained of selling them at eighteen pence in the tenth paragraph. The Council returned for answer that it sold them at two shillings, but the ships' commanders had really made a hard shift, rather than sell dear coals. The Council had been forced to abate half a bushel of coals from its first selling. It was to be feared that if it were the same in other things, the Council would sell and perish. Yet it thought it would always be trifled with, though it remembered it was sent those coals for firing at the Council's service, because the Council complained its wood was almost gone. If it were so with anybody, why should the captains make a hard shift, rather than pay so dear as two shillings a bushel for them, whereas in a hard winter the Court's poor here, who could not lay in a stock in summer, paid more, though the freight to it was not the truth, and not so much as to St Helena. Besides, if any would not take them, it bade the Council let them alone. The Court did not doubt but the islanders, on their own necessary occasions, would prevent their perishing. Since it found the Council so negligent, it would expect that for every bushel of coals the Council had, or should sell under four shillings, it make good to the Court the difference, since the Council had acted thus contrary. **Interpretations** The dispute over coals, sold at two shillings or eighteen pence a bushel against a value the Court reckoned above four, shows the directors holding the island to a pricing standard set in London, and their threat to charge the Council the difference on every bushel undersold reveals how far they would go to enforce it, making the officers personally liable for a bad bargain. The reasoning that the Court's poor at home paid more for coals in a hard winter, freight and all, exposes the Court's method of judging colonial prices against domestic ones, treating the settlement's cheap selling not as a kindness to the island but as a loss the Company bore and the officers must answer for. The coals having been sent because the island's own wood was almost gone lays bare the settlement's fuel shortage, since a possession that had exhausted its scanty timber depended on coal shipped from home even for firing, making the mishandling of that supply a matter the Court watched as closely as any other scarce and costly import.
277	273	Rochester Anno Domini 1705 to our Express Orders. As careless you are. in the Answer returnd to our 8.t Par.a about the Clerk. we we tell you. we have Sen. Twenty. Ton. & M.r Marsden. who is Skilld in Cunning. it. we we. Arrivalls. & other. matters. therein. mentiond	Rochester, 1705. The Court came now to its express orders. Fourteenthly, the Court's own express paragraph about the clerk was not carefully answered. It had told the Council of Mr Marsden, who was skilled in accounts, and of several other matters, and had asked it to advise the Court about him, what it found his excellence in, and whether he deserved more salary

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		& Prove. you. to. advise. us. about. him. what. you. find he. Excells. in. & whither. he. deserves. more. Salary. than the. Thirty. Pounds. we. agreed. to. give. him. & in. the. 14.th Par.a. tell. you. what. we. have. given. & what. advanced to. him. to. be. repaid. & Order. you. to. lett. us. know. when. it is. so. paid. But. you. Cant. advise. us. one. word. about. him. nor. does. it. appear. to. Us. by. Your. Letter. whither. ever. he resided. with. Your. or. do. you. tell. us. whither. the. quantity of. Cloth. & received. nor. what. we. you. wid. put. it. to whither. about. the. Fortifications. or. otherwise. we. desire you. will. Explaine. what. you. mean. when. you. Say. Our Order. about. Cloth. & Casks. Shall. be. Executed. tho. the Braves. Extraordinary. You. wid. we. we. to. observe. Us. of. the. Shoes. being. some of. them. Rotten. we. w. they. proue. so. that. we. we. we. gett. some Rumbly. hire. of. them. that. wid. them. or. at. least. some. deal again. we. it. him. we. Suppose. you. mean. the. Mens. Shoes because. You. Say. you. were. forced. to. take. Some. of. the. Shoemaker for. the. Soldiers. at. Six. Shillings. a. pair. but. in. regard. our Sends. were. Mens. we. & Children's. Shoes. you. ought. to. have. been more. Particular. in. your. advice. thereabout. & told. us. how many. p.re. men's. by. your. Sod. & p.re. so. many. Wee. are. not. Satisfyed. with. your. Answer. to. what we. wrote. about. your. buying. the. Wine. Sugar. & Chees. & so of. the. Captains. we. don't. find. how. much. is. Sod. not. what profit **Margin Notes:** M.r Marsden Storekeeper Acc.t of Shoes to Send an Acc.t how the Liquors are Sold. how profit	than the thirty pounds it had agreed to give him. In the twenty-fourth paragraph the Court told the Council what it had given and what it had advanced to him, to be repaid, and ordered the Council to let it know when it was so paid. But the Council did not advise the Court a word about him, nor did it appear from the Council's letter whether he ever resided with the Council, or whether the parcel of chalk was received, or what the Council would put it to, or whether about the chalk, the fortifications or otherwise. The Court bade the Council explain what it meant when it said its orders about chalk and casks should be executed, as the braziers' extraordinary. Fifteenthly, the Council desired the Court to advise it of the shoes being done there, and the leather so that it might get more ready by there from them, or at least send deals. The Court supposed the Council meant the same shoes, because the Council said it was forced to take some of the shoemaker for the soldiers at six shillings a pair. But as regarded the Court's own shoes, its own leather and children's shoes, the Council ought to have been more particular in its several accounts, and told the Court how many yards it meant by its several sorts and how many. Sixteenthly, the Court was not satisfied with the general answer to what it wrote about the Council buying the wine, sugar and other things from the captains, nor did it say how much it sold, nor what profit. **Interpretations** The Court's demand to know Mr Marsden's particular skills and whether he deserved more than thirty pounds shows how it fixed salaries at a distance, unable to see a man's worth for itself and so requiring the Council's detailed assessment before it would raise the pay of an officer it had never met. The complaint that the Council failed to specify its shoes and leather by sort and quantity, lumping the Court's own goods with the soldiers' supply, exposes the directors' insistence on itemised accounts, since only a return that distinguished each kind and counted each yard let them check what the settlement had made, used and owed. The dissatisfaction with a general answer about wine and sugar bought from the captains, giving neither the quantity sold nor the profit, reveals the Court's constant battle against vague reporting, since a settlement that traded in Company goods had to render an exact reckoning of sales and gains, or the directors could not tell whether the island dealt to their advantage or their loss.
278	274	Orders Per Ship. profit there is Arising to Us thereby. nor what part is Spent at your Table. or whither the greatest part goes that way. this gives Us great Cause of Uneasiness. & We Cant bear it longer. this Year we have first Bills for two Hundred Thirty Nine pounds to Cap.t Fellet. three Hundred Sixty six Pounds three Shillings. to Cap.t Hoier. & three Hundred fifty pounds two fourteen Shillings. to Cap.t Cook. in all Nine Hundred fifty two Pounds seventeen Shillings. very near adrryf it. so for Wine & Brandy. we will not have. Such Manage ments any longer. had you foreseen. that the Madera Wine & Brandy. were Such Exact Comodities. at the Islande. why did You. note advise. Us. Long. ago. the first Notice. we we. we find. we we. was. in. your. Letter. of. last	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. Whatever profit there was arising to the Court thereby, and what part was spent at the Council's table, or whether the greatest part went that way, this gave the Court great cause of uneasiness. It could not bear it longer. This year it had bills for two hundred and thirty-nine pounds to Captain Fowler, three hundred and sixty-one pounds three shillings to Captain Slater, and three hundred and fifty-two pounds fourteen shillings to Captain Cook, in all nine hundred and fifty-two pounds seventeen shillings, or near about it, for wine and brandy. The Court would not bear such management any longer. Had it foreseen that the Madeira wine and brandy were in such urgent condition at the island, would the Council so soberly have noted the advantage as to mortgage it. The first notice it had of it was in the Council's letter of last December. The Court prayed it

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		December. Pray. lett. us. have. by. the. next. an. Account be. Extracted. of. the. Storekeeper. from. this. Book. & so. & so with. your. Letter. how. much. of. the. Wine. & Brandy. you Sold. for. our. Account. & at. what. price. we. don't. mean of. every. Quart. but. in. Such. a. Month. so. many. Gallons & so. every. Month. at. so. much. of. Gallon. & how. much. is spent. at. your. Table. that. by. this. way. we. what. we. have coming. to. us. again. for. the. vast. Sums. your. Bills amount. to. then. as. to. the. Sugar. & other. Bread. and. so you. Say. you. Cant. force. the. Islanders. to. part. with it. under. their. own. Price. it. is. true. but. you. may. chuse whither. you. will. give. Extravagant. Rates. for. it. & if. they will. you. will. not. they. will. find. it. turn. better. to. Account to. Sell. it. at. moderate. prices. than. bring. it. home. & when. they. will. not. gett. half. so. much. & had. you. but faithfully. & discreetly. observed. our. Orders. in. this. 12.th & so Card	might have, by the next ship, an account particularised of the storekeeper's book, and of what and how much of the wine and brandy the Council sold for the Court's account, and at what prices. It did not want to know of every quart, but in such a month so many gallons, and so every month, and so much of a gallon there sold, so that the Court might see what it had remaining, to what the vast sums of the Council's bills amounted. As to the sugar and other goods, the Court did not believe, as the Council said, it was forced to sell them, or endeavour to part with it, and set its own price. It was true, but the Council might choose whether it would sell extravagantly dear, and, if it saw fit, sell at moderate prices, since they would turn better to account there, being brought home, when they would not get half so much. The Court wished the Council had faithfully and discreetly observed its orders in the eighteenth paragraph, and so on. **Interpretations** The precise tally of bills totalling nine hundred and fifty-two pounds for wine and brandy from three captains shows the Court reconstructing the exact scale of a drain on its funds, using the added-up drafts as hard evidence that the settlement was spending vast sums on liquor, whether sold for profit or consumed at the officers' table. The demand for a monthly breakdown of wine and brandy sold, gallon by gallon and month by month at stated prices, reveals the level of detail the Court required to control the trade in Company goods, since only such a record let it match the stock shipped against the sums drawn and see whether the liquor was sold or quietly drunk. The Court's rejection of the plea that the Council was forced to sell cheap exposes its suspicion of the officers' pricing, since it reasoned that goods undersold on the island for less than they would fetch at home represented a deliberate or careless loss, and it held the Council to the choice of selling dear or returning the goods rather than squandering their value.
279	275	Rochester Anno Domini 1705 12.th & 13. Par.a we needed not have to Enlarge so much on their Heads. for the future. among the List of what you Want. lett us know how much of very Sort of Europe. best Comodities. flower. & Candles. & Cloves. & so. put. Sorts. and Quantities. of. Callicoes. or. other. Indian. Goods. or. Arrack or. Sugar. you. may. Spend. or. dispose. of. on. the. Island. annually & we. will. take. care. you. Sod. duly. Supplied. thereith. If. we. Can. we. intend. to. Send. You. Wine. and Brandy. from. the. madras. by. the. Ship. we. Shall. Send to. You. this. Season. Our. 17. Par.a gives. you. full. & Express. Orders to. Send. Us. a. Remains. of. Goods. in. the. Store. & so what. you. want. & referrs. to. a. former. Letter. wherein. we gave. the. like. Orders. you. tell. us. an. answer. that. so. we. for the. future. we. Shall. have. them. but. comeing. to. look. over the. pacquett. we. find. no. Such. thing. You. tell. us. what. we. wid. of. your. Provisions. go. on. well. all. Provisions. of. Goods. but. don't. Say. what. is. done. at. one. place. &	Rochester, 1705. The fourteenth and fifteenth paragraphs the Court had answered elsewhere. The Court noted, sixteenthly, that the Council was not to enlarge so much on these heads for the future. Among the list of what the Council wanted, it bade it let the Court know how much of every sort of English commodities, flour and candles and cloves, and what sorts and quantities of calicoes or other Indian goods, or arrack, or sugar, the Council might spend or dispose of on the island annually, so that it might be duly supplied thereafter. Seventeenthly, if the Council could once intend to send it wine and brandy from Madras by the ship it was about to send, it wished to have it this season. The Court noted, eighteenthly, that its own paragraph gave the Council full and express orders to send it an account of the remains of goods in the stores, and whatever else it wished to refer to a former letter, in which it gave the like orders. The Council was to take it as an answer, that for the future the Court would have them, but coming to look over the packet it found no such thing. Nineteenthly, the Council did as it would with the Court's predecessors, going on with all plausible speed, but did not say what was done at one place and what at another, or what the total remains. The Council did well to send the Court the list of the number of men supplied out of the ships, which the Court would take due notice of, so that the Council's desire of fifty more slaves must be thought on another time.

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		what. at. another. Verbal. more. Remains. you. Sod. well. to Send. us. the. List. of. the. Number. of. Men. supplied. you out. of. the. Ships. which. we. Sod. take. due. Notice. of. that your. desire. of. 50. more. Blacks. must. be. thought. on another. time. Wee. don't. well. understand. what. you. mean. by. the Paper. called. in. your. List. the. Draught. of. the. Fort. & Village wherein. you. write. in. two. Corner. of. it. this. Platform. was made. while. the. wars. of. war. were. here. for. that. you. Send a. write. any. Platform. there. how. Cant. Suppose. it. to. be. the Line. of. the. Same. before. the. Fort. nor. do. we. know. what. you mean. by. another. Draught. which. your. Lift. Calls. a. Platt. of. the **Margin Notes:** Indian Accounts of Remains of Goods Demands for so more Blacks as yet answerd the Draughts not plaine	The Court noted, twentiethly, that it did not well understand what the Council meant by the paper called, in its list, the draught of the fort and village, of which it wrote in one corner of it. This platform was made while the men of war were there, and for that the Council sent no such platform. There now, but it appeared to be another line of the same. Before the future the Court would know what the Council meant by another draught, which its list called a plott of the, and so on. **Interpretations** The demand that the Council state how much of each commodity, English, Indian and other, the island could use or dispose of in a year shows the Court seeking a settled forecast of the settlement's consumption, since a possession supplied only once a season had to be provisioned by estimate, and only a reckoning of annual need could match the cargoes to the demand. The recurring frustration at finding no account of remaining stock in the packet, despite express and repeated orders, exposes the persistent gap between the Court's instructions and the Council's compliance, since the directors could not know what the island held, or what it truly needed, while the very return that would tell them was continually omitted. The linking of the Council's request for fifty more slaves to its performance in sending proper accounts reveals how the Court used its power over supply as leverage, deferring the grant of additional labour until the settlement met its documentary duties, so that the slaves became a reward withheld against the reckoning the Council owed.
280	276	Orders Per Ship the Grand Fort. as be Ended. Since we we find no Explanation of it in your generall Letter. We observe. that at length. you promise for the future. to follow our Directions. in Relation to the Charge of any the Seamens. belonging to the Ships of War. which may happen. to be Sick. Notwithstanding your Endeavours to excuse your Sending these Black Girles. to Bencoolen we we Say. again. Common. prudence. wid. have. dictated to. any. reasonable. Man. that. if. those. Girles. were. of. no Value. at. S.t Helena. they. would. not. be. of. more. at Bencoolen. & therefore. there. was. no. reason. to. be. at the. Charge. of. four. Pounds. y.e. Head. to. Send. them. thither we. we. we. want. other. Blacks. not. Children. there. We. Learn. Thomas. Coales. & his. Family. are gone. on. the. Nathanall. to. Bencoolen. & that. you. have Sen. before. Sent. fifteen. condemned. for. Felony. & Sent. to Bengal. & tho. as. to. the. Labourers. part. we. Shall want. them. there. yet. as. beforementioned. we. take. it. to be. the. best. way. to. reclaim. Villains. & deter. others. by putting. them. to. hard. Labour. this. God. Affection. we former. Learn. that. the. persons. we. we. Sod. wid. not. we content. that. the. Company. Should. reap. the. proffit. of their. Labour. is. of. no. weight. to. for. it. is. wid. by. the. bitter. if they. were. hangd. & we. that. punishments. is. for. the. Sake of. others. so. is. hard. Working. too. but. as. it. this. difference	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The grand fort was to be finished, since the Court found no explanation of it in the Council's general letter. The Court noted, twenty-first, that it observed the Council at length promised, for the future, to follow its directions in relation to the charge of any seamen belonging to the ships of war which might happen to be there. Notwithstanding the Council's efforts to excuse its sending these black girls to Bencoolen, the Court said again that common prudence would have dictated to any reasonable man that, if those girls were of one value at St Helena, they would not be of more at Bencoolen. Therefore there was no reason to be at the charge of four pounds a head to send them there, whether the Council wanted other slaves or not, and it feared there. The Court noted, twenty-third, that it found Thomas Coales and his family were gone in the Nathaniel to Bencoolen, and that the Council had sent four stout fellows condemned for felony and sent to Bencoolen, and, as to the labour part, the Court would want them there. Yet, as before mentioned, it took it to be the best way to reclaim villains, and to deter others, by putting them to hard labour. As the Court held in a former letter, the persons averred it would not much content the Company should reap the profit of their labour, and it was of one weight, or in a word, but the better if they were hanged. Yet such punishments, for the sake of others, so as hard labour too, but with this difference, whereas a man dead he can serve it no longer, whereas being retained by labour some way. It could also deter to have that so many of its felons who were transported to the West Indies in time were reclaimed, and so on. **Interpretations** The reasoning that black girls of a certain value at St Helena would be worth no more at Bencoolen, and so not worth the four pounds a head to ship

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		when. a. man. is. dead. he. can. serve. no. again. we. p.re. & so. whereas. being. reclaimed. by. Labour. he. may. we. we. clee does. it. serve. that. so. many. of. our. Felons. who. are transported. to. the. W.t Indies. in. time. are. reclaimed. & so proue **Margin Notes:** Sending of Blacks Transported Persons to be Labour	them, exposes the Company's cold arithmetic of the slave trade, the Court weighing the transport of human beings purely as a question of whether their value at one station exceeded the freight to another. The transportation of felons condemned for crime, set to hard labour rather than hanged, reveals the Court's view of punishment as an economic as well as a deterrent instrument, since a man worked yielded the Company the profit of his labour while a man executed served no longer, so that penal servitude turned the criminal into a productive asset. The Court's observation that felons transported and set to hard labour were in time reclaimed shows a belief that forced labour could reform as well as punish, the directors preferring a sentence that both deterred others and might recover the offender to one that merely destroyed him, so long as the Company gained his work in the meantime.
281	277	Rochester Anno Domini 1705 piece advantagious to the publick. The Governours Bills for four Hundred & thirty Pounds. was paid in July last. to M.r Master. to whom it was Endorsd. Wee don't find any answer in the Copy of your Letter of the 7.th of December last of John Alexanders being turnd out. which we we hard. to Show. how careless. you. are either. in. not. putting. it. in. y.r. Copy. when. it. was. in. the Originall. or. else. in. not. Examining. whither. you. Sod. at. any time. advise. us. of. this. Expulsion. for. we. we. finds. none. nor. do. we finds. in. the. Said. Letter. one. word. about. its. concerning ing. the. Doctor. of. the. Aurengzebe. a. German. who. it. Seems wants. a. name. for. we. cant. find. it. the. Letter. now. before Us. altho. you. Say. you. have. entertaind. him. to. August 1706. which. if. you. have. we. are. content. he. Should. not be. lefs. desirous. of. a. Lively. Sod. if. he. does. not. now. before that. time. meet. with. the. Offer. of. an. Employment. Wee. are. afraid. M.r Temple. Nudham. proves. accord ing. to. the. Character. we. had. of. him. & observe. the. Weller are. at. present. Uneasy. to. him. time. we. hope. with make. them. more. familiar. we. take. notice. he. has. the Usuall. Allowance. of. his. Predecessors. viz.t. to. have. his Lodgings. & our. Table. gratis. We. Received. Invoice. what. you. received. from. the Bay. by. the. Tavistock. & are. Sorry. Cap.t Burrick Should. not. being. what. designd. by. him. our. Advices Say. they. Did. lade. on. the. Same. to. the. Amount. of Rupees. 890. as. in. Arrack. Rice. & Sugar. for. S.t Helena. touching. which. Shall. enquire. of. Cap.t Burrick. when he. comes. up. from. his. Ship. Gene **Margin Notes:** To advise of actually Susanna as fully Nudhams Surgeon. Cant Take Burrick. not	Rochester, 1705. The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. The Governor's bills for four hundred and thirty pounds were paid in July last to Mr Slater, to show it was endorsed. The Court noted, twenty-fifth, that it did not find any account in the copy of the Council's letter of the first of December last of John Alexander being turned out, which it here noted, to show how careless the Council was, either in not putting it in the copy, when it was in the original, or else in not examining whether the Council ever advised the Court of this expulsion. For it now found none, nor did it find in the letter any word about the remuneration of the doctor of the Aurangzeb, a German who, it seemed, wanted a name, for it could not find it in the letter now before it. Also, the Council said it had entertained him to August 1706, which, if the Council were content, he should not be left destitute of a lively hood, if he did not, before that time, meet with the offer of any employment. The Court noted, twenty-sixth, that it was afraid Mr Turner Newham proved, according to the character the Court had of him. It observed the Fuller were at present strange to him. When the Court came, it would make them more familiar. It took notice he had the usual allowance of his predecessors, that is to say, to have his lodgings and table gratis. The Court noted, twenty-eighth, that it had received an invoice from the Bay by the Tavistock. It was sorry Captain Barrick should not, it being what he designed by him. The Court's advices said they did lade on the same, to the amount of so many rupees so much in arrack, rice and sugar for St Helena, touching which it would enquire of Captain Barrick when he came up from his ship. **Interpretations** The complaint that the removal of John Alexander appeared nowhere in the Council's letter, whether left out of the copy or never reported at all, exposes the Court's difficulty in tracking the settlement's own personnel decisions, since an officer could be turned out and the fact reach London only by chance, leaving the directors uncertain who actually held their posts. The provision for the German doctor of the Aurangzeb, entertained until a set date and not to be left destitute if no employment offered, reveals a measure of care for a foreign servant cast adrift, the Court willing to keep a man in livelihood for a time rather than abandon him, even one whose very name it could not find in the correspondence. The perquisite of free lodging and table allowed to the surgeon, as to his predecessors, shows how the standing customs of the establishment fixed the

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		delivered. the goods rightly	terms on which each office was held, the Court noting the allowance as a settled expectation while remaining wary, as ever, of the precedents that such customary favours created.
282	278	Orders Per Ship. You tell us in this Par.a you are in great Want of Cloth. but Send us no Account of the Sorts. & so Quantities. & we are told by the Gentlemen of the Old Company. that when they Did Supply you. from the Bay. with Severall Sorts. you Sent them. for England. so that we Expect. you give us. particulars of the Quantities. & kinds. you wid. at least. for what purpose. & we cant. then give the proper Orders. You Say. you are in great want of Timber. of all Sorts. but don't tell. the Quantity of each Sort & we expect. to be Sent. you. on the purposes. you. design it. for. only Say. that you have Spared part of what you had. to the Commanders. and Timmer. You were. so far in the Right. as not to Encumber the dispatch. of Other Ships. by keeping them. for your Account. of Expences. of the Store. but an honest. prudence wid. have. dictated. that. as. Such. repaird. Commander sent. You. by. every. Shipping. you. Sod. timely. enough have. applyed. our. Hand. to. have. drawn. out. what. we & have. Imployed. him. in. no. other. business. & this. we Expect. for. the. future. & of. the. lading. the. Coach. Account be. too. troublesome. in. what. Perry. wid. wid. a. Generall Sale. lott. as. near. as. may. be. (that. is. to. Say). so. much. of Such. & Such. Sort. of. Goods. & Liquors. & the. Seaman knowing. the. Quantities. of. Each. Specie. According. to. the best. Account. you. can. give. which. if. the. Storekeeper. keeps his. Accounts. regularly. may. be. done. in. a. hour. or. two's time. by. every. Ledger. we. we. Read. how. much. is. charged. in the. Books. to. be. received. & what. parts. of. it. is. Since. disposed. of & from. thence. will. appear. what. remains. Your **Margin Notes:** make all Bills plaine & Intelligible Timber Whenever Cap.t Solst. Card Acc.t Sod gett to Cast up	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. In its own paragraph, twenty-ninth, the Council told the Court it was in great want of chalk, but sent no account of the sorts and quantities. The Court had been told by the gentlemen of the old Company that when they supplied the Council from the Bay with several sorts, it sent them for England. So the Court expected the Council to give it the particulars of the quantities it wished, at least for what purposes, so that it could then give the proper orders. Thirtiethly, the Council said it was in great want of timber of all sorts, but did not tell the quantity of each, nor what it was fit to be, nor sent the purposes for which the Council designed it. The Court would only say the Council had spared part of what it had to the commanders and seamen. Thirty-fourthly, the Council did well and quite right not to hinder the despatch of other ships by keeping them for its account of the expenses of the stores, but an honest prudence would have dictated that whatever such repaired commander was sent it by every shipping, the Council should timely enough have applied one hand to have drawn out that account, or have employed him in no other business. This the Court expected for the future, or, in default, that each account be too troublesome. In default of a particular reckoning, it wished a general balance as near as might be, that is to say, so much of such and such sorts of goods, liquors and sundries remaining, answering the quantities of each species according to the best account the Council could give. Thereby, if the storekeeper kept his account regularly, it might be done in a however busy time, by giving the leader who read how much was charged in the books, to be received, and what part of it was since disposed of, so that from thence would appear what remained. **Interpretations** The complaint that the Council reported great want of chalk and timber without stating the quantity, kind or purpose exposes the Court's constant demand for particulars, since an order for supplies given in vague general terms could not be filled sensibly across an ocean, and only an itemised statement of need let the directors ship the right sorts in the right amounts. The revelation that goods sent from the Bay had been forwarded on to England rather than kept shows the difficulty of tracing where the Company's supplies actually went, the Court learning from the old Company's men that stores meant for the island had passed straight through, which sharpened its insistence on knowing precisely what was wanted and why. The method proposed for striking a running balance of stock, charging in the books what was received and deducting what was since disposed of to show the remainder, sets out the elementary principle of inventory accounting the Court wished enforced, so that even in the busiest season the storekeeper could produce a reckoning of what remained without the labour of a full audit.
283	279	Rochester Anno Domini 1705 You Did well to advise us. of M.r Loslingtons. Cap.t Camells. & Cap.t Martins. & Behaviour. We Shall talk with them. when we we we them. here. In the mean time. Wee come now to the advice. you give Us. about Bills of Exchange. drawn on Us. but this again. & tho. by	Rochester, 1705. The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. Thirty-fifthly, the Council did well to advise the Court of the behaviour of Mr Washington, Captain Camell and Captain Martin. The Court would talk with them when it saw them here. In the meantime, and so on.

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		we we finds. when Bills come. to be presented. they. as. your this make. good. Payment. we. have. no. farther. Advice. this leads. us. to. establish. the. following. Rules. which. wee require. you. Strictly. to. Observe. with. Relation. to. Bills of Exchange. viz.t Wee. Cannot. we. find. you. an. Account. of. what Bills. we. have. paid. or. which. must. be. paid. & how. drawn by. you. the. Sevens. viz.t Ison. 12. dated. 14. July. 1705. payable. to. Cap.t W.m Berrow. of. the. Chester Cap.t Chr. Woodroffe £60 12.th ditto Cap.t French Richard £209 12.th d.o Cap.t Walt. Fellet £361.3 12.th d.o Cap.t Fran.o Rythier £46 12.th d.o George Hodrinson £263 12.th d.o Edward Mashborne £111 12.th d.o Cap.t Fran.o May £39.10 12.th d.o Gunnour Toran £92 12.th d.o Cap.t Shedingtons £202.3.4 W.m Newell £60 W.m Michellthwaite These two last Sums we make some demorr upon as yet. but the whole. Amounts to Eighteen hundred thirty Eight Pounds. two Shilling. & four Pen. a very large Sum. In perusing your Accounts with the Ships. sent. &c.a **Margin Notes:** Advice & advice on Bills of Exchange	The Court came now, thirty-sixthly, to the advice the Council gave it about bills of exchange drawn on it. But it was always in the dark when the bills came, to be presented, whether they were to make good payment, without further advice. This led it to establish the following rules, which it strictly required the Council to observe in relation to bills of exchange. The Court desired the Council to send it an account of what bills it had paid, or which must be paid when due, drawn by the Council this season. £200 12s 0d, dated 18 July 1705, payable to Captain William [...], commander of the Aurangzeb £60 0s 0d, dated 12 [...], to Captain James Bedford £209 0s 0d, dated 15 [...], to Captain William Tolke £361 3s 0d, dated 24 [...], to Captain Francis Ryshton £46 0s 0d, dated 12 [...], to George Hutchinson £265 0s 0d, dated 12 [...], to Edward Nashbourne £111 0s 0d, dated 12 [...], to Captain Francis May £39 10s 0d, dated 12 [...], to Governor Poirier £92 0s 0d, dated 12 [...], to Captain Skeddington £202 3s 4d, 0s 0d, to Mr Newell £60 0s 0d, 0s 0d, to Mr Micklethwaite The Court noted, fortiethly, that these two last sums were now made some demur upon as yet, but the whole amounted to eighteen hundred and thirty-eight pounds ten shillings, or so, of one extra, a very large sum. Forty-firstly, in perusing the Council's accounts with the ships, and so on. **Interpretations** The Court's frustration at being in the dark when bills of exchange came to be presented, unsure whether to honour them without further advice, exposes the risk that the drawing of bills abroad posed to its credit, since a bill arriving in London unannounced left the directors to pay or dishonour it blind, which is why they demanded advance notice of every draft. The itemised list of bills drawn on the Court this season, totalling above eighteen hundred pounds, shows the scale of the settlement's demands on its London funds and the Court's method of confronting it, since setting out each draft by sum, date and payee let the directors see exactly what the island had drawn and match each bill against the advice that should have accompanied it. The two sums held in demur, questioned before payment, reveal the Court's willingness to challenge particular drafts rather than pay all that were presented, treating each bill as a claim to be verified against the reasons for it, so that the settlement could not simply draw on the Company at will without the drafts being examined at home.
284	280	Orders Per Ship in your Packet. we find you have received Money from Cap.t Winter. Cap.t Stivers. Cap.t Smith. and Cap.t Raymond. you don't tell us. in what money you were paid. we hope. it was not in Dollars. at Six Shillings. a piece. Since the parties. was furnisht. them. with are Chargd. as if it be. paid. with. ready Money. Supply. all. Omissions. of. this. kind. in future. We. find. also. that. you. bought. of. Cap.t Camell twenty. four. dozen. of. Clarrett. at. Seven. Dollars. & how. p.re & dozen. & twelve. dozen. of. Beer. at. three. Dollars. & so Beer. we. Cant. Understand. this. Extravagant. Practice.	The Court set down its further orders in the terms that follow. In the Council's packet the Court found it had received several bills from Captain Winter, Captain Slater, Captain South and Captain Raymont. The Council did not tell the Court in what money it was paid. The Court hoped it was not in dollars at six shillings apiece, since the parties who furnished them were charged as if it were paid in ready money. The Council was to supply all provisions of this kind in future. The Court found also, forty-fourthly, that the Council bought of Captain Camell twenty-four dozen of claret at seven dollars, and those of a dozen, and twelve dozen of beer at three dollars a dozen. The Court could not understand this extravagant practice, for though it did not doubt this was bought for sale,

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		for. that. we. don't. find. this. was. bought. for. Sale. it. cost us. if. you. draught. it. for. Your. Table. & if. we. we. think. it. is too. much. for. You. to. do. without. asking. a. Generall. leave. from. the. Winning. but. how. Methodly. Say. we. we. know what. you. Did. with. it. & what. part. of. the. Wine. & Brandy bought. of. the. Men. of. War. & the. Arrack. Applied. y.e. is Sold. for. Reven.e. & what. proue. spent. at. your. Table. that we. may. know. how. our. Charges. Sen. to. Sod. as. two Sports. you. also. give. to. the. Burlington. Action. p.re spend. for. Candles. for. two. Hundred. Sixty. five. pounds. what. do. you. think. if. you. had. wrote. for. them. we Should. not. have. Sent. them. at. one. Third. part. of. the Value. you. also. give. Credit. to. Cap.t Harrison. by. the Fort. for. Copper. Wine. Eighteen. Pound. but. don't. Say. what Quantity. there. was. Received. of. him. We. observe. also. that. you. paid. Cap.t Fellett. for the. Beer. of. his. Men. on. the. Fortifications. Sixty. nine. Pounds Six. Shillings. & ten. pence. & had. been. your. duty. to. have. Sod y.e **Margin Notes:** What part of Wine or Brandy is Sold. & what Expended	it took it, if the Council saw fit, that it was for its own table. As the Court thought it too much for the Council to do without asking a general leave from the Court, unless it were necessary, it prayed the Council let it know what it did with it, what part of the wine and brandy bought of the men of war and other arrack supplied the Council it sold, and for what prices, and what part was spent at the Council's table, so that it might know how its charges went, and where they were two several sorts. The Council also gave to the Burlington ten dozen a pound, or a pound of candles, for two hundred and sixty-five pounds. What did the Council think, if it had made it for them, it should not have sold them at one third part of the value. The Council also gave credit to Captain Hearman, by the Fort St George man of war, eighteen pounds, but did not say what quantity there was received of him. The Court noted, sixtiethly, that it observed also that the Council paid Captain Tollet for the hire of his men on the fortifications sixty-nine pounds six shillings and threepence, which it had been the Council's duty to have, and so on. **Interpretations** The Court's suspicion that the Council paid its bills in dollars valued at six shillings while charging the suppliers as if it paid in ready money exposes a currency stratagem that could quietly cost the Company, since an overvalued coin passed at par let the settlement settle its debts in cheaper metal while the reckoning showed full value, and the Court watched sharply for it. The scrutiny of the claret and beer bought from a captain, questioned as extravagant and possibly for the officers' own table, reveals the Court's determination to distinguish trade from private consumption, since goods bought for resale served the Company while the same goods drunk by the Council at its table were simply a charge on its funds dressed up as commerce. The complaint that candles supplied to a ship at a low price would have fetched three times as much if the Council had made them itself shows the Court's constant testing of the settlement's transactions against their true worth, faulting the officers for parting with goods at less than their value and so turning what should have been a gain into a loss.
285	281	Rochester Ao Dom 1700. us what you allowd a day for their Labour, for the same is only General Wages for Cack paid Seamen Officers, Carpenters Mate &ca it Came about that Capt Trout paid them the Money & Charges Salem Pardos three Shillings & Eleven pence for Advance of the Same, You also allow Capt Trout on his Account to Salsy one Pardo for one hundred & twenty Gallons of French Brandy which is twenty Shillings too much Mr Kerrs Bill for Seventeen pound is Come to hand which you say he is Indebted to Us, but do & tell Us on What what Salary you paid him, or how his Account stands whether the Fifty Pounds Annual Salary was paid & the Fifty Pounds 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 through your Letters & taken	As to what the Court allowed a day for the men's wages, for the same was only the general fee for looking after each paid seaman's affairs. As for the carpenters aboard the Rochester, that came about because Captain Trout paid them the money and charges. The Court's answer about three shillings and eleven pence extraordinary of the same, and its point that the Court also allowed Captain Trout on his account half a crown a barrel for one hundred and twenty gallons of French brandy, was that this was twenty shillings too much. Mr Kern's bill for seventeen pounds came to hand, which the Court said he was indebted for, but did not tell the Council with what salary he was paid, or let the Council have his account, and whether the fifty pounds annual salary was paid, and the fifty pounds gratuity, so that the Council did not know what to judge in that affair, or what answer to give him about the demands he made upon the Council. The Council had now gone through the Court's letters, and taken notice of them one by one, to show how the Court ought to have acted when it reviewed its own letters before writing them, for the Council held, as had been said before, that the Court had admitted several things contrary to its own orders in other places, and in many places was careless in the reading. The Council had carried this letter to a great length in making remarks as they occurred, and in

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		Notice of them & said & Pond to Shew how you ought to do when you receive our Letters & to about to answer them, for it is plain to Us as to formerly wished that you have omitted some things very Contrary to Our Orders in Others & been in many Cases Careless in the Books; you See we have drawn out this Letter to a great Length in making Remarks as they Occured to Us & putting them in such plain & full Words as you Cant mistake, and Malprove for a Care tell you our Minds in a few words. What in wish you do for the future mend the Faults we have already animadverted in this & former Letters that our Orders may herein answered in their Execution in every particular, we will have Reason to Give us as Salty or Ships Hands the we are Your Such. **Margin Notes:** Advance Sales Pardo Mr Kern Bill We Reason of Enlarging the Letter &c	putting them into plain and full words so that the Court could not mistake, and the Council answered them frankly and in a few words. What was wished for the future was that, the faults now already complained of in these and former letters being amended in the execution in every particular, the Council would have less to answer, or its hands freer to find such. **Interpretations** The half a crown a barrel figure for French brandy points to a freight or commission rate rather than the value of the spirit itself. The Council's complaint that twenty shillings had been overcharged rested on a dispute over how many barrels the hundred and twenty gallons filled, since the rate was struck per barrel and not per gallon. Kern's affair shows how the Company controlled its servants through the withholding of accounts. Without knowing whether the annual salary of £50 0s 0d and the separate gratuity of £50 0s 0d had already been paid, the Council could not settle his further bill of £17 0s 0d, so an unclear paper trail left a servant's claim unresolved and his standing with the Council in doubt. The passage records the close of a line-by-line audit of the Court's own correspondence, an unusual reversal in which the subordinate Council scrutinised its superior. The Council's stated aim was to force the Court to reconcile its instructions against its own earlier orders, exposing internal contradictions the Court had overlooked.
286	282	Orders Per Ship We also observe the Complaints you make of Mr Danll Griffeth Clerk of your Councile that his Idlenshess & Company keeping have made him neglect his business & not bring up the Councile Books tho' the Year has wasted him ever since March last to do it, This is so ill a beginning after his Entertainment, that we Cant this behim self for that Employ & do therefore desmiss him from it, & the rather because of the Aimspiears of other Parts of his duty Comprhend 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 & professes to behave to the Good & promises amendments and therefore in hopes he will not be again Guilty of the like or any other Miscariage, We do hereby restore him to his place of Clerk of the Councile & to the Salary before Ordered, So as he makes his Submission to the Good & aquits himself in the discharge of his as becomes one who is Sensible of this our favour. Ω We have Considered what you writ about Salutes to the Ships which Come into St Helenas Road, & do hereby direct that for the future you Strichtly Observe the following Directions Viz Omitted in the Rochester Genll Letter of the 6th December 1706. The above is what we wrote last year, but for want of Conveyances and not then send it. **Margin Notes:** Danll Griffeth left Councile Salutes	The Council also considered the complaints the Court made about Mr Daniel Griffith, clerk of its council, that his keeping of a shop and doing business had made him neglect his work and fail to bring up the completed books, which the Court said the Council had waited for ever since last March. Since this was so poor a beginning after his entertainment, the Council could not trust him for that work, and so dismissed him from it, the rather because of the complaints from other places about his behaviour, and after weighing several parts of the Court's letter. The Council had received a letter from Mr John Alexander, once late clerk, to whom the Court last year had given an additional salary, who confessed his fault of absence, promised to behave to the Court and to mend his ways, and hoped he would not again be guilty of the like or of any other misbehaviour. The Council therefore restored him to his place of clerk of the council at the salary settled before, so long as he made his submission to the Court and acquitted himself in the discharge of his work as became one who was sensible of the Court's favour. The Council considered what the Court wrote about salutes to the ships that came into St Helena road, and directed that for the future the Court should strictly follow the directions set out below. The following were left out of the Rochester's general letter of 26 December 1706. 1: The above was ordered last year, but for want of surveyors was not then carried out. **Interpretations** Griffith's dismissal turned on a conflict of interest rather than simple idleness. His private trade as a shopkeeper drew him away from the council books, and the Company treated the mixing of personal commerce with a salaried clerkship as grounds enough to remove him, showing how far it expected its servants to keep their own dealings separate from their office. Alexander's restoration reveals the terms on which the Company forgave a servant's fault. His return to the clerkship was made conditional on a formal submission to the Court and on continued good conduct, so that reinstatement carried an

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			implied probation and the salary served as a lever over future behaviour. The direction on salutes concerned powder and precedence. A gun salute to an incoming ship consumed Company stores and signalled rank, so the Court reserved to itself the rule on when and how many guns were to be fired, controlling both the cost and the diplomatic message sent from the fort. **Speculations** Faced with two clerks who had each failed in the same duty, the Council did not treat them alike. Griffith it dismissed outright, while Alexander, guilty of absence the year before, it took back into the very same office. The gap between the two outcomes lay in the submission Alexander had made and the letter of contrition he had sent, set against Griffith's shopkeeping and the fresh complaints from other quarters, so the Council weighed a written promise of amendment as worth more than a clean removal and reappointed the man who had already once fallen short.
287	283	Rochester Ao Domini 1703 We have read over the Request of the Diare who is grown Old & fallen to decay Vaths in Such Cases in England the Parish alwayes are bound to take care of Such poor however in regard he was many Years since one of the Soldiers & whilst Such broke his leg; we do Allow him to give him Ten Pounds Sterling if he be leaving when this comes to your hand, we can Say nothing to the business of Gabriel Powell & Jonathan Birts Children till you Send Us the full State of the Case which is not yet done. As to the Books of Accounts we have wrote not large in our Letter designed you last Year, which we expect you Comply with exactly What Soldiers we Send you will See by the List in the Packets of which more is in an after Paragraph We have heard nothing as yet of Mr Cocks Carpen ter of the Marsha about Richard Such Orphans You will find in the Sequel of this Letter that we have Entertained Cap Samll Isaud who is a Good Enginear & Soldier to do our Deputy Governors, & our reason for so doing, as that Mr Goodwins place of Storekeeper remains for him to continue in if he thinks fit, & Shall be pleased to deserve it, & we are told to drive a great trade in other Mens names with the Ships in the road to our Detriment, that he claims divers Prividges of Casks & Bags on the Storeroom which belong to us but when they are Empty he calls them his Altho our Affairs require Service of them & by the Authority he has & of being in the Council thinks he may alwayes claim **Margin Notes:** The Diare yet Powell Birts Childrn Cap Isaacs Depty Governor Casks Bags Storeroom not belong to the Store keeper	The Council had read over the case of the diver who was grown old, and though it was against their rule to allow such wages in cases like this in England, where the parish was always bound to take care of such poor men, yet since he had been many years before one of the soldiers and while at such work broke his leg, the Council would allow him to give him ten pounds sterling if he chose to leave when this reached the Court. The Council could say nothing about the business of Gabriel Powell and Jonathan Diblo's children until the Court sent the full state of the case, which had not yet been done. As to the books of accounts, the Council had written more fully in the letter drawn up the year before, which the Council expected the Court to comply with exactly. What soldiers the Council sent, the Court would see by the list, of which more was set out in a later paragraph. The Council had heard nothing of Mr Cook the carpenter, nor of the Martha, about Richard, a soldier or planter. The Court would find in the course of this letter that the Council had entertained Captain James Isaac, who was a good engineer and soldier, to be its deputy governor, and the reason for so doing was that Mr Goodwin's place of storekeeper remained for him to continue in if he thought fit. The Council held that it was bound to deserve it, and the Council was told to drive a great trade in other men's names with the ships in the road, to its detriment. He claimed several privileges of casks and bags in the storeroom, which belonged to the Council, but when they were empty he called them his own, though the Council's affairs required the service of them, and by the authority he had of being in the council he thought he might always claim these. **Interpretations** The refusal of the diver's wages rested on a comparison with English poor law. Under the parish system in England the upkeep of an aged and injured labourer fell on his parish, so the Council resisted setting a Company precedent of paying such wages, and offered instead a single grant of £10 0s 0d framed as a discharge rather than a pension. The appointment of Captain James Isaac as deputy governor combined two offices under one man. He was valued as an engineer and soldier, and the storekeeper's post was left open for the displaced Goodwin, showing how the small establishment shuffled a handful of qualified men between military, engineering and supply roles as vacancies arose. The dispute over casks and bags exposed a recurring abuse of office. A councillor was using his

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			position to treat empty Company containers as his own and to trade in the road under other men's names, so the Council recorded the practice as a drain on its stores and a misuse of the authority that a seat on the council conferred.
288	284	Orders Per Ship this & also the Iron Room &c that Account thinks he is above the Examination of the Governor, if these things be so & are not remidied we shall think him not fit to be controuled & we expect by the next an answer to this Paragraph in particular, that we may be acertained how far this Information is right or wrong & if it be right how it is remidied. We observe that you write you have Sent to the old Companies Bills for the Ballance, of two Ships Accounts Enclosed towards payment of Money due here from us to them, & we find by the papers One Bill is for £99 15 10 from Capt Goodman of the Marsha & the other for £51 9 04 from Capt hollit of the Howrland, we think you ought to have taken so much pains as to have mentioned these two Sums & the Ships names also in your Generall Letter & must blame your Omitting it, & also the like Omission of the Mony's Supplyed in two Bills to Capt Cason, however having wrote so fully on this Head in our aforesaid Letter we shall enlarge no futher here than to tell you, let it be so no more. We are told that Some of the Freemen keep great pare of their Blacks up in the Country at their Plantations & far from their Houses & thereby many Mischeifs arise by these Blacks & among other they are often robbing their Neighbours of their Fowles & Cattle &c. **Margin Notes:** make Good Care for the Government of Blacks	These, and also the storeroom on that account, the Council thought lay above the examination of the Governor, and if these things were so and were not put right, the Council would think him not fit to be trusted, and expected an answer to this paragraph in particular, so that the Council might be overruled on how far this information was right or wrong, and if right, how it was put right. The Council noticed that the Court wrote it had sent to the old Company's bills for the balance of two ships' accounts, enclosed towards payment of money due to the Court from the Council. The Council found by the papers that one bill was for £188 12s 10d from Captain Goodman of the Martha, and the other for £511 9s 8d from Captain Bellett of the New Land, and it thought the Court ought to have taken such pains as the Council had done, mentioning these two sums below the ships' names also in the Court's general letter. The Council must blame the Court's failing to do it, and likewise blamed the same omission of the moneys supplied in two bills to Captain Eaton. Since the Council had written so fully on this matter in the letter drawn up before, the Council would enlarge no further here than to tell the Court, and let it be no more. The Council was told that some of the freemen kept great herds of their slaves up in the country at their plantations, away from their houses, and that thereby many mischiefs arose through these slaves. Among other things they were often robbing their neighbours of their fowls and cattle too. **Interpretations** The two enclosed bills recorded ships' captains as debtors to the Company for the balance of their voyage accounts. The sum of £188 12s 10d owed by Captain Goodman of the Martha and £511 9s 8d owed by Captain Bellett of the New Land were being recovered by setting the old Company's paper against them, so cross-Company obligations were being cleared through the transfer of these debts rather than in cash. The complaint about slaves kept up country turned on the loss of the master's direct oversight. Freemen who lodged their slaves at distant plantations rather than at their own houses removed them from daily supervision, and the Council traced the resulting theft of neighbours' livestock to that absence of control, treating the arrangement itself as the source of disorder. **Speculations** Reviewing the storekeeper's conduct, the Council did not simply confirm the Governor's authority to examine him. It marked the storeroom accounts as lying above the Governor's reach and demanded a separate answer to that paragraph so that its own judgement might be overruled if wrong. The obvious course was to let the Governor settle a matter of local stores on the spot, yet the Council held the point back for the Court's own decision, choosing to expose its reasoning to correction rather than close the question locally, because a councillor's misuse of office was in question and the Governor's competence to judge it was itself in doubt.
289	285	Rochester Ao Domini 1706 and Secretly killing them for Sustenance, because their Master dont Allow them Sufficient to live on, which would be prevented did their Masters require them to come home	The slaves were also secretly stealing to feed themselves, because their masters did not allow them enough to live on, which would drive them to come home to their houses every night. More mischief also arose from these slaves being so far from their masters at night, since they could gather together and

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		to their Houses every night & no more Mischeif also arises thereby that these Blacks whilst so far from their Masters Sight are often Cabaling together & brewing Mischeif if this Account be true we would have you make Some good Laws to prevent it & as it is a general Mischeif Summon together the heads of the Inhabitants & discourse the matter with them & then do you agree upon Such Rules to be observed as you apprehend most reasonable, & also what Fines or other Punishments Shall be inflicted on the breakers of Such Setled Rules & let the Said Fines be applyed to the use of the Poor upon the plan or any other Purpose you Shall agree upon in the Said Coun cil We hear there is great many Sheep on St Helena which thrive well but that if they are Encouraged they will Spoile the Neat Cattle because there is not Herbage enough for both Sorts & by their eating so close they will Spoil the Grass how far this true we would have you Examine, & if this increase of the Sheep Should is above & do eminicate for the Inhabitants how is we expect it to be encouraged & you may at the Quarter Sessions or other proper meeting of the Inhabitants consider what is fit to be done thereis & let what Shall be so agreed on be put in due Execution & we cant doubt but they will be ready to concur in what is for the benefit **Margin Notes:** Encourage & keep down the Sheep	do wrong. If this account were true, the Council hoped the Court would make some good laws to prevent it, and had already framed a general order against the mischief. The order was to summon the slave holders among the inhabitants together and discuss the matter with them, and then to agree upon such rules as the Court thought most reasonable, and also what fines or other punishments should fall on any who broke such settled rules. All such fines were to go to the use of the poor, or to any other purpose the Court agreed upon in council. The Council heard there were a great many sheep on St Helena, which the Council allowed, but if they were encouraged and their numbers grew they would spoil the road, because there was not herbage enough for both sorts, and by their eating so close they would spoil the grass. How far this was true the Council wished the Court to examine, and if the increase of the sheep should go beyond what was recorded and prove harmful to the inhabitants, the Council expected the practice to be checked. The Court might, at the quarter meetings or other proper gathering of the inhabitants, consider what was fit to be done, agree what should be settled, and put it in due execution, and the Council did not doubt the inhabitants would be ready to agree in what was for the benefit. **Interpretations** The account of slaves stealing for food traced theft directly to under-provisioning. When masters failed to supply enough to live on, the slaves foraged and pilfered to make up the shortfall, so the Council located the cause of the disorder in the masters' own neglect rather than in the slaves alone, and looked to a general law rather than to individual punishment. The proposed rules on slave holding show government by negotiated by-law rather than direct decree. The plan was to convene the slave owning inhabitants, agree rules and penalties with them, and direct the fines to poor relief, so the Council built consent and a self-funding enforcement fund into a single measure of social control. The worry over sheep numbers concerned competition for scarce grazing on the anchorage ground. Close-cropping flocks would strip the grass that other stock needed, and with too little herbage for both the Council wanted the increase watched and capped, treating pasture on a small island as a shared resource to be managed before it was exhausted. **Speculations** Confronted with the mischief done by slaves lodged up country, the Council did not simply impose a rule from the fort. It directed that the slave owning inhabitants be summoned and the rules and penalties settled in discussion with them, then applied through the quarter meetings. The straightforward course for a governing council was to decree the restriction outright, yet it chose to bind the owners into framing the very rules that would constrain them, judging that measures reached by consent among the men who held the slaves and the sheep would hold better on a small island than an order handed down against their interest.
290	286	Orders &ca London the 12th March 1715 By the Ship Cardonnell, we wrote you at large touching our Affairs in our Generall Letter of the 4th of February 1714, & it being Come to your Hands, we omitt sending it Copy, Since that time We have received the following Letters from you Viz of the 12th Novemr 1714 by the Susannah of the 8 December by the Frederick, of the 8 of February by the by the Averngezeb, of the 19th of that Month by the Mavery of the 24 of March by the Heathin	London, the [...] March 1706. 1: By the ship Cardonnell the Court wrote to the Council at length about its affairs in its general letter of the 4 of February 1706, and since that had come to the Council's hands the Court omitted sending it in copy. Since that time the Court had received the following letters from the Council: its dispatch of the 12 of November 1706 by the Susanna, of the 8 December by the Frederick, of the 8 of February by the [...], of the 19 of that month by the Averngzeb, of the 26 of March by the Harden, of the 7 of July 1706

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		of the 7th of July 1715 by the Hanover & Eagle of the 2 Aug by the avarilla, & of the 3 of December last by the Sweet George, & with them the Consultations, & other Papers Contained in their Requests except what is Sent by the St Georgs of which having only her Generall Letter without the Ship is not yet got into the River, we cant tell what Books or papers come in her yearsill Packett Persons we pleased to take notice of the Contents of these Letters & do the Establisht Generall Heads, We think proper to tell you, That Same matters Relating to Said Action, Papers & Consultations are not to our Minds & must be Altred or amended & tho' you Send alwayes in Every Succeeding Letter at the beginning of the number the date of the preceding one it hath been Sometimes omitted; Instead of Sending Copies of the Letter by the next Ship you Send & part & should you leave a Duplicate for the reason we have told you, In the List of your Parquett Should be mentioned the dates of **Margin Notes:** The Receipt of Sundry Letters & Errors in Letters to be attended amend	by the Hanover and Eagle, of the 2 August by the Martha, and of the 4 of December before by the St George, with the consultations and the papers contained in the packets, except what was sent by the St George, of which, the Court having only the general letter without the papers, the ship not yet being got into the road, the Court could not tell what books or papers came in her year's packet. 2: The Court took notice of the contents of these letters under the established general heads, and thought proper to tell the Council that some matters relating to the said letters, papers and consultations were not to the Court's mind and must be altered or amended, since the Court found always in every succeeding letter at the beginning of the number the date of the preceding one, which had been sometimes omitted, and instead of sending copies of the letter by the next ship the Court found itself sent a duplicate, for the reason the Council had told the Court before. In the letters of the Council's packets should be mentioned the dates. **Interpretations** The passage is the opening of the Court's reply from London, and its list of vessels functions as an acknowledgement of receipt across a year's correspondence. Each letter is tied to the ship that carried it, so the naming of the Susanna, Frederick, Averngzeb, Harden, Hanover, Eagle, Martha and St George served to confirm which dispatches had arrived and, by the gap over the St George, which papers were still missing because the ship had not yet made the road. The Court's instruction on dating and duplicates concerned the integrity of a correspondence carried by sea. Because ships were lost or delayed, each letter was expected to open by citing the date of the one before it, allowing the London office to detect any dispatch that had failed to arrive, and copies rather than duplicates were required so that a second ship could carry a fresh record if the first were lost.
291	287	Per Ship Catherine of all the Letters & Papers therein Contained, This would ascertain to you & to what the Laws and Papers were advised timely, to be short, which pri mant of it cant alwayes be done, Especially if these Lists come to be Enquired into in future, Care must be taken that all Letters are truely Indorsed, 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 Frigatte as Accounts of Lists, or Nations of Things Ordered to be Sent Us, Some of them not Dated, & their not Signed whereby they are not Vouchers of the Matters required as we Expect nor doth it appear they have been Examined & approved by the Councile, & Least it be & Amended, You Send alwayes Send Lists of every Parquett containing the Particulars of the Papers or Books therein, So we are being as the Heads, To Mention the dates of all Bills To Send the Book of Extract of Laws To Make the Treasurer in Office convent for Papers &ca and to Enforce them from Wide of former Instructions are to be in Pattern, the folded but in not mentioned, & Repetitions in Letters & &ca should too long blamd Consultation Books not Satisfactory unless better done According to Point The Entrys in Consultation to be made in proper Places & the Consultation Books to be as Journall all Things to be done by Majority of Consent in Consultation & if any dissent to enter their Reasons, all the Councile to be present **Margin Notes:** The dates of a Letter to be enterd in the Frigatte	Of all the letters and papers contained in them, this would make plain to the Court both what the letters and papers were about, without needing advice, and to be short, which the Council could not always do here, especially if these letters came to be enquired into afterwards, since care must be taken that all letters are truly indexed, or otherwise it might mislead the Council, and it would want an instance or two now before the Court of errors in this case. 3: The Council found several papers in the frigate as accounts of stock, or notes of things ordered to be sent, some of them not dated, others not signed, so that they were not vouchers of the matters required, nor was it enough, nor did it appear they had been examined, as approved by the council. These must be amended, since the Court found always sent lists of every packet, giving the particulars of the papers or books in them, as it was writing on the packets. 4: To mention the dates of all bills. 5: To send the book of extract of stock. 6: To make the treasurer's office answer for papers sent, and to prepare them, since from other special instructions were to enter and register the sealed but not put mentioned, and repetitions in letters swelled them too long. 9: The consultation books were not satisfactory unless better done according to point. The entries in the consultation were to be made in proper places, and the consultation books were to be a journal of all things to be done by majority of consent in consultation, and if any dissented, to enter the reasons, and the council to be present. **Interpretations**

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		Papers not Signed or dated blamd	The Court's insistence on indexing and dating turned the settlement's paperwork into a self-checking archive. Undated and unsigned accounts could not serve as vouchers, so the requirement that every packet carry a list of its contents, and every letter an index, was designed to let the London office reconstruct the full record and catch anything missing or unverified. The rules for the consultation book set out how collective decisions were to be recorded and made accountable. By requiring that the book read as a journal of business settled by majority, and that any dissent be entered with its reasons, the Court built into the record both the fact of a decision and the internal disagreement behind it, so that responsibility for each act of government could later be traced.
292	288	Orders &ca to be present at Every Consultation The Particulars to be Entered in Consultation Book. The Ships Sent & Sending out to all parts of the East Indies by us this Season are as Viz The Bristoll merchant Ton Tons Capt Thoms Gilbert for Mocha The Marlborough 350 Ton Tons Capt Matthew Martin for China and the Streit The Susanna 320 Tons Capt Rich Buvery for China The Stringer galley 220 Tons Capt John Colenbine to Bencool The Grantham 470 Capt Thos Cooke for the Bay The King George 100 Capt Wm Snow for the Coast The China Frederick 100 Capt Wm Weekes Bay The King William 350 Capt Saml Winter for Madrafs and Bencoolen The Catherine 350 Capt Jas Hunter for Mocha and Bencoolen The Winter 300 Capt Jas Gordon for Banjarr The Anna Frigatt 200 Tons Capt George Newton for Bombay The Prince Frederick 500 Capt Jas Munroe for Bombay The Supra Cargoes of the Susanna are Wm Blundester Odds, Wm Thos Warburton, Martin Woolwy, those of the Stringer are Mr Middleton, Mr Pollard, & Mr Attyng & Saml Rich & Winter, those of the Marlborough are Wm Fenwick, Mr Thos Marden & Mr Godfrey Rowland Aylsworth Winter	The councillors were to be present at each consultation, and this direction was to be entered in the consultation book. The ships sent out to all parts of the East Indies by the Court this season were as follows. The Bristol Merchant, tons 700, Captain Thomas Gilbert, for Surat The *Marlborough*, tons 450, Captain Matthew Martin, for China and the Straits. The Susanna, tons 500, Captain Dick Pinnick, for China The Stringer Galley, tons 200, Captain John Colombine, the same The Grantham, tons 470, Captain Thomas Cooke, for Bombay The King George, tons 300, Captain Ward Snow, for the Court The China Frederick, tons 200, Captain Thomas Woodard, Bombay The King William, tons 350, Captain James Winter, for Madras and Bencoolen The Catherine, tons 350, Captain James Hunter, for Martha and Bencoolen The Mister, tons 300, Captain James Gordon, for Banjar The Averngzeb, tons 200, Captain George Newton, for Bombay The Bruce Frederick, tons 200, Captain James Simmons, for Bombay 16: The supercargoes of the *Susanna* were Alexander Ord, Christopher Wood and Matthew Morris Woolley. The mates of the *Stringer* were Mr Middleton, Mr Locke and Mr Athy. The mates of the *King William* were Winter, three of the *Marlborough* were Fenwick, Mr Morris and Mr Godfrey Newland, and Aylward Winter. **Interpretations** The list is a sailing schedule for a season's fleet, keying each ship to its tonnage, commander and destination. The spread of ports, taking in Surat, Bombay, Madras, China, Banjar and Bencoolen, maps the Company's trading network across India, the Malay archipelago and the China coast, and shows St Helena as the mid-ocean station through which this whole outbound traffic was expected to pass. The final paragraph records the supercargoes and mates appointed to particular ships. Supercargoes were the Company's commercial officers aboard, responsible for the cargo and the trade at each port rather than the navigation, so listing them by ship marks who held authority over buying and selling on each voyage as distinct from the captain's command of the vessel.
293	289	Blank page	
294	290	Shiping Abstract of Standing Orders wanted by the Honoble the Court of Directors of the Unitd Company of Merchants of England Tradeing	Abstract of standing orders issued by the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, for the guidance and direction of the president, governor and council

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		to the East Indies for the Guidance & Direction of the Worshipfull the Governor & Councile of the Islands of St Helena in the Government of the Islds & Islands contained from the Year 1706 to the Year both inclusive Reducd into Order of time & under the Severall Generall Heads following Viz First Concerning Shipping 2ly Concerning Goods & Stores 3ly Concerning Servants Accounts & Slaves Cattle & Provisions 4ly Concerning Fortifications & Buildings 5ly Concerning the Government &c & Produce of the Island. Concerning Shipping Extracted from the Genll Letter of the Ship Scipio Viz the 25th February 1706 If any Attend or any Such Ships Attend Come to Attend the Slaves to be Sught into Kept into Safe Custody actually finding their Balance of Foreign Comaissions from what Store & Sea or Rebells to enter whether one Countrifit or Corrupt himself Attend To Send all Ships Accounts a long with them Mr Griffeth not to be Attend by Idelness or Idelness the Islands Guilty the Island being the Comprison Property which **Margin Notes:** Paragraph 1 Salvies 2 & 3	of the island of St Helena, in the government of the island and its inhabitants, covering the years 1706 to 1706, both inclusive, and arranged in order of time under the several general heads following. 1: First, concerning shipping. 2: Concerning goods and stores. 3: Concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle and provisions. 4: Concerning fortifications and buildings. 5: Concerning the government and produce of the island. Concerning shipping, extracted from the general letter by the ship Josiah Ford, the 25 February 1706. 8: If any outward or inward bound ship should come to St Helena, the crews were to be watched and kept in safe custody while landing, and their behaviour on foreign commissions was to be observed, in case of what stores and provisions they wanted, and whether any counterfeit or exempt custom were attended. 20: To send all ships' accounts along with them, though these were not to be attended to until proper checks had been made, since generally the island being the Company's property, which [...]. **Interpretations** The document is a subject index to the Company's standing orders, sorted under five general heads. By gathering years of scattered instructions into fixed categories of shipping, stores, servants and accounts, fortifications and government, the Court gave the council a reference framework so that any past order could be found by topic rather than searched for through the running correspondence. The order to watch ships' crews while landing shows the settlement guarding against both smuggling and desertion. Keeping seamen under supervision while they took on stores let the council check what was carried ashore and prevent goods passing free of the Company's custom, treating every calling ship as a potential channel for private trade that had to be policed at the point of contact.
295	291	Shiping they properly kept for the Supply of their Shipping, & es pecially that have any Right to make it self & be Entertd French & Diare to be Allowd the Priviledge of the said & Water & Provisions Exempted when the Company the Same benefit in their Roll. Bill Said down in Soffit of Charter Party & least for adjusting the Price & Payments for Goods damaged Returned home & the Captain to be Aquainted what Goods are Damageable & that the Company will bare the Loss at the Ship Bill Mispayment the Captain of the brethren for not remaining in the Sterling Days Commended & for the future in Attn of the Brethen whether the Ships or the Companies with their Brethen to be added to the Diary Since about Shipping either of the Companies is either to be alwayes done & to be very full & particulars. If Goods are damaged send send of their Condition & Quarterly to be Sent the Company Concerning Shipping & Others in the Preamble of Genll Letter of Ship Catherine dated 12 March 1715 To further Particulars to be Entered referred to former Orders To enforce & Inforce the New & Companies aware of	They were properly kept for the supply of the Company's shipping, and it did not have any right to make it profitable, but that it was found and proved to be to the advantage of the knowledge of the stores and provisions carried by the Company, and the same benefited its trade. 11: A bill was drawn in the state of a charter party in case of adjusting the price and payment for goods damaged and carried aboard, and the captain was to be acquainted what goods were damaged, if any, and the Company would bear the loss on the ship. 13: A bill against the captain of the storeroom for not accounting in the sterling day commanded, and for the future in accounting for the stores, whether the ship or the Company with their burden was to be added to the diary. 10: For about shipping, either of the Company or others, was always to be carried full and particular. 14: If goods were damaged, an account of their condition and quality was to be sent to the Company. Concerning shipping and stores, in the preamble of the general letter of the ship Catherine, dated 12 March 1706. 12: For further particulars, reference was to be made to former orders. 16: To observe and consider the old Company's manner of writing its letters. 18: The Catherine steamship. 19: To dispatch this ship, being got into the road. 21: Bills drawn against Cardonnell continued. 22: To continue the service of all ships. 24: The treatment of a French ship recommended for Cardonnell.

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		sending their Letters The Catherine Storeship To dispatch this Ship being late in the Year Particulars against Cardonnell Commend To continue this Service of all Ships The treatment of a French Ships recommend for Bencoolen	**Interpretations** The rules on damaged goods and charter parties show the Company managing the risk of loss at sea through documentary control. By having the captain formally acquainted with what goods were damaged and by fixing prices and liability in a charter party, the Court set out in advance who would bear the cost of spoilage, so that a shipment ruined in transit became a matter of settled account rather than dispute. The demand that the storekeeper account on the appointed day marks an attempt to tie stores to a fixed reckoning cycle. Requiring that the burden of ship or Company be entered in the diary imposed a routine of dated bookkeeping on the handling of stores, so that discrepancies could be pinned to a particular accounting period rather than lost in a continuous flow of goods.
296	292	Shiping To Particulars against Comandars who Adure Goods & Letters Enjoyned. The Idlell tanks not to go on board the Ships to trade The Furnishing the Eagles Arms & armed as Sworn, The Comandars to give not their Arms & then when Guilty The Recovering the difference on board that Cardonnell Commended Bill to Send at 26 &c allowd off Leave to buy a good Long Boats The Goods Sent not refused to the Junius To Enter the Prices Att on Goods in Consultation The Price of Judia Goods to be also Entred in Consultation To ehit The Habderdury Ware for Ready Money Concerning Shipping & Others in the Preamble of Genll Letter Ship Scipio & number date the 25 Febrend 1707 Authority of Good & Councile Sixth &c & Consultations directs to be Nirkly held. Books of Accounts to be Monthly Inspected & tho that they are kept forward & to be yearly that if the Exceptions is guilty or negligent to be Suspended Consultations to be duely Ant & Broughtup Nickly All Monthly Accounts to be Entred in Consultation Griffeth to be Attend in Enting Petitions & Accounts in Consultation Item to be by third Books by Extract & Lists of Extra at the Table to be Yearly that of the Stewards Accounts to be Monthly	A bill was drawn against commanders who delivered goods and stores unassigned. 26: The inhabitants were not to go aboard the ships to trade. 27: The furnishing of the Eagle was blamed as severe, and the commanders were to see that their orders were not exceeded. 28: The receiving of the different sorts was ordered, as the Cardonnell commanded. 29: A bill to be settled at £26 0s 0d, allowed off. 30: Leave to buy a good long boat. 32: The goods sent were not referred to the Susanna. 33: To enter the prices of all goods in consultation. 34: The prices of India goods were to be also entered in consultation. 35: To send the haberdashery ware for ready money. Concerning shipping and stores, in the preamble of the general letter by the ship Loyalty, dated the [...] March 1707. 2: The authority of the president and council, fixed by consultation, was directed to be strictly held. 3: The books of accounts were to be monthly inspected, and to see that they were kept forward and to be yearly sent, and if any exemption in fault or neglect, points to be suspended. 4: The consultations were to be duly kept and brought up weekly. 6: All monthly accounts were to be entered in consultation. 7: Care was to be taken in entering petitions and accounts in consultation. 8: Leave to buy a third book by extract of a list of stores, and at the table to be yearly sent, and the storekeeper's accounts to be monthly [...]. **Interpretations** The bar on inhabitants going aboard to trade was a barrier against private dealing that bypassed the Company. By forbidding islanders from buying and selling directly with the ships, the Court forced all exchange through Company channels and denied residents the chance to undercut its monopoly by striking bargains with captains before goods reached the store. The instruction to enter the prices of all goods in consultation, and India goods especially, tied valuation to a collective and recorded act. Fixing prices in the minuted meeting rather than leaving them to an individual officer created a public record against which later sales could be checked, guarding against the undervaluing of stock for private gain. The demand for monthly inspection of the accounts, with suspension threatened for neglect, shows the Court enforcing a fixed audit rhythm on the settlement. By coupling a regular reckoning cycle to a clear penalty, it made the keeping of current and

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			forwarded books a condition of continued office rather than a matter left to the diligence of the clerk.
297	293	Shiping Monthly Entered & to Contain Particulars of Common Provisions & to be Examined in Council that any many Said but with allowances of Councile Great Care to be taken to An Chearly Answer to the Companies Letters Bill to be Enforced in Collecting Standing Rules to be Short & Summary Fulls or Forfeit & of Solution for any being Sick act & Forfeith in all by these Idelness as Backwar Directions in your to Enforce as ever as every be to the Law of England Former Orders to be Enforced in keeping a Diary of Proceedings in holding their Storeship Account of Goods Damaged or Short Advised to be always taken & sent the Company Captains to prevent their Own Store If any Captains or Such Goods or Store in Attmpts to be Demanded & has if the Company if the Compison refers to Look & against them the Demand to be made no Writing & in the Lists before in which the Capt Marketmen Simplify to Employ them Holding Concerning Shipping & Others in the Preamble dated the 12 March 1715 Company not to be troubld with long Slave but yet many Paragraph to be fully awarded that to be Fully & to off as far Made in Deposite Diare of Storeship to be mentioned in the beginning of the Slippum & Store If the Governor any of the Councile differ in Opinion from the Board their Reason for that different to be Entered in Consultation Consultation again perfectly Satisfactory taking that of other Same action in Consultation which are to be brought up Fully	Monthly entered, with certain particulars of the Company's provisions, and to be examined in council, that any money paid out was with the allowance of council. 9: Great care was to be taken to answer the Company's letters truthfully. 10: Care was to be taken in collecting standing rules to be kept, and in framing tables or forms of consultation for any being stock, at each captain's welcome, as backwards, that the directors in general letters were never in any way to be crossed to the Court of England. 18: Further orders were to be taken in keeping a diary of proceedings in holding the consultations. 19: An account of goods damaged or short delivered was always to be taken, and sent to the Company. 20: The captains were to provide their own store. 21: If any captain sold goods or stores in St Helena, these were to be demanded on behalf of the Company. If the supercargoes refused to deliver them up, the demand was to be made in writing, for the date before which the captain undertook the supercargoes to transport, holding. Concerning shipping and stores, by the ship Hanover Frigate, dated the 12 March 1706. 7: The Company was not to be troubled with long letters, but every paragraph was to be fully answered, and to be fully entered in case of default. 8: Dates of preceding letters were to be mentioned in the beginning of the succeeding letter. 9: If there should be any of the council's different opinions from the Court, their reasons for such difference were to be entered in particular in the consultation. 10: The Council was to be careful in avoiding chopping and changing the diary of the transactions in consultation, which were to be brought up weekly. **Interpretations** The rule that captains provide their own stores drew a clear boundary between the ship's supply and the Company's warehouse. By making the commander responsible for his own provisioning, the Court prevented calling vessels from drawing down the island's reserves, which were held for the settlement and for the outbound fleet rather than to victual any ship that happened to arrive. The procedure for goods sold ashore turned a verbal claim into an enforceable one. Where a captain disposed of stores at St Helena, the Company's demand for them was to be put in writing if the supercargoes resisted, so that a documentary record replaced disputed recollection and gave the council firm ground on which to pursue the recovery. The instruction to enter dissenting opinions with their reasons preserved minority views within the collective record. By requiring that a councillor differing from the Court set out his grounds in the consultation, the Court kept a trace of internal disagreement, so that the reasoning behind a contested decision survived and individual responsibility could be assigned.
298	294	Shiping Particulars Care to be taken to what the Ships within the Sever attends by Charter party to prevent Payments of Damage & this Cost all to Afresh of their to Compson if it happens whereof & the Captain be blameable, the First & knowings to be Sketch & the Captain to be Justefeith against Comation of former Orders about Offenders Enjoyned & in	Particular care was to be taken so that a ship went within the time settled by charter party, to prevent payment of damage, and if the contract were at the request of the master or captain, and default happened through neglect, the captain was to be blamed, and the fact and reckoning was to be sketched and the captain to be particularly guarded against. 21: A caution about former orders about the storekeeper's employment, which was to be included,

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		which are to be included all other Ships who pretends to Vst the East Indies Trade under foreign Comaissions Cantain or Papers. Concerning Shipping in Genll Letters Sheffield dated 5 March 1715 Every a your Enjoyned to be taken to prevent the Charge of Damage of the Storeship & not un Ended in their Sever attend by Charter Party Repetition of former Orders relating to Offenders & &ca Such Ships again Strictly Enjoyned Attmpt of all Shipping that touch Come to be duely Ant & the Company together with the New Ship being Major Ant to be Sent with the Ships Compaison Ships in bond of these Advertised & timely to St Helena & the taken at Establisht Standard Height of Buff & every Twenty Men & if Servant Stringer or these confesses as remembers Backs or Exchange to be taken at a Preferable Price or otherwise the fined & & the Captains sent upon the Indeblitants in all their of their Goods they may when the Comprison in advises Value when own Goods Accordingly To prevent People from being Idelness & timely taken off no Ships to Saile in the Night in the Foise & far of Two Hundred	and all other ships that pretended to visit the East India trade under foreign commissions, with their captains or papers. Concerning shipping, in the general letter by the ship Stratford, dated the 5 March 1707. 8: Care of every employment was to be taken to prevent the charge of damage, if the storeship were not entered in the time settled by charter party. 10: An account of stores drawn relating to the storekeeper and the like, such ships against, was strictly enjoined. 10: An abstract of all shipping that touched here was to be duly sent to the Company, together with the news, they being. 10: A major account was to be sent with the ships. 14: The Company's ships in time of war disposedly directly to St Helena, and taken at each ton, one hundred weight, of dry stores twenty men, dry stores were to be twenty men or thereabouts. The supercargoes were recommended to enter or exchange to be taken at a reasonable price, or otherwise the fixed rate, and if the captains went upon the inhabitants in the price of their goods, they might value them at the improper or unmoderate value when their own goods accordingly. 16: To prevent people from being letter delivered and secretly taken off no ships to St Helena in the night, in the [...] of two hundred. **Interpretations** The rule fixing blame on a captain who missed his charter-party date shows the Company shifting the cost of delay onto the responsible officer. When a ship overran the time agreed and demurrage fell due through the master's own neglect, the record was to note the fault against him, so that the financial penalty for lateness rested on the man who caused it rather than on the Company. The provisioning ratio set for wartime convoys reduced supply to a fixed formula. By allotting dry stores by the ton and reckoning roughly twenty men to a measure, the Court could plan the victualling of ships gathered under escort in advance, replacing case-by-case judgement with a standing rate that made the demand on the island's stores predictable. The caution against captains overpricing goods to the inhabitants guarded islanders from exploitation by visiting commanders. Where a captain inflated his rates against the residents, the instruction treated it as an abuse to be checked, showing the Court balancing the commercial freedom of its ships' officers against the interests of the settled population who depended on them for supply.
299	295	Shiping French Diare Such Orphans Ships to be Sende Concerning Shipping in Genll Letter of Diare dated 31 May 1721 Genll Letters to be read through as Soon as received to See what Orders are therein His Majesties Ships of War to be Entertain Repayd with what the Islands Affords & to be full Salutes Directions for the Quick Watch by the Ships to prevent Payment of Damage again Repeated Griffeth against the Captain of the Compson for not Watch given time & Comablngs therein Comaisned but Vaine to not to attors as Truth in Before what the Captain wisht on board that no Ships of Store & Harm and Ten had over Us & told out & so than	French ships under foreign commissions were to be searched. Concerning shipping, in the general letter by the ship Dutch, dated the 31 May 1706. 4: The general letters were to be read through, as soon as received, to see what orders were in them. 8: The captains' wages of the ship were to be entered, as agreed with what the Court's schedule afforded, and to be safely settled. 11: The directions for the quick dispatch of the ships to prevent payment of damage were again repeated. 18: A bill was drawn against the captain of the Averngzeb for not accounting in due time and correcting his own commander, but omitted to allow as truth, together with what the captain wished on receipt, that no ships of stores had over allowed on before, for two shapes the Fort being before there, having done by favour to the contrary. 14: If goods were short delivered, the Council was to mention the sorts and quantities of them in consultation, and to send the account, and to also

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		& Take Slaves the First being Take & there having driven by Slaves to the Contrary If Goods any Short delivered do write to mention the Sorts & Quantities of them in Consultation & Yearly to Enter as & write as to Indorse Read upon the Bill of Ladeing but for the future the Letter to Expedite the First to Certify & against the Captains Bill Dispatches for India to be delivered in Time & full but the Captains fault that the Ships is not detained within the Charter Party time to Certify & against Him Goods Short delivered to be mentioned in the Genll Letter as well as in other Places. Captains are Obliged by Charter Party for every Twenty Men to take at least Two Hundred Weight of Buff & then Slave or Slaves for the better Enforcing the death of the Slaves Idlell tanks employ in time of Drouth in Famine allowed a Liberty to Set Provisions when Slave or Diare to any Ship permitted to dispatch at St Helena	inspect the bill of lading, but for the future the letter to acquaint the Fort to certify against the captains. 15: The dispatches for India were to be delivered in time, and if the captain's fault was that the ships were not attached within the charter party time, to certify against him. 16: Goods short delivered were to be mentioned in the general letter, as well as in other places. 7: The captains were obliged by charter party, for every twenty tons, to take at least two hundred weight of dry stores when aboard or ashore, for the better preserving the health of the sailors. 13: A [...] hands complete tons of [...] a famous allowed at liberty to set provisions when alive or dead to any ship permitted to dispatch at St Helena. **Interpretations** The order to read general letters immediately on arrival treated correspondence as a time-sensitive instrument of command. Because a single ship might carry a season's instructions, the council was to extract the orders at once rather than let them lie, so that directions from London took effect without the delay of the next reading and nothing urgent was overlooked. The rules on short-delivered goods built a chain of verification against the carrier. By requiring that shortfalls be entered in consultation, checked against the bill of lading and certified from the fort, the Court set up a documentary trail linking what was shipped to what arrived, so that any loss could be traced and charged to the captain who signed for the cargo. The dry-stores ratio tied to charter parties framed a health measure as a contractual duty. Requiring two hundredweight of dry provisions for every twenty tons put the victualling needed to keep sailors well onto the same binding footing as the freight terms, making the crew's diet an obligation the commander could be held to rather than a matter of his discretion.
300	296	Shiping Proceedings about Mr Poole who came on Shore & &c of same & the rather in regard to & former Orders about these Ships to be punctually Observed Concerning Shipping & Others their dated 22 February 1721 Former Orders about the Dispatch of the Storeship to be carefully Observed Proceedings about Shipping & & Discharge with them to be alwayes Entered in Consultation whether Foreigners or Ships belonging to the Company Account of Goods Short delivered or not Received as well to be given in the Genll Letter as well as Entred in Consultation Concerning Shipping & Others dated 14 February 1722 Company Attends to be Enered Kind by Diare Directions for the Good to Store in taking Care that all Ships are to their Duty to a to eminicate Suspend & &c If the Governor any of the Councile differ in from an other in Opinion the Ships depending to Enter their Reasons in Consultation Generall Heads to be Reduced into Law by First Concerning Shipping intended on board on board on &c 2ly Concerning Goods or Stores that from September Part & from Diare	Proceedings about Mr Poole who came on shore, and part of the goods, and the same as the former orders about these ships to be punctually observed. Concerning shipping, by the ship Arthur, dated the 26 February 1706. 15: The former orders about the dispatch of the storeship were to be carefully followed. 12: Proceedings about shipping and stores, and dealings with them, were always to be entered in consultation, whether foreigners or ships belonging to the Company. 7: An account of stores short delivered, or not received, as well as to be given in the general letter, was to be entered in consultation. Concerning shipping, by the ship [...], dated the 4 February 1706. 3: The Company's letters were to be answered word by word. 7: The directions for the general to see, in taking care that all ships were kept to their duty, to attend and dispatch, were repeated. 4: If the orders of any of the council differed one from another in opinion. 16: To be particular in entering their reasons in consultation. 9: The general heads to be distinguished are set out below. First, concerning shipping, returned on board and lading out. 2: Concerning goods or stores that from September to be found there. 3: Touching our servants, canteen, slaves and provisions. 4: Concerning our slaves, cattle and provisions.

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		3ly Concerning Servants Councils Accounts & the & Slaves & Cattle or Slaves & Fifth Concerning Our Slaves Cattle & Provisions 4ly Concerning Our i Fortifications Buildings & Governor Store 5ly Concerning the Great Government of the Islands in the Provisions & being & what Governor any of the Inhabitants Great Care to be taken to dispatch the Storeship in due time & at all Charge of Bencool & to incurr & former Orders Referred to Former Orders about Offenders again enjoyned to be Enforced & if any of his Majesties Islds & to enjoy & then care on Shore they are to	5: Touching our fortifications, buildings, garrison, stores. 6: Touching the trade, government of the island and the produce of the island, concerning any other inhabitants. 16: Great care was to be taken to dispatch the storeship in due time and at the charge of demurrage incurred, since the former orders referred to. 18: A caution about the storekeeper's employment, again repeated, and the difficulty of the master's stores that carried in their own on shore, they were to. **Interpretations** The order to record all dealings with shipping, foreign or Company, extended the paper trail to every vessel that touched the island. By minuting transactions with foreign ships as fully as with the Company's own, the council kept an account of contact with outsiders, so that trade or supply passing to a foreign commission could not slip through unrecorded and beyond the Court's later scrutiny. The repeated cautions on dispatching the storeship in time bear on the cost of demurrage. Because delay in turning a ship round brought a charge for the extra days, the Court returned again and again to prompt dispatch, treating the storeship's schedule as a recurring expense to be contained rather than a matter that could be left to run its course.
301	297	Shiping are to be Suspended Idelll tanks to Store whilst are the Captain came & & came on Shore to buy, but are not to go on board Ship without their Captain to pay for their Charter party Buff or that in Goods that any wanted at moderate Rates or to give Bills drawn upon their Accounts Ships Accounts to be Sent with the Ships Captains departure to be hastened that if any Ships Arrives is late one or more are at the Island they must Stay for that for a their greater Security & this is a Standing Order. From & Comprison & Departure, & what Need is to be Observed of & Shipping to be alwayes Sent. Concerning Shipping in Genll Letter of James & Mary dated 31 December 1726 Genll Letters to Perpetuary Every to do their Duty & Confined as mentioned in the 5 Law of Diare Need about Shipping to be alwayes Sent Great diligence to be alwayes used to do to do the Storeship within the time attend by Charter Party & Others given the Captains to Return upon Motion to the Entered. Ships Ant whether English or Ships belonging to foreign Nations to be alwayes Sent. Good & Councile blamd for being the Eagles Spring hire & bore for the future as English Ship guns & Sworn & wants that have Come on Shore & to Enforce to Any at all or the Roads or to be Supplied with Foreign of any Sort whatever & this when known will detain their in from Smuggling & likes as English Ships except Kept belonging to the Company having Authority to go to the Keeper if they do it for the State of the employ &	Foreign ships were to be seized. 19: The inhabitants were to sell whatever the captains wanted, and commanders on shore to buy, but were not to go aboard the ships, and their captains were to pay for their charter party, and if there were goods that any wanted at a moderate rate, or to give bills drawn upon their account. The ships' accounts were to be sent with the ships, and at the captain's departure to be hastened, so that if any ship arrived at St Helena on one or another, or at the island, it must stay there for its greater security, and this was a standing order. 20: From the servants' departure, and what news there was, was to be observed of the shipping, to be always sent. Concerning shipping, in the general letter of the ship James and Mary, dated the 31 December 1706. 2: The general stores were perpetually every day to do their duty, confined and mentioned in the former letter of stores. 9: The news about shipping was to be always sent. 11: Great diligence was to be always used to send to the storeship within the time settled by charter party, and orders given the captain to fasten upon them to the contrary. 12: The ships' accounts, whether English or ships belonging to foreign, were to be always sent. 13: The general and council held, for letting the ships forgo their bills for the future, and English ships or ships and stores that had come to the road were to afford to buy at the road, or the road was to be supplied with provisions of any kind, whatever ships came here, and were to be detained free from anything the like as English, and ships except those belonging to the Company, having authority to go to the road if they went for the state of the ceylonging, and they were never so to be provided. 14: The general was to be blamed upon the same account, relating to the ships and goods supposed to have come hither upon the smuggling trade. **Interpretations** The rules on trade with calling ships channelled all exchange through fixed forms. The inhabitants might sell what a captain wanted and commanders might buy ashore, but seamen were barred from

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		which they are aware is to be prevented. Good & Councile blamd upon the Same Ant relating to the Ships & Repeat & Supposed to have some hither upon the Smuggling Ant	going aboard, and payment ran through charter party or bills drawn on account, so every transaction left a documentary trace and passed under the council's eye rather than through private hands. The order to seize foreign ships marks the settlement as an instrument of the Company's exclusive right to the eastern trade. A vessel sailing under a foreign commission was treated as an intruder on that monopoly, so St Helena served not only as a supply station but as a point of interception against rivals attempting to work the same routes. The concern over ships suspected of smuggling shows the Court alert to trade slipping past its control. By marking such vessels for blame and scrutiny, the council was set to watch for goods moving outside the Company's channels, treating the island's position on the sea road as a checkpoint against illicit traffic as much as a place of resupply.
302	298	Shiping be given & which came here have here matter & & we do & against a profuselt & for delivering Goods out of their Ships or & their Such the Cargoes Care to be taken to receive Goods in Barter at moderate Price Concerning Shipping & Jonathan Diare dated 4 Feby 1724 Diligence & Dispatch of Storeship within the time as some again Earnestly Recommended & Diary to be kept of the Wind & Weather Ships working Water & Islands Not more than one Gun to be fired at Salutes in Some Cases only Seven Need & advice of Ships arrival & Ropes done to Bencooneys done If any of the Captains Miss below Simpson their Trade to be duely Entered as part of & & to be Sent to the Company Concerning Shipping & Hanover dated 24 Deer 1723 Bill Simpson & & & Diligence to be & & & & to dispatch the Storeship within the time attend by Charter Party Need & Comprison & Departure & Departure of Shipping to be alwayes Sent Presence of Short Captains who refuse to deliver Goods or Store Matters Enjoyned there to be Sent to the Company Concerning Shipping & Bencool dated the 30 April 1723 Diary of Proceedings in Unloading the Ships to be alwayes Entered in Comprison Diare part particular to be & even & is Store & this Weather Loss whilst & the Barter & one bar of Barter come in Shore with Goods & of what Sort Consultations to be Nickly held & & we writ & of these & Ships gun & & & write & Ships are Supplied Either belonging to the Company or foreign & & to be Sent If Captains Refuse to deliver Goods on board & the Terms of their Bill of Ladeing & the Allegation of their Charter party to be Justefeith	A bill was drawn against commanders who had come here more than once, for delivering goods and stores out of their ships, or when they sold the goods. 16: Care was to be taken to receive goods aboard at a moderate price. Concerning shipping, by the ship Jonathan, dated the 4 February 1706. 10: Diligence and dispatch of the storeship, within the limited time given, was earnestly recommended, and the diary to be kept of the wind and weather, ships watering, goods and inhabitants. 11: Not more than one gun was to be fired to celebrate on some occasions only, seven. 15: The news and account of ships arrived and buying, and to be recorded in the diary. 16: If any of the captains sold goods or stores, this trade was to be strictly attended, as part of it, and to be sent to the Company. Concerning shipping, by the ship Hanover, dated the 12 December 1706. 8: The account of stores, and diligence to be taken to dispatch the storeship within the time limited by charter party. 9: The news and account of the arrival and departure of shipping was to be always sent. 11: A bill was drawn against those captains who refused to deliver goods or stores whatever, and were required to be sent to the Company. Concerning shipping, by the ship Bristol, dated the 26 December 1706. 7: The diary of transactions in lading the ships was to be always entered in consultation, and particular care taken to enter under each head, whether goods or stores, the number of casks, casks or stores, with goods, under each head. 8: The consultations were to be well kept, and were, and if any goods were with each ship, or ships and stores, either belonging to the Company or foreigners, were to be sent. 10: If a captain refused to deliver goods or stores, the terms of their bill of lading, and an obligation of their charter party, were to be particularly taken notice of. **Interpretations** The instruction to keep a diary of wind and weather, watering and lading turned the storeship's turnround into a logged operation. By recording the conditions and the daily work of resupply, the council created a running account against which any delay could be measured, so that the demurrage the Court so often warned of could be tied to particular days and explained. The rule limiting gun salutes controlled a real drain on the fort's powder. Firing was rationed to set occasions and a fixed count, so that the ceremonial marking of an arrival did not consume stores needed for defence, and the honour paid to a ship became a

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			measured expense rather than a matter left to the moment. The repeated demand to note casks and quantities under separate heads when lading imposed a discipline of itemised tallying. By breaking each cargo into its sorts and counting the containers, the council could reconcile what left the store against what the ship acknowledged, closing the gap in which goods might otherwise go missing between warehouse and hold.
303	299	Shiping & Goods An Ant of Store Damaged or Damage to Vend to be alwayes inspected in the Genll Letter Concerning Goods & Scipio dated 25 Feby 1706 General Orders to be alwayes timely emphasid. In that not to be too Large Drawings care to be to take to & of paymend Such things as are neglectfully care Diary from Ship & list in an an act Letters and to be too Long Care & fresh to be number & under this to your books Bar tobts Quant this Water of Goods Short Advanced or Charg Cost Adultrable sellers from England or India as new done in Soffit of the Ballance & Exchange, Book, Book gale & &c bar to some what the Genll Books in alwayes Sea Salute to the Hundred Diar burned & To Advice to & take & that if & be & of & of Goods or vend & of far & to & meason in an act To Enter & that of price of Goods to be Entered in Consultation & to the Storekeeper to have a Copy. If Cly Self against it Ballance the Nothing may be got out of the barg no & Reject that not of any of the Captains or not if permits their trafss Liberty & find & to buy Quantly of any at & to & do & do or love of act, but if & & Britishing Care that neither Sent for Sea report for the future & Cly & & the safe & the safe & to the Sea to advantage. Goods in all the price & thing & from & get of any Sorg to be entered in Consultation Goods & Prices & prices of India as are Recovered home & to be & to be Entred in Councile also all that we be Enforced & to be the Genll Letter in writing & the date of the & Same & being & Actions & thereon Enforced to Inventory of Stores done as Every to be given & at & to the barg every Delivered not to be Bencool in the & time for more than four & delivery Note & they part & orders about Care in this Paragraph & &c Bills Sent from England & for their Reformation relating to Ships & other Cases, in the Bills case not to be & but to England each thereat & Number, & when Ordered Signed by the Good & Councile. Mispayment of Ships to be attmpt & to Enforce the Ends of Bills	An account of stores short delivered or damaged was to be sent, and to be always inspected in the general letter. Concerning goods, by the ship Josiah, dated the 24 February 1706. 18: The general letters were to be always truly inspected. 19: The Council was not to be too long, drawing care to the table to be of paragraph, checking things as were rightful of every letter from the preceding one, as were sent. 20: The letters were to be too long, and it was for the number, and under those, so they were sent. 21: The rate of goods, quantity, notes of goods, stock, haberdashery or china, was set out, and the rate of the seller from England or India, as one there or the like of the Catherine, cutlery ware, stock, that would be attended what the Company stocks were always for St Helena to the hundred, and as it was recorded. 20: A bill to note that if the condition of goods, or when it appeared it had received, was to note. 24: To enter and note the price of goods, to be entered on being sent to the storekeeper to have a copy. 21: If any bill against stock, the packing away to get out of the ship, and if he did not put any of the captain's, and if any private stores stay. 27: Liberty was given to take yearly of every stock, or note, or price of goods, but by not taking care that neither was sent for less, and if any private stores stay, and the rate to be disposed of to the fort at reasonable rates. 22: Goods, and the price thereof, were got of goods, being to be entered in consultation. 30: Goods and the prices of India goods were to be current, since these were to be entered in consultation, and what was to be preferred, to be in the general letter, mentioning the date of the succeeding one, as it was there before. 31: An inventory of stores drawn was to be yearly sent to the Company. 32: The stores were not to be drawn on in short time, for more than for delivering. Note also part orders about care in this paragraph. 33: Bills sent from England, and for their reformations relating to ships and other cares, in the bills were not to be sent to England, and thereto date, number, and were to be signed by the general and council. 34: A punishment of ships to be attempted, to observe the ends of bills. **Interpretations** The rule setting prices to a fixed rate for St Helena tied the island's supply to a controlled schedule of costs. By recording what goods from England or India should fetch and holding the Company's stock to those rates, the Court kept the settlement from being charged the fluctuating prices of open trade, so that the store served the inhabitants at a settled value rather than the market's. The requirement that goods prices be entered in consultation and copied to the storekeeper bound valuation to a shared record. By fixing prices in the minuted meeting and passing them to the officer who

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			held the stock, the council created a check against which sales could be measured, guarding against goods being disposed of below their recorded worth for private benefit. The yearly inventory of stores gave the London office a fixed annual reckoning of what the island held. By demanding a drawn account sent each year, the Court could set the settlement's declared stock against its receipts and issues, so that any steady leakage would show over time in the gap between what was received and what remained.
304	300	Goods & warm & to & to be continued Concerning Goods & Prince's Ambr dated 21 of March 1707 Inventory & to & that to be Ant at the Same time & that to be of same Manner Instead not to be too Large & Care to be taken to of same & & between Goods that are absolutely necessary & & Ant & not so Immediately made & & to be Approved & by act by the Good & Councile. Directions for the proper things of Good & Councile the Interest of which the Superior & & & of & ring of all Persons & & Affairs are commended to the Good if they happen to differ in Opinion the Sorts to be full & Stated & Enterd in Consultation Bill not to pass for Sea Millings in the Store Care no way & Tenants to trade Current by & thing to Barter, & & & Selling Comablns & High or & & Before & take then Bills of Exchange payable in England & to Vend & & at Clock as being in Diare & Notes. Prices of Goods & from England or India to be Entred in Consultation & Price & prices to be Sent & & near bag to former Directions & no Emotion to be so. In buying or Bartering for India Goods their Ships & has been to be taken to buy Cheap. Concerning Goods & Cargo dated 12 March 1715. India & every Diare full Goods & vend & to be entered & full & & Diligence to be enforced in Buying Such things as are absolutely necessary & & that Servaquenty for Ornament All Goods & every & Shipping to be Entred in Consultation & & Rice & Sugar to be brought Cheap. The same method to be enforced in preparing the Indent as	The general letter was to be truly inspected. Concerning goods, by the ship Prince's Anna, dated the 31 of March 1707. 26: An inventory of goods and stores was to be sent at the same time, and matters to be of the same manner, and packet not to be too long, and care to be taken to bring up the letters, and goods that were absolutely necessary, and offered so immediately, and to be approved and inspected by the general and council. 27: The directions for the several things of the general and council, and the interest of which the superior in ordering and taking care of all persons and affairs were committed to the general, if they happened to differ in opinion in the several parts to be given by fixed and inspected in consultation. 28: A bill not to pass for six shillings in the stores, whatever any of the tenants to friends, current by refusing the credit, with letting commodities too high, or their business as taken from bills of exchange payable in England, and would be attended as backward as being in Company's notes. 31: An invoice of goods sent from England or India was to be entered in consultation, and detail to be settled, since it was never long to former invoices, and no exemption to be brought. 32: In buying or bartering for India goods, care was to be taken to buy cheap. Concerning goods, by the ship [...], dated the [...] March 1706. 23: The invoice and every bill of goods were required to be entered by full detail. 24: Diligence was to be observed in buying such things as were absolutely necessary, and shops that savoured only for ornament. 25: All goods brought by shipping were to be entered in consultation, and rice and sugar were to be bought cheap. 26: The same method was to be followed in preparing the invoice, as [...]. **Interpretations** The instruction to buy India goods cheap and to prefer necessities over ornament set a policy of frugal purchasing on the settlement. By marking goods bought for show as a waste against those genuinely needed, the Court pressed its officers to spend on supply rather than display, keeping the island's buying tied to use and holding down the cost the Company carried for its remote station. The rule requiring every invoice and bill to be entered in full detail and checked against former invoices bound purchasing to a comparable record. By setting each new invoice beside the last, the council could see whether prices had crept up or quantities drifted, so that the buying of stores was measured against precedent rather than taken fresh each time and left open to abuse. The bar on letting commodities run too high in the store, tied to refused credit and bills of exchange, guarded the settlement's dealings against inflated valuation. By treating the overpricing of goods as a fault to be checked, the Court kept the store's rates from being pushed up through the manipulation of

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			credit, protecting both the inhabitants and the Company's own account from artificial charges.
305	301	Goods as Ammented in the 26th Paragraph of Ship & Store & things & &c Concerning Goods & Sheffield dated 5 March 1719 All Goods that from England or India to be Entred in Consultation Stewards Ant to contain the particulars of the Monthly Expences of the Table & Every thing to be charged as at the Market Price Book of Extract at the Genll Table to be yearly Sent Ambr pers Monthly Ant to be delivered within fourteen dayes after the Expiration of the month if Neglected under & & fine to be paid or Suspended Concerning Goods & Diare dated 31 May 1721. Goods or of Goods & or from England or India in bought or & of Shipping in the the Selling price to be Entred in Consultation in doing which the Difference must be made & the Diare of that are necessary & that that Serve only for Ornament or Conveniency In Buying Europe Goods Before Store, Barter done by & Tapewy Comaisions & give Rice & may be Entred by Buying & Barter Then & an amounting to so much as of Comaisn to be Sold at so much & Sent& A Monthly Ant of Diare Sugar & &c to be Entred in Consultation Freight to be added to the Prime Cost of India Goods In paying the Europe Cargo Demorage & the Deviation of the Ships to be added to the former Diare besides which a Preferrable allowance is to be also added for Interest, & Difference at least Six of Casks & thereto & formerly Stated at being Sent, Advance or Diare In paying India Goods Freight is to be added to the Prime Cost from £8 16 to 14 10 & Vend or Such Goods as take up least Room done Cask of Goods India Freight & Sugar as much Interest & of Preferance Freight & & as Barter & part of the prime Cost.	As noted in the sixth paragraph of the general letter for shipping. Concerning goods, by the ship Stratford, dated the 5 March 1707. 23: All goods, whether from England or India, were to be entered in consultation. 25: The stores' account was to contain the particulars of the monthly expenses of the table, and everything to be charged at the market price. 26: The book of extracts at the general table was to be yearly sent. 20: The annual accounts were to be delivered within fourteen days after the expiry of the month, if neglected, and, under [...], were to be fixed or disregarded. Concerning goods, by the ship Dutch, dated the 31 May 1706. 18: An account of goods, whether from England or India, brought by shipping, at the selling price to be entered in consultation, in doing which a distinction must be made between the goods that were necessary and those that served only for ornament, and consequently. 20: In buying Europe goods, whatever there, haberdashery, drapery, ironmongery ware, stock and the like, might be contracted by buying, whatever there, and accounting to be so much as of invoice to be sold at so much of stock. 24: An annual account of true ledger was to be entered in consultation. 25: Freight was to be added to the prime cost of India goods. 27: In preparing the Europe cargo demurrage for the dispatch of the ships, was to be added to the invoice price, besides which a reasonable allowance was to be also added for interest and difference, at least six of goods, and the stock formerly settled at so per cent, advance on invoice. 23: In pricing India goods, freight was to be added to the prime cost, from £8 16s 0d to £14 14s 0d, and these goods were to be taken up, and the prime cost, and cutlery goods, India, cutlery ware, or wrought haberdashery, and difference at profit, £8 16s 0d, or invoiced part of the prime cost. **Interpretations** The rule that stores be charged at the market price and the table's monthly costs itemised tied the settlement's own consumption to a transparent reckoning. By pricing what the establishment used at market rates rather than at cost, the Court could see the true expense of maintaining its officers and prevent the household charge from being disguised or understated in the accounts. The method of adding freight to the prime cost of India goods built the carriage into the selling price. By loading the cost of transport onto the base value before sale, the Court ensured that the price at St Helena recovered what the Company had spent to bring the goods there, so that the remoteness of the station was paid for through the goods rather than absorbed as a loss. The added allowance for interest and difference on top of freight and prime cost reveals a full costing of capital tied up in trade. By building in a percentage advance over invoice, the Court recovered not only the outlay and carriage but the cost of the money locked in goods between purchase and sale, showing a commercial reckoning that treated delay itself as an expense to be charged.
306	302	Goods Amrb to be India from £8 16 & of same according to the	An invoice was to be for India goods, from £8 16s 0d to £14 14s 0d, or thereabouts, according to the plenty or scarcity of India goods, and of great

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		Plenty or Scarcity of India & Care & of great Necessity when, bought Short to be Sold at a Preferrable Profit or & thing Making Such things as be Before for Survey or Ornament to bore or ordinary Diare, Care to be Stated & as bought & & for the Company Instead but not to Trade hardly with the People Ambr per pers to Enforce Genll Roads in the Monthly Ant as Clerks, Comp, Table & & & & of Extract to be Sent & Steward Ant to mention all particulars of the Monthly Expence If Goods are Damaged or Short & Ordered done to be mentioned the like to be done if any & Slack & with any Concerning Goods & Catherine dated 12 Feby 1715 Store priced by a particular Cask, but no Order given to buy Slaves at or under 26 & Cask & Store Encouraged & to be given for it Comaisption to prevent Comaisn of Bills Buying Goods of the Captains when Sworn are other in of Store of the past Cost is that or & fore the Store Enjoyned & guilty & vend of Goods Not any Bills to be drawn for Goods bought of the Captains but in Cases of the most immediate Necessity. If the Store are fully Ant & with any Sort of Goods India bought & to given the Company to prevent any further Supply of the like Sort till they who dispose of & & All Goods Received from England or India to be Entred in Consultation or Vaine monthly Accounts. Ant of Store & Store to be Yearly Awarded Inventory of Remaining Store to be yearly taken & Carefully compared with the Books & the Storekeeper to be accountable for what is missing	difficulty, when brought were to be sold at a reasonable profit, and pricing making. 35: Those things were to be born, for survey or ornament, to bear an ordinary price, but to be rated as thought right, for the Company's interest, but not to trade hardly with the people. 36: An analogue to observe the road in the monthly account, as clerks, camp, table, and the like of extracts, to send the general's account, to mention all particulars of the monthly expenses. 30: If goods were damaged, the sorts and quantities were to be mentioned, and the like to be done, if under, marked with any. Concerning goods, by the ship [...], dated the 26 February 1706. 23: Store privately or a particular stock, but no order given to buy stores at or under seven pounds sixteen shillings for goods, in encouraging to be given for it, commission to prevent evasion of bills. 22: In buying goods of the captains, whatever were either in the general stores of the fort, or that before the store keeper's rightly stored goods. 25: Not any bills to be so used for goods bought of the captains, but in cases of the most inevitable necessity. 26: If the stores were fully attended with any short of goods, India brought to be given the Company to prevent any further supply of the like sort till they were disposed of. 30: All goods brought in from England or India were to be entered in consultation, whether monthly accounts. 31: The accounts of stores were to be yearly attended. 32: An inventory of stores remaining was to be yearly taken, and carefully compared with the books, and the storekeeper was to be accountable for what was missing. **Interpretations** The instruction to rate ornamental goods for the Company's interest but not to trade hardly with the people set a limit on how far profit could be pressed. By pricing goods of display for advantage while sparing the inhabitants harsh dealing, the Court balanced the recovery of value against the goodwill of the settled population, whose provisioning and loyalty the settlement depended on. The order to withhold further supply of a good already overstocked shows the Court managing the store against glut. By holding back fresh consignments of a line until the standing stock was cleared, the council avoided tying up goods that could not be sold and kept the warehouse from filling with what the small market could not absorb. The yearly inventory compared against the books, with the storekeeper answerable for shortfalls, placed a named liability on the officer who held the goods. By fixing responsibility for any gap between record and remainder on a single man, the Court turned the annual reckoning into a personal accounting, so that loss or theft fell to be explained by the keeper rather than absorbed by the Company.
307	303	Goods Concerning Goods & Others dated 14 Feby 1722 If Goods are Damaged or Short Delivered Care not to be Demanded of the Captains, if Returned home the Terms per for done by Charter party if Homeward bound according to the price they are worth upon the & Island & & Advice of all Particulars to be Sent the Company All Goods received from England or India to be Entred by	Concerning goods, by the ship [...], dated the 15 February 1706. 21: If goods were damaged or short delivered, an account was to be sent of the stores, if returned, and, considering the terms of the price paid for goods by charter party, if home ordered, according to the price they were worth upon the island, and advice of all particulars was to be sent to the Company. 22: All goods received from England or India were to be entered in consultation. 20: In order to acquaint the general what goods were necessary immediately, and were to be sent,

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		Indorsed in Consultation Indent to & the proper what Goods are Necessary & immediately sent to & from Ships that can be best Spared, of the Same wants that sent& Concerning Goods & James & Mary dated 31 December 1726 To Enforce that in of the Necessity of the Freight & the Price of Comprison from Europe may be advised of the Genll & Comaisn & think proper. If & of Goods upon Diare so Sufficient Storage of their Cost by Damage. Goods from India to be purch according to the Rate they Generally go at & upon the Island & their Value to be Entred at moderate Price. Inventory of India & Europe Goods to be yearly Sent & is compleated to be made & that Search & of what Sort is Sufficient for the Compleating of the Year. Ambr Goods to be bought of the Captains or captain Small Parcells at Cheap Rates & that Sometimes as there is no Expectation of any Supply of the like Sorts from India. If Provisions on board & Ships Guns to take the Captains Rates than Goods at dear Rates. Concerning Goods & Hanover dated 14 Feby 1724 Particulars upon the Europe Cargo to be Entred & Entred in Consultation.	ships that could be best spared, if the goods were then sent out. Concerning goods, by the ship James and Mary, dated the 31 December 1706. 17: The book of extracts, or the particulars of the goods, the prices thereof from Europe, were to be entered in the general's account, as the Company thought proper. 17: A copy of the accounts upon receipt, and a sufficient account of their bad stowage. 20: Goods from India were to be so purchased, according to the rates they currently went at upon the island, and their value to be settled at a reasonable price. 22: An inventory of India and Europe goods was to be yearly sent, and to be compared, and to be made what quantity of goods left was sufficient for the completing of one year. 25: If any goods were to be bought of the captains, or captains' small parcels, at cheap rates, and at other times as there was no importation of any supply of the like sorts from India. 26: If provisions were sold, and the ships gutted, to take the captains' bills rather than goods at dear rates. Concerning goods, by the ship James and Mary, dated the 15 February 1706. 19: An account was to be drawn upon the Europe cargo, and to be settled and entered in consultation. **Interpretations** The rule valuing damaged goods at what they were worth on the island, set against the charter-party price, framed a means of assessing loss fairly between carrier and Company. By pricing spoiled stores at their local worth rather than their invoice value, the Court fixed a basis for adjustment that reflected the real diminution, so that a claim for damage could be settled on a stated measure rather than by argument. The instruction to buy from captains only when there was no supply from India shows the store filling gaps rather than competing for stock. By turning to visiting commanders for small parcels only in the absence of the regular Indian trade, the council kept the Company's own channels primary and treated purchase from ships as a stopgap against shortage, not a habitual source. The preference for captains' bills over goods taken at dear rates when provisions were sold protected the Company from overpaying in kind. By settling such transactions in paper drawn on account rather than in overpriced goods, the council avoided being saddled with stock at inflated values and kept the exchange on terms it could later reconcile against the captain's reckoning.
308	304	Goods India Goods to be dispatch of as Store as may be & Care to be taken that they are not Damaged in the mean time, the Cargo Goods to be first Sold. Not any India Goods of the like Remaining in any that, may & for the Same Cost to be bought till they in being are dispofst of Bills taken of Captains Rather rather than Goods at dear Rates Commended. Concerning Goods & Hanover dated 24 Deer 1723. Bill not price of Europe Cargo to be Ant & & Entred in Consultation. Retail price of India Goods to be entered in Consultation.	India goods were to be so disposed of, so there was may be, and care to be taken that they were not damaged in the meantime, since the Europe goods were to be first sold. 25: Not any India goods of the stock remaining in any that may be, so that the same goods were to be brought before they were being now disposed of. 24: Bills taken of captains, whatever, rather than goods at dear rates, commended. Concerning goods, by the ship Averngzeb, dated the 26 December 1706. 16: The prime price of Europe cargo was to be entered and inspected in consultation. 9: The prime price of India goods was to be entered in consultation. 18: Not any India ships and goods to be brought, whatever remained, were to be sold. 17: French ware and other India price goods were to be sold as necessary as may be, whatever, and

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		Not any India Goods bought of Goods to be brought till Ships Remaining are first Sold. French & other India price Goods to be Sold as & and Store as & as may be to which & their Value to be, proportioned according to their Damage. Care to be taken that the New Diare arrives no Damaged by Simplify. Concerning Goods & Bencool Anna Selling Price of Europe Cargo to be immediately Entred in Cash Particular Selling Price always to be entered in their Inventory of Remains both of Europe & India Goods. Care to be taken for the future that the Inventory & Books agree. No Goods to be bought or Shipped to be bought till & Remaining Unsold are dispose of that High which are Damaged to Sell as far as Shipes & of their Diare & their Value than the Sorts. Not any Goods to be bought & Ant when of the demand of Europe Goods that have been Slack of any & to Enforce Shipping.	their value to be proportioned, according to their damage. 20: Care was to be taken that the New Land arrived no damaged goods by stowage. Concerning goods, by the ship Bristol Anna. 10: The selling price of the Europe cargo was to be immediately settled in each particular. 14: The selling price was always to be recorded in the inventory of invoices, both of Europe and India goods. 15: Care was to be taken for the future that the inventory and books agreed. 16: No goods to be bought, or the goods to be brought, whatever remaining, were to be sold, since it was disposed of what high, which were damaged, to be so barely disposed of, that same the store rather than the goods. 17: Not any goods to be bought, whatever, but in cases of the utmost necessity, of Europe goods that were brought, whatever any, in current shopping. **Interpretations** The order to sell the Europe cargo before India goods set a fixed sequence for clearing stock. By moving the European consignment first and holding the Indian goods against damage in the meantime, the council imposed an order of sale that managed spoilage and cleared one cargo before the next competed with it for the island's limited demand. The valuing of French and Indian goods in proportion to their damage extended a consistent principle for pricing spoiled stock. By scaling the price to the extent of the harm, the council set damaged consignments at a stated fraction of their worth, so that goods diminished in transit still returned what they were fairly worth rather than being written off or disposed of at a loss. The repeated demand that the inventory and the books agree bound the physical stock to its written record. By requiring the count of goods on hand to match the entries, the council closed the space in which discrepancies could hide, so that any divergence between what was held and what was recorded would surface as a fault to be answered rather than pass unnoticed.
309	305	Servants &ca Buying Goods Black & the more bought Goods of other & Books Remaining Store for their time Enough as they & bought. Damaged Goods & India Diare to be Sold for that they not Fetch the Storekeeper take Care that nothing wants Damaged. Great Care to be taken to prevent Shrkage of Cask & the head of the fine & that so much Diare Freight to the & of Buff & Kept If Casks of Iron been Sealey the Amrb to be Stored & to keep the Casks Diare Ant to be taken of the Same & guilty Suited & to prevent further Loss the Wanders Care to be given by & Comply, to Spend. Amrb Sold to be bought & to be in Cheap of Salsy & Any Salsy Return of Gunners Store to be Yearly Sent Concerning Servants &c &c Slaves, Cattle, Lands & Provisions & Scipio dated 25 February 1706 If the Storekeeper or other Servants are Negligent to be Suspended Goods & buy way require, & their accounts to be very Sent. Great Care taken that no wrong be done the Company by Simpson.	Buying goods, whatever, whatever any brought goods, of other stock remaining stores for the same, though it was brought. 19: Damaged goods and Indian invoices to be sold for what they would fetch, the storekeeper to take care that nothing was overcharged. 20: Great care was to be taken to prevent shortage of stores, the storekeeper the same, that too much dry stores freight to the amount of freight of stock. 23: If casks of stores were surveyed, the freight to be stored, and to prevent further loss, the number was to be given up, and, to prevent further loss the number was to be given up to the Company, to be paid. 22: A French [...] to be bought, at £0 0s 0d of a further necessity. 24: An account of gunners' stores to be yearly sent. Concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle, lands and provisions, by the ship [...], dated the 4 February 1706. 35: If the storekeeper or other servants were negligent, to be suspended, and goods to buy may require, that accounts to be very exact. 36: Great care was taken that no wrong be done the camp by transfer. 27: Not any transfer was to be made, but in consultation, and debts to be put in.

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		Not any Simpson to be made but in Consultation & Debt to be put in Enquiry to be made & Bencooneys out to be given to any Diare that in prove Frauds committed in Simpson. The Cargo of the & of Table to be Expended & the print writer & at Cheap carefully kept & into All Excess in Drinking to be Discouraged & precept & Company will & win its Administration. Servants not to keep Plantations in their own Hands. Expiration from Diet Diet the again Enjoyned & of Servants in negligent Simpsons Ant to be delivered between ten & twenty dayes after the Expiration of the month. Ant of the Cargo Slave & Stock done to be alwayes Entred in Consultation. Gunners Ant of Stores to be Nickly Examined into & Care to &	28: Enquiry to be made, and encouragement was to be given to any freeman, that no imposts, frauds committed in transfer. 41: The Europe wages, the general's table, to be defrayed, and the particulars to be carefully looked into. 44: All excess in drinking to be discouraged, except the camp, with limits and admonition. 42: Cannot be so to keep plantations in their own hands. 45: Exemption from diet, and diet to be again enjoyed, of servants who were negligent, and the storekeeper's account to be delivered between ten and twenty days after the expiry of each month. 46: The account of the Company's stock and stores were to be always entered in consultation. 47: The gunners' account of stores to be well examined into, and how to. **Interpretations** The threat to suspend a negligent storekeeper or servant coupled poor performance directly to loss of office. By making exact accounting a condition of holding the post, the Court gave its clerks and keepers a personal stake in diligence, so that carelessness with the Company's goods risked a man's place rather than merely drawing a reprimand. The bar on servants keeping plantations in their own hands guarded against a conflict between private cultivation and Company duty. By preventing officers from working land on their own account, the Court kept them from being drawn into personal husbandry that would divide their attention and set their interest against the establishment they were paid to serve. The rule that all transfers pass through consultation and that enquiry guard against fraud shows the settlement policing the movement of goods and obligations between hands. By requiring that no transfer be made privately and that debts be entered, the council closed a channel through which value might be shifted or concealed, keeping every such dealing on the collective record where it could be checked. **Speculations** Faced with servants who might turn to farming on the side, the Court did not merely regulate such cultivation or license it under conditions. It barred officers from keeping plantations in their own hands at all, choosing an outright prohibition over the easier course of allowing private husbandry within limits. The reason lay in the divided loyalty that land of one's own would create on so small an island, where an officer tending his own crops would weigh his private harvest against the Company's stores, so the Court cut off the temptation entirely rather than trust to oversight of a practice it could not easily watch.
310	306	Servants &ca be taken that nothing be needlessly broke or wasted Diary of Plantations to be alwayes Entred in Consultation with the Number of Blacks Employed at Each. No Allowance of a Servant & Soldiers pay to be made to the Minister the Allowance of a Black Serg Diary by Connivance. The Charge of the Island to be Enforced in every particulars & Care required to be taken that the Blacks dont Suffer for want of Provision. Handicraft Servant to be provided out of Shipping if needed & & to be & India to be Indorsed upper & against & Storekeeper Ant All Nations Committed & by their Grangers or Slaves to be Comprbld	Care was to be taken that nothing was immediately taken or misused. 48: A diary of plantations was to be always entered in consultation, with the number of slaves employed at each. 49: No allowance of a servant or soldier's pay was to be made to the minister, and the allowance of a black servant company by connivance. 50: The charge of the island was to be set forth in every particular, and care required to be taken that the slaves did not suffer for want of provision. 51: The handicraft stores were to be provided out of shipping, if wanted, and the tools ordered to be indexed up per account of stores. 52: All actions committed by the strangers on shore were to be complained of every family to intermeddle in affairs that related to those, if any Muhammadan and seamen were sent on shore to be taken brothers confined, or not as Martha thought proper, and to be sent off by the next ship, to always

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		that in every family to Intermeddle in Affairs that relate to Slaves if any Michandise & Famine are Sent an & Diare to be taken Brethren Comprbld & not as that be brought proper & be Sent off by the rest & Ships & to alwayes watch full to prevent evil designs, Persons having Servts & their Comaisned & one & of & ring to go against to be Enjoyned except in Cases of absolute necessity & then endeavour to be Sold to make them willing to & Stay but this is to be a Servant Ant Goods bought on Store before Custom, paid to be Kept & If & of Cost to be paid in the full value of all Goods except & and which is to be Sent for, done or of Same & Ant of Systems to be yearly Sent by double Conveyances. Ant of Fines to be always Sent Concerning Servants Ant & Slaves, Cattle, Land, and Provisions & Scipio & India dated 25 March 1707 Good & Councile frequently to press former Orders & to be enforced to Enforce them If & of Extract at the Genll Table to be yearly Sent. Directions to be enforced in preparing the military Ant &c	watch full to prevent evil designs. Persons having ordered their commanders were desiring to go aboard, and to be dispatched, except in cases of absolute necessity, when endeavour was to be used to make them willing to stay, but this was to be a point. 30: No goods brought on shore before custom, paid to be freight, if any of the stock to be paid in the full value of all goods, except and which was to be freight, or none of goods. An account of stores to be yearly sent by double conveyances. 54: An account, if time, was to be always sent. Concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle, lands and provisions, by the ship India, dated the 12 March 1707. 30: The general and council were frequently to comply with former orders, and to be careful in keeping within them. 27: Ill reflections at the general's table were to be yearly sent. 28: Directions were to be observed in preparing the military stock. **Interpretations** The requirement to record the number of slaves on each plantation and to see they did not want for provision combined a census with a duty of care. By registering how many were held at each holding, the Court gave itself a means to check that owners fed those they worked, so that the return served both to count the labour force and to press a minimum of provision on the masters. The bar on diverting a servant or soldier's pay to the minister marks a line drawn against the informal reallocation of Company wages. By forbidding such an allowance made by connivance, the Court kept its establishment charges fixed to their intended purpose, preventing the quiet redirection of pay that would have shifted the Company's money to ends it had not sanctioned. The handling of strangers landing on the island shows a guarded control over outsiders reaching the settlement. By requiring that persons put ashore be watched, confined where thought necessary and sent off by the next ship, the council treated every unsanctioned arrival as a potential source of disorder or design, keeping the small and isolated station closed against those it had not admitted.
311	307	Servants &ca The Names of the Good & Councile, the two & &c to be Sent to write, with the Sallary allowd too each. Particulars to be enforced in Preparing the Musters Sort & their Names, Ages & Employments to be mentioned & &c All Papers Sent in the Packet to be in size as size as may be upon Alqin of the Same Size Ships Ant to be alwayes Sent, Captains to make up them & &c to be two or three dayes before they Saile if they Refuse to be acquainted that the Company & their it, & always to be answered & given & If Casks of Iron done Slaves Cattle to be alwayes Sent, & neglected & the Storekeeper to be Sued, for the first Offence & fine Bar done & the Same weight of be continues the Omission & Care to be taken to avoid Same & given in the Letters. The Iron mines & Diare done of the & to & be also & be the Holding by Suspending their Diare & all Ant to be vend & Ornament, Transfers to be only made in Consultation	40: All papers sent in the packet were to be entered in a list, and any that could be opened were to be of the same size. 41: The papers were to be sent every time, and the captains were to make them up two or three days before they sailed if they wished, and were to be told that the Company had ordered this, and it was always treated as a matter of great importance. 42: Any accounts of servants, slaves and cattle were to be sent every time, and the secretary was to take great care over this. A first offence carried a fine of £5 0s 0d and a second a heavier one, and the same penalty was to run on for any further breach, with care taken to avoid such faults in the letters. 43: The ironmongery and other stores were to be sold, and the same done with the provisions, each entered under its own name. 44: Transfers were to be made only in consultation. 47: The stores were to be provided out of the shipping, and whatever was wanted was to be drawn from the stores and put to use, each sort handled according to its kind. 48: Where a wage had been advanced to a man in England, it was to be recovered from him at St Helena, and always charged for the same year. 50: Where notice was given at any time of bills drawn on the Company's various accounts, this was

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		The India Diare to alwayes be provided out of Shipping & & & of & needed attend on the Store to be Employed & & one & other Employd in the Hand & & When Money is Advanced to Persons in England to be Repaid at St Helena to be alwayes paid into or & their Diare Yearly & also to accompt to Ant. If & Letters of Advice or at any time given of Bills drawn on the Company a Duplicate & thereof in Extent in this & or guilt or to be mentioned in the Severall Letters. Yearly List & Ant done to & & & of & by Sent. Inventories & Store to be Kept & Slight & their & Store & from Nickly Comaisn Books & the Books & the Papers Should be Speited & new Inventory to be taken as often in their & is a new Inventory of what Books & the Papers are therein & the Same to be Entred in the Cash & taken Books & this to be alwayes referred upon the & all Occasion.	to be carried forward in what followed, or mentioned in the general letters. 54: The yearly stock and account were to be sent every time. 55: An inventory of stores was to be kept, and the books and papers held from the commanders were to be copied. A fresh inventory was to be taken whenever a new secretary came in, listing what books and papers had been sent, and the same entered in consultation, so that the records were always ready when the occasion arose. **Interpretations** The demand for the names, ages and employments of servants, set against their salaries, gave the London office a full register of the establishment it paid. By calling for these particulars, the Court could match each man on the payroll to a defined role, so that the cost of the settlement's staff could be scrutinised person by person and no unaccounted charge lay hidden in the wage bill. The graduated fine for a repeated offence over servants and stock shows a scale of penalty rising with persistence. By setting £5 0s 0d for the first fault and more for the next, the Court built escalation into its discipline, so that a servant who continued in wrong faced a mounting cost, and the deterrent grew sharper the longer the fault ran. The recovery at St Helena of wages advanced in England closed a gap through which the Company might have paid twice. By charging the advance against the man once he reached the island, the Court made sure that money given out at home was set against his account in the settlement, so that the sum was accounted for rather than lost between the two ends of the voyage.
312	308	Servants &ca Whatever the Company writ relating to any of their & Contr the Same to be alwayes Comaisned Sent to them. Blacks to be well Apt & taught Handicrafts & Some to go a Fishing at times for the Diare of all. Blacks Grald to be hired of the Planters & the Company & to alwayes Employed in Such Business in which are bought, Comrible. Good to take Care that the List of Boats & Diare are Earnestly Sent Custom to be paid for at Goods done for what the Captains may Barter & is for their own upon Short. Concerning Servants Ant &c Slaves, Cattle Lands & Provisions & Cargo dated 12 November 1715 Salary & Gratuity if Good & Councile Entered Gratuity purely Conditional as the Company Shall prefer to be Attend. Blacks to be Nickly Sent & of Ant & every Sent to be attend & neither, Salary Diet or Board Wages. Ships Ant to be alwayes Sent. If the Captains give Bills Payable to the Company & of their & Diare & & Sent in the Parquett & Advice to be given & thing for the future, If Bills are drawn on the Company & the same to be alwayes mentioned in the Genll & Diare & & of Diare, & so or & are Payable & that what & done & for what & not any to be drawn Payable under Thirty dayes No Transfers to be Comaisned in Councile if any Diare & & Simply the Salary to be Kept, no any & is for to be Employed to	Whatever the Company wrote relating to any of their concerns, the same was to be always communicated to them. 57: Slaves were to be well kept and taught handicrafts, and some to go to fishing at times, for the service of all. 59: Slaves fit to be hired of the planters, the Company always employed in such business, and, whatever, in which any thought insensible. 60: Great care was to be taken that the list of bullocks and beef was frequently sent, to be paid for as goods were, for whatever the captains might pretend was for their own use on shore. Concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle, lands and provisions, by the ship [...], dated the 15 November 1706. 27: The salary and gratuity, whatever the general and council indeed granted, was purely conditional, as the Company should prefer, to be approved. 23: Slaves were to be yearly sent, whatever were transferred, to be attended neither, and salary, debts or wages, whatever. 29: The ships' accounts were to be always sent. 30: If the captains gave bills payable to the Company, whatever bills were sent in the packet, and advice was to be given thereof for the future. If bills were drawn on the Company, this was always to be mentioned in the general letters, or their several bills as the dates, when, or whatever payable, and whatever they were for, and what was any to be drawn payable, under thirty days. 31: No transfer was to be so recommended in case of any freeman debt, and, whatever, the salary was to be kept, so any freeman was to be disposed to run in debt, especially the soldiers, who thereby had been tempted to run away, or corrupt the Court. 30: Ships' salaries and soldiers' pay were to be yearly accounted.

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		Run in debt, especially the Soldiers who thereby have been tempted to Run away & Comaisn & the Cost. Ships Catherine & Diare paylr to Specify Ant List of Blacks with their Ages Employments Vaine & Yearly Sent Remembers that they are well & & & Gunners & other Ants to be present & thing Diare than Ships in Specify Actions,	24: A list of slaves, with their ages, employments, and their ages, were to be yearly sent, and remarks that they were well fed and clothed. 29: Guns or ammunition were to be present, being lesser than they were upon any account. **Interpretations** The instruction to teach slaves handicrafts and set some to fishing shows the settlement developing a skilled and self-supplying labour force. By training the enslaved in trades and turning them to the catching of fish, the council drew more than field labour from those it held, so that their work fed the establishment and supplied crafts it would otherwise have had to import. The making of salary and gratuity purely conditional on the Company's later approval kept the local council's grants under London's hand. By treating any pay or reward the general and council allowed as provisional until confirmed, the Court reserved to itself the final say over the settlement's wage bill, so that no charge on its funds became fixed without its sanction. The concern that soldiers not be allowed to fall into debt reveals a link between indebtedness and desertion. By barring transfers that would let a freeman or soldier run into debt, the council guarded against the pressure that drove men to flee or to corruption, treating financial entanglement as a threat to the discipline and reliability of the garrison it depended on. **Speculations** Confronted with slaves who could be worked in the field or trained to skilled trades, the council did not simply keep them at common labour. It had them taught handicrafts and set to fishing, choosing to develop their skills rather than leave them at the least demanding use. The reason lay in the island's isolation, where craftsmen and fresh provisions were costly to bring from outside, so the council invested in the abilities of those it held to lessen its dependence on what the ships carried, weighing the longer gain of a self-supplying settlement against the ease of working them only in the ground.
313	309	Servants &ca Ant of Cattle Simpson Diare to be Monthly delivered & Entred in Consultation Inhabitants to Serve their Lands & to be considered & enjoyned that their Lands to be Ant & that being of them be not perfected & to that Reserved for the Company & of & The Ancient Rule for the better preserving the Militia of Paper gathered Diare in every family, done in size to be Enforced as often as may be & to be god & of Care & guilty particular paper to be prevented for the same to come List of Boats & Diare in Ant of Fines & other of & System to be yearly Sent to 25 March List of Families Lands Cattle done to be yearly Sent Barter also Servts done to be Sent & if they in not Sent & Servts & Comprison to be Saleable. Concerning Servants, Ant Cattle, Lands, and Provisions & Sheffield dated 5 March 1719. All Gunners Ant to be yearly Sent & the Accounts done & Ambr done to be & thrown & the Same Ant or Diare & of & if they do not do their Duty. Monthly Ant of Store Goods to be timely delivered & Entred in Consultation Servts & Store about drawing Cattle & a Transfer to be Enforced.	An account of cattle and provisions was to be handed in and checked at a council meeting every month. 37: The inhabitants were to keep their land, but where a holder farmed it poorly, that land was to be let to someone else, so that no one held ground he left idle and all of it served the Company's needs. 38: To preserve the minister's papers, a record was to be gathered from every household and kept up to date, with particular care taken to guard the papers against loss. 39: A list of the bullocks and provisions held by the storeman was to be sent once a year, made up to 25 March. 40: A list of the families on the island, together with their land and cattle, was to be sent once a year, and the storekeeper was to send the same for his own charge, with a full inventory of whatever was held. The following orders came in the general letter by the ship [...], dated 5 March 1707. 25: All accounts were to be sent once a year and examined, and a storekeeper who failed in his duty was to be suspended. 19: The monthly accounts of all goods were to be handed in correctly and entered at a council meeting. 30: Further directions were given about drawing bills, and about how a transfer was to be handled where it differed from the usual course. 31: Where the general and the council disagreed on any matter, the reasons for the difference were to be written into the record of the meeting.

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		If any Difference & of Opinion between the Good & Councile the Ships depending to Enter their Reasons in Consultation & & Servts in the Interest of Comaisn to have the Expiration & Diary in every family, Consultation to be Nickly held, Books to be monthly inspected & all Ant & to be Nickly Attend & Entred also an Ant, & Comaisn & & yearly Sent Barter regulations to be & Simply List of Blacks to be yearly Sent & they to be taught Handicrafts. Care of Blacks for it & the Company to be taught Handicrafts. List of Bills & Casks to be yearly Sent with a full Explanation. List of Barter Goods Sold, Europe or Store not to deal in Coffee or Bays Goods or Ships & other Diare Provisions on board & Plant or that to Comprison & Service.	35: All the settlement's business was to be brought before the council, whose meetings were to be held every week and whose books were to be checked every month, and a yearly account of the whole was to be sent home, with the various rules set out in full. 35: A list of the slaves was to be sent once a year, and they were to be taught trades, along with a note of how many of those at the fort were fit to be trained in a craft. 36: A list of debts and credits was to be sent once a year with a full explanation. 38: The state of the works that had failed was to be reviewed. The Company's officers were not to trade in coffee houses, goods or ships on their own account, and their provisions were to be kept and their land worked for the Company's service. **Interpretations** The requirement to send yearly lists of families, lands and cattle gave the London office a standing survey of the settlement's people and resources. By calling for a return of who held what land and stock, the Court kept a picture of the island's economy against which changes could be tracked, so that the growth or decline of its holdings did not pass unseen from one year to the next. The provision to reconsider and re-let the land of a negligent holder shows the settlement tying the right to hold land to actually working it. By threatening to take back and redistribute ground that lay idle, the council kept land in the hands of those who would farm it, treating the island's limited soil as a resource to be turned to good use rather than left waste through neglect. The bar on Company officers dealing in coffee houses, goods or ships kept the servants of the establishment out of private trade. By forbidding them to do business on their own account, the Court guarded against their effort and loyalty being drawn off into personal ventures, holding them to the Company's service rather than letting them pursue profit alongside or against it.
314	310	Servants &ca List of Boats & Provision Ant & of Captains & List of Store to be yearly Sent. No Goods or Liquors to pay Duty Free if any are Sound & on Shore or their paying Duty the Same to be Kept & & Comprbld & to the Cargo & &c publick not & to be given of their Order & the Difference to have some Such & Debt of Store Comprbld. If any Chaplain & the & be a Servts of & Gratuity to be Kept. List of Salaries & List of Provisions to be yearly Sent. Blacks not to be Sent on Store & one Slave & for Diet. Soldiers not to be trusted in the Diare for more than a Months Pay. Money not to be Lent to buy Slaves & &c Endeavours to be continued to Encreast the Militia according to the Ancient Rule by keeping a & this done or Diary Twenty Amrb & the Casks having of & up & in Small Parcells to Endure Sellers Commended. Plantations to be Slack & nor any bought if any are Kept & for Payment of Bills, the Same to be immediately Sold. Boats to be duely Suind & Sent &	A list of bullocks and provisions, and an account of the captains' stores, whatever, were to be sent every year. 40: No goods or liquor were to pay duty and freight, if any were found on shore. If any were landed without paying duty, the same was to be seized and forfeited, and the fact of the seizure made public, so that notice of the order and its penalty was given, and whatever was concealed was to be forfeited. 41: If any chaplain misbehaved himself, his gratuity was to be stopped. 42: A list of the salaries and stores of provisions was to be sent every year. 43: Slaves were not to be sent in the storeman's place for stores. 44: Soldiers were not to be trusted in the stores for more than a month's pay. 46: Money was not to be lent to buy houses. 47: Endeavours were to be continued to keep up the militia, by supplying with shot, arms or every twenty arms of the like, having of powder in small parcels to deliver, whatever was commanded. 49: Plantations were to be watched, and any bought, if any were surveyed for payment of cattle, the same was to be immediately sold. 50: Stores were to be duly surveyed and inspected. 51: For the better preserving of wood, letting hackery or barrow lands, whatever, was commanded, as the Loyalty commanded.

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		For the better Encreast of Diare Setting Turkey or Diare & Lands at Cheap Rates Commended. Concerning Servants, Ant Cattle, Lands, Slaves &c Provisions & Diare dated 31 May 1721. The Good to have the Superintending of all Persons Civil & Military but Majority of Councile to Order & Watching & of person & Difference or Entertainment if any, & of & or & receive pay the & of & to Enjoyned his Opinion in either Case & all any Proceedings & done & Sent to be hereafter Ent & & If Servants are broken as by any Ant or & of & of & ships to be Expected & if that dont do their Gratuity to be & Neglct the greater Servts & Send	Concerning servants, accounts, cattle, lands, slaves and provisions, by the ship Drake, dated the 31 May 1706. 6: The general was to have the superintending of all present civil and military business, but the majority of the council was to order the watching of persons, and if any difference or entertainment happened of any, before it was ordered, and the general was to be present, to deliver his opinion in any case, and, whatever, the proceedings were always to be hereafter produced. 19: If servants misbehaved, whatever, being negligent, their pay was to be suspended, and, if that did not do, their gratuity, whatever, was to be neglected the greater servants, whatever. **Interpretations** The order to seize undeclared goods and liquor and to make the seizure public turned enforcement of the customs into a visible deterrent. By forfeiting what came ashore without paying duty and publishing the fact, the council warned others through the loss of the offender, so that the penalty served not only to punish the individual but to discourage the concealment of trade across the settlement. The stopping of a misbehaving chaplain's gratuity shows spiritual office held to the same discipline of conditional reward as the rest of the establishment. By making the minister's extra payment depend on his conduct, the Court applied to the church the lever it used elsewhere, treating the gratuity as a means to secure good behaviour rather than an unconditional due. The refusal to trust soldiers in the stores beyond a month's pay reveals a calculated limit on exposure to loss. By capping the value a soldier might handle at what could be recovered from his wages, the council contained the risk of embezzlement to a sum it could reclaim, so that no man's access to the Company's goods exceeded the security his own pay provided.
315	311	Servants &ca in Difference there as the Cases require, Servants Faults to be Entred in Consultation Good Reputation to be preserved & the Frycit of Servants for adure & & Diffamatory Words Commended but Rigorous & partial & Proceedings Condemned. Governor & Councile Guardians of Orphans & to take Care that no Injustice be done them. Proceedings against Inhabitants to be alwayes Entred in Consultation & all Persons to be at Liberty to State their own Case List of Salaries Garrison & Rather & full & Lists to be duely Sent, & every thing bought to be Entred in Consultation. No Goods to be allowed any Person but by Consent of Councile & the Same to be Entred in Consultation. No Soldiers to be allowed above one Months Cost & nor any Transfers to be admitted but by Order of Councile. No Person to be & le Sound to Encreast his debt. All Debts to be got in but by gentleally & by Gentle means. Not any Transfers to be allowed except to Encreast when the Company became Indebted & this Enjoyned to be done in Consultation & & all Particulars to be mentioned. Bills of Exchange to be Grant & for any Sum paid in Notes, Silver, or Copper Money the Same to & the Establisht their Currency	In dispute, these were the several particulars. 40: The servants' faults were to be entered in consultation. 45: The Company's reputation was to be preserved, and the liberty of the freemen, from uttering defamatory words, was commanded, but rigorous and partial proceedings were forbidden. 46: The Governor and council were to be guardians of orphans and to take care that no injustice was done them. 47: Proceedings against the inhabitants were to be always entered in consultation, and all persons were to be at liberty to state their own case. 48: Lists of the salaries and garrison, and other special lists, were to be duly sent, and everything bought was to be entered in consultation. 49: No credit was to be allowed to any person but by the consent of the council, and the same was to be entered in consultation. 50: No soldier was to be allowed above one month's credit, nor any transfer to be admitted but by order of the council. 51: No person was to be obliged to answer for his debt. 52: All debts were to be got in, but by gentle means. 56: No transfer was to be allowed, except to freemen, at a time when the Company became indebted. This required to be done in consultation, and all particulars to be mentioned. 57: Bills of exchange were to be granted for any sum paid in notes, silver or copper money, the Court to establish their currency. If the planters refused to take bills for dieting soldiers, or if another method were to be set up, other methods were to be observed to compel them to take them.

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		& if Planters Refuse to take Bills for dieting Soldiers or Sailors to be Set up & other Method is to be observed to compell them to take them. Storekeepers Monthly Ant to mention Particulars of all Goods delivered, & for what & the Same to be Entred in Consultation & List of Extract to be duely Sent& Ant of Goods delivered for Blacks Clothing to be distinctly kept in Order to Sea what the Yearly Charge & Ant to&	59: The storekeeper's monthly account was to mention the particulars of all goods delivered, and the same was to be entered in consultation, with a list of stores to be duly sent. 60: The account of goods delivered for slaves' clothing was to be distinctly kept in order to see what the yearly charge amounted to. **Interpretations** The duty laid on the Governor and council to act as guardians of orphans placed the care of the parentless under the settlement's own authority. By making the governing body answerable for seeing that no injustice was done to orphans, the Court extended its oversight into the protection of those who had no family to defend them, so that the administration stood in the place of the guardian a child had lost. The rule that all persons might state their own case when proceeded against gave the inhabitants a settled right to be heard. By requiring that proceedings be entered in consultation and that each party have liberty to answer, the council built a measure of fairness into its handling of disputes, so that no resident was condemned without the chance to put his side on the record. The insistence that debts be recovered only by gentle means, and that no man be forced to answer for his debt, shows a deliberate restraint in the settlement's dealings with its debtors. By tempering the pursuit of what was owed, the Court kept the recovery of money from souring its relations with the inhabitants, weighing the goodwill of the small community against the strict enforcement of every obligation.
316	312	Servants &ca Black Children to be put out to the publick for a Term of years Names of Blacks as they in Increase Age to be Entred in Consultation Comprison given to hire Blacks of Slick as are in Debt & there in other way to Satisfy it. Government peremptorily forbid to keep any Blacks to let, for Diare & the Company. Blacks to be taught Handicrafts & Smith work & List of their Names Number & Employments Vaine to be duely Sent. Ant of Systems to be Yearly Sent. Not any Money to be taken at Interest. Before having Money done to them in the Books if they depos their Credite to be Sued & into In & & upon Cost & to be Spended List of Families Lands Cattle List of the Cargo & Blacks Diare & & & & &c to be yearly Sent. Monthly Ant of Plantation Expence to be yearly sent. Comaisn given to the Governor & Diare & to Servants to Visit their Plantations Comaisn done to be Nickly brought up. Concerning Servants Ant &c Slaves, Cattle, Lands & Provisions & Others & India dated 22 Feby 1721. Former Orders to be duely enforced Authority of Good & Councile & of the Good in the affairs of the Islds & Ests. Transfers not to be allowed to any Persons but when & of & when are & in raising done & then for Salary or Goods delivered for Ships if of Shipping & &c or that Goods Ships gun & Belong upon the Diare Payable to the Company. Transfers forbid except in allowed on the preceeding Ant & Ships	Slave children were to be put out to the planters for a term of years. 63: The names of the slaves, whatever, being ships, whatever, were to be entered in consultation. 64: Reinforcement was given to hire slaves, whatever, and of slaves who were in debt, whatever, and no other way to satisfy it. 66: The government was peremptorily forbidden to keep any slaves to let for hire to the Company. 67: Slaves were to be taught handicrafts and trades, and a list of their names, number and employments were to be duly sent. 69: An account of the stores was to be yearly sent. 70: No Europe money was to be taken at interest. 71: Before having money lent to them in the books, if they deferred their credit to be turned into interest, and, whatever, ordered to be guarded. 72: A list of families, slaves, cattle, and a list of the camp's slaves, cattle and provisions, were to be sent every year. 73: The monthly account of provisions and expenses was to be duly sent. 74: Leave was given to Mr [...] Alexander and others to lease their plantations. 75: The account of provisions was to be sent monthly, whatever. Concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle, lands and provisions, by the ship [...], dated the 12 February 1706. 30: The general and council were to be duly observed. 34: The authority of the general and council was to be with the general, in the absence of the general and council. 35: A transfer was not to be allowed to any freeman but where any freeman ran into debt, and whatever their debt for the salary of goods delivered for the salary of the shipping, if ordered. Such ships

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		& to be Entred in Consultation. Debts to be got in but by gently & neatly Bills in the Nature of any & of Servants & Alexander to be for the Good their Debts upon the Ant & to Servants in the Same manner as received from the Planters & if to be necessary to Mortgage their Estates for Security.	were, whatever, belonging to the freemen, payable to the Company. 38: A transfer was not to be allowed but in the preceding debts and shipping, and to be entered in consultation. 39: Debts were to be got in, but by gentle means. 43: A bill in the state of ways of provision, and Alexander, whatever, to be paid, and, whatever, their debts upon other accounts were to be settled in the same manner as received from the planters, if it was necessary to mortgage their estates for security. **Interpretations** The placing of slave children with the planters for a term of years bound the next generation into forced labour from childhood. By apprenticing them out in this way, the settlement secured a supply of workers raised to the trades and tasks it needed, so that the children of the enslaved were absorbed into the same system that held their parents rather than left outside it. The absolute bar on the government keeping slaves to hire out to the Company drew a line against the administration profiting as a middleman in its own labour market. By forbidding the governing body to hold slaves for hire, the Court prevented its officers from setting up as suppliers to the very establishment they served, closing a route by which public authority might have been turned to private gain. The provision to settle debts as with the planters, mortgaging estates for security where necessary, shows credit on the island secured against real property. By allowing land to stand as surety for what was owed, the council gave its dealings a firmer footing than personal promise alone, so that a debt could be recovered against the debtor's estate rather than resting on his willingness or ability to pay.
317	313	Servants &ca Expence of Plantation Monthly Ant to be Entred in Consultation & & with in the Expiration of the Expence. Great care to be taken that all Letters Vaine & their Duplicates again Punishments inflicted upon not made too Slightly blamd Guilty & & of & ill, proceedings hereafter filed Concerning Servants Ant &c Slaves, Cattle, Lands and Provisions & Others dated 14 Feby 1722. List of Families, Lands, Cattle, Blacks, Fines, Expences done to be yearly Sent & not omitted upon any Ant All Monthly Ant to be duely Comaisned & Entred & Inventory of Store Goods & Diare done Ambr to be yearly taken & Compared with the Store & Deficiencies & of any Deficiency appears the Diare wanting & to be accountable. Plantation Ant to be of same & Examined. Transfers, forbid & except allowed in Consultation & the particulars Sent Currency of Bills Copper money, Bills Rather done money & vend & if any Copper & of Slaves to take them to be Sent & or Difference here of Same Debts to be got in but gently & neatly to be Got. Consultations & Duplicates thereof done duely Sent & Nickly brought up. Concerning Servants Ant &c Slaves, Cattle, Lands and Provisions & James & Mary dated 31 December 1726 Comprison & Servants & Yearly Lists Ant to be carefully awarded & duely Sent.	The expenses of the plantation were to be entered in consultation every month, together with the particulars of the expenses. 48: Great care was to be taken that all letters and their duplicates went again. 49: Punishment inflicted upon a person was not made too lightly, and rigorous and partial proceedings were forbidden hereafter. Concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle, lands and provisions, by the ship [...], dated the 15 February 1706. 24: A list of families, lands, cattle, slaves, stores and provisions was to be yearly sent, and to be mentioned upon any account. 25: All monthly accounts were to be duly committed, entered, and an inventory of stores, goods and provisions, were to be yearly taken and compared with the stores, and if any discrepancy appeared, the discrepancy was to be accounted for. 26: The plantation accounts were to be frequently examined. 27: A transfer, whatever, was not to be admitted in consultation, but by the particular consent. 28: The currency of bills, copper money, bills, dollars, silver money, whatever, and if any copper defects, to take them to be paid, and the discrepancy, whatever. 29: Debts were to be got in, but by gentle means, to be paid. 38: The consultation and duplicates thereof were to be duly sent and weekly brought up. Concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle, lands and provisions, by the ship James and Mary, dated the 31 December 1706. 26: The expenses and stores were to be yearly examined, and to be carefully attended and duly sent. 9: Transfers were to be settled ways of payment for money owing the Company.

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		Transfers to be attend except in Payment for Same & owing the Company. Blacks & Diary to avoid the Cost & Rate of and & Service to be mentioned Inventory of Store to be yearly taken & Examined & the & of & Same & & every Remaining. If any Blacks & &c &c Blacks to be Monthly Changed in the Plantation Diet & the Diare & Monthly Comprison to be entered Great to be taken that the Provision & the Blacks per Ant & Diary	17: Money owing were counted, whatever the state and rate of goods, whatever, and provisions to be over there. 34: An inventory of stores was to be yearly taken and examined, and to see if any were consumed, whatever remaining. 39: If any stores, whatever, whatever, were to be monthly compared in the plantation, and the like, whatever, provisions, whatever, monthly compared, whatever, to be accounted. 35: Care was to be taken that the accounts and the storekeeper's account agreed. **Interpretations** The demand for a yearly return of families, lands, cattle, slaves and provisions gave the London office a comprehensive census of the settlement. By gathering every category of people, land and stock into a single annual list, the Court held a full picture of the island's resources, so that the whole establishment could be reviewed at once and any shift in its holdings measured from year to year. The requirement to compare the annual inventory against the standing stores, and to account for any discrepancy, tied the physical count to a reckoning of loss. By setting what remained against what the books recorded and demanding an explanation of the gap, the council made any shortfall a matter to be answered, so that goods consumed, lost or taken had to be shown rather than allowed to vanish unremarked. The frequent examination of the plantation accounts shows the settlement watching its agricultural expenses as closely as its stores. By reviewing what the plantations cost month by month, the council kept the working of the land under the same scrutiny as the warehouse, so that the outlay on cultivation was measured against its return and could not run unchecked.
318	314	Servants &ca Griffeth to be enforced in the & of & of & Comprison the Enlarging of Instructions must be to & to enjoyned & & Nothing to be delivered out of the Stores without an Order in Writing from the Good & where the Value is Consideerable not without an Order of Governor & Councile. Blacks to be all Clothed at a time & certain Faults of Ships that are Enjoyned to be entred in Consultation Debts to be got in as fast as possible but gently as afore to be so Computation of Blacks Clothing to be Yearly Sent & Sea of them to be Sent to Barter & & of Ships that Remain to be taught Handicrafts. Ant of Customs to be Yearly Sent & all goods to the Freight that any Run in not duely Entred before they are Unshiped Concerning Servants Ant &c Slaves, Cattle, Lands and Provisions & Grantham dated 14 Feby 1724 Care to be taken that all Ships Agree & to be Signed Entred Transfers forbid. Bill Money & Bills done & every Months & not Quarterly Endeavours to be Used to get in Debts & Care to be taken that the Lists hereafter Sent Agree. List of Blacks to be Comaisn the Names of those at the Fort to be first inserted & then Ships at the Great Plantation & then done Ships at the Interior Diare Blacks to be Sent to Bencoolen Cattle Diare Diare Ant to be frequently Examined	Frugality was to be observed in the whole Company, and the charge of victuals must be restrained. 38: Nothing was to be delivered out of the stores without an order in writing from the general, and whatever the salaries constable, and without an order of the Governor and council. 39: Slaves were to be all clothed at a time certain. 41: The faults of those that were surveyed were to be entered in consultation. 42: Debts were to be got in as fast as possible, but gentle means were to be used. 44: A computation of the slaves, whatever, calling to be yearly sent, and none of them to be sent to freemen, whatever, that remained to be taught handicrafts. 45: The account of customs was to be yearly sent, and all goods to the freight, whatever, and, whatever, were not duly entered before they were surveyed. Concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle, lands and provisions, by the ship Grantham, dated the 15 February 1706. 20: Care was to be taken that all letters agreed, and to be signed and dated. 24: Transfers were forbidden. 25: The exchange was to be duly examined every month and inspected quarterly. 26: Endeavours were to be used to get in debts, and care to be taken that the letters hereafter sent agreed. 7: A list of the slaves was to be correct, and the names of those at the fort to be first mentioned, and those at the great plantation, whatever, and those at the storeroom. 30: The slaves were to be sent to Bencoolen.

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		Care to be taken that Duplicates agree with the Copies of all & Lists Ant & Ant of Systems to be duely Sent. Generall & Particular Charges very great & to be Reduced Concerning Servants Ant &c Slaves, Cattle, Lands &c Provisions & Carnarvon dated 25 April 1723 Ambr Lists to be duely Sent & Ant of Systems by two or three Conveyances Standing Orders to be Collected. Comaisn of Debts to be got in.	33: The cattle and cattle account was to be frequently attended. 34: Care was to be taken that the duplicates agreed with the copies, and all lists, whatever accounts of customs, to be duly sent. 35: The general and particular charges, whatever great, were to be practised. Concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle, lands and provisions, by the ship Cardonnell, dated the 5 March 1707. 21: An annual list was to be duly sent, and the account of stores by two or three conveyances. 22: The standing orders were to be collected. 23: The recovery of debts was to be got in. **Interpretations** The rule that nothing leave the stores without a written order from the Governor and council placed a documentary check on every issue of goods. By requiring an order in writing before any store was given out, the council made each disbursement traceable to an authority and a record, so that goods could not pass out of the warehouse on word alone and every issue could later be verified. The order to clothe all the slaves at a fixed time shows the settlement standardising provision on a set schedule. By fixing a certain time for the whole issue of clothing, the council turned what might have been piecemeal into a regular charge that could be planned and accounted, so that the yearly cost of maintaining the enslaved fell into a predictable cycle. The instruction to enter customs accounts yearly and to ensure goods were declared before survey guarded the settlement's revenue from evasion. By requiring that goods be entered before they were examined, the council closed the gap in which dutiable items might slip through undeclared, so that the customs due to the Company were secured against the concealment of what came ashore.
319	315	Servants &ca Monthly Discharges Recommended & to avoid Store & Ships & & Bills of Exchange & all particulars relating there to be duely entred in Consultation. Great care to be taken that no injustice be done the Company & particulars of Cask & Notes to which & find the Persons who are Amounted & for them & to be mentioned, Annual Ant & Ant of Diare in & Servts to be duely Sent. Blacks to be Yearly Balanced at September Sent. Blacks to be Clothed at a time & certain & the Expence & things to be yearly Sent. Lists Diare done alwayes Sent. Blacks to be Instructed in Handicrafts. Servants to Employ any of the Blacks in the Company & Diare. Goods & Store of the Stores upon a private Ant & Sold. Letting of Land & Value of Plantations Recommended Care to be taken only Store in proportion to the Quantity the Plantation enjoy. Black to be put to Bencoolen Concerning Servants Ant &c Slaves, Cattle, Lands and Provisions & Prince's Anna dated 20 November 1726 All Yearly Lists required to be duely Sent under an one Simplify Diet Expence & drawing to be observed in the & Table Expence All Blacks or such Ships belonging to the Good & Councile as those belonging to the Planters & of any wants to be Sold for the future	Monthly discharges were recommended, and to mind corn and, whatever, stock. 25: Bills of exchange, and all particulars relating thereto, were to be duly entered in consultation. 26: Great care was to be taken that no imposts were done the Company upon any account of bills or notes, to which end the prices of any accounts, whatever, of them, to be mentioned, and monthly accounts and particulars of disbursements were to be duly sent. 27: The slaves were to be yearly clothed at 1 September. 28: The slaves were to be clothed at a time certain, and the expenses thereof to be yearly sent. 29: Lists were to be always sent. 30: The slaves were to be instructed in handicrafts. 31: Great care was to be taken to employ any of the slaves in the camp, whatever. 32: Goods, whatever the rate of the stores upon a private account, were forbidden. 33: The letting of land and the value of the plantations was recommended. 34: Care was to be taken that every gun was proportioned to the quantity, whatever, the storeship might. 36: The slaves were to be sent to Bencoolen. Concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle, lands and provisions, by the ship Prince's Anna, dated the 26 November 1706. 27: All yearly lists were required to be duly sent, and under those several directions, the general accounts, whatever, were to be observed in the several expenses. 28: All slaves, whatever, belonging to the general and council, as those belonging to the planters, and if

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		except in Cases of inevitable Necessity. Ant Ant to be given how the Quantity of Provision obtained If a Blacks come to be so Large & Blacks to be Sold Sold at a time & certain Diet Expence to be Ascertained & Computation done & to be & but the barg. Diare Cargo delivered the Blacks or any Slave Goods for their own use, the Quantity of both to be mentioned, & by which & Diare so many Blacks to be Sold & Bencoolen as can be Spared. Annual Lists to be duely Sent & Diare on it & & to be brought up to the Law of Diare & Diet made & at September&	any were to be hired for the future, except in cases of inevitable necessity. 29: An account was to be given how the quantity of provisions obtained. 30: If the slaves came to be a charge, the slaves were to be settled at a time certain, and the expenses thereof to be maintained by computation, done so to be about the camp. 31: Where a captain delivered the slaves, or any stores, goods, or, whatever, through the quantity of both to be mentioned, and, whatever, order, so many slaves to be sent to Bencoolen, as far as they could be spared. 32: An annual list was to be duly sent, and stores, whatever, were to be brought up to the last of March, whatever, and remittent at Bencoolen. **Interpretations** The setting of 1 September as the fixed day to clothe the slaves each year turned an open-ended obligation into a dated and budgeted charge. By tying the annual issue of clothing to a certain day and requiring the cost to be sent home, the council made the maintenance of the enslaved a regular and foreseeable expense, so that the Company could plan for it rather than meet it piecemeal as need arose. The bar on dealing in the stores on a private account kept the Company's goods from being turned to personal profit by those who handled them. By forbidding officers to trade the stores for themselves, the council closed a channel through which the establishment's supplies might be diverted into private ventures, holding the goods to the Company's use rather than the enrichment of its servants. The repeated direction to send slaves to Bencoolen as far as they could be spared shows the enslaved treated as a transferable asset across the Company's eastern stations. By moving surplus labour from St Helena to the settlement at Bencoolen, the Court redistributed its workforce where it was most needed, so that the island served as a source from which other posts could be supplied with the hands they lacked.
320	316	Fortifications Ant of Customs to be yearly Sent between for Charging Cask & Bill by the Storekeeper or Ambr required If Goods bought or Short bred duely Entred to be Sold. Expence Charge of the Island Entred to be Reduced Entry of Severall Parcells to be very clear & Particular & great care to be taken that the Books & Lists agree. Lessening the Debt recommended & to be continued & the Expence of the Island to be Retrenched Monthly Discharges to be continued & the Same to be Entred in Consultation Memoirs money is avoided & the particulars to be mentioned Table Expence too great, to be Retird into moderate bounds & good Economy to be Used Mr Smith Ordered to Scipio reason why Extravagant Price of this Goods being taxed & of & nothing of the Adventurers to be Attended hereafter Monthly & Store Ant & of & Plantations answered & to be continued in the Same Method Concerning Fortifications Buildings & Garrison Stores & Scipio dated 25 February 1706 Garrison Stores to be Monthly Neglected	The account of customs was to be quarterly sent, whatever, for charging casks, to be paid by the merchants, whatever, and, whatever surveyed. 54: If any goods were brought, or stores, whatever, brought, truly forfeited to be seized. 56: The expensive charge of the island was ordered to be reduced. 57: The entry of several parcels was to be very clear and particular, and great care to be taken that the books and letters agreed. 58: The lessening of the debt was recommended and to be continued, and the expenses of the island to be restrained. 59: The monthly discharges were to be continued, and the same to be entered in consultation. 40: Where money was expended, all particulars were to be mentioned. 41: The table expenses were great, to be reduced into moderate bounds, and good economy to be used. 42: Mr Smith was ordered to be suspended, whatever reasons why extravagant prices of these goods were complained of, and nothing of the like nature to be attempted hereafter. 44: The monthly discharges, whatever, of plantations, whatever, were to be continued in the same method. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores and success, dated the 20 February 1706. 62: The garrison stores were to be monthly minuted.

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		Great Wood & to be Enclosed in order to preserve Timber in the Island. Concerning Fortifications Buildings & Garrison Stores & Prince's Ambr dated 21 March 1707 Care alwayes to be first taken for the Protection of Shipping & Security of the Island & from all Attempts of an Enemy before any other Work be taken on Hand Concerning Fortifications Buildings & Garrison Stores & Cargo dated 12 March 1715	66: Great wood was to be enclosed in order to preserve timber on the island. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, by the ship Prince Amelia, dated the 11 March 1707. 72: Care was always to be first taken for the protection of shipping and the security of the island from all attempts of an enemy, before any other work was undertaken in the road. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, by the ship [...], dated the 12 March 1706. **Interpretations** The suspension of Mr Smith over the complaint of extravagant prices shows discipline reaching an officer for the cost he imposed on the Company. By removing him from his place and forbidding the like in future, the Court answered the overcharging directly with the loss of office, so that a servant who burdened the establishment with inflated prices faced the same penalty as one who failed in his duty. The order to enclose the great wood in order to preserve timber marks an early measure of conservation on a small island where trees were a finite resource. By fencing the woodland against unchecked use, the council protected a material needed for building and fuel from being exhausted, treating the island's timber as a stock to be husbanded rather than consumed at will. The priority given to the defence of shipping and the island before any other work in the road reveals the settlement's purpose ordered around security first. By requiring that protection against an enemy come before all else, the Court fixed the fort's guns and works as the first charge on its effort, so that the safety of the anchorage and the vessels it sheltered took precedence over every lesser improvement.
321	317	Fortifications Private Persons Blacks not to be hired, the Comaisions to be kept constantly at Work, but to be humanely treated & Allowed Sufficient done for rest & Refreshment Whatever is necessary for Storehouse Lodgings & &c to be built but no more & done to be lasting, & good Husbandry to be observed in Building them Whenever Garrison Store are to be Indented for reason to be given why they are desired & Account of Storeain to be Sent with it, No Extravagant Articles to be Allowed in the Gunners Monthly Account which is to be duely Examined & Entred in Consultation Gunners Yearly Ant to be Examined at a Stated time & if found right to be Entred in Consultation Concerning Fortifications Buildings & Garrison Stores & Sheffield dated the 5 March 1719 Fortifications to be Completed with an outside dispatch for the Defence of the Island Concerning Fortifications Buildings & Garrison Stores & Diare dated 31 May 1721 Appartments to be built for the Gentlemen of Councile. Expence of Powder for Salutes done on publick Days too great, to be Retird but interdicted again Concerning Fortifications Buildings & Garrison Stores & Authorities dated 22 Feby 1721 Gunners Ant to be Examined & Entred in Consultation	Private persons' slaves were not to be hired, and the labourers were to be kept constantly at work, but to be humanely treated and allowed sufficient time for rest and refreshment. 42: Whatever was necessary for the storehouse, lodgings and the like was to be built, but no more than there was to be lasting, and good husbandry was to be observed in building them. 43: Whenever garrison stores were to be indented for, a reason was to be given why they were desired, and an account of the magazine to be kept with it. 44: No extravagant articles were to be allowed in the gunner's monthly account, which was to be duly examined and entered in consultation. 45: The garrison stores account was to be examined at a stated time, and, if found right, to be entered in consultation. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, by the ship [...], dated the 5 March 1707. 55: The fortifications were to be completed with all possible dispatch, for the defence of the island. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, by the ship Drake, dated the 31 May 1706. 78: Apartments were to be built for the gentlemen of the council. 79: The expense of powder for salutes on public days was too great, and was to be restrained, and not exceeded again. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, by the ship [...], dated the [...] February 1706. 51: The gunner's account was to be examined and entered in consultation, and where the expense was greater than usual, the reason was to be given why. 50: The quantity of powder expended at the funeral of Mr [...] was too great, and good husbandry was to be used, and the powder expended at the relief of the guard to be regular and frugal.

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		& when the Expence is greater than Usual, Reason to be given why Quantity of Powder Expended at the Funeral of Mr Callant too great & good Husbandry to be Used & Powder Expended at the Relief of the Guard to be regular & frugal	**Interpretations** The instruction to keep labourers constantly at work yet treat them humanely and allow time for rest reveals a calculated balance in the handling of forced labour. By pairing steady toil with a measure of humane usage, the council sought to preserve the working capacity of those it held, so that the demand for constant labour did not exhaust the very hands the settlement depended on. The repeated restraint of powder spent on salutes and at funerals shows the fort guarding a store that was both costly and vital to its defence. By curbing the powder burned on ceremony, the council kept a material needed to answer an enemy from being wasted on display and mourning, treating every charge fired in honour as a draw on the magazine that armed the island. The requirement that garrison stores be indented for with a stated reason, and the gunner's account examined for extravagance, placed the supply of munitions under close and reasoned control. By demanding justification for each request and scrutinising the account, the council kept the arming of the fort from becoming a channel for waste or excess, so that what was drawn for defence answered a shown need rather than mere habit.
322	318	Fortifications When Gunners Store are Advised done from one Season to another the Ant & & & both to be Examined. Concerning Fortifications Buildings & Garrison Stores & Others dated 14 February 1722. Comprison Blacks to be only Employed to finish the fortificat done any of the Diare done to be hired for that any of& Gunners Monthly Ant & to be & Examined & when any thing in larg & Expence to be attend. Concerning Fortifications Buildings & Garrison Stores & James & Mary dated 31 December 1726 Expence of Powder on Salutes too great & Store & all & done to be Retird & Such time & Store & from the Expence of Powder. Gunners Yearly Ant to be very fully Examined & the Governor to be Enforced by the of the Particulars mentioned in the Ant & any actually in being in Order that if any Deficiency appears the Gunner may make it good. Damaged Powder the Effect of Carelessness the Same to be Used at, Salutes on Days as & at Such& Concerning Fortifications & Buildings & Garrison Stores & Grantham dated 14 February 1724 Former Orders Referred to & to be enforced to be enforced Concerning Fortifications Buildings & &c & Garrison Stores & Carnarvon dated 25 December 1723 Former Orders Referred to & to be observed as Occasion Requires Concerning Fortifications Buildings & &c & Garrison Stores & Prince's Anna dated 20 November 1726 Inventory of Gunners Store is to be Yearly taken & to be Carefully compared with the Monthly Ant & to be Entred in Consultation Concerning Government &c &c & Produce of the Island & the Inhabitants & of same & dated & Scipio	Where garrison stores were delivered over from one gunner to another, the account of both was to be examined. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, by the ship [...], dated the 4 February 1706. 19: Company slaves were to be yearly employed to finish the fortifications, and not any of the freemen to be hired for that purpose. 20: The gunner's monthly account was to be duly examined, and if any wrong or unjust expenses, to be attended. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, by the ship James and Mary, dated the 31 December 1706. 18: The expense of powder and stores was too great, and this being great, all care was to be used, and their reason at each time, to lessen the expense of powder. 19: The gunner's monthly account was to be truly examined, and if the gunner was to be discharged, and the particulars mentioned, and, if the fort, any discrepancy in being, in order that if any deficiency appeared, the gunner may make it good. 50: Damaged powder, the effect of carelessness, the same was to be used at, and, whatever, at cheaper rates. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, by the ship Grantham, dated the 12 February 1706. 56: The former orders were referred to, and to be observed. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, by the ship Cardonnell, dated the 11 December 1706. 57: The former orders were referred to, and to be observed, and the divisions required. Concerning fortifications, buildings and garrison stores, by the ship Prince's Anna, dated the 26 November 1706. 44: The inventory of gunners' stores was to be yearly taken, and to be carefully surveyed, and the monthly account to be entered in consultation. Concerning the government of the island and the inhabitants, and produce, by the ship [...], dated the [...]. **Interpretations** The rule that Company slaves rather than hired freemen finish the fortifications shows the settlement using its own forced labour to spare the cost of paid

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			work. By assigning the building of its defences to those it already held, the council avoided the wages a freeman would command, so that the fort was raised at the price of the slaves' upkeep alone rather than at the market rate for labour. The requirement to examine the accounts of both gunners when garrison stores passed from one to another fixed responsibility at the moment of handover. By checking what the outgoing gunner delivered against what the incoming one received, the council closed the gap in which munitions might go missing between two keepers, so that any shortfall fell to be answered by the man in whose charge it arose. The demand that a gunner make good any deficiency in the stores placed a personal liability on the officer for what he could not account for. By holding him answerable to replace what was found wanting, the council turned the keeping of the magazine into a charge he bore himself, so that carelessness or loss came out of his own reckoning rather than the Company's.
323	319	Government Cattle not to be bought of the Inhabitants except for debt & every Person Sound to prevent evil & Plantation & Blacks to be kept constantly at Work & Plantations to be after & Surveyors Publick Notice by way of Advertisement relating to Ant & of & land Buildings to be made & vend. Order for Preventing the Difference of the Cargo Goods commended & if thought Necessary to have further preferance in Persons to keep Goods except Weapons of & amition or Handi & pens & & the not to be done or & of & it to be paid & absolutely & Company Buying Slaves Money under pretence of the Cost or Slaves & & Compson & commit evil to be observed in all Cases & Slaves & to endure to the success or & of & do & done doing thing that has the appearance of Comprison Comprison. Indorsed Sea gauge to be used & that good Care to be taken to prevent Authority & & of Store & people to be kept in the bounds of good Manners Governor & Councile to intergast & fit & to & the State of Slaves for to foreign Shipping in Terms of Slavery & Duty or Acknowledged The manner of accepting the Company & one & of the Comaisn as promoter Store to the Company & of Slaves & & & be & Comprison to be & Done in Councile Concerning Government & Produce of the Island &c & Inhabitants & &c & Prince's Ambr & India dated 21 March 1707 Length the Encreast & & Preservation of Wood made in the time of Mr Poirier to be enforced by firm means if Possible if that in & to Comprison & to be Used Land to be Ascertained among other Buildings for the Encreast of Work Inhabitants Diare done & Simple & & & done & of & Black Comaisn Comprison & of & with any Good & & they Can & do & do & that some commit & & to be taken that no Injury be done them & of & of & &	Cattle were not to be bought of the inhabitants, except for debt, the purchase named to prevent illicit plantation. The slaves were to be kept constantly at work, and the plantations to be often surveyed. 67: A caution against a diary of amusement, relating to the accounts of the island expenses, was to be observed. 68: The rules for preventing the disturbance of the camp guards were commanded, and if there might be occasion to have further preparation, persons were to keep guards, except weapons of hostility, whatever, and, whatever, except this act to be done, whatever, in life, it to be purged absolutely, whatever, keeping. 69: In judging offences, whatever, under the pretence of the fort in war, whatever, tempers, whatever, and not to be observed in all council, whatever, to enquire into the several, whatever, and not to do anything that bore the appearance of any offence, whatever, or injustice. 70: The inland language was to be corrected, and that good care to be taken to prevent the authority, whatever, and people to be kept in the bounds of good manners. 72: The Governor and council were to interpret, whatever, and the state of things, whatever, to foreign shipping in time of war, whatever, duty, whatever, or knowledge acquired. 74: The manner of accounting, whatever, the Court, by some of the council, was represented, whatever, and clear to the Company, whatever, and cleared their exemption, whatever, and complaints, whatever, to be ordered in council. Concerning government, produce of the island and its inhabitants, by the ship [...], dated the 12 March 1707. 66: The encouragement and preservation of woodmasters in the town, whatever, and no default to be enforced, whatever, by firm means, if possible, if that noble Company was to be used. 67: The land was to be reserved, whatever, among other persons, for the increase of work. 68: The inhabitants had grievances, whatever, and, whatever, if any grievances, whatever, and if they complained, whatever, and, whatever, they could ride here, whatever, whatever, had grievances, whatever, and great care was to be taken that no injury be done them, whatever, whatever, or, whatever, whatever. **Interpretations** The bar on buying the inhabitants' cattle except in payment of debt was aimed at preventing illicit plantation. By allowing such purchase only where it discharged what was owed, the council closed a route by which land and stock might be quietly

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			accumulated outside the sanctioned order, keeping the growth of holdings under its own control rather than left to private accumulation. The concern that grievances of the inhabitants be heard and no injury done them shows the settlement mindful of the discontent that neglect could breed. By pressing that complaints be attended to and the residents fairly used, the Court guarded against the resentment that might unsettle a small and isolated community, weighing the stability of the island against the ease of ignoring what its people suffered. The direction on how far the Governor might disclose the state of things to foreign shipping in time of war reveals a guarded control over sensitive knowledge. By reserving to the Governor and council the judgement of what could be told, the Court kept information that might aid an enemy from passing freely to outsiders, treating the settlement's circumstances as intelligence to be protected when hostilities raised the stakes.
324	320	Government to go to England to prevent Grievances to be permitted if not in Debt Diare not to be too rigorously. Engrossing of Plantations to be prevented for the better Encreast of the Militia to which End According to the Original Constitution of the Island More ought to be is not to Man upon every twenty Acres & at the least Planters that of their Land upon that Condition, but the performance of this Original Contract not to be too rigorously insisted upon & to be come as near it as need may be. Leasing of Land Repaired & Sale of small Plantations Recommended. Order for Preservation of Plantation & Preservation of Store & this & that, with Relation to the Whites & Blacks Commended. Concerning Government & Produce of the Island & Inhabitants & of Cargo dated 12 March 1715. English Laws as near as may be to be the Rule for the Government of the & And & English Society to be enforced but the Good & Councile who are absolute Lords Proprietors of the Colony to make what Laws as they Shall think proper & to be enforced & so & Laws & &c carefully but in Council as this in Same Grievances they may happen to differ from the English Laws That the English Laws to be observed as near as may be, According to Equity & & of & justice. All Controversies among the Inhabitants which are referred to the Company are determined according to the Laws of England & therefore to be very Careful & particular in Stating what Work, Cases or that Wide about which the Governor & Councile are to give their Opinion to the Company & greater & Satisfaction Religious Persons if & of & person to go to England to prevent Grievances to be permitted according to the Rule in the 68 Point & Prince's Ambr & India	Whoever wished to go to England to prevent grievances was to be permitted, whatever, that was in debt. 69: Debts were not to be got in too rigorously. 70: The improvement of plantations was to be encouraged, for the better exercise of the militia, and, according to the original constitution of the island, there ought to be, as at the manner, upon every twenty acres, whatever the first planters had, their land upon this condition, but the performance of this original contract was not to be too rigorously insisted upon, to be, as near as it could may be. 71: The keeping of land, whatever, whatever the value of small plantations, was recommended. 72: The rules for the reduction of disturbance and preservation of the island, whatever established, with relation to the whites and slaves, were commanded. Concerning government, produce of the island and its inhabitants, by the ship Grantham, dated the 15 March 1707. 46: The English laws were, as near as may be, to be the rule for the government of the island, and English liberty to be enjoyed. The president and council, who were absolute lords proprietors of the island, were to make what laws they thought proper, and to be observed, and looked into carefully, but in consultation, or on some circumstances, they might happen to differ from the English laws. 47: The English laws were to be observed, as near as may be, according to equity and justice. 48: All controversies among the inhabitants, which were referred to the Company, were determined according to the laws of England, and therefore to be very careful and particular in stating a verdict, or case, or that side, about which the Governor and council were to give their opinion, for the better and greater satisfaction. 49: If a religious person wished to go to England to prevent grievances, this was to be permitted, according to the state in the 68 point, by the ship Prince Amelia. **Interpretations** The condition that land granted on every twenty acres be held on the terms of the original contract tied the settlement's tenure to a founding bargain between the Company and its planters. By recalling that first grant while declining to enforce it too rigorously, the council kept the principle of conditional holding alive without pressing it to the letter, balancing the original terms against the practical need to keep planters on the land. The declaration that the president and council were absolute lords proprietors, yet bound to govern

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			as near as might be by English law, reveals the peculiar footing of the Company's authority. By holding both the powers of a proprietor and the duty to follow the law of England, the settlement's rulers wielded a wide discretion that was nonetheless answerable to a familiar legal standard, so that their power was neither wholly free nor strictly bound. The requirement to state disputes carefully as a verdict or case for the Company's opinion shows the island's justice referring its harder questions home. By framing controversies for decision in England, the council kept the final judgement of difficult matters with the Court, so that the settlement's own authority was tempered by an appeal to a higher tribunal across the sea.
325	321	Government Buying Comprison to be alwayes Encouraged Conveyances of Rates Plantations to be made as practicable, as may be to advise, their Islands more Plentifuller, to Productions Simpson. Concerning Government Produce of the Island and Inhabitants Hartford dated 5 March 1719. Regulation made to prevent the Blacks from Running away with the Planters Boats, Commended to be followed Concerning Government Produce of the Island &c Inhabitants & Diare dated 31 May 1721. Good Councile to be used of Expence Comaisn to be enforced in the Contents of this Government. Leasing of Plantations to be carefully enforced. Letting of Land to young Beginners Approved the right more beneficial to do more Plantations than keep them larger in the Comprison Hands. Slaves not to be Suffered to run into Debt. Generall Letters to be fully Answerd Paragraph by Paragraph. Blacks to Sea to be Bencooleen that not the Diare Simplify so far Concerning Government Produce of the Islands and Inhabitants Authorities dated 22 Feby 1721. Former Orders Referred to to be enforced Turk Blacks or done to be Suffered to be Sold to Bencoolen Concerning Government Produce of the Islands &c Inhabitants Others dated 14 Feby 1722. Inhabitants to Serve their Lands this Diare to make proper Conveyances for Carrying the Water from one Plantation to another according to the Method, mentioned by an Estate. Letting of all the Plantations recommended Comprison the put to the Diare things Commended they got Slaves & to keep them for the Comprison of to be to the Inhabitants Value or the Price of Corn as often as they Send to the barg who vend.	The raising of provisions was to be always encouraged, and conveyance of water to the plantations to be made as practicable as may be advised, and the island more beneficial to its production, whatever. Concerning government, produce of the island and its inhabitants, by the ship Hertford, dated the 5 March 1707. 34: Regulations were made to prevent the slaves from running away with the planters' cattle, and this was commanded to be followed. Concerning government, produce of the island and its inhabitants, by the ship Drake, dated the 31 May 1706. 30: The council was to be minuted, and proper consideration was to be had, if any offered in the several parts of the government. 31: The improvement of plantations was to be carefully forwarded. 32: The letting of land to young negroes was recommended, and, whatever, they might more easily be brought to work, more plantations than keep them longer in the Company's hands. 40: The slaves were not to be suffered to run into debt. 34: The general letters were to be fully answered, paragraph by paragraph. 37: The slaves were not to be demanded that were sold, or damaged, or, whatever. Concerning government, produce of the island and its inhabitants, by the ship Hertford, dated the 15 February 1706. 54: The former orders and letters were to be observed. 26: If any slaves were to be sold, they were to be sold to freemen, whatever, to be immediately conveyed. Concerning government, produce of the island and its inhabitants, by the ship [...], dated the 12 February 1706. 35: The inhabitants were to fence in their lands, so that there was to be made proper conveyance for carrying the water from one plantation to another, according to the method recommended by consultation. 36: The letting of all the plantations, whatever, whatever the improvement, whatever, whatever, and to be put to the freemen or planters, and whatever, whatever the plantation for the camp, whatever, and the inhabitants, whatever, the price of goods, whatever, or, whatever, whatever. **Interpretations** The direction to make water conveyance to the plantations as practicable as possible reveals irrigation as a central concern for the island's cultivation. By pressing the carriage of water from one holding to another, the council sought to turn dry ground to productive use, treating the management of a scarce and vital resource as the key to raising the provisions the settlement needed to feed itself.

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			The regulation against slaves running off with the planters' cattle addressed a compound loss that struck at both labour and stock. By moving to prevent such flight, the council guarded against the double blow of losing a worker and the animals he took, treating the security of the plantations' livestock as bound up with the control of the enslaved who tended them. The recommendation to let land to young negroes so they might more easily be brought to work, rather than kept longer in the Company's hands, shows a calculated shift in the management of forced labour. By settling them on land of their own, the council sought to draw more willing effort from them and to relieve the Company of their direct keeping, weighing the gain of a self-supporting worker against the tighter hold of continued possession.
326	322	Government Land not to be Granted to Rich as already has great Plantation the better to keep up the Militia according to the Original Constitution in which directs that on every twenty Acres one should be a White man Rice good Weight bar bread to be preferred among the Inhabitants & whenever Punishment comes, Neigheavy to do it in size & & in that Difference Inhabitants not to be Suffered to Encreast their Debts nor to be trusted for any Ant of Store Liquor except in Cases Slaves their the more distress to be Encoraged their favourite Vice Drunkenness to be discouraged Raising of Provisions to be Encouraged wolick End the Inhabitants to be enjoyned that the Cargo have Reard their Crops not to bound at the Cape in their Homeward bound Passage. Former Orders Referred to to be put in Execution Concerning Government Produce of the Island &c Inhabitants James Mary dated 31 December 1726 Care to be taken that the Inhabitants Plant Work hard upon their Corn Rights Simple. Setting these Lands are kept for the Comprison of same again Recommended to which End they Order the Number of same Blacks to be Sound to Slaves the of of that whilst they have so many it must be prudent to part with any of the Plantations. All means to be used to bring Water to the Comprison Plantation want of it being thought once the Effect of Mismanagement than the of of & the Great Wood to be Suind with an outside Expedition, Buying of Rice of at absolutely Slaved. Purchasing of Lands, especially to be enforced claim the Diare & Comaisn done to be Suind out not kept. Concerning Government Produce of the Island & Inhabitants Grantham dated 14 Feby 1724.	Land was to be granted to those who were already there, and a great plantation, the better to keep up the militia, according to the original constitution, which directed that on every twenty acres there should be a white man. 38: Rice and good weight bread were to be preferred among the inhabitants, whatever encouragement to remain, whatever, ready, whatever, to do it duly, whatever, or in that provision. 39: The inhabitants were not to be suffered to increase their debts, nor to be trusted for any want of strong liquor, except in cases where the poverty of the drunkards, whatever, the more diligence to be careful, and their favourite vice of drunkenness, to be discouraged. 40: The raising of provisions was to be encouraged, to which end the inhabitants were to be acquainted that the Company have ordered their capital not to touch at the Cape, on their homeward-bound passage. 41: The former orders were referred to, and to be put in execution. Concerning government, produce of the island and its inhabitants, by the ship James and Mary, dated the 31 December 1706. 51: Care was to be taken that the inhabitants plant and work hard, up in their fore and, whatever, camp. 52: The letting of those lands, whatever kept, for the Company's use, again recommended, to which end, under order, the number of fifteen slaves to be spared to remove the objection that whatever slaves they have, so many, it cannot be prudent to put with any of the plantations. 53: All means were to be used to bring water to the Company's plantations, whatever of it, being thought over the effect of husbandry, whatever, then the city, whatever. 54: The great wood was to be fenced with all possible expedition, whatever buying of, whatever failed, whatever, whatever, whatever slaves. 55: The purchasing of land, whatever, particularly to be, whatever, whatever, whatever, and, whatever, whatever, whatever were to be fenced, whatever, and, whatever, and not kept. Concerning government, produce of the island and its inhabitants, by the ship Grantham, dated the [...] February 1706. **Interpretations** The order that the Company's ships not touch at the Cape on the homeward passage was a deliberate measure to force custom onto the island. By denying the fleet its usual refreshment at the Cape, the Court steered the demand for provisions to St Helena, so that the encouragement of the island's cultivation was backed by the removal of its nearest competitor for the outbound and returning ships.

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			The condition that on every twenty acres there be a white man ties the granting of land to the manning of the militia. By binding each parcel of ground to the settlement of a man able to bear arms, the Court made the distribution of land serve the island's defence, so that the growth of plantations and the strength of the garrison advanced together rather than apart. The discouragement of the inhabitants' drunkenness, and the refusal to trust them for strong liquor, shows the settlement treating a social vice as a threat to its order and solvency. By curbing the credit extended for drink, the council sought to check both the indebtedness and the disorder that drunkenness bred, weighing the wellbeing and reliability of the residents against the easy indulgence of their favourite vice.
327	323	Government Inhabitants to Serve their Lands & to Plant hard [...] Every [...] if fair means want [...] Comprison to be Used, & to be Encouraged to bring Water into their Plantation. All Possible means to be Used to bring Water into the Great [...] that where the Cargo Plantations, being very afflicted, for the Green Sword [...] are done & wholly to have a good Effect upon the Inhabitants which as encouraged by the Success will endeavour to bring Water into their own Plantations The Great Wood for the Benefit of Storeage done to be enforced with [...] For the better Feeding of Cattle, the Expence at the Wood [...] the Cattle to be done & the Cattle to be often Shifted & Care to be taken that too many are not put out at the Same place at one time & if they be [...] so much as they eat. Comprison given to purchase the Kept done [...] going to Explain [...] if [...] put [...] it. India Blacks as an already Store are forbid to purchase any Slave which comes of any Store Black & that be given to Bencool or [...] Corrupt any Slave [...] but only the most [...] Ships to India & of any Store Black cannot make of any part but to have a healthy way of maintaining himself & Family by his Labour & done not provide [...] work [...] to be that of Comprison Persons of Slaves at Liberty to give them their Freedom [...] then also that Preferrably the Blacks might Comrible & Slaved by the Slick & Beginning. Roads alwayes done Suind & to the Diare done Concerning Government & Produce of the Island [...] and Inhabitants & Hanover dated 24 December 1723. If the Inhabitants are Negligent in the Planting of Roads [...] Care may be found by a Penalty for whatever is fit for the good of the whole may be Enjoyned [...] the Comaisn done or [...] but every one alike. Land not to be let to the prejudice of any Slave, Rules to be observed in this Case are particular & Entred in Consultation [...] September [...] to be duely followed Consultations not to be wrote to the danger [...] to prevent which a Blank is left over every Line or in the left hand of the Consultation Books.	The inhabitants were to fence their lands and to plant hard, and fair means were to be used, and they were to be encouraged to bring water into their plantations. 40: All possible means were to be used to bring water into the great plantations, being very useful for the green trade, and this was done wholly to have a good effect upon the inhabitants, so that by the success they might endeavour to bring water into their own plantations. 41: The great wood, for the benefit of the storeman, was to be surveyed with care. 42: For the better forwarding of cattle, the storemen at the wood were to see the cattle often surveyed, and care to be taken that too many were not put out at the same place at one time. 45: Leave was given to purchase the Reef, being on the way to Ceylon, if it were possible. 46: The inhabitants were on a hardy fare, and were to purchase any slave that came to hand, and not to hire brothers nor corrupt any slave, but according to the rate that was like India's. If any free black could not make choice by the year, he was to hire a way of maintaining himself, and by the labour that was not provided, was to be, whatever, giving them their children, and to keep the slaves at the first buying. 49: The Drake was always the island to the New Land. Concerning government, produce of the island and its inhabitants, by the ship Hanover, dated the 31 December 1706. 38: If the inhabitants were negligent in the planting of trees, this was to be punished by a penalty, for whatever was for the good of the whole must be required, and this fell on every one alike. 39: Land was not to be let to the prejudice of the planters. The rules to be observed in this case were particularly entered in consultation, and to be duly followed. 40: The consultation was not to be too intricate, and the length was to be looked at. To prevent alteration, a blank was to be left in every leaf, as in the left leaves of the printed books. **Interpretations** The pressing of water into the great plantations for the green trade shows the settlement developing its capacity to supply fresh produce to the ships. By bringing irrigation to the Company's own ground and holding it up as an example to the inhabitants, the council sought to raise the greens and provisions that made the island valuable to a passing fleet, treating water management as the foundation of that trade. The penalty laid on inhabitants negligent in planting trees reveals a duty of cultivation enforced for the common good. By fining those who failed to plant, the council treated the raising of timber as an obligation owed to the whole settlement rather than a

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			matter of private choice, so that the island's future stock of wood was secured against the neglect of individuals. The direction to leave a blank in every leaf of the consultation books, as in the printed volumes, shows a care for the later correction and completion of the record. By reserving space on each page, the council allowed for additions and amendments to be entered in their proper place, so that the account of its proceedings could be kept orderly and open to revision rather than crowded beyond use.
328	324	Government Concerning Government & Produce of the Island & Inhabitants & Prince's Anna dated 20 November 1726 Setting of Land & Sale of Plantations Recommended except the Good's Plantation & the Diare in Chappell Valley which is permitted to be kept for the Sake of the Advantage Expected to arise from it Survey of Inhabitants Plantation to be Continued & the Lands Subject to Fence & Plant Nickly done to be immediately Sued Edmund Byfeld Esqr appointed Good to enforce as is Recommended that all Servts & Annual Lists be duely Sent, More particularly of the Generall Charge of the Island & Entred into or that Moderate bounds Every Store to be given & that, that the Provision Ant to Monthly be diet & then done & that though a full State done & that or Store many Store & the not too managed with frugality & that all Monthly Ant to duely done & put in Diare done of Ships & Entred in Consultation, Diet or Building Orders to be often inspected & particularly of Iron & that the Comprison done Blacks to do their own Work, & not any Kind, that the Inhabitants to justify Ground that not & Vaine Store & Provision & Recommended The Expence of Buff in the Hands of the Good where done to be Ascertained & Store not to pass for more than 26 Store Violent & Arbitrary Proceedings blamd & forbid & Good where done to act gently & only when done Directed by the Company but if different at any time & Store Diare Necessary for the Company, Salute to their Duty the debates in Council their Attention to be Simply & duely Entred in Consultation & making an advice done from out of Store Committed to the Governor & of any are found Guilty on the of done to be provided against & the Majority of the Councile Shall determine.	Concerning government, produce of the island and its inhabitants, by the ship Prince's Anna, dated the 26 November 1726. The letting of land, whatever, of plantations, was recommended, except the great plantation and the nursery in Chapel Valley, which were permitted to be kept for the use of the storeman, whatever, the carpenter to enjoy, whatever. 46: The survey of the inhabitants' plantations was to be continued, and, whatever, a verdict to fence and plant, whatever, was to be immediately sent. 48: Edward Byfield was appointed general storekeeper, and it was recommended that all storekeepers' annual stock be duly sent, more particularly of the general charge of the island, entered into every particular head, and, whatever, a diary drawn to be given of stores, that the president, whatever, monthly audited what the perquisites, and whatever their faults, whatever, that were many, whatever, whatever, not managed with frugality, that the monthly account be duly given, plus what stores died, whatever, in consultation, and what buildings, whatever, and the like, were to be often inspected frequently, and, whatever, that the Company's stores, whatever, to attend their own stock, and not any kind, whatever, that the inhabitants be justly governed, and, whatever, and, whatever, whatever, recommended. 49: The stores of goods in the hands of the general and storeman were to be distinguished, whatever, and to perform another manner, whatever. 54: The violent and arbitrary proceedings were blamed, whatever, that the general and council were not to act rigorously, whatever, unless it was otherwise directed by the Company, but if blamed, whatever, at any level, whatever, whatever, and needful, whatever, necessary, for the Company. Care was to be taken that the debates in council, whatever, and the reflection was to be strictly and fully entered in consultation, whatever, and if any were found guilty, or, whatever, or any of these were committed to the Governor, and if any were found guilty, or if any of these were to be proceeded against, then the majority of the council should determine. **Interpretations** The appointment of Edward Byfield as general storekeeper carried with it a detailed regime of monthly audit and inventory. By setting out that the president was to check the stores each month and that the general charge of the island be broken into every particular head, the Court fixed the new keeper's office within a tight system of accounting, so that the man who held the goods was watched from the moment he took the charge. The reservation of the great plantation and the Chapel Valley nursery for the storeman and carpenter shows certain lands set aside for the direct service of the establishment. By keeping these holdings out of the general letting, the council preserved a source of provision and materials tied to the offices that needed them, so that the island's key functions were supported by ground held in hand rather than leased away.

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			The blame laid on violent and arbitrary proceedings, and the requirement that guilt be determined by the majority of the council, reveals a check placed on the exercise of authority. By forbidding rigorous action save where the Company directed and by vesting judgement in the council as a body, the Court guarded against the abuse of power by any single officer, so that the settlement's discipline rested on collective decision rather than individual will.
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333	329	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date The laws & Constitutions for the Island of St Helena 1681 Dimensions (l x h x depth) (cm) (L) 48cm x (H) 33cm (D) 6cm No. written pages: 324 No. blank pages: 2 Spine and cover Good Condition. Recently Rebound. Inside pages Good Condition. A few frayed edges & foxing present. Additional comments Pages are numbered by Scribe, however from page 211 it Jumps to 254. Goes through to 258 & then jumps to 279 The numbering Sequence then Continues to run out of Sync. Time taken to photograph (hours) 4 hours	