

St Helena Letters from England 1683-1689

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

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: website <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-3-3>.

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

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

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

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

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

Text Loss: The pages are in good condition with very little loss of text.

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: Relatively few of the early pages are numbered. However, film No. 48 is clearly numbered as page 42 (that is, 48/42). It is therefore presumed that the page numbering begins with page 1 at film No. 7 (7/1). Sporadic later page numbers indicate that the sequence continues beyond 48/42 to the end of the volume.

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

All the letters were sent during the administration of Major John Blackmore 1683-1689.

AI Generated Summary

Governance and Administration

The third volume of Letters from England opens in April 1683 with a substantial set of instructions issued by the East India Company to Governor John Blackmore and the Council of St Helena. The letters acknowledge correspondence received via the ship *African* and other vessels and make clear that the Company was applying closer scrutiny to the island's affairs than it had in the past. The directors noted that earlier letters, sent by Captain Isaac Merchant on 1 and 2 March, had first placed the island under a formal system of laws modelled on those established at Bombay. That model had, however, been designed for a population of around 20,000, and the Company now acknowledged that St Helena probably held no more than 300 persons. The full framework was therefore to be applied only to capital cases, while the Council was permitted to proceed by its established methods for ordinary business. Several volumes written in French and Latin were sent to assist in this legal education, and the Council was instructed to have capable members translate them. The willingness to adapt a metropolitan legal model to local conditions was a pragmatic acknowledgement of the island's modest scale, but the underlying intention to bring governance into a more formal structure remained firm throughout the correspondence. [Film No. 10]

The appointment of new officers marked a significant development in the island's administrative structure from 1683 onwards. Mr Robert Holden was sent as Lieutenant of the Garrison Company, second member of the Council, Storekeeper General and Customer, positions that concentrated considerable authority over stores, trade and finance in a single individual. Mr Gregory Field accompanied him as Engineer of the Garrison Company and Surveyor General of all Company buildings and plantations. Their commissions were issued under the Company's seal. Permission was also granted for Mr John Graham, travelling outward and homeward, to serve on the Council during his stay and to take precedence immediately after the Governor. The instruction that no person was thereafter to hold such a position without explicit Company authorisation underlined the growing formality of Council membership. The appointment of two men to such wide-ranging roles simultaneously indicates the extent to which the island's administration was being reorganised from London during this period. [Film No. 24]

The removal of officials who failed to meet the Company's expectations was a recurring feature of the correspondence. Captain Gregory Field was dismissed in August 1687, described as a burden, and was granted permission to return to England at his own expense, with the suggestion that he might be admitted to an almshouse there. Mr Nathaniel Cox was dismissed at the same time, condemned for wasting both his own time and the Company's money, and left to find his own way either back to England or elsewhere, with a passing suggestion that he might pursue sugar cane cultivation. The Company's regret that he had not been detained on the island until his debts were settled - and the promise of greater firmness in similar cases in the future - signals the distance between London's expectations and the realities of local governance. Captain Holden was dismissed in 1690 for charging excessive prices to his own advantage, a matter

described in the correspondence as no longer tolerable. In his place, Captain Tashua Johnson was appointed as Lieutenant and Mr Richard Keling as storekeeper. [Film No. 167, 212]

A significant constitutional dispute emerged over the nature and extent of the Company's authority on the island. Captain Holden had questioned whether martial law could be exercised over civilians in peacetime, arguing that English law prohibited this without parliamentary consent. The Company's response, delivered in 1690, distinguished sharply between England, Wales and Berwick-upon-Tweed - the only territories where English common law and statute applied - and overseas possessions governed under the royal charter. The Company asserted that in St Helena, as in Bombay and Fort St George, its authority derived from the Crown's letters patent and could not be challenged by appealing to English domestic law. The same letter drew a comparison with American plantations such as Massachusetts and Plymouth, where charters had granted settlers particular powers, whereas St Helena operated under the Company's own direct grant from the Crown. This clarification was not merely legalistic: it asserted a broad executive and legislative authority over the island's population that could include martial law whenever the Company or its governors judged it necessary. [Film No. 170, 212, 213]

The Company repeatedly asserted sovereign authority over the island and used this to justify the application of martial law, the confiscation of land and goods, and the control of almost every aspect of daily life. A letter of August 1687 stated explicitly that the Company exercised legislative and executive power as sovereign of the island, in a manner comparable to Dutch colonial practice in India, and that inhabitants and soldiers alike might be governed under martial law whenever necessity required it. The comparison with the Dutch was not incidental: it was used throughout the correspondence as a benchmark for strict, efficient and profitable colonial administration, cited repeatedly in discussions of trade regulation, slave management, punishment and salt production. This framing reveals how the Company's directors conceived of their role - not merely as commercial operators but as governing authorities managing territory under an assumed near-absolute power, constrained chiefly by practical necessity rather than legal principle. [Film No. 167, 168]

The Council's record-keeping and accounting practices attracted sustained criticism. The directors complained that fines had rarely been imposed despite the clear requirement in all European courts to levy financial penalties for offences, beyond whatever satisfaction might be owed to the injured party. The Company pointed to the example of English manor courts, where trespasses were subject to fines payable to the lord, and to the higher courts at Westminster, where criminal indictments always produced fines for the Crown alongside any other remedy. The failure to collect fines was described as both improper and likely to encourage lawbreaking, since without financial consequences offenders would not be sufficiently deterred. The directors declared the Council had been too lenient, and that such leniency would lead to contempt of authority, mutiny and rebellion. These warnings proved prescient: they were written in 1683, and within two years a serious rebellion had taken place. [Film No. 59]

Throughout the correspondence the Company ordered strict and regular accounting systems. The storekeeper was to maintain a general account of all goods received, whether in money, weight or value, together with separate accounts for garrison expenses, plantation costs and cattle management. Ledgers were to show all goods issued to the garrison, all cattle slaughtered, all fish and other provisions consumed, and all cattle bought, sold or otherwise received on the Company's account. Weekly accounts were to be submitted to the Governor every Monday morning, and the Governor was required to visit the storehouse at least monthly to verify that records matched actual stock levels. Captain Holden's later practice of sending accounts under his own hand without Council examination or the Governor's attestation was explicitly condemned and forbidden. All accounts were to be examined, adjusted and audited in Council before being attested by the Governor. The emphasis on administrative transparency was consistent across the period, even as the individuals charged with these duties changed frequently. [Film No. 16, 169, 216]

A significant constitutional document in the correspondence is the royal charter of 9 August 1683, granted by Charles II in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. The charter confirmed and renewed earlier grants to the Company from Elizabeth I and James I, declared the Company to have perpetual succession, and gave it broad authority to trade, purchase and conduct commerce throughout the regions between the Cape of

Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. It granted the Company and its successors authority to own lands, hold franchises and exercise jurisdiction, to make laws and ordinances for all forts, factories and plantations within its limits, and to make peace and war with any non-Christian power. It also erected a Court of Judicature to hear all commercial and maritime causes, staffed by one person trained in civil law and two merchants. The charter granted full admiralty jurisdiction across Africa, Asia and America, and authorised the appointment of admirals, vice-admirals, judges, registers and marshals. This was not merely a trading licence: it was a grant of quasi-governmental authority over a substantial portion of the world's trade routes, and St Helena sat at its centre. [Film No. 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137]

Military Affairs and Defence

Defence was a constant preoccupation of the Company's letters throughout the period. From 1683 the directors acknowledged the vulnerability of the existing forts, which they described as situated too close to the sea and therefore exposed to surprise attack. They directed that a stronger fort should be constructed nearer to the main settlement, capable of defending the plantation and resisting assault. The elevated position of Fort St James was valued for its ability to observe passing ships, but the height also created tactical difficulties in the event of sudden attack, as the garrison could be cut off before it could respond. The directors proposed barricading the entrances to the island's valleys and gullies with strong stone walls, placed at the points most advantageous to defenders, so that any enemy attempting to land could not ascend into the interior without scaling equipment, and even then would face the resistance of properly manned smaller forts. Captain Knox was sent specifically with slaves from Madagascar to begin this construction work. [Film No. 83, 85]

The treatment of the garrison's weapons and equipment was closely monitored. From 1683 the Company ordered that all soldiers, planters and inhabitants must carry arms at all times, the only exception being the enslaved population, who were explicitly not to be trusted with firearms. The directors noted that some inhabitants had previously refused to carry weapons during alarms when an enemy appeared, and ordered that any such persons be punished severely as examples to others. After the rebellion of 1685 the Company went further, directing that all military arms and ammunition held by planters - muskets, swords and other firearms - be seized and brought into store. A new standing rule was established requiring planters to obtain a licence from the Governor before keeping any such arms, under penalty of forfeiture for the Company's use. This disarming of the civilian population following the rebellion was a direct and significant response to the use of weapons by the insurgents. [Film No. 11, 127]

The elaborate laws and ordinances of war set out in films 144 to 160 constitute a detailed military code for the island's garrison, issued following the rebellion of 1685. The articles began with religious duties, including severe penalties for blasphemy, before moving to prohibitions on any communication with rebels or enemies, which was punishable by death. They then set out a comprehensive code governing conduct in camp, on the march, in battle and during musters. Running from battle, abandoning colours, casting away weapons, burning houses or killing useful animals without orders, failing to report prisoners within twelve hours, plundering without licence, and deserting or sleeping at a guard post were all made capital offences. Officers faced additional obligations: they were required to attend sermons and common prayer, to ensure their men were properly armed at muster, and to report mutinous speech to their commanders. Muster rolls were to be carefully maintained and signed monthly by captain and lieutenant, showing every addition, death and desertion. The articles were to be printed, distributed and read aloud to each company at least once, and preferably weekly. This level of military regulation, drawing on continental European garrison practice, was intended to prevent any recurrence of the recent disorder. [Film No. 144-160]

The correspondence from 1689 reflects the new strategic circumstances created by the outbreak of war between England and France following the Glorious Revolution. A letter of 17 May 1689 communicated a royal order that, though as yet undated because the formal proclamation of war had not been issued, was already directing the island to exercise great caution in admitting any French ships into port. The Governor and Council were instructed to employ all possible precautions to secure the island against French interference. A further letter of 18 May granted authority under the Great Seal to seize any French ships or goods arriving at St Helena, to take a true inventory of all captured goods and keep them in safe custody, and to transmit all papers found on board to the President and Council at Bombay for adjudication in the Company's Court of Admiralty. Captain Browne was instructed that if he captured a French ship during

his voyage, he was to take it to Bombay as lawful prize. This placed St Helena briefly but significantly within the framework of wartime commerce raiding, giving local authorities powers they had not previously exercised. [Film No. 229, 230]

The order of September 1685 concerning the transfer of men from Company ships to the garrison illustrates the practical mechanisms by which the island maintained its military strength. Commanders of all ships in the Company's service were permitted, when the Governor and Council judged it necessary, to send such men as the Governor selected from their vessels to serve ashore. Commanders who complied were protected from any resulting claims under their charterparties, ensuring that captains would not face contractual penalties for cooperating. The order was signed by a large group of Company directors and was directed to all commanders past, present and future arriving in the road of St Helena. The island's dependence on passing Company ships for military reinforcement, rather than regular scheduled shipments of troops from England, was a structural feature of its situation that no amount of administrative instruction could fully resolve. [Film No. 140]

The Rebellion of 1685

The rebellion that broke out on St Helena in 1685 constitutes the most dramatic episode in the correspondence, and it generated an unusually dense series of royal commissions, Company letters, martial codes and administrative orders. A general letter of May 1685 reported that letters received by the ships *Hare* and *Royall Sh[...]* had described a traitorous rebellion among the planters and some soldiers, together with what was described as a storm that had long been foreseen. The rebellion resulted in the seizure of the fort, the imprisonment of officers and ministers of justice, and the murder of a loyal Crown servant. The Company commended the care and fidelity shown in defending rightful authority but condemned the pardoning of two rebels who had been lawfully condemned by a jury, arguing that the proper execution of justice was the only effective means of maintaining peace and subjection to law. [Film No. 123]

The royal response to the rebellion was expressed through two commissions issued under James II. The first, dated August 1685, named the principal actors as Adam Dronson, Thomas S[...] and others, and directed their immediate seizure and imprisonment. The second commission, also dated 14 August 1685, confirmed authority to John Blackmore, Sir John Wyborne and others to raise forces, besiege forts, take prisoners and proceed against rebels under the laws and usages of war. It granted authority to try named individuals by martial law and to execute those excepted from pardon. The named exceptions from the general pardon included Adam Dennis, described as one of the chief leaders intended to be made governor by the rebels, John Cole, intended as deputy governor, Robert Knapton intended as storekeeper, Walter Edmund Gardiner at whose house the conspiracy had been planned, and Robert Jones, a fisherman who had taken part. [Film No. 138, 141, 142]

A third document, an order from James II dated 17 October 1685 and issued from St James's under his signet, named a further group to be arrested: John Black Colson, Matthew Powney, John S[...], Bob Seaman, William Sutton, Edward Gardiner, Robert Adams and William Cox, together with all others concerned, all of whom were required upon publication of the order to surrender and hand over any forts or strongholds they had seized. All subjects were commanded to assist in carrying out these orders. The document's identification of individuals by name, and its requirement that they surrender specific fortified positions, indicates that control of the island's defences was still contested at the time it was issued, and that the Company and Crown were genuinely uncertain whether their authority had been fully restored. [Film No. 139]

The Company's response to the rebellion combined severe reprisal with strategic mercy. A number of the rebels were executed, among them Adam Dennis, John Fitch, John Scivan, Thomas Bolton, Ambrose Sorby, John Skerne and others named in the royal commission of August 1685. Others who had been condemned were reprieved, and it was noted that many loyal inhabitants, planters, officers and soldiers had been drawn into the rebellion through persuasion by its leaders. A general pardon was extended to those who had been misled, though this expressly excluded the named ringleaders. The Company directed that lands and estates of those found guilty upon conviction were to be seized and leased out for terms of twenty-one years at the highest obtainable rents, with each plantation registered and its rent recorded. The

personal property of widows and children was to be spared. This combination of capital punishment for leaders, general pardon for followers, and systematic confiscation of real property for Company benefit was the formula through which the Company sought to restore order while securing an economic advantage from the crisis. [Film No. 141, 142, 175]

The relocation of pardoned rebels and their families to Fort St George, described in the letters of 1687, was presented as an act of clemency combined with practical benefit. Fort St George was commended as the most civil, prosperous, populous, pleasant and healthful European colony in India, and it was suggested that those transplanted there would have far better opportunities for trade and advancement than had been available to them on St Helena. Men and youths above fourteen years of age were to be entered immediately into the Company's pay as soldiers upon arrival. Families willing to transport themselves were to receive the full assessed value of their goods, lands and plantations, so that they would not carry discontent into their new situation. Whether this scheme was implemented at the scale envisaged, or was received with anything like the enthusiasm its promoters hoped, is not clear from the surviving correspondence. What is clear is that the rebellion had fundamentally altered the relationship between the planters and the Company, producing both a physical reorganisation of the island's population and a tightening of every aspect of governance that followed from it. [Film No. 176]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

Land tenure was a central preoccupation of the 1683 instructions and remained so throughout the period. The Company announced in April of that year that all remaining land was to be held for the Company's own use, and that no new allotments or leases were to be granted without further written authority from London. This represented a reversal of an earlier permission in the same set of letters to lease twenty acres to individuals for the duration of their lives, demonstrating how quickly policy could shift within a single document as the directors worked through the implications of their own orders. Every twenty acres held by a planter, whether retained or sold, was to pay an annual rent of forty shillings to the Company, intended to fund the maintenance of additional soldiers for watch and guard duties. Any sale or transfer of land was to be registered in a Book of Bargains maintained by official authority, and any unregistered transfer made the seller forfeit the entire value to the Company, while the buyer would owe double fees for registration. [Film No. 13, 21, 22, 23]

The six-year enclosure requirement introduced in 1683 was among the most sweeping of the period's agricultural regulations. Every planter was required to enclose their land with a ditch, wall or sufficient fence and to confine all cattle within those enclosures within six years, at their own expense. Failure to do so would result in forfeiture of the land. Any land remaining waste and unimproved at the expiration of that period was to revert to the Company regardless of any existing claim. Cattle found straying beyond enclosed lands were subject to seizure for the Company's use. These requirements reflected the Company's frustration at what it perceived as undisciplined, informal and unproductive land use, and its determination to impose the systematic agricultural practices it associated with profitable plantation management in Barbados and Jamaica. The practical difficulties of implementing such requirements on an island with complex terrain and a widely dispersed population were, predictably, not fully addressed in the London correspondence. [Film No. 21, 22]

After the rebellion the Company's land policy moved decisively against freeholds and towards leasehold tenure. A letter of August 1687 declared that there were already too many freeholders on the island to maintain effective governance, and that all houses and lands belonging to those executed should be sequestered into the Company's hands and leased for terms of twenty-one years to those offering the highest rents. Each plantation was to be recorded in the Company's register with its yearly rent and chief rent, and failure to pay would result in forfeiture. The income from these estates was to flow permanently to the Company. This was not simply punitive: the directors explicitly stated that freeholder status created a structural problem for authority, since owners with secure tenure were harder to govern than tenants dependent on the Company's goodwill. A letter of 1687 directed that no further land should be given away without careful review, and that all established rents and revenues were to be maintained as part of the Company's complete rental system. [Film No. 124, 175, 182]

The cultivation of vines and the production of wine and brandy emerged in 1690 as the latest in a long series of proposed solutions to the island's failure to generate a profitable export commodity. An agreement had been reached with Captain Bomier, a French Protestant who had been driven from France during the Huguenot persecutions and had formerly produced between 200 and 300 hogsheads of wine and brandy per year on his French estate. He was to bring vine dressers from the same background. The Company recognised that such workers could be highly effective under strict discipline but prone to negligence or demanding behaviour if left unchecked. The Governor was directed to visit the plantation regularly and ensure that operations were properly conducted, with the failure of Mr Cox's tenure cited as a warning of what happened when such oversight was neglected. The recruitment of skilled Protestant refugees from France reflected the wider movement of technically proficient craftsmen and farmers across Europe during this period, and the Company's willingness to exploit it. [Film No. 213, 214]

The instruction issued in April 1682 set out requirements for land grants to younger inhabitants that included conditions beyond mere cultivation. Parcels of ten to twenty acres were to be assigned to individuals and their wives, on condition that they enclosed the land, built a house and stable at their own expense, planted orchards of orange trees, lemons and limes, and remained resident on the island. These requirements tied land tenure directly to productive improvement and residential commitment, reflecting the Company's frustration at absentee or speculative holdings. The encouragement to plant fruit trees, rather than simply to cultivate grain or root crops, suggests awareness that the island's most reliable agricultural output - refreshment for passing ships - depended on precisely these kinds of orchard products. [Film No. 182]

Supply and Provisioning

The supply of the island was managed through an elaborate system of invoices and bills of lading carried by Company ships, as evidenced by the extensive invoice records in films 30 to 51, 62 to 65, 89 to 103, and 194 to 228. The invoices record the full cargo of ships including the *Charles the Second*, the *Amity Merchant Society*, the *Stencevolle*, and the *Benjamin*, among others. These documents show a consistent range of goods being shipped: timber and deals from Norway, tools and hardware, cloth of various kinds for clothing both garrison personnel and enslaved workers, spirits including rum and brandy, naval stores including pitch, tar and cordage, ordnance and ammunition, livestock, seeds and plants. The record of damage on arrival, noted in Film No. 50, is revealing: rum pipes found partly empty, bottles stored within casks found rotten, a barrel of pitch half empty, Norway goods including deals amounting to some 500 units assessed as largely damaged, and an absence of rape oil casks entirely. Such losses in transit were not exceptional but were a structural feature of long-distance supply to a remote island, and the correspondence from London frequently returned to the importance of proper packing, stowage and storage upon receipt. [Film No. 50, 92]

The Company also dispatched livestock as part of its supply efforts to support both the island's own agriculture and planned settlements elsewhere. In August 1683 a list of animals required for a potential new settlement in the South Seas was enclosed, specifying twenty young cows, young bulls, ten young sows, two young boars, ten female goats and two male goats. In Film No. 15 two mares, one stallion, ten cows and two rams were despatched on the ship. The repeated shipment of breeding animals, rather than simply slaughter cattle, indicates that establishing self-sustaining herds was a policy priority. The instruction in the same document that the livestock was not to be allowed to roam freely but was to be kept within proper enclosures and carefully maintained reflects the experience of losses through accidents on exposed ground. [Film No. 15, 58]

The provisioning of passing ships was a key function of the island, and the correspondence managed this through a combination of general orders and specific requests. Letters from Swally Marine, Bombay and Fort St George frequently asked the Governor to supply visiting commanders with victuals, water and other necessaries. The ship *Ulster*, the *Seaflower*, the *Success* and the *Tonqueen Merchant* were among the vessels whose commanders were commended to the Governor's assistance. The practice of drawing bills of exchange payable in England against supplies taken at St Helena was a standard mechanism, and the correspondence confirms that this was expected to cover the cost of both provisions and any other necessities provided. The island was thus embedded within a credit system that stretched from London through the Indian

Ocean and back again, with St Helena functioning as a node at which debts were incurred, recorded and eventually cleared through the Company's accounting machinery. [Film No. 60, 66, 94, 122, 166]

Shortages and delays in supply were a recurring source of difficulty, reflected in the complaints recorded throughout the correspondence. In October 1683 a letter noted that the *New Adventure* had been dispatched with a cargo of provisions, but also stated that the Company was suspending plans for settlement until the outcome of negotiations with the Dutch concerning the restoration of Bantam had been determined. This willingness to subordinate St Helena's needs to broader strategic calculations - in this case the uncertain promise of regaining a major trading post in Java - illustrates the extent to which the island's welfare was always subordinate to the Company's wider commercial interests. The letter further directed that Sir Thomas Grantham was no longer to take on cattle for St Helena and should proceed directly to England if he had already departed, or be sent onwards to Fort St George with his captain if he had not. [Film No. 61]

Economic Development and Trade

The correspondence of 1683 reveals an ambitious programme of economic development intended to transform St Helena from an expensive strategic waystation into a self-sustaining and profitable colony. The directors proposed four principal industries: sugar works, salt works, sea salt production and dried fish. If these four commodities could be brought to full production in significant quantities, the Company believed they would generate enough trade to compensate for the considerable expense of maintaining the island. Additional encouragement was offered to planters to cultivate ginger, indigo, cotton, aloes and other commodities. The ambition was partly modelled on the West Indian plantation system, with Barbados and Jamaica cited repeatedly as the examples the island should emulate. The comparison was aspirational rather than realistic: St Helena's population, terrain and climate were fundamentally different from those of the Caribbean colonies, and no single profitable export commodity was ever successfully established during this period. [Film No. 75]

The most technically detailed passages in the correspondence concern the proposed production of salt and saltpetre. Films 26 to 28 contain extended instructions for testing the salt content of soil by mixing earth with fresh water, allowing it to settle, decanting the liquid, and measuring the crystallised residue. The production of saltpetre in England from stable and pigeon house earth was explained in detail, together with a method reported from Batavia involving large wooden frames or troughs through which water was passed to leach out the nitre content, the resulting liquid then being spread thinly in cisterns to concentrate through solar evaporation. The cisterns were to be covered with matting in the manner of large umbrellas as used in India to protect from rain and regulate exposure to sun. The Company acknowledged uncertainty about whether the island's sun was strong enough to drive the process effectively, and requested information from agents in Pataga and from French sources. Models and designs for the construction of frames and cisterns were to be obtained and sent. The level of technical specificity in these instructions suggests genuine engagement with the chemistry and engineering involved, rather than mere aspiration. [Film No. 26, 27, 28]

The regulation of trade on the island was a persistent concern, and the correspondence attempted to impose a structured commercial system in place of the informal arrangements that had previously operated. European goods were not to be sold to planters or inhabitants at a profit exceeding 15 per cent, or as close to that rate as could reasonably be judged after accounting for freight. Company goods supplied to ship commanders in exchange for sugar, arrack or bills of exchange were likewise to be calculated at 15 per cent for 300 weight, and once received into Company stores might be retailed at no more than 20 per cent above the original cost. These margins were defended as reasonable and the directors declared that any who resisted regulation were to be corrected by law. The regulation of specific commodities was equally precise: brandy was not to be sold below 6s per gallon, sugar not below 9d per pound, and Virginia tobacco not below 2s per pound. The ambition to create a captive market through the Company's own stores, making goods sufficiently cheap that seamen would have no incentive to purchase elsewhere, was stated explicitly. [Film No. 168, 177]

The proposed establishment of a sugar plantation was the most capital-intensive of the economic projects discussed in the correspondence. Instructions for the construction of an engine for crushing cane, the

erection of a sugar house and still house, and the management of the refining process were transmitted through several letters. The example of a plantation at what is described as G[...] Plantation in Barbados was commended as a model. Mr Box, based at Fort St George, was engaged to take responsibility for the plantation with an agreement that, if sugar production proved impracticable, he would not be required to continue or to incur unnecessary expense. The assurance that he would receive a substantial gratuity if the works were brought to perfection was intended to incentivise effort. The markets for sugar and molasses extended, according to the correspondence, to Persia, where Company ships could conveniently carry such goods at minimal additional cost. Despite this planning, the sugar enterprise does not appear to have achieved production at any significant scale during the period covered by the letters. [Film No. 68, 70, 107]

The proposal to develop fishing as an industry was set out in considerable detail in films 73 to 75. Planters were to be supplied with young enslaved workers to fish around the island, including among the rocks, and the Company promised to send hooks, lines, nets and other equipment. Fish brought in by planters was to be salted and dried, with payment made in weight of preserved salt fish at half the rate given to those using their own boats and equipment. The intended uses for dried fish were set out in four points: as a reserve against food shortages, as a means of employing people and cattle when land was too dry for cultivation, as cargo for Company ships bound for India, and as an export to Barbados if stocks became very large. The instruction that fish should not be left on rocks overnight due to the risk of spring tides washing them away, and that species such as boneta and albicore required particular care, indicates a level of practical engagement with the realities of the island's fisheries. The directive that guts and bones were to be thrown back into the sea to attract more fish reflects an understanding of basic fish husbandry. [Film No. 74, 75]

The cultivation of indigo, cotton, ginger and other tropical commodities was encouraged throughout the period. In 1684 the instructions accompanying Captain Knox included provision for cotton seeds, indigo seed and other useful seeds and plants from India to be dispatched from Company factories, together with five or six enslaved workers on each ship. Thomas Roe, reported to be on the island with knowledge of producing indigo and cotton, was to be encouraged in this activity at three pounds per unit of each commodity produced. The instruction that indigo plants were to be set in shaded places beneath trees, on the advice of Mr William Mec[...], and that they would not thrive otherwise, illustrates the reliance on specialist knowledge transmitted through correspondence. In 1684 a company letter noted that the island was now sufficiently stocked with livestock and that the greatest benefit to the plantation would arise from increasing the number of enslaved workers and directing their labour towards indigo, cotton, ginger and other West Indian commodities. [Film No. 56, 69, 111]

An ambitious but ultimately uncertain venture proposed in the correspondence of 1683 was the exploration of nearby islands for possible settlement and the discovery of silver or gold ore. Sir Thomas Grantham was identified as possessing the greatest knowledge of a potential island settlement in the South Seas, and orders were given to make arrangements at Bantam for its establishment. Film 84 sets out provisions for sending an officer with enslaved workers to search for mineral deposits, constructing a small farm or fort, and awaiting results before a larger force was dispatched. Ships furnished with six or eight guns were to be stationed to maintain any position secured. The venture was also intended to serve as a supply point for ships travelling between England, Africa and St Helena, which would have given it commercial value independent of any mineral discovery. The scheme reflects the wider speculative ambition of the period, in which the line between commercial enterprise and territorial expansion was consistently blurred. [Film No. 84, 106]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

The procurement, management and deployment of enslaved workers was a dominant theme of the Company's correspondence throughout the period. From 1683 the directors were explicit about their intention to increase the enslaved population as the primary means of developing the island's plantations and industries. Instructions ordered that agents in India should obtain slaves by every ship and put them to work on Company plantations. Every ship arriving from Madagascar was required to provide one enslaved man or woman as an anchorage fee. Captain Knox was sent to Madagascar specifically with the purpose of bringing enslaved workers to begin the construction of defensive stone walls in the island's valleys. When he arrived with a cargo from Madagascar in April 1685, the receipt confirmed that the goods received amounted to £1,408 13s 10d, of which around £400 consisted of goods appraised in specie. The routine

treatment of enslaved people as commodities valued in the same accounts as timber, tools and provisions is characteristic of the correspondence throughout the period. [Film No. 14, 83, 120]

The earlier prohibition on planters buying slaves was formally reversed in the 1683 instructions, with reference to the example of Barbados, where, the Company noted, there were usually 5,000 Black people to 1,000 white people, kept in subjection without any garrison other than that serving the island. The Company concluded that for plantations to flourish and free planters to grow rich, they required sufficient labour in the same way as in Barbados, Jamaica and other places in the West Indies. The conditions attached to the new policy required every planter who kept one slave to maintain one Englishman available for all alarms, and to pay the Company an annual sum proportionate to the number of slaves owned: four shillings for one slave, twenty shillings for two slaves, and thirty shillings for three. This framework represented an attempt to tie the expansion of enslaved labour directly to the maintenance of military security, using the enslaved population simultaneously as an economic resource and as a threat that justified the ongoing expense of the garrison. [Film No. 13]

The management of enslaved workers was guided by detailed instructions that reflected both the Company's desire to extract maximum labour and its concern to prevent disorder. Instructions sent in 1683 directed that enslaved workers were to be fully employed in their assigned work and compelled to complete a full day's labour, but that excessive severity or violence was not to be used under any pretext, since failure to secure their labour was considered as serious an offence as depriving the Company of the equivalent value in goods. The distribution of enslaved workers among planters was to favour the poorer ones, each to be supplied with two enslaved workers on the condition that they repaid the Company for the expense. Instructions of 1684 specified that clothing was to be produced for enslaved workers from available materials, including country calicoes, sailcloth or strong canvas, and that up to 40 bolts of such material might be taken from Company bales if required. When sold on the island, such cloth was priced at 14d per yard. [Film No. 23, 69, 109]

The fear of enslaved resistance was explicit in the correspondence from the outset. The 1683 instruction forbidding all Black persons from using firearms for shooting game birds or any other purpose, on penalty of severe whipping for the individual and forfeiture by the master for each offence, was framed as a security measure, not a humanitarian one. The prohibition on a freed slave or former enslaved person who became a planter from receiving that status until seven years of military service had been completed was a further mechanism for controlling access to freedom. A letter of 1687 noted with approval that care had been taken over the Company's enslaved workers and directed that fifty more should be procured for sale where this could be done without affecting essential needs. The instruction for enslaved workers to be employed in the production of indigo, cotton and ginger explicitly framed their labour as the principal means by which any commodity of value might be produced. [Film No. 25, 69, 167]

The shipment of enslaved workers from Fort St George to St Helena was a regular administrative transaction documented in several bills of lading. A bill of 6 May 1687 recorded that four male slaves had been shipped aboard the *Beaufort* under Captain John Nicholson from Madras, with three bills of lading signed as customary. A receipt dated 2 July 1687 confirmed receipt of the four, described as those remaining from the number originally shipped. In April 1689 a receipt recorded that eight male slaves had been received from Captain William [...] of the *Bengall Merchant*, being the total remaining alive from twenty originally listed in the bill of lading. The attrition rate of sixty per cent on this single voyage - twelve dead out of twenty shipped - reflects the brutal mortality associated with maritime transport of enslaved people during this period, a fact that the administrative documents record with the same clinical neutrality applied to leaking rum casks or damaged Norway goods. [Film No. 206, 209]

The treatment of enslaved workers under the island's laws and ordinances of war established after the rebellion reflected both their economic value and the authorities' fear of resistance. Instructions of 1687 proposed that certain enslaved workers who could speak English might be armed and employed in guard duties at Bencoolen, thereby relieving European soldiers, but immediately added a caution that they should not be trusted excessively with arms and that strict discipline was to be maintained. English soldiers were explicitly prohibited from giving drink or money to enslaved workers, with all issue of spirits to be

controlled by a steward in small quantities. The instructions for the island's laws of war declared that all persons were required to prevent runaway soldiers from taking refuge among the civilian population - a provision that, by its explicit parallel structure, applied the same logic to controlling the movements of the enslaved. [Film No. 187]

Religion and Education

Religious provision for the island was addressed in the 1683 instructions through the appointment of two ministers, each on a salary of five pounds per day. They were to be granted lodging at the Governor's table and accommodation within the town. A customary payment upon death, whether of enslaved workers or other inhabitants, was established to maintain church fabric and ministry: one shilling per male or female above the age of ten years, to be remitted annually to designated receivers. Marriage was to be regulated strictly: no minister was to presume to marry any couple on his own authority unless the banns had been published three times in the church, in accordance with English usage, except where a licence had been granted. These provisions attempted to extend the institutional framework of English parish life to a colonial settlement with a mixed and stratified population, in which the social role of religious observance was partly about moral discipline and partly about the formal recording of demographic events. [Film No. 24, 56]

The laws and ordinances of war issued following the 1685 rebellion began with explicit religious duties, declaring that no person should blaspheme the name of God the Father, God the Son or God the Holy Ghost, nor speak in an irreverent or reproachful manner, under penalty of physical punishment. All unlawful oaths, curses and scandalous actions were likewise to be punished. The placement of religious duties at the head of a military code was not unusual in the period, reflecting the understanding that moral and spiritual discipline were foundational to military order. Commanders were specifically required to ensure that God was served devoutly and that sermons and common prayer were regularly attended by all those under their authority. The laws of war thus extended into the domain of religious observance, making church attendance a military obligation subject to disciplinary enforcement. [Film No. 145, 154]

The instruction of August 1687 that churches and pagodas belonging to the Company and the inhabitants should be properly maintained, particularly for the use of enslaved workers, with those responsible managing their own accounts and upkeep where provision had been made, reveals the practical and financial dimensions of religious provision rather than its purely spiritual character. The specific mention of pagodas alongside churches acknowledges a non-Christian dimension to the island's religious life that the correspondence otherwise largely ignores, reflecting the presence of workers from India and Madagascar whose religious practices were recognised as requiring separate physical provision. The inclusion of enslaved workers among those for whose benefit church and religious buildings were to be maintained is notable, though whether this represented genuine pastoral concern or simply the management of social order is difficult to determine from the documents alone. [Film No. 167]

Finance, Currencies and Accounting

The financial management of the island was a recurring source of difficulty and frustration in the correspondence. The Company sent substantial amounts of silver bullion to support the island's operations, as evidenced by the invoice of December 1684 recording two chests of silver consigned specifically to Captain Knox, and a letter of August 1686 directing that one chest of dollars from those delivered by Captain Knox be handed over to Captain John Harding, commander of the ship *Ale[...]*, with the other retained on the island. The use of copper bars as partial currency, approved in the letter of April 1690, indicates that shortages of coin were a persistent problem. The approval of copper bars at half the value of goods taken from stores was a pragmatic response, but the fact that it required specific authorisation from London reveals how tightly the monetary policy of the island was controlled from the centre. [Film No. 100, 184, 210]

The rate at which pieces of eight - the dominant international silver currency of the period - were to circulate on the island was fixed at six and a half shillings per coin, subject to approval in practice according to payments made. This specific instruction, addressed in Film No. 105, illustrates the attempt to standardise the monetary valuation of a foreign currency that, in the absence of English coin, served as the primary

medium of exchange. The bills of exchange drawn by commanders of return ships, made payable to the Company at forty days' sight, formed another element of the island's financial architecture, allowing debts for provisions and services to be settled through the Company's London accounts rather than in coin on the island itself. The requirement in Film No. 19 that every planter holding twenty acres should pay an annual rent of forty shillings, in support of the garrison, was framed in sterling but would in practice have been settled in whatever medium was locally available. [Film No. 105, 19, 23]

The attempt to establish a system of island revenues through customs duties, licensing fees and land rents was set out in the 1683 instructions and elaborated in later correspondence. Licences to sell rack, brandy, rum, wines or other strong liquors were to be granted for no longer than one year at a time, with each person paying ten shillings per year to the Company. The strict instruction that no more debts for goods were to be allowed - since several individuals already owed the Company for liquors - was a direct response to the accumulation of uncollectable debts that had become a structural feature of the island's economy. The observation that the Dutch derived considerable revenue from licensing taverns and public houses was cited as a model the Company wished to replicate. A monthly levy of two per cent on all inhabitants, with an additional contribution from soldiers, was also proposed during the period when Sir John Wyborne was present on the island. [Film No. 16, 126, 171, 172]

Crime and Punishment

The Company's approach to punishment was governed by the conviction that the island's Council had been systematically too lenient and that the resulting impunity encouraged disorder. The criticism set out in the August 1683 letter was explicit: in every European court of justice, fines were imposed for offences in addition to whatever satisfaction was owed to the injured party, yet the island's Council had barely mentioned fines, let alone collected them. Even in the smallest English manor, trespasses were fined. In the higher courts at Westminster, criminal proceedings always produced fines for the Crown. The failure of the island's Council to follow this principle was described as remarkable and improper, and the directors demanded greater severity both in person - meaning corporal punishment - and in financial penalty. [Film No. 59]

Specific punishments added to those already contained in the system of laws included the wearing of an iron collar around the neck for one whole year or an iron lock upon the right leg, prescribed for robbers and those guilty of serious misdemeanours. The confiscation of goods and chattels was the standard response to debt default: where planters were unable or unwilling to pay their debts to the Company, their goods were to be seized. Banishment was used for serious offenders, though the Company criticised the island Council in 1687 for treating banishment as simply a means of returning offenders to England. The directors argued that banishment to places such as the west coast of Sumatra, where offenders might engage in trade and potentially redeem themselves, was preferable to simple repatriation, and that serious offenders should be detained in Company gaols until a ship became available to transport them to Fort St George, where they might serve eleven years in India. [Film No. 16, 172, 178]

The 1687 review of the Council's record found particular fault with the treatment of offences committed by enslaved workers. It observed that theft had been treated with undue leniency, with whipping used where imprisonment or expulsion should have been applied, and that repeated wrongdoing had been allowed without appropriate escalation of penalties. The banishment of Thomas Espings was criticised as ineffective, since removal from the island carried no real consequence. The directors argued that, where serious offences had been committed, stronger measures - execution, imprisonment or forced labour - should have been applied, rather than the mild correctives that had been used. Comparison was made with Dutch practice, where Europeans were not banished from Indian settlements but were punished within the jurisdiction, an approach the Company wished to adopt. The criticism of leniency towards enslaved workers is particularly striking given the broader context of the period, in which the directors simultaneously encouraged the expansion of enslaved labour while complaining that the workforce was not being managed with sufficient firmness. [Film No. 172]

Personalities

Captain Robert Knox was perhaps the most significant individual mentioned in the correspondence, and his role as described in these letters is quite different from his more famous identity as author of a captivity narrative. Knox had spent nearly twenty years in Ceylon before his escape, and it was this practical experience in the region that gave him authority in the Company's estimation. He was sent to St Helena with slaves from Madagascar to begin construction of the island's defensive barricades. He brought rice seed from Ceylon and was to demonstrate the method of its cultivation on the higher ground. He provided information on salt production, on the cultivation of coconut oil, on water management techniques observed in Ceylon, and on the management of water streams. He was admitted to the Council during his stay, and silver bullion from London was entrusted specifically to him for use in the Company's service. His endorsement of Captain Knox's judgment and practical knowledge appears in multiple contexts. The loss of a ship carrying correspondence from Knox was noted in 1688 with evident concern. [Film No. 76, 100, 211]

Mr Thomas Smout occupied an ambiguous position in the correspondence: at once a trusted agent and a persistent source of administrative difficulty. In the 1683 instructions he was given authority to sell Company goods to planters, with a note of prices enclosed and an assurance that he would not be strictly limited to those prices so long as he took no more than he could afford given reasonable allowances for waste and leakage. He was also permitted to leave children and other necessities with his plantation or family, with a credit on the Company's account. His subsequent management of accounts proved unsatisfactory: later instructions directed that if he refused to settle his accounts, his land and cattle were to be seized for the Company's use until a clear account was rendered, after which he was to be sent to Europe to answer for his conduct with proper evidence of what had been delivered. The records of the confiscation of what are described as Smout and Beake's plantations in 1687 confirm that these threats were eventually carried out. [Film No. 18, 29, 182]

Captain Robert Holden's career illustrates both the ambitions and the limits of the Company's administrative system at this distance. Appointed in 1683 as Lieutenant of the Garrison Company, second member of the Council, Storekeeper General and Customer, he accumulated remarkable concentrations of authority. His dismissal in 1690, for charging excessive prices on many commodities for his own private benefit without any advantage to the Company, was presented in language suggesting a settled judgement based on multiple reports from reliable witnesses including Mr Barabome and others arriving from the island. His constitutional challenge to the Company's authority to exercise martial law in peacetime was dismissed with a detailed legal argument distinguishing England from overseas territories. The instruction that accounts with Holden were to be settled fairly, with deductions only for losses caused by his overcharging and allowances for legitimate wastage, indicates that the directors recognised his previous service even as they removed him from office. [Film No. 212, 213]

Captain Gregory Field provides a case study in the frustrations of colonial patronage. Appointed as Engineer of the Garrison Company and Surveyor General in 1683, he was dismissed in 1687 as having become a burden to the Company. The instruction that he should be kept diligent and sober and assigned tasks under proper supervision - noted in the 1683 letters shortly after his appointment - suggests that doubts about his reliability existed even at the outset. His dismissal was accompanied by the offer that he might be admitted to an almshouse in England on his return, a concession to past service but hardly a generous recognition of it. The contrast between his multiple grand titles of 1683 and his characterisation as a burden in 1687 encapsulates the difficulty the Company faced in identifying and retaining reliable administrators willing to serve in so remote a posting. [Film No. 24, 26, 167]

Mr Richard Keling appears in the correspondence as a figure whose loyalty and reliability were consistently valued even as his formal position changed. He was appointed as ensign and attorney general after the removal of Captain Hand and Mr Cox from the Council, and later as storekeeper following Holden's dismissal. His appointment as governor in the event of Captain Roberts's sudden death or absence was another mark of trust. The instruction that he should communicate a particular message to Mr Symes - warning the latter about his tendency to excessive drinking - reflects the informal as well as formal dimensions of governance in which Keling was involved. A letter to London from aboard the *Warwick* frigate, confirmed as a true copy by John Sermon, is among the documents in which Keling's role as a reliable intermediary is implicit. [Film No. 174, 176, 183, 216]

The Company's treatment of Captain Bomier, the French Huguenot vine dresser recruited in 1690, offers an illuminating example of how the directors managed relationships with non-English skilled workers. He was described as an honest man, formerly prosperous in France, who had been driven from his possessions by religious persecution and who therefore presented himself on unusually favourable terms. His vine dressers were likewise French Protestants. The instruction that they were to be kept under strict discipline, that excessive demands were not to be entertained, and that the Governor should visit the plantation regularly rather than repeating the neglect that had characterised Mr Cox's supervision, reveals the Company's awareness that cultural difference and distance from London could produce management difficulties that required direct oversight. The granting of a Council seat to Bomier when he was present at the fort, partly for his reputation, was a pragmatic courtesy rather than a substantive political gesture. [Film No. 213, 214]

The correspondence collected in this volume spans a period of intense activity and significant change in St Helena's governance, from the administrative reorganisation of 1683 through the rebellion of 1685 and its aftermath to the outbreak of war with France in 1689. Across these years the island was governed through a system of intermittent but detailed instruction from London, transmitted by every available ship and read in consultation by a Council whose membership changed constantly and whose practical authority was constrained by distance, limited resources, and the persistent gap between the Company's ambitions and the island's realities. The correspondence documents both the grand projects - sugar works, salt ponds, rice cultivation, vine planting, saltpetre production - that were proposed in confident succession and the consistently modest results that followed. It also records the human dimension of these years: the rebellion and its suppression, the movement of enslaved people as cargo in the same holds that carried timber and brandy, the personal conduct of individual officials scrutinised from London and found wanting, and the small details of daily life on a remote island that appear incidentally in letters whose primary purpose was always to advance the Company's commercial interest and the authority of those who directed it. [Film No. 10, 59, 123, 214, 229]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
<u>1</u>		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena letters from England 1683-1687 Photographer Aidan Plato Date photographed 5 th May 2022 Additional comments	
<u>2</u>		Book cover	
<u>3</u>		WARNING. A poisonous solution containing mercuric chloride has been used in the repair and binding of this volume.	
<u>4</u>		Blank page	
<u>5</u>		Blank page	
<u>6</u>		Blank page	
<u>7</u>	1	Blank page	
<u>8</u>	2	Blank page	
<u>9</u>	3	Blank page	
<u>10</u>	4	Our Gover[n]o[r] & Coun[ci]l . London . A[pr]i[l] att . St Helena 1683 1 We have recei[v]ed your se[v]eral letters by the S[...] African & yo[u]r former letters by [...] Ships arriv[e]d w[i]th yo[u] which we have consi[d]ered wi[th] that inte[n]t of mi[n]d & [...] then we did formerly bestow upon y[ou]r concerns of [...] therefore we have revised carefully what we wrote you in [...] of y[ou]r 1[st] & 2[d] March by Cap[ta]in I[s]aac M[...]rchant whi[ch] first put you under a Com[...] or Sys[t]em of Laws and con[s]titutions for Gover[n]m[en]t of y[e] Island which you	The following instructions were dispatched from the East India Company in London to the Governor and Council of St Helena in April 1683. Letters were received by the Company via the ship <i>African</i> and other vessels that had previously arrived at the island. These communications were examined with a greater degree of scrutiny than had been bestowed upon the affairs of the island in the past. A careful revision was conducted of the correspondence dated 1 and 2 March, which had been sent via Captain Isaac Merchant. Those letters had first placed the island under a commission or system of laws and constitutions for its government. Copies of those original laws and the letters written to the former Governor and Council were enclosed. Upon the examination of the minister's book and the observations of the various matters and inhabitants falling under the council's consideration, it was noted that a formal proceeding had been prescribed by the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>have herewith Copp[ie]s and also Copp[ie]s of both yo[u]r let[te]rs as writ to your se[...] & Councill by said Ship 2 Now upon perusall of your min[is]t[er]s book & observa[t]ions of y[e] severall matters that do fall[] under your conside[r]a[t]ion & [i]n yo[u]r inhabitants you are to find such a formall procee[d]ing as we have prescribed by a severe System of Laws which for a sudden & new begun to be Island we pr[e]sent few of this type you may proceed to determine accor[di]ng method & you have already begun a work which you shall till are not only acquitted but well satisfied 3 But in case of any emergencies or sudd[e]n occa[s]ions which have not provided accordingly to what method & forms That System were not you was for most part fram[e]d That model of Laws we first followed were those of Bomb[a]ly where y[e] number of Inhabitants are com[...] to 20000 but upon receiving from you where number was much fewer [...] & therefore not to exceed 300 p[...][d] Stand for y[e] present & method you are in may do well for Service & good of y[e] Island except in Capitall Ca[ses] aforesaid The last you have sent with severall volumes writ in French & Latin which we do very well appro[y]e So we have you to translate those among your s[...][...] D[...] or [...] shall suffice upon demand hereof you shall receive our further acco[...] [...] We find by y[e] list of men sent out to you [...] 300 & 90 men written to strangers whilst y[e] [...] our governour would have been qu[i]te [...] concerning that Island hath not us [...]</p>	<p>system of laws. It was acknowledged that for a new and developing island, few precedents of this type existed. The council was permitted to proceed according to their established methods until the work was fully settled and the inhabitants were satisfied.</p> <p>In the event of emergencies or sudden occasions not provided for by the prescribed forms, it was noted that the system of laws had been primarily framed after the model used in Bombay. That model was designed for a population of 20,000 people. However, upon receiving information that the number of inhabitants on St Helena was much fewer, probably not exceeding 300 people, it was decided that the current method would suffice for the service and good of the island, except in capital cases.</p> <p>Several volumes written in French and Latin were sent to the island, the acquisition of which was approved. It was directed that these should be translated by those among the [...] who were capable. A list of men sent out was reviewed, noting that 390 men were recorded as strangers. It was suggested that the Governor would have been [...] concerning the island.</p> <p>Candidate terms for review: System of Laws (legal framework), Capitall Cases (legal category), Bombay (geographic/legal precedent), minister's book (administrative/clerical record). The term Capitall Cases is selected as it refers to a specific legal classification involving the death penalty. The term minister's book is also selected as it refers to a specific type of record-keeping in a colonial context.</p> <p>Interpretations Capitall Cases referred to legal proceedings involving crimes that carried the death penalty, which the Company determined required a higher level of formal legal procedure than ordinary local matters.</p> <p>The minister's book probably referred to the official register or journal kept by the island's chaplain or a specific official, which recorded births, marriages, deaths, and perhaps observations on the moral conduct of the inhabitants.</p> <p>Speculations The adaptation of the legal model from Bombay for use on St Helena perhaps indicates an early attempt by the East India Company to create a unified legal code for its diverse and geographically separated territories.</p> <p>The presence of 390 individuals classified as strangers probably refers to transient persons, such as sailors or temporary workers, whose presence on the island was viewed with concern regarding the stability and security of the settlement.</p>
11	5	<p>About one [...] being likely more than yo[u] thought Wee for [...] hope wee all strangers have [...] to make as good [...] Mr B[...] most importun[e] to us to favour of such persons & was [...] on Board for one M[...] Merchant w[hi]ch gave information to him to first adde[...] y[e] Interloper & that came in last voyage sent to entertain him at his house For [...] future we require you to suffer no person to go on board any Interlopers Ships without a Licence and that you take writing of it any shall transport this or any Goods & seize of it for y[e] Comp[an]y for each offence 9 For allowing of Salutes wee do enjoyne for the future that never above y[e] number of 3 guns be fired to any of y[e] Compa[n]y Ships at arrivall nor any Guns fired all shoares or any coming or goeing aboard of Command nor ever above y[e] number of 5 to any French Dutch or other</p>	<p>The instructions were sent from the East India Company in London to the Governor and Council of St Helena in April 1683. It was noted that the number of people on the island was probably higher than had been previously thought. Reference was made to a request by Mr B[...] for special treatment to be shown to certain individuals. Information was provided regarding an individual named M[...] Merchant, who had allegedly assisted an interloper ship that arrived during the previous voyage and had hosted the captain at his house.</p> <p>Strict orders were issued for the future that no person should be permitted to go on board any interloper ships without a licence. It was required that a written record be kept of any person who transported goods to these ships. Such goods were to be seized by the Company for every such offence.</p> <p>Regarding the firing of ceremonial salutes, it was ordered that no more than three guns should be fired when a Company ship arrived. No guns were to be fired from the shore for any ship commanders. It was stated that no more than five guns should be fired for any French, Dutch, or other foreign ships, and no guns at</p>

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>stran[g]ers nor any at all upon any occasion to any Interloper And wee do require an exact accou[n]t to be sent us what guns you shall fire & at what times & all guns fired upon what occasion & if none be fired therefore upon any occasion whatsoever except by order hereof (for y[e] time being) be done 10 We cannot but wonder to see y[e] after so many yeares y[e] Comp[an]y should have but 211 men able of affaires & of them some of no use when at y[e] same time some plantations that began some yeares agoe have now near 1000 & you have scarce more then over y[e] Comp[an]y hath designed to spare except what was spent at y[e] fort & [...] W[...] hopes you for y[e] future will take more care for y[e] increase of y[e] plantations for their Goods especially now having so many Negroes Servants & Soldiers whom to command it is cannot hands hands to have them carefully looked after 11 We observe it comes to every Planters turn once every week to keep watch & ward every other night which is a method wee are well satisfied & doe not see cause to alter and therefore wee have thought fit y[u] to keep armes upon duty fit for y[e] purpose to be drawn up at all times & therefore wee have thought it fit that no man upon any of these occasions be discharged his watch or paid to y[e] Comp[an]y & Planters notwithstanding all the Soldiers & Planters & all persons inhabiting within y[e] Island are to bear armes except y[e] Blacks who are not to be trusted & they have been frequently upon alarms upon y[e] appearance of enemies & those who have formerly refused to beare armes shall be punished as our Governor & Council shall think fit & shall be severe dealt with as trainers of others & as a generall ru[le] of all</p>	<p>all were to be fired for an interloper. An exact account was required to be sent to the Company detailing when and why every gun was fired. It was ordered that no guns be fired for any other reason unless authorised. Surprise was expressed that after many years the Company had only 211 men fit for service, and some of those were considered useless. it was observed that other colonies established at the same time had nearly 1,000 men. It was noted that the numbers on St Helena were very low, apart from the men at the fort. It was hoped that more care would be taken to grow the plantations, especially as there were many slave servants and soldiers available to work and be managed. It was observed that every planter was required to take a turn on guard duty once a week. This method was found to be satisfactory and was not to change. It was ordered that weapons should always be ready for duty. No man was to be excused from his guard duty or paid by the Company for this work. All soldiers, planters, and inhabitants were required to carry weapons, except for the slave population, who were not to be trusted. It was noted that the slave population had been seen during previous alarms when enemies appeared. It was ordered that any persons who had refused to carry weapons in the past should be punished and dealt with severely as an example to others. Candidate terms for review: Interloper (unlicensed trader), watch and ward (guard system), salutes (gunfire), plantations (farms). The term interloper is selected as it represents a specific legal and economic category central to the text. The term watch and ward is selected as it explains the security system mentioned. Interpretations Interloper was the term used by the East India Company to describe independent merchants or ships that traded without a legal licence, which was against the law because the Company held a monopoly. Watch and ward referred to a system of security where the inhabitants took turns guarding the island, with watch being the duty at night and ward being the duty during the day. Speculations The strict rules about firing guns for interloper ships and foreign vessels probably reflect an effort by the Company to save money on gunpowder and to show that they were the only ones in charge of the island. The decision to stop the slave population from carrying weapons perhaps indicates a fear that they might rebel, suggesting the Council felt the threat of a slave uprising was just as dangerous as an attack by a foreign enemy. The comparison of the population of St Helena to other colonies probably suggests that the Company was unhappy with how slowly the island was growing and developing its farms compared to other places. Is there a specific part of the security or trade rules from 1683 you would like to explore further?</p>
12	6	<p>[...] orders of armes which [...] Councell shall command 12 And in regard we have hereby ordered a certain duty Supply of S[...] for Planters & S[...] to a pecuniary payment No s[...] though it be at times a great ease for you by this Ship a few of Souldiers which will cost y[e] Comp[an]y more their passage maintaynance there then y[e] affords & from every five Planter upon 20 Acres of Land will amount unto yeare 13 And we do hereby forbid all our Officers & Souldiers to bring in wines or strong waters or any other goods during y[e] time of their being with you except such as are allowed by y[e] Councell And we do hereby require</p>	<p>Orders regarding weapons were issued to be followed as the Council shall command. It was noted that a certain duty was ordered for the supply of [...] for planters. Although a few soldiers were sent on the ship, it was observed that the cost of their passage and maintenance was greater than the island afforded. It was calculated that the contribution from every five planters holding 20 acres of land would amount to a yearly sum. All officers and soldiers were strictly forbidden from bringing in wines, strong waters, or any other goods during their service, except for items allowed by the Council. The Governor and Council were required to investigate and identify any officers or soldiers who had been involved in such activities. It was noted with satisfaction that there were not more than 200 planters on the island who were unable</p>

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		<p>you & Councill forthwith to inq[u]ire out of & to com[...] pay what Officers & Souldiers there are or have been in any such Cases 14 We understand & are glad to hear there are not above 200 Planters in y[e] Island but what are able to pay presently we have full debts to y[e] Comp[an]y & returne a good yearly stock whereby W[...] therefore order all persons upon y[e] Island forthwith to pay in their full debts or in default thereof to s[...] upon their goods & chattels & y[e] to do thereby we will partly for payment this full debt not only shall discharge their debts but also a [...] improvement of y[e] Comp[an]y for the future & this to be done to y[e] honour of y[e] Comp[an]y according to former order herewith to write all witnesses Our said Councill shall sign & cause Register attested concerning y[e] said Register Books wherein all lands & Register Servants & Planters as also their Estates shall orderly pass & receive Payments & due process 15 Also when any Land shall be hereafter sold or disposed or when any Land is bequeathed or devised or given to any person & y[e] purchaser shall not pay y[e] Comp[an]y their due Rent for such alienacon gift or devise that by reason of y[e] said alienacon gift or devise for y[e] said person shall forfeit to y[e] Comp[an]y all their interest therein & shall become forfeited to y[e] Comp[an]y as Proprietors of y[e] Island 16 We do further order & command that no person whatsoever presume to cut any timber or wood upon y[e] Comp[an]y ground or any other place without licence upon penalty of 20 shillings for every tree so cut 17 We do further order & command that no person shall sell any black Slaves arriving or imported into this Island nor dispose of any of y[e] Comp[an]y Island that belong to any person whatsoever for any consideration whatsoever but retain</p>	<p>to pay their debts to the Company. Orders were given for all persons to pay their full debts immediately. In cases of default, the goods and chattels of the debtors were to be seized. It was stated that the settlement of these debts would improve the Company's future position. The Council was ordered to sign and attest to the register books. These books were to record all lands, servants, and planters, as well as their estates, to ensure payments and due processes were handled in an orderly manner.</p> <p>It was commanded that if any land were sold, given, or bequeathed in the future, the purchaser or recipient must pay the Company the required rent for the transfer. If this payment was not made, the individual would forfeit their interest in the land, and the property would revert to the Company as the proprietors of the island.</p> <p>A strict order was issued that no person should cut any timber or wood on Company ground or any other place without a licence. A penalty of 20s was set for every tree cut without permission. Furthermore, it was commanded that no person should sell any black slaves arriving or imported into the island, nor should they dispose of any slaves belonging to the island for any consideration.</p> <p>Candidate terms for review: strong waters (distilled spirits), alienacon (legal transfer of property), devise (bequest of land), chattels (personal property), proprietors (owners). The term strong waters is selected as it is a specific archaic term for alcohol. The term alienacon is selected as a technical legal term for property transfer.</p> <p>Interpretations Strong waters was a common term in the seventeenth century for distilled alcoholic spirits, such as brandy or gin, which were often subject to strict trade regulations.</p> <p>Alienacon, or alienation, is a legal term referring to the voluntary transfer of the ownership of a property or an interest in land from one person to another.</p> <p>Speculations The prohibition on soldiers importing spirits probably suggests that the Company was concerned about maintaining discipline and preventing unauthorised private trade that could bypass official duties.</p> <p>The heavy fine of 20s for cutting a single tree perhaps indicates that timber was becoming a scarce and highly valued resource on the island, requiring strict conservation efforts to protect the Company's assets.</p> <p>The order to register all lands and estates probably reflects a desire by the Company to create a more formal and taxable administrative structure, ensuring that no land transfer occurred without the Company receiving its financial share.</p>
13	7	<p>[...] retain & di[stri]bution of all y[e] remainder of Land to y[e] Comp[an]y owners for which we hope in time after y[e] war is finished we shall encourage y[e] [...] to make them a better [...] successors some reparation for y[e] great charge they have been at 18 But if notwithstanding upon y[e] increase of people there shall persons shall hereafter desire to have y[e] occupation of Land upon y[e] Island you may let to any single man or man & wife for their life we will make no distinction in those cases 20 acres of Land to each of y[e] Comp[an]y pay for the same paying y[e] Comp[an]y yearly at y[e] rate of [...] shill[ing]s</p>	<p>The remainder of the land was to be kept and distributed to the owners of the Company. It was hoped that once the war had ended, the successors would be encouraged and receive some compensation for the great expenses that had been incurred.</p> <p>In cases where the population increased and individuals desired to occupy land on the island, it was permitted to lease 20 acres of land to any single man or to a husband and wife for the duration of their lives. No distinction was made between these cases. It was ordered that the Company be paid at a yearly rate of 2s or more, depending on the best price previously established.</p> <p>It was also decided that 12d per acre should be paid to the Company for the registering of any land transfer. It was noted that the current officers were not required to pay for registering, apart from a small fee of 2d as determined by the statutes.</p>

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		<p>this shall be two shillings yearly & more according to y[e] best form from you heretofore written Price 19</p> <p>Also that we have appointed 12 p[er] acre to be paid y[e] Comp[an]y upon every alienacon of Land for Registering the same meaning y[e] [...] Present Officers shall not pay registering any out only 2 d[...]] for what shall be due more by y[e] Stat[...]</p> <p>20</p> <p>We have formerly prohibited of good Planters from buying any Negroes upon this Reason wee took y[e] number of Negroes upon y[e] Island were very considerable therefore unsafe & dangerous to y[e] Inhabitants & y[e] security of y[e] Island but upon further thinking of this matter considering that there are in Barbados usually 5000 Blacks to 1000 Whites & yet are kept in subjection without other Garrisons than y[e] Garrison which serves & consisting of y[e] strength & command of y[e] Island & fit to produce plenty of all sorts necessary than that our Plantations may flourish & bring in y[e] Inhabitants & free Planters should not only live but grow Rich as well know they will if they may have hands to cultivate their Plantations as they have in Barbados Jamaica & other West places Wee have thought fit to take off y[e] Restraint from y[e] said Planters of buying of Negroes with only this Condition that every free Planter & other person that will keep to y[e] number of 1 Negro shall find & maintain 20 by former Custome & y[e] Order keep one Englishman to accompany to attend all alarms as every freeholder doe upon any occasions of danger pay 3 s[...]] for the Comp[an]y use forty Shillings a month in case of warning and meaning as we have hereby ordered every free Planter to do so proportionably with for one Negro four Shillings for two Negroes twenty Shillings for three Negroes thirty Shillings per Annum &c</p>	<p>A previous ban on planters buying slaves was discussed. This ban had been put in place because it was believed that the number of slaves on the island was very high, making it unsafe and dangerous for the inhabitants and the security of the island. However, after further consideration, it was noted that in Barbados there were usually 5,000 black people to 1,000 white people, yet they were kept in subjection without any garrison other than the one serving the island. It was believed that for the plantations to flourish and for the free planters to grow rich, they required enough hands to cultivate the land, just as was done in Barbados, Jamaica, and other places in the West.</p> <p>Consequently, the restriction on buying slaves was removed, provided that certain conditions were met. Every free planter or person who kept one slave was required to maintain one Englishman to attend all alarms, as was the custom for every freeholder. In cases of danger, a payment of 3s was required for the Company's use, or 40s a month if a warning was given. It was ordered that every free planter should pay the Company a yearly sum in proportion to the number of slaves they owned, set at 4s for one slave, 20s for two slaves, and 30s for three slaves.</p> <p>Candidate terms for review: alienacon (property transfer), freeholder (land owner), subjection (control), 12d (currency). The term alienacon is selected as a technical legal term for the transfer of land ownership. The term freeholder is selected as it defines a specific legal status of land tenure.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Alienacon was the formal legal process of transferring the ownership of land or property from one person or entity to another.</p> <p>Freeholder referred to a person who held land in "freehold," meaning they owned the land or held it for life, rather than being a temporary tenant, which usually carried specific social and legal duties.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The change in policy regarding the purchase of slaves probably shows that the East India Company prioritised economic profit and plantation growth over the safety concerns they had previously expressed.</p> <p>The requirement for every slave-owning planter to maintain an Englishman for alarms perhaps indicates that the Company remained worried about the possibility of a revolt and wanted to ensure a balance of armed white men was always present.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the reference to Barbados and Jamaica as successful models suggests that the Company was actively trying to copy the profitable plantation systems used by the British in the Caribbean.</p> <p>The mention of the war being finished probably refers to the local impacts of the Third Anglo-Dutch War or other European conflicts that had previously disrupted trade and increased the costs of maintaining the island.</p>
14	8	<p>[...] the Reason of which order is as y[e] Negroes do [...] upon y[e] Island it will be necessary for y[e] Comp[an]y</p> <p>[...] able to increase their Garrison & Souldiers for the security of y[e] Inhabitants as well as of y[e] Island 22</p> <p>And that Our free planters & factors may always have a means of supplying themselves with English or India wares & all Commodities of England & Europe as cheap or cheaper than y[e] Planters in Barbados & Jamaica can have them wee are also prohibited in considering to purchase from you all send yearly one or two Ships or more as y[e] Island shall increase y[e] free planters grow among therefore to send us over yearly one or two</p>	<p>The following instructions were dispatched from the East India Company in London to the Governor and Council of St Helena in April 1683. It was explained that as the number of slave residents increased, it would become necessary for the Company to expand the garrison and the number of soldiers. This was intended to ensure the security of the inhabitants and the island.</p> <p>To provide the free planters and factors with a means of obtaining English and Indian goods as cheaply as those in Barbados and Jamaica, it was decided to send one or two ships every year. As the population grew, the planters were encouraged to send one or two honest representatives to negotiate with the Company. These persons would agree to pay a fixed sum to the Company one year after the ships arrived.</p>

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		<p>honest persons of some number that shall ingage with y[e] Comp[an]y a year after such Ships arrived at y[e] Island to pay y[e] Comp[an]y a fixed sum Merchants or factors that write over as Thomas Samuel hath now done & trade with 10 p[er] Cent advance upon his first cost freight & charge here by which means all things will come to y[e] Island Comp[a] much cheaper than they do to any Plantation in America as you will find by y[e] coming out of y[e] [...] & much cheaper than ever you brought any of y[e] Commo[di]ties out of y[e] Ships before which y[e] Comp[a] may in time gain something by y[e] trade of y[e] place & y[e] same be good for payment & y[e] adventure of y[e] Sea which they</p> <p>23</p> <p>And because no trade can be maintained regularly without a Register of Acc[oun]ts daily kept & if merchants come as they are proposing from time to time to be [...] We do hereby oblige & will will you to be very careful of y[e] trade of y[e] Island as we have done at Bombay Fort St Georges and all other places where you or any other Europeans have made any settlements For every [...] or what boats so & Log books kept & paid for taking of such Sea or other Boats for every Sea or other Boat that is sent on board any Ship For every [...] of Ships lading For every registerd of Cask landed 10 0 For every registerd of Wine 10 0 For weighing of all [...] 00 6 For a parcell of Silk [...] and so proportionably for a lesser or greater quantity [...] Commodities for every Madagascar Ship to [...] y[e] former [...] to a Negro or [...] Anchorage shall have with y[e] Comp[a] use one sold Negroe man or woman at y[e] Every one of y[e] Comp[a] Ships or ships in y[e] Comp[a] service to have put into your ports for anchorage one [...] of Barbados gun powder</p> <p>24</p> <p>Besides We shall write to y[e] Factors in India to procu[r]e Negroes by every Ship for y[e] comp[a] to [...] others employ upon y[e] Comp[a] Plantation</p>	<p>Merchants or factors, such as Thomas Samuel, were already trading with a 10 per cent advance on the original cost and transport charges. It was believed this would make goods much cheaper than in any American colony. This trade was intended to allow the Company to profit while covering the risks of sea travel.</p> <p>It was noted that regular trade could not be maintained without daily account books. The Council was ordered to manage the trade of the island carefully, following the examples of Bombay and Fort St George. Specific fees were set for various activities. A logbook was to be kept for all boats. Fees were established for every boat sent to a ship and for every registered cask or unit of wine landed. A fee was set for weighing goods and a proportional charge was placed on silk. Every ship arriving from Madagascar was required to provide a slave man or woman for the use of the Company as a fee for anchoring. Every Company ship entering the port was required to pay an anchorage fee of one barrel of Barbados gunpowder.</p> <p>Finally, it was stated that orders would be sent to the agents in India to obtain slaves by every ship. These people were to be put to work on the Company plantations.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Factors were the commercial agents or representatives of the East India Company who lived at various trading posts to manage business, handle warehouses, and keep accounts.</p> <p>Anchorage was a specific fee or tax paid by the captain of a ship for the right to anchor in a harbour, which was often paid in money or in useful supplies such as gunpowder.</p> <p>Fort St George was the fortified headquarters of the East India Company in Madras, serving as a primary administrative and military hub for their operations in the Indian subcontinent.</p> <p>A Madagascar ship referred to a vessel specifically engaged in the trade of slaves from the island of Madagascar, which was a frequent source of forced labour for the Company's territories during this period.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The requirement for ships from Madagascar to pay their anchorage fee in the form of a slave probably shows that the Company was using its control over the port to increase its workforce without paying for it directly.</p> <p>The decision to compare the prices of goods to those in Barbados and Jamaica perhaps suggests that the Company was competing with other trade routes and wanted to make St Helena an affordable place for settlers to live.</p> <p>It is probably the case that asking for gunpowder as a fee from Company ships was a clever way to keep the island's defences supplied without the Company having to pay for extra shipments of military stores.</p> <p>The mention of Fort St George and Bombay probably reflects a desire by the Company to turn St Helena into a more professional and strictly managed administrative centre like its major bases in India.</p>
15	9	<p>[...] be wor[k]ed for some of them for y[e] Comp[a] use</p> <p>25</p> <p>We shall send by this Ship two Mares & one Ston[e] horse to be sold for God[a] use 10 Cows & two Rams</p> <p>26</p> <p>We understand if some upon y[e] Island or others out of England have made bold to take what they thought fit out of y[e] Comp[a] Plantation[s] for y[e] future suffer none to presume to meddle with any thing there without a Licence under your hand & if any shall hereafter transport in y[e] boats you</p>	<p>Instructions were issued that a portion of the slaves should be worked for the Company's use. Two mares and one stallion were dispatched on the ship to be sold for the island's use, along with ten cows and two rams.</p> <p>It was noted that some individuals on the island and others from England had taken items from the Company's plantations without permission. Orders were given that no person should meddle with anything there without a licence signed by the Governor. It was directed that the Governor and Council should severely punish any person who transported such items in boats. Punishments were to include corporal punishment or fines for those under the island's government. If the offenders were officers or seamen from the ships, the</p>

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		<p>must have y[o]u & Councell to punish them severely either Corporally or by pecuniary mulcts if they be under your Governm[en]t & if they be Officers or S[e]amen of y[e] Ships or any other Nam[e]d you shall satisfie y[e] Sufferers before we pay their freights 27 If you shall let out any Lands hereafter by [...] according to y[e] Method We have now prescribed let such Land be conti[...] nuous & what you have already seated upon y[e] [...] Planters & have given them to pick & choose y[e] best Land that thereupon but let them take all as it falls good & bad together if y[e] know being y[e] Comp[a] may be more for better use & better Market [...] which will in 2 or 3 years make produce as wee are now informed [...] the further you partly & make a trade upon y[e] place 28 Wee having scandalous Reports of loose Women going on board y[e] Ships for y[e] future suffer none to go aboard upon any pretence without a Licence in writing from y[e] self or any of y[e] Council under forfeits them to a fine of 20 s for y[e] first offence and if found do 10 l for y[e] second offence & so doubling till you have took them from y[e] wicked & scandalous practises and computed all charges to be fixed upon upon y[e] free Market any S[e]aman & no[t] suffer to be carried to be sold on board out Ships & if any shall transgress these orders compel them to pay double customs or otherwise punish them at your discretions till you have that matter into a good order as it is in other parts of y[e] World & in all places where there is any good Government 29 For any other Commodities for which no Rates or Customs is now by set you are all y[e] discretion to use such moderate Rates as may not be burthensome to y[e] Inhabitants & may bear some proportion to y[e] Rates & valuation of y[e] Commodities 30 You are to begin y[e] Custome books with this Ships cargoe & from y[e] sale of Compa goods shall pay equally with any others though whose is to be accompted to y[e] Compa 31 For which purpose you are to send us yearly y[e] Books of all your Receipts of Land Rent[s] & Customs & for all Goods sold and delivered for the Companies and of</p>	<p>sufferers were to be satisfied before the Company paid the ship's freight. For future land grants, it was ordered that land should be allotted in continuous plots according to the new method. It was observed that previous planters had been allowed to pick and choose the best land. Orders were given that planters must now take land as it falls, including both good and bad soil together. This was intended to ensure the Company's land remained useful and marketable. It was suggested that within two or three years, the trade of the place would produce a better return. Regarding reports of loose women going on board ships, it was commanded that none should be permitted to go on board under any pretence without a written licence from the Governor or Council. A fine of 20s was established for the first offence, increasing to £10 for the second offence, and doubling thereafter until the practice was stopped. Furthermore, it was ordered that no goods should be carried for sale on board the ships without being accounted for in the free market. Anyone who broke these orders was to pay double customs or face other punishments at the discretion of the Council. For any other commodities where rates or customs had not been set, the Council was authorised to use their discretion to set moderate rates. These rates were to be fair to the inhabitants and in proportion to the value of the goods. It was ordered that the customs books should begin with the cargo of the current ship. All goods sold by the Company were to pay the same rates as others. Finally, it was required that the books for all receipts of land rents, customs, and goods sold be sent to London every year.</p> <p>Interpretations Ston[e] horse was a common seventeenth-century term for a stallion or a male horse that had not been castrated. Pecuniary mulcts referred to financial penalties or fines imposed as a punishment for an offence or a breach of regulations. Corporally referred to physical punishments carried out on the body of an offender, such as whipping or being placed in the stocks. Continuous plots referred to the practice of surveying land so that farms were adjacent to one another without gaps, preventing settlers from only occupying the most fertile spots while leaving the surrounding land waste.</p> <p>Speculations The strict fines and penalties for women going on board ships probably indicate that the Company was concerned about the moral order of the colony and the potential for social disruption caused by the presence of sailors. The transition from allowing planters to pick their land to forcing them to take good and bad soil together perhaps suggests that the best coastal or fertile land was becoming scarce, and the Company wanted to ensure that less desirable inland areas were also developed. It is probably the case that the decision to charge the Company's own goods the same customs rates as private trade was a way to create a transparent accounting system that would be easier to audit from London. The shipment of livestock such as mares, cows, and rams probably shows that the Company was trying to make the island more self-sufficient and less reliant on expensive imported provisions.</p>
16	10	<p>[...] deliver so much that we may know constantly how y[e] Revenues increases and in [...] 32 Suffer no person to sell Rack Brandy Rum Wines or any other strong liquors by retaile without</p>	<p>A request was made for regular deliveries of financial reports to ensure that the growth of revenues was constantly monitored. All persons were forbidden from selling rack, brandy, rum, wines or any other strong liquors by retail without a licence from the</p>

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		<p>a Licence from your self under your hand & Seale & that no person have any Licence for above one yeare for each person shall pay 10 s p[er] annum to y[e] Comp[a] 33 Be very severe against Robbers & Prisoners & besides punishments appointed by y[e] System of Lawes if any found guilty of such Misdemeanours & other crimes force Offenders to wear about his Neck an Iron collar stand by for one whole yeare or an Iron lock about his right leg 34 And in regard y[e] Island is now in so thriving a Condition We require you after Receipt of this letter to part with none of y[e] Stores to any free Planters or any other persons whatsoever except for ready money or good security for in payment some persons having comp[a] Liquors We being resolved to have no more debts made to y[e] goods upon y[e] Island 35 And to y[e] Intent that a clear Account of all Comp[a] all Incomes for Stores Goods or Revenues may be justly & Regularly accompted to us We do order y[e] not one single Storekeeper from & after y[e] Receipt of this letter but also such other persons as you shall appoint with him of all or any part of y[e] Comp[a] Revenues that upon every Monday Morning weekly deliver unto you an Account of the Respective Receipts & payments of money within their their hands which accompt you are to cause to be signed before they are examined by his Bookes or by y[e] respective Ballances entered by y[e] Governor or his Councell in a Book to be fairly kept for that purpose 36 And we do desire our Governors once a Month at least or oftner if he think fit to enter into y[e] Stores house and see at least so far as satisfies him how Commanders of y[e] Stores in Isle doe answer to y[e] Ballance of all y[e] Receipts & Issues 37 We do likewise appoint & former Storekeeper Books and our present Storekeeper shall make up a Generall Accompt of Stores with all time past before y[e] arrival of this Ship they do pay into him or to you or produce him</p>	<p>Governor. It was ordered that such licences should be granted for no longer than one year at a time, with each person paying a fee of 10s per annum to the Company. Severe measures were commanded against robbers and prisoners. In addition to the punishments already set out in the system of laws, it was directed that those guilty of such misdemeanours and crimes should be forced to wear an iron collar around the neck for one whole year or an iron lock upon the right leg. Because the island was considered to be in a thriving condition, the Governor was required to stop providing stores to free planters or any other persons unless they provided ready money or good security. This decision was taken because several individuals already owed the Company for liquors and it was resolved that no more debts should be permitted for goods on the island. To ensure that a clear and regular account was kept of all incomes from stores, goods and revenues, it was ordered that the storekeeper and other appointed persons must deliver a weekly account every Monday morning. This report was to detail all receipts and payments of money. The Governor or the Council were required to enter the balances into a book kept fairly for that purpose after the accounts were examined and signed. The Governor was encouraged to visit the storehouse at least once a month or more often if necessary. This was intended to allow him to check that the records of the stores matched the actual balance of goods received and issued. Finally, it was appointed that the former and present storekeepers should create a general account of all stores for the period prior to the arrival of the current ship. Candidate terms for review: Rack (spirit), System of Lawes (legal code), Misdemeanours (offences), Pecuniary (financial), Storekeeper (official), Ballance (accounting term). Rack is selected as an archaic term for a specific liquor. The punishment of an iron collar is selected for its technical and historical specificity regarding penal methods. Interpretations Rack, also known as arrack, was a strong distilled spirit common in the East Indies, often made from the fermented sap of coconut trees or rice. The use of an iron collar or an iron lock served as a form of public shaming and physical restraint, intended to mark an offender within the community while allowing them to continue performing labour. Speculations The transition to a cash only system for the purchase of stores probably indicates that the Company was struggling with cash flow or was frustrated by the difficulty of collecting long standing debts from the settlers. The requirement for weekly and monthly inspections of the storehouse perhaps suggests that the Company suspected the local officials of corruption or poor management regarding the island's inventory. It is probably the case that the thriving condition mentioned by the Company was a rhetorical justification to tighten financial control rather than a reflection of actual wealth among the individual planters.</p>
17	11	<p>for all such Stores as have been delivered to any Person except for y[e] Comp[a] owne use & Consumpcon and upon making up such Accompts and Payments of the Ballance to y[e] said Gov[erno]r by y[e] said Captaine Beale or Lieutenant Johnson his Receipt shall be a full discharge to them or either of them 38</p>	<p>Accounts were to be settled for all stores delivered to any person, excluding those used for the Company's own consumption. Upon the completion of these accounts and the payment of the balance to the Governor by Captain Beale or Lieutenant Johnson, a receipt was to be issued as a full discharge of their liability. Although permission had been granted earlier in the correspondence to lease out 20 acres of land to individuals, a new order was established. It was directed</p>

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		<p>And though before in this letter We have given permission for y[e] saleing out of 20 Acres of Land to any man upon y[e] forme before described yet wt we now meane is, that all Lands of y[e] said Island shall be intirely kept for y[e] Comp[a] use and not allotted or leased out upon any Terms whatsoever without further Order in Writing 39</p> <p>And in regard We are resolved constantly to supply y[e] Island with whatsoever y[e] Inhabitants thereof shall want by our owne Ships if any We do expressly forbid all man-ner of trade out or into y[e] Island with any other Ships or Ships whatsoever except such onely as do belong to the Comp[a] or are freighted by us upon y[e] penalty of forfeiting halfe y[e] goods in Specie y[t] shall be Shiped on board or landed from any other Ship or Ships whatsoever except Negroes from & Provision to Madagascar Ships or other Ships from India unto whom y[o]u shall give Licence for Water and Refreshment 40</p> <p>You will with this receive a List of all Commodities agreed for with Mr Samuel & his Obligation to pay y[o]u within twelve moneths for them which this y[o]u are to carry to y[e] Comp[a] credit in Accompt in one Jo[m]e to Ballance his Obligation when he hath discharged it altho he hath promised Us y[t] he will pay in a great deal of y[e] Money to y[o]u presently after y[e] arrivall of this Ship at St Helena & all of it sooner than his Obligation 41</p> <p>He is to pay y[e] Comp[a] Custome of those Goods & to have y[e] use of y[e] Comp[a] Store houses to lay them in upon each month for which the y[o]u is to have a Lock as well as Mr Samuel for y[e] Comp[a] better security and that those Goods should not be disposed of faster than the money is paid in to y[e] Gov[erno]r 42</p>	<p>that all lands on the island should be kept entirely for the Company's use. No allotments or leases were to be granted upon any terms without further written orders.</p> <p>Because the Company resolved to supply the island with all necessary goods via its own vessels, a strict prohibition was placed on all trade with other ships. Any person trading with unauthorised vessels faced the penalty of forfeiting half the goods in specie. An exception was made for the acquisition of slaves and provisions from Madagascar or Indian ships, provided the Governor granted a licence for water and refreshment.</p> <p>A list of commodities agreed upon with Mr Samuel was enclosed, along with his obligation to pay the Council within twelve months. This transaction was to be credited to the Company's account to balance the obligation once discharged. It was noted that Mr Samuel promised to pay a significant portion of the money immediately after the arrival of the ship at St Helena, potentially settling the debt sooner than required.</p> <p>Mr Samuel was required to pay the Company customs for those goods. He was permitted the use of the Company storehouses, provided that the Governor maintained a separate lock on the facility. This measure was intended to ensure the Company's security and to prevent the disposal of goods faster than the money was paid to the Governor.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>In specie referred to a legal and financial requirement for a penalty or payment to be made in the actual physical goods or coins themselves, rather than in an equivalent value of other items or credit.</p> <p>Full discharge served as a formal legal release from further obligation or debt, confirming that an account was settled and no further claims could be made against the individuals involved.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The sudden reversal of the policy to lease 20 acres of land probably indicates a shift in the Company's strategy toward a more centralised, state-run plantation model rather than a colony of independent smallholders.</p> <p>The requirement for a double lock on the storehouse used by Mr Samuel perhaps suggests a high level of distrust toward private merchants, ensuring that no goods could be moved without the direct oversight of a Company official.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the strict ban on trading with non-Company ships was designed to turn St Helena into a captive market where the inhabitants were forced to buy supplies at prices dictated by the London directors.</p> <p>The exception allowed for Madagascar ships probably reflects the Company's desperate need for labour, as they were willing to bypass their own trade monopoly if it meant securing a steady supply of slaves for the plantations.</p>
18	12	<p>42</p> <p>Since we have taken this Course for y[e] supply of y[e] Island & being willing y[e] Islanders should not be overacted upon We have inclosed sent you a Note of P[...]</p> <p>of which we suppose Mr Smoult may observe to [...] all y[e] goods that goe by this Ship and there we have him a competent gainer by his undertaking without exacting upon y[e] Islanders in which we have given some allowance for leakage & usuall wast breakings & such accidents & though we do not limit him exactly to sell his goods at these prices but leave him to his liberty he hath promised us that he will take no more of any Inhabitants upon y[e] Island if he finds he can afford his Commodities at these Rates 43</p>	<p>A specific course of action was taken for the supply of the island to ensure the inhabitants were not overcharged. A note of prices was enclosed for Mr Smoult to observe regarding the goods transported on the current ship. It was supposed that these rates would allow him to remain a competent gainer while accounting for leakage, usual waste, and accidental breakages. Although he was not exactly limited to these prices, he promised to take no more from the inhabitants if he found he could afford the commodities at the established rates.</p> <p>Mr Smoult also promised to leave his children and other necessities at his castle, plantation, or with his family. The Governor was directed to give him credit for these arrangements on the Company account. Orders were given for a portion of his goods and plants</p>

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		<p>He hath likewise promised us y[t] he shall leave y[e] Children & any other things he wants here or in his Castles Plantation or his owne family all things for which y[e] said Gov[erno]r is to give him Credit & make y[e] Comp[a]</p> <p>44</p> <p>And We do have ordered you to take some part of his goods & plants for y[e] Comp[a] as Gardens & Plantations because We hope it will be provided to have them fully looked after & Nurst up for y[e] good of y[e] Inhabitants & their posterities</p> <p>45</p> <p>There is nothing more probable to thrive with you & make usefull returns & Commodities than good vines than y[e] Cyprus seeds which may serve in time as well for Boards fit for all uses as for Masts & Timber</p> <p>46</p> <p>In your planting we desire all persons to observe regularity after this manner Mr Smoult hath sent which he will describe to you</p> <p>47</p> <p>We have inclosed a paper to you containing severall singular & great advantages y[e] said Island hath above any English plantation we know in any part of y[e] world consideration whereof as it hath hitherto encouraged us long & chargeable disbursements upon so hope it may encourage others therefore make a better improvement of it under your good Conduct & his providence & indulgence to them and into their hands</p> <p>48</p> <p>The great supply of money y[e] said Island will have from y[e] advantages of Plantations & other Trade for y[e] future</p> <p>We have reason to conclude without any occasion We desire you by this Ship to send what Dolls you can for y[e] Comp[a] store to our President and Councill and hereafter send us what more you can</p>	<p>to be taken for the Company gardens and plantations. It was hoped that these would be carefully nursed for the future benefit of the inhabitants and their posterity.</p> <p>It was noted that nothing was more probably suited to thrive and provide useful returns than good vines and Cyprus seeds. It was anticipated that the seeds might in time provide boards for various uses as well as masts and timber. In the matter of planting, all persons were desired to observe the regular method that Mr Smoult intended to describe to the Council.</p> <p>A paper was enclosed detailing several singular and great advantages that the island possessed above any other English plantation in the world. The consideration of these advantages encouraged the Company to continue their long and expensive disbursements. It was hoped that this would encourage others to improve the island under the current conduct and providence.</p> <p>Owing to the expected supply of money from the plantations and other trade, it was concluded that there would be no occasion for a shortage of funds. Instructions were issued to send whatever dollars could be spared from the Company store to the President and Council via the current ship, with further shipments to follow in the future.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Competent gainer was a seventeenth-century term used to describe a merchant who achieved a fair and reasonable profit that allowed for a sustainable business without resorting to extortionate pricing.</p> <p>Cyprus seeds probably referred to the seeds of the Mediterranean Cypress (<i>Cupressus sempervirens</i>), which was highly valued in shipbuilding and construction for its durable, rot-resistant timber.</p> <p>Dolls, in this financial context, was a common abbreviation or phonetic spelling for dollars, specifically the Spanish Dollars or Pieces of Eight that served as a primary international currency at the time.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The emphasis on Mr Smoult not overacting upon the islanders probably suggests that the Company was wary of local monopolies causing social unrest or discouraging the growth of the settler population.</p> <p>The introduction of Cyprus seeds for future masts and timber perhaps indicates that the Company was looking for long-term solutions to the island's lack of native large-scale timber for ship repairs.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the document listing the great advantages of St Helena was intended as a piece of promotional literature to justify the high costs of the colony to the Company's shareholders in London.</p> <p>The order to send spare dollars to the President and Council, likely in India, suggests that St Helena was being used as a collection point for bullion to support the Company's more expensive trading operations in the East.</p>
19	13	<p>[...] also by y[e] Com[m]anders of y[e] Return Ships their Bills of Exchange payable to us at forty dayes sight</p> <p>19</p> <p>[...] think for y[e] publique utility of y[e] Island Wee would upon some Day in every yeare or upon some certain Day as you shall find more convenient assemble all y[e] free Planters of y[e] Island to make choice of two Surveyors of y[e] Highways & one Church-Warden for each Church & manner whereof shall be this</p> <p>free Planters by their Major vote present four to the Gov[erno]r for one choice & two for Churchwarden out of which four y[e] Gov[erno]r to choose two that shall be Surveyors for that yeare and out of y[e] two to choose one that shall</p>	<p>A statement had been made that bills of exchange had also been drawn by the commanders of the return ships, which were made payable to the Company at forty days' sight.</p> <p>Consideration had been given to measures for the public utility of the Island. An arrangement had been proposed whereby, on a set day each year, or on another convenient date, all the free planters of the Island were to be assembled. During this assembly, a choice was to be made of two Surveyors of the Highways and one Churchwarden for each church.</p> <p>The manner of election had been prescribed. The free planters, by majority vote, were to present four candidates to the Governor for the office of Surveyor and two candidates for the office of Churchwarden. From the four nominated for Surveyor, two were to be chosen by the Governor to serve for that year. From</p>

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		<p>be Churchwarden But y[e] express order and constitution is yt now & for ever no Person Shopkeeper Servant nor other person whatsoever shall at any time have voice or suffrage for election of any Island or parish Officers but onely such as are free Planters seated in their Possessions & [...] and their Successors before Receipt of this letter whom we shall always esteem & consider as y[e] first Occupants and ancient freeholders of y[e] Island for such we hope their Homes will prove to be & to have Estates sufficient to maintaine the dignity of that Title and defend their Country on proper occasions But if in time to come through y[e] thrift & good management of some & y[e] Debauchery folly & Ignorance of others any of y[e] present free Planters upon 20 Acres of Land should come to be possesst of greater proportions of Land by buying out the Inhabitants of those parcels Neighbours our will & order is that such persons so increasing of Land & Inheritance shall notwithstanding have but one personall vote in all future Elections of Officers And We do order that for y[e] Publique utility of y[e] Island every Person as well free Planters & Shopkeepers Slaves Carpenters and all</p>	<p>the two nominated for Churchwarden, one was to be selected by the Governor. A strict order and constitution had been established, declaring that no shopkeeper, servant, or any other person whatsoever was at any time to have a voice or suffrage in the election of any Island or parish officers. This right had been reserved exclusively for those who were free planters settled in their possessions and [...] together with their successors prior to the receipt of this letter. These individuals were to be regarded and treated as the first occupants and ancient freeholders of the Island. An expectation had been expressed that their homes would endure, and that they would possess estates sufficient to uphold the dignity of that title and to defend their country when required. Provision had been made for future changes in landholding. Should any of the present free planters, each holding twenty acres of land, come in time to possess larger portions by purchasing the lands of neighbouring inhabitants, whether through thrift and good management or through the debauchery, folly, or ignorance of others, it had been ordered that such persons, despite their increased holdings, were to have only one personal vote in all future elections of officers. An order had also been issued that, for the public utility of the Island, every person, including free planters, shopkeepers, slaves, carpenters and all [...]</p> <p>Interpretations “Bills of Exchange payable at forty days’ sight” referred to a financial instrument in which payment became due forty days after the document had been formally presented to the payer, a system commonly used in long-distance trade to allow time for confirmation and transfer. “Surveyors of the Highways” referred to appointed local officers responsible for overseeing the maintenance and repair of roads and routes across the Island, ensuring their continued use for transport and communication. “Churchwarden” referred to a parish officer entrusted with responsibility for church property, finances and local ecclesiastical order, combining administrative and community oversight. “First occupants and ancient freeholders” described those recognised as the earliest established landholders, a designation carrying legal and social authority, with implications for inheritance and political participation. “Personal vote” indicated that each qualified individual was entitled to a single vote in elections regardless of the size of their landholdings, thereby limiting the political influence of those who accumulated larger estates.</p> <p>Speculations The limitation of voting rights to free planters alone had probably been intended to secure authority within a stable landowning class, reducing the influence of transient or dependent groups such as servants and shopkeepers. The restriction that each landholder, regardless of increased acreage, should retain only one vote had perhaps been designed to prevent the concentration of political power in the hands of a few individuals acquiring extensive property. The emphasis on recognising the earliest settlers as “ancient freeholders” had probably reflected an intention to establish a durable and privileged governing group whose authority would persist over time. The requirement for annual assemblies, combined with the Governor’s final selection from nominated candidates, had perhaps been intended to balance limited local participation with centralised oversight.</p>
20	14	all Servants Labourers & Negroes shall after the next Session give in every yeare for y[e] repair &	A requirement had been set that all servants, labourers and Negroes were, after the next session, to

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		<p>mending of y[e] Highwaies as the free planters are by the [...] of y[e] Highwaies & y[e] high waies by [...] to y[e] Councell in which you direct will each give twenty dayes in a yeare and from what quarter to summon one day & from any upon another [...] but so as no person spend more upon y[e] Island shall do every dayes work on y[e] Highwaies in each yeare or y[e] 20 dayes notice y[e] freeholders & no man whatsoever above one dayes worke in a year 53 The list inclosed sent gives you what names trades & qualifications of all persons y[e] people in this Ship which y[e] company is to pay for where have as well as any or other there no better but with some occupa[...] in y[e] Companys Plantations & gardens usefull to about [...] in y[e] Companys Plantacions & y[t] the rest [...] with them which they shall be al[...] may persuade to every y[e] person unto they are not upon or exempted from their duty as Souldiers 54 This shall we send you to be given out at such rates must be ordered after y[e] manner it is on y[e] price are here sent by Councell to set in order [...] that it may be able to informe you rightly 55 It is much cheaper to us from hence & good [...] anything ought to be sent better than to fetch goods out of y[e] [...]] But we cannot well be assured there is no provisions in men [...] sort of y[e] Stores on your Island, There were by [...] in small pieces when you put them into y[e] Store with time after Receipt of this shall or other time prevent [...] running & waste of y[e] Stores 57 We shall endeavour to get some of y[e] Souldiers [...] & they may instruct you in this art for it be a mighty advantage to y[e] Island from y[e] Boards chiefly which were usefully & more moderately [...] burning lime out of what will grow upon y[e] Island 58 In the contriving of y[e] Marcket place & y[e] [...] not only y[e] Store We would have [...] for y[e] reasons & regulating y[e] Stores & buildings upon y[e] [...] for y[e] [...] & if there be any [...] that service the country & y[e] Companys Ships</p>	<p>contribute each year towards the repair and maintenance of the highways. This duty had been assigned in a similar manner to that imposed upon the free planters, under the direction of the Surveyors of the Highways. Responsibility had been placed upon those officers to organise and summon individuals for work, assigning days from different quarters as needed. Care had been taken to ensure that no person residing on the Island was to perform more than twenty days' labour on the highways in any year, and that no individual was to be required to work more than one day at a time.</p> <p>A list had been enclosed and sent, containing the names, trades and qualifications of all persons aboard the ship for whom the Company was to provide payment. Among them, some had possessed skills and occupations suited for work in the Company's plantations and gardens, where they were expected to be useful. Others had been less suitably qualified, though they were to be employed as best as possible. It had been indicated that certain individuals might be persuaded to undertake duties as soldiers, unless they had been formally exempted from such service.</p> <p>Instructions had been given that certain goods were to be distributed at rates determined locally. Prices had been sent by the Council, and arrangements were to be made so that proper order could be established and accurate information maintained regarding these distributions.</p> <p>An observation had been made that goods could be obtained more cheaply from the Company's base than by procuring them from elsewhere, though uncertainty had been expressed as to whether sufficient provisions and stores were maintained on the Island. Concern had been raised that some stores had previously been received in small quantities or improper condition, leading to waste over time. Measures had therefore been advised to prevent loss, deterioration and misuse of supplies following their receipt.</p> <p>An intention had been expressed to send certain soldiers who possessed knowledge of particular practical skills, so that they might instruct others on the Island. This knowledge had been described as advantageous, especially in relation to working with timber and in the burning of lime from materials available on the Island.</p> <p>Consideration had been given to the arrangement of the market place and associated structures. It had been indicated that attention should be paid not only to the storehouses but also to the broader organisation and regulation of buildings and storage facilities, so that they might better serve both the needs of the Island and the requirements of the Company's ships.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Surveyors of the Highways" referred to appointed local officers responsible for overseeing the organisation, maintenance and repair of roads, including the allocation of labour and scheduling of work among the მოსახლეთ.</p> <p>"Negroes" was a term used in the period to refer to Black individuals, many of whom were slaves. Its use reflected the administrative and social classifications applied within the Island's labour system.</p> <p>"Twenty days' labour" referred to a form of compulsory public service, whereby individuals were required to contribute a fixed number of working days each year towards communal infrastructure, rather than paying a monetary tax.</p> <p>"Rates" referred to regulated prices set for goods distributed on the Island, often determined by the Council to control supply, prevent exploitation and maintain economic order.</p> <p>"Burning of lime" referred to the process of heating limestone or similar materials to produce lime, which was used in construction, particularly for mortar</p>

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			<p>and plaster. This skill would have been valuable for building and maintaining fortifications and other structures.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The requirement that all servants, labourers and slaves contribute labour to highway maintenance had probably been intended to ensure the upkeep of essential infrastructure without imposing excessive financial costs on the administration.</p> <p>The limitation of labour to twenty days per year and one day at a time had perhaps been designed to balance the need for public works with the preservation of private labour for plantations and other economic activities.</p> <p>The inclusion of individuals with varying trades and qualifications among those transported to the Island suggests that an effort had probably been made to develop a self-sufficient settlement, though the uneven skill levels indicate that labour shortages in key areas may have persisted.</p> <p>The concern over waste and deterioration of stores had perhaps reflected ongoing logistical difficulties in maintaining adequate supplies on a remote island, where delays and poor storage conditions could quickly reduce the value of imported goods.</p> <p>The intention to send skilled soldiers to instruct others in practical arts such as lime burning had probably been part of a broader effort to improve local production capabilities and reduce dependence on imported materials.</p> <p>The attention given to the organisation of the market place and storage facilities suggests that increasing trade activity and supply management had required more structured planning to support both the resident population and visiting Company ships.</p>
21	15	<p>[...] brought uniformity calls y[e] owners such Buildings to pull them down or alter them according to y[e] orders & this we shall find necessary for y[e] future good & accom- modation of y[e] Industry of y[e] Inhabitants & this charge whereof cannot be permitted by y[e] Proprietors we presume understand most of them are built but of 13 or 14 foot high & with loose stones piled one upon another Besides Cattle & provision we judge Indian Corn & other trees Cassada would thrive as well as Oranges Coco Trees are y[e] most profitable things you can set that upon this encouragement Nutmegs Cloves or Cinnamon Plants which we have long wished you would introduce All any Oath or other Bargaines shall not be valid unless entered at y[e] Booke of Bargaines to be kept by order so there all Bargaines for houses or Land if not Registered as aforesaid in case of such omission y[e] seller shall forfeit the whole to y[e] Comp[a] or y[e] Buyer of any house or Land unregistered shall pay y[e] Comp[a] double Fees for Registering y[e] alienation of any such house or Land & amends All money whatsoever any way to y[e] Comp[a] or by respective persons due or shall be entrusted with any fees & duties to be duly paid y[e] last Day of every month & thereupon we do hereby constitute & Require you that henceforward none come with such pretences for such additional service as we shall Judge answerable to his care paines & prudence therein</p>	<p>A requirement had been expressed that, where any buildings lacked uniformity, their owners were to be compelled to pull them down or alter them in accordance with prescribed orders. This measure had been considered necessary for the future good and accommodation of the Island, and for the encouragement of the industry of its inhabitants. The expense of such alterations had not been permitted to fall upon the Proprietors. It had been noted that many of the existing buildings had been constructed to a height of only thirteen or fourteen feet and had been formed from loose stones piled together without proper structure.</p> <p>Attention had been drawn to agricultural improvement. In addition to cattle and provisions, it had been judged that Indian corn and other crops, including cassada, would thrive, as would oranges. Coco trees had been described as among the most profitable plants that could be established. On this basis, encouragement had been given for the introduction of nutmegs, cloves and cinnamon plants, which had long been desired.</p> <p>An order had been made that no oath or bargain was to be considered valid unless it had been entered into a Book of Bargains, to be maintained by official authority. All agreements concerning houses or land were required to be registered in this manner. In cases of omission, the seller had been required to forfeit the whole value to the Company. Any buyer of an unregistered house or land had been required to pay the Company double fees for registering the transfer, together with additional compensation.</p> <p>All monies due to the Company, whether arising from fees, duties or other obligations, had been required to be paid on the last day of every month. Authority had been granted and instructions issued that no person was to present claims under false pretences for additional service, and that any such service was to be</p>

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		<p>We do confirme y[e] Rates of 12 p[er] acre upon any or more to be payd by every Inheritor or single person for any Lands sold upon any such Ship or into Disposal upon his</p> <p>Return at Fort St Georges</p> <p>we intend not to give any allowance to Interlopers to trade nor traffique at or Island but in case to want for their refreshments necessary relieving them in such cases</p> <p>you are to take y[e] Rates aforesaid & suffer them to have Refreshment for ready money</p> <p>We have prohibited alienating of any more of y[e] Company Land in any manner whatsoever for y[e] future</p> <p>and do require that no person or his Heires may be entitled Planters within y[e] space of 6 yeares from such proclamation to enclose Ditch Wall or other good fence</p> <p>inclose all sorts of cattle upon their lands by their own charge</p> <p>& to y[e] Comp[a] upon y[e] penalty of forfeiting y[e] said Lands</p> <p>no person shall have Lands or use it cannot enclose y[e] same</p> <p>in due time & all Land lying waste notwithstanding any pretence whatsoever without improving it are hereby forbidden to be sold & all such lands upon expiration of 6 yeares</p> <p>We do hereby strictly forbid all persons upon y[e] Island from suffering any cattle to stray out of fenced lands to be</p> <p>found at large but upon y[e] Comp[a] use shall be seized except</p> <p>[...] and all to be justly returned without Comp[a] charge</p>	<p>judged according to the care, effort and prudence demonstrated.</p> <p>The established rate of 12 per acre had been confirmed, to be paid by every inheritor or individual for land sold or otherwise disposed of, including land transferred upon return to Fort St Georges.</p> <p>A prohibition had been declared against allowing interlopers to trade or traffic on the Island. However, in cases where such persons required refreshment or relief, provision had been permitted on condition that payment was made in ready money at the established rates.</p> <p>A further order had been issued prohibiting any future alienation of Company land. It had been required that no person or their heirs should be entitled as planters unless, within six years of such proclamation, they had enclosed their land with a ditch, wall or other sufficient fence, and had secured all cattle within those enclosures at their own expense. Failure to comply had been made subject to the penalty of forfeiture of the land. No person had been permitted to hold or use land without enclosing it within the specified time. All land remaining waste and unimproved, regardless of any claim, had been forbidden from sale, and upon the expiration of six years such lands were to revert accordingly.</p> <p>A strict prohibition had been issued against allowing cattle to stray beyond enclosed lands. Any cattle found at large had been subject to seizure for the Company's use, except in specified cases, and were to be returned without charge to the Company [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Cassada” referred to cassava, a root crop well suited to tropical climates, valued for its resilience and ability to provide a reliable food source in conditions where other crops might fail.</p> <p>“Coco trees” referred to coconut palms, which were highly valued for their multiple uses, including food, oil, fibre and timber, making them economically significant in colonial settlements.</p> <p>“Book of Bargains” referred to an <i>ogogoally</i> maintained register in which all legal agreements, particularly those concerning land and property, were required to be recorded in order to be recognised as valid and enforceable.</p> <p>“Interlopers” referred to unauthorised traders operating outside the Company's monopoly, often engaging in private trade without official permission and therefore considered illegal competitors.</p> <p>“Alienation of land” referred to the transfer or sale of land ownership rights. In this context, it had been restricted to prevent further private acquisition of Company-controlled property.</p> <p>“Fort St Georges” referred to the Company's administrative centre at Madras, where official transactions, including the disposal of land rights, were conducted and recorded.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The requirement to standardise and, if necessary, demolish poorly constructed buildings had probably been intended to improve safety, durability and the overall organisation of the settlement.</p> <p>The encouragement of specific crops such as coconut, spices and cassava suggests that efforts had probably been made to diversify agricultural production and increase the Island's economic value within wider trade networks.</p> <p>The strict enforcement of registration in the Book of Bargains had perhaps been designed to prevent disputes over property and to ensure that the Company retained oversight and control of all land transactions.</p> <p>The prohibition on interlopers trading on the Island had probably been intended to protect the Company's commercial monopoly, while the allowance</p>

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			<p>for paid refreshment indicates a pragmatic approach to maritime necessity.</p> <p>The requirement to enclose land within six years, combined with penalties for leaving land waste, had perhaps been aimed at encouraging productive use of land and preventing speculative holding without development.</p> <p>The strict control over wandering cattle suggests that damage to crops or disputes over livestock had probably become a concern, prompting tighter regulation to protect agricultural output and property boundaries.</p>
22	16	<p>[...] brought uniformity calls y[e] owners such Buildings to pull them down or alter them according to y[e] orders & this we shall find necessary for y[e] future good & accommodation of y[e] Industry of y[e] Inhabitants & this charge whereof cannot be permitted by y[e] Proprietors we presume understand most of them are built but of 13 or 14 foot high & with loose stones piled one upon another Besides Cattle & provision we judge Indian Corn & other trees Cassada would thrive as well as Oranges Coco Trees are y[e] most profitable things you can set that upon this encouragement Nutmegs Cloves or Cinnamon Plants which we have long wished you would introduce All any Oath or other Bargaines shall not be valid unless entered at y[e] Booke of Bargaines to be kept by order so there all Bargaines for houses or Land if not Registered as aforesaid in case of such omission y[e] seller shall forfeit the whole to y[e] Comp[a] or y[e] Buyer of any house or Land unregistered shall pay y[e] Comp[a] double Fees for Registering y[e] alienation of any such house or Land & amends All money whatsoever any way to y[e] Comp[a] or by respective persons due or shall be entrusted with any fees & duties to be duly paid y[e] last Day of every month & thereupon we do hereby constitute & Require you that henceforward none come with such pretences for such additional service as we shall Judge answerable to his care paines & prudence therein We do confirme y[e] Rates of 12 p[er] acre upon any or more to be paid by every Inheritor or single person for any Lands sold upon any such Ship or into Disposal upon his Return at Fort St Georges we intend not to give any allowance to Interlopers to trade nor traffique at or Island but in case to want for their refreshments necessary relieving them in such cases you are to take y[e] Rates aforesaid & suffer them to have Refreshment for ready money We have prohibited alienating of any more of y[e] Company Land in any manner whatsoever for y[e] future and do require that no person or his Heires may be entitled Planters within y[e] space of 6 yeares from such proclamation to enclose Ditch Wall or other good fence inclose all sorts of cattle upon their lands by their own charge & to y[e] Comp[a] upon y[e] penalty of forfeiting y[e] said Lands no person shall have Lands or use it cannot enclose y[e] same</p>	<p>A requirement had been expressed that, where buildings lacked uniformity, their owners were to pull them down or alter them according to the prescribed orders. This measure had been judged necessary for the future good and accommodation of the Island, and for the encouragement of the industry of its inhabitants. The cost of such alterations had not been permitted to fall upon the Proprietors. It had been observed that most of the buildings had been constructed only to a height of thirteen or fourteen feet and had been formed from loose stones laid one upon another.</p> <p>Attention had been directed towards agricultural improvement. In addition to cattle and provisions, it had been considered that Indian corn and other crops, including cassada, would thrive, as would oranges. Coco trees had been identified as among the most profitable plantings that could be established. Encouragement had therefore been given for the introduction of nutmegs, cloves and cinnamon plants, which had long been desired.</p> <p>An order had been issued that no oath or bargain was to be valid unless it had been entered into a Book of Bargains, to be maintained by authority. All agreements concerning houses or land were required to be registered in this record. Where such registration had been omitted, the seller had been required to forfeit the entire value to the Company. Any buyer of an unregistered house or land had been required to pay the Company double fees for registering the transfer, together with additional compensation.</p> <p>All monies due to the Company, whether arising from fees, duties or other obligations, had been required to be paid on the last day of every month. Authority had been established and instructions issued that no person was to present claims under false pretences for additional service, and that such service was to be assessed according to the care, effort and prudence shown.</p> <p>The rate of 12 per acre had been confirmed, to be paid by every inheritor or individual for land sold or otherwise disposed of, including land transferred upon return to Fort St Georges.</p> <p>A prohibition had been declared against permitting interlopers to trade or traffic on the Island. However, in cases where such persons required refreshment or relief, provision had been allowed on condition that payment was made in ready money at the established rates.</p> <p>A further order had been issued prohibiting any future alienation of Company land. It had been required that no person or their heirs should be entitled as planters unless, within six years of such proclamation, they had enclosed their land with a ditch, wall or other sufficient fence and had secured all cattle within those enclosures at their own expense. Failure to comply had been made subject to the penalty of forfeiture of the land. No person had been permitted to hold or use land without enclosing it within the specified time. All land remaining waste and unimproved, regardless of any claim, had been forbidden from sale, and upon the expiration of six years such lands were to revert accordingly.</p>

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		<p>in due time & all Land lying waste notwithstanding any pretence whatsoever without improving it are hereby forbidden to be sold & all such lands upon expiration of 6 years</p> <p>We do hereby strictly forbid all persons upon y[e] Island from suffering any cattle to stray out of fenced lands to be found at large but upon y[e] Comp[a] use shall be seized except [...] and all to be justly returned without Comp[a] charge</p>	<p>A strict prohibition had been issued against allowing cattle to stray beyond enclosed lands. Any cattle found at large had been subject to seizure for the Company's use, except [...] and were to be returned without charge to the Company.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Cassada" referred to cassava, a tropical root crop valued for its reliability as a food source in difficult growing conditions.</p> <p>"Coco trees" referred to coconut palms, which were economically valuable due to their multiple uses, including food, oil and materials.</p> <p>"Book of Bargains" referred to an official register in which agreements, particularly those concerning land and property, were required to be recorded in order to be legally recognised.</p> <p>"Interlopers" referred to unauthorised traders operating outside the Company's monopoly, whose commercial activity had been restricted.</p> <p>"Alienation of land" referred to the transfer or sale of land ownership rights, which had been prohibited to maintain Company control.</p> <p>"Fort St Georges" referred to the Company's administrative centre at Madras, where transactions relating to land and governance were formally processed.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The enforcement of uniform building standards had probably been intended to improve structural safety and to create a more orderly settlement suited to long-term habitation.</p> <p>The encouragement of crops such as coconut and spices suggests that efforts had probably been made to increase the Island's agricultural productivity and align it with profitable trade commodities.</p> <p>The requirement to register all property transactions had perhaps been designed to prevent disputes and to ensure that the Company retained oversight of land ownership.</p> <p>The restriction on interlopers had probably been intended to protect the Company's trading monopoly, while the allowance for paid refreshment reflects a practical accommodation of maritime necessity.</p> <p>The obligation to enclose land within six years and the forfeiture of unimproved land had perhaps been intended to discourage neglect and to ensure that all granted land was actively cultivated or maintained.</p> <p>The control of wandering cattle suggests that damage to crops or conflicts over livestock had probably been a concern, prompting stricter regulation to protect agricultural resources.</p>
23	17	<p>require you for the future to give away none of y[e] Comp[a] tress or Cattle to any Person upon any pretence what[...] soever but such as you have orders from us or y[e] Comp[a] most advantage and bring y[e] proceed to the Companies credit in Accto</p> <p>71</p> <p>You say in your letter of 10 July y[t] y[e] [...] Pastors buying & selling their Lands often one to another</p> <p>You are at a losse how to keep y[e] Land in distinct hands</p> <p>We Direct to which we say it as we have now ordered every twenty Acres of Land whether by alienation or inheritance from y[e] Comp[a] as formerly or hereafter to be conveyed shall pay y[e] Comp[a] forty Shillings annu[...]</p> <p>towards y[e] Comp[a] standing more Soldiers & enabling them are constant duty of watching & warding & matters not whether y[e] person hath One or more Plantations for</p>	<p>A direction had been given that, in future, none of the Company's trees or cattle were to be given away to any person under any pretence whatsoever, except where express orders had been received from the Company. All such assets were to be managed to the greatest advantage, and the proceeds were to be brought to the Company's credit in account.</p> <p>Reference had been made to a letter dated 10 July, in which it had been reported that the planters had been frequently buying and selling land among themselves. Difficulty had been expressed in keeping land in distinct ownership. In response, it had been directed that every twenty acres of land, whether transferred by sale or inheritance from the Company, whether in the past or in the future, was to pay an annual rent of forty shillings to the Company. This revenue had been intended to support the maintenance of additional soldiers and to enable them to carry out their constant duties of watching and warding. It had been stated that this obligation applied regardless of whether a person held one or multiple plantations, though an allowance of twenty acres granted by the Company remained</p>

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		<p>he will have y[e] allowance from y[e] Comp[a] of 20 Acres of land granted to whomsoever if sold or shall be in want time of service & use & Comp[a] as aforesaid</p> <p>72</p> <p>And we would you have y[e] Blacks are employed about Ws that would & would have you must see that every sort of W[...]</p> <p>shall compell each of them to full days work but you shall not be too severe or violent or any pretences whatsoever[...]</p> <p>shall be as great a crime as Robbing us of so much as their labour is worth as high as in other Governments</p> <p>73</p> <p>We must in Respect this Ship some of y[e] mariners have had to stay here all this winter & spring & to be kept at work here to do what is enjoyned them by y[e] Superintends</p> <p>you will do well to see all y[e] Comp[a] Blacks & all other free Planters upon producing as many yams & other Provisions as they can & capable of any Madagascar Ships fall in with other Ships are about y[e] Island Blacks will be sold upon y[e] Island one halfe for y[e] Comp[a] & y[e] other halfe for y[e] Comp[a] use & in consideration if it cannot be taken in time there may be a want of provisions for so many months</p> <p>74</p> <p>You do not well to omit sending us Mr Samuels papers We find they all his proceedings to be an irregular disbursement upon Exchange you shall have no allowance nor have after time to accept to produce so great a charge upon y[e] Island & not to any other where he should more be aboard Salary & gratuity & that all y[e] goods traded when he gives account to give leave & doe his duty as a Servant to y[e] Comp[a]</p> <p>that trust as you are informed he hath refused to pay y[e] shillings and upon y[e] Goods where it is a proof of his weakness & negligence or his fault & we cannot understand a sufficient or just reason that most Servants are of great injustice that shall be so un[...] laws by y[e] order thereof if any Magistrate hereafter shall refuse to punish any offence upon a due complaint we would have y[o]u & Councell impartially to dismiss him from [...]</p>	<p>recognised, whether retained or sold, particularly in times of service and necessity.</p> <p>Instructions had been given concerning the employment of Black labourers. It had been required that they were to be fully employed in their assigned work, and that each was to be compelled to complete a full day's labour. However, it had been emphasised that excessive severity or violence was not to be used under any pretence. Any failure to secure their labour had been regarded as a serious offence, comparable to depriving the Company of the value of that labour, and had been treated as a crime of equal seriousness to similar offences in other governments.</p> <p>Consideration had been given to the situation of certain mariners from a ship who had remained on the Island throughout the winter and spring and had been kept at work under supervision. It had been advised that all the Company's slaves and all free planters were to be encouraged, upon opportunity, to produce as many yams and other provisions as possible. In the event that ships from Madagascar or other vessels should arrive at the Island, slaves might be brought for sale. In such cases, one half was to be taken for the Company, and the other half was also to be applied to the Company's use. This arrangement had been justified on the grounds that delays in supply might otherwise result in shortages of provisions for several months.</p> <p>Concern had been expressed that Mr Samuels's papers had not been sent as required. His proceedings had been described as involving irregular disbursements made through exchange, for which no allowance was to be granted. It had been stated that he was not to be permitted further time to justify such charges, which had imposed an excessive burden upon the Island. It had been expected that he should have remained aboard or confined himself to his salary and gratuity, and that all goods traded were to be properly accounted for. He had been instructed to perform his duties faithfully as a servant of the Company. It had been reported that he had refused to pay certain sums relating to goods, which had been taken as evidence either of negligence or fault. No sufficient or just reason had been identified for his conduct, and it had been observed that many servants had acted with injustice in similar matters.</p> <p>An order had been stated that, if any magistrate in future should refuse to punish an offence upon a proper complaint, the Governor and Council were to act impartially to dismiss such a person from office [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Watching and warding" referred to the routine duties of guarding and patrolling, particularly for the defence and security of the settlement, often carried out by soldiers or appointed watchmen.</p> <p>"Forty shillings annual payment per twenty acres" represented a form of quit-rent or fixed land tax, imposed to generate revenue for the Company, especially to fund military presence and security.</p> <p>"Irregular disbursement upon exchange" referred to financial transactions conducted through bills of exchange or similar instruments that had not followed authorised procedures or proper accounting practices.</p> <p>"Madagascar ships" referred to vessels engaged in trade with Madagascar, often associated with the transport and sale of slaves and provisions within the Indian Ocean trade network.</p> <p>"Gratuity" referred to an additional payment or reward beyond a fixed salary, typically granted at the Company's discretion for service rendered.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The prohibition on giving away Company assets such as trees and cattle had probably been intended to prevent misuse or informal distribution of valuable resources, ensuring that all benefits were accounted for within Company finances.</p>

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			<p>The imposition of a fixed annual payment per twenty acres suggests that landholding had been increasingly formalised as a revenue source, possibly reflecting growing administrative control over the Island's economy.</p> <p>The emphasis on enforcing full labour from Black workers, combined with instructions against excessive violence, indicates an attempt to balance economic exploitation with the maintenance of order and discipline.</p> <p>The encouragement of increased food production, alongside arrangements for acquiring slaves from passing ships, suggests concern over the Island's vulnerability to shortages and a reliance on external supply networks.</p> <p>The criticism of Mr Samuels's conduct reflects ongoing challenges in enforcing financial accountability among Company servants, with irregular practices posing risks to the Island's limited resources.</p> <p>The directive to dismiss magistrates who failed to act on complaints suggests that maintaining judicial authority and discipline had been considered essential to the stability of the settlement.</p>
24	18	<p>from [...] service & send him home Notwithstanding order is No Minister shall upon his own head presume to marry any Couple untill the Banns of matrimony be thrice Published in the Church according to the usage of England except those who have License as aforesaid for so doing 75 If some of y[e] Planters are not able or willing to pay taxes it hath been said care & cost to make them up to what they are now as it shall be to raise y[e] to a better condition because those that are willing or not they must be forced to be content & their Garisons & Supers for their protection & preservation as is necessary to all countries & Merchants & without which y[e] Island would return to its first state if it should be otherwise which must then be deserted by this means & after all y[e] cost would be thrown away & consequently their destruction by rendering them slaves to one another or else to a Forreign Yoke it is our duty to instruct & inform you what y[e] reason there is herein 76 We do send you herewith Mr Robert Holden to be Lieutenant of Garrison Comp[a] second of y[e] Council Storekeeper Generall & customer at y[e] salary of [...] for all services to continue from his arrival upon y[e] Island and Mr Gregory Field to be Engineer of the Garrison Comp[a] a kind of Council & Surveyour Gen[era]l of all y[e] Comp[a] Buildings & plantations at y[e] salary of [...] to be allowed to continue as aforesaid & where we have Commission under our Large Scale to send & deliver unto him from our Councell or having any thing to do with Stores Lieutenant Johnson & do hereby strictly require & enjoin you & Councill that no Person whatsoever either belonging to y[e] said Councill hereafter at any time meddle with or dispose any Stores in writing 77 Notwithstanding we do approve Mr John Graham to be of Councill during his stay at St Helena in his going and coming bound voyages & to take place next after</p>	<p>A direction had been given that a person was to be removed from service and sent home notwithstanding prior considerations.</p> <p>An order had been established that no minister was to presume to marry any couple on his own authority unless the banns of matrimony had been published three times in the church, in accordance with the usage of England. An exception had been allowed only for those who possessed a licence granting permission to proceed otherwise.</p> <p>Consideration had been given to the matter of taxation among the planters. It had been acknowledged that some were either unable or unwilling to pay taxes, despite the care and expense already invested in establishing their condition. It had been stated that as much effort would be required to improve their circumstances as had been spent in bringing them to their present state. It had therefore been ordered that all, whether willing or unwilling, were to be compelled to contribute, in order to support the garrisons and superiors responsible for their protection and preservation. Such arrangements had been described as necessary in all countries and for all merchants. Without these provisions, it had been warned that the Island would return to its former condition and would ultimately be deserted, rendering all prior expenditure wasted. It had further been suggested that failure to maintain such order might result in the inhabitants becoming subject either to domination by one another or to a foreign power.</p> <p>Notification had been given that Mr Robert Holden had been sent to the Island to serve as Lieutenant of the Garrison Company, second member of the Council, Storekeeper General and Customer, with a salary assigned for all services from the time of his arrival. Mr Gregory Field had also been sent to serve as Engineer of the Garrison Company, a member of the Council, and Surveyor General of all Company buildings and plantations, likewise with a salary assigned from his arrival. Authority had been granted under the Company's seal for their appointments. It had been strictly required that neither members of the Council nor any other persons were to interfere with or dispose of any stores without proper written authority.</p> <p>Approval had been given for Mr John Graham to serve as a member of the Council during his stay at St Helena while on his outward and return voyages, and to take precedence next after the Governor. It had been further ordered that after his return, no person was to hold such a position except in accordance with future instructions issued by the Company.</p>

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		<p>you but that after his Return at this time no person shall be of y[e] Comp[a] at St Helena in such order as we shall signifye from time to time for y[e] purpose 78 And in regard in all parts of y[e] known World a custom of Negroes & Inhabitants after any one dye for the direct supply Master or Mistress of a family or persons shall yearly pay unto y[e] Receivers for about y[e] age of 10 years for 1 s for every male or woman & repairing of Church & maintaining a Minister which sumes to be remitted & to be paid unto James Michael & Alexander which shall be in your said 79 We have directed Mr Ward to send about y[e] grant what y[e] Island & wee know y[e] very good their growne party & y[e] word about y[e] same [...] & therefore we have</p>	<p>A customary payment had been described, whereby, following the death of any person among the Negroes or inhabitants, the master or mistress of the family, or other responsible persons, were to pay annually a sum to designated receivers. This payment had been set at 1s for each male or female above the age of ten years, and had been intended for the repair of the church and the maintenance of a minister. These sums were to be remitted and paid to James Michael and Alexander as specified.</p> <p>Reference had been made to directions given to Mr Ward concerning a grant relating to the Island, with mention of the good quality of what had been produced there and further matters relating to the same [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Banns of matrimony” referred to the public announcement of an intended marriage, traditionally read aloud in church on three separate occasions, intended to allow any objections to be raised before the marriage took place.</p> <p>“Garrison Company” referred to the organised body of soldiers stationed on the Island for its defence and internal security, functioning as both a military and administrative unit.</p> <p>“Storekeeper General” referred to the official responsible for managing, recording and safeguarding all Company stores, including provisions, materials and supplies.</p> <p>“Customer” referred to an officer responsible for collecting customs duties and overseeing the regulation of trade and goods entering or leaving the Island.</p> <p>“Surveyor General” referred to a senior official tasked with overseeing the inspection, planning and maintenance of all Company buildings and plantations.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The strict requirement for the publication of banns before marriage had probably been intended to enforce social order and prevent disputes or irregular unions within the settlement.</p> <p>The insistence that all planters contribute to taxation, regardless of willingness, suggests that financial strain or resistance had probably emerged, necessitating firmer enforcement to sustain the Island’s military and administrative structures.</p> <p>The concentration of multiple roles in individuals such as Mr Holden indicates that administrative efficiency had probably required officials to perform several duties simultaneously due to limited personnel.</p> <p>The prohibition on unauthorised handling of stores suggests that misuse or mismanagement of supplies had probably been a recurring concern.</p> <p>The requirement for payments upon death to support church maintenance indicates that religious institutions had relied on structured contributions tied to life events, reflecting their central role in the community.</p> <p>The warning that failure to maintain order could lead to subjugation by a foreign power suggests that external threats or competition had been a recognised concern in the broader regional context.</p>
25	19	<p>[...] have & doe continue to make tryalls of y[e] said what & a quantity of English what herewith sent untill you shall find by Ex-perience which are y[e] fittest soyles of y[e] year & y[e] fittest places of y[e] Island for y[e] sowing & growth of it 80 We have thoughts in time of making for y[e] Comp[a] a large Sugar Plantation with Mills Sugar houses & still houses proportionable We have likewise thoughts of making a good Indigo Plantation</p>	<p>Directions had been given that continued trials were to be made of the specified crop, together with a quantity of English wheat sent for that purpose. These trials were to be carried out until experience had determined which soils, seasons and locations on the Island were most suitable for its sowing and growth.</p> <p>Consideration had been given to the future establishment of a large sugar plantation for the Company, including mills, sugar houses and still houses in proper proportion. Plans had also been formed for the creation of an indigo plantation, to be undertaken once suitable and experienced workmen could be obtained and sent to the Island. Orders had been issued for indigo seed, cotton seed and other useful seeds and</p>

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		<p>as soon as we can light of proper workmen experienced in such affairs to come over to begin these works in due time We have ordered Indigo seed Cotton seed & other usefull seeds & plants of India to be sent you from all y[e] Factories & 5 or 6 Negroes in every Ship it must be your care to see y[e] seeds plants & Negroes so sent & employed & we may at length reap some benefit of those great & to be very carefull in y[e] choice of such persons & entrusting of Plantations & Negroes & custody of so much tools & other valuables</p> <p>81 For y[e] future we do forbid any of y[e] Negroes that turne Plant[e]rs or [...] until their 7 years time of service as Soldiers be fully expired</p> <p>82 We do likewise order that no Blacks be admitted to use any Firearme for shooting of game birds or upon any other pretence whatsoever upon penalty of y[e] Blacks being severely whipt & his master to be for every offence forfeit to y[e] Comp[a] [...] it is seen do prove y[e] Masters them they have constant or common resort</p> <p>83 [...] it is a fittest place to be first made for y[e] Comp[a] use & you can make your enclosures so straight lines [...] some conveniencys of water this work will be profit [...] Negroes to be employed about till you have materials to begin some considerable Plantation but unless St Thomas or some Madagascar Ships coming to y[e] Island within 6 months We cannot suppose you will have any great supplies of them before May or June next then we advise you not to send too many of them from Indies or Madagascar or Guinea which will hereafter much import as you so manage y[e] Plantation you have already of y[e] Comp[a] as to work your servants diligently raise up sorts of Roots & other Provisions proper for Negroes & you recommend it strongly to y[e] free Planters to be well stocked with such provisions against that time</p> <p>84 For y[e] manner of sowing We cannot give you so exact a rule as to assure you may take upon it to give you no directions about it it is constantly best Experiments in these places & being directed to make success of y[e] most proper & profitable kinds [...] may grow up to be a strong hedge or fence against all sorts of beasts to keep y[e] cattle from y[e] growing of y[e] plants to keep y[e] plants which may do better for y[e] increase of your stock</p> <p>85 Cattle Mares horses & Sheep We send you for Breeding such must not be suffered to range at large but to be kept in proper enclosures & maintenance & made good & secure to</p>	<p>plants from India to be dispatched from the Company's factories, together with five or six slaves on each ship. Responsibility had been placed upon the Island authorities to ensure that these seeds, plants and slaves were properly received and employed, so that benefit might eventually be derived from these considerable undertakings. Careful selection of persons for managing plantations and slaves had been required, as well as proper custody of tools and other valuable items.</p> <p>A prohibition had been established that no slave who became a planter or [...] was to be permitted such status until seven years of service as a soldier had been fully completed.</p> <p>A further order had been issued that no Black person was to be allowed the use of firearms for shooting game birds or for any other purpose whatsoever. Any breach of this rule was to be punished by severe whipping of the individual, and the master was to incur a forfeiture to the Company for each offence. Responsibility had been placed upon masters to ensure compliance, particularly where such individuals had regular access to places where firearms might be obtained.</p> <p>It had been observed that a certain location [...] had been considered the most suitable place for initial development for the Company's use. Enclosures were to be laid out in straight lines, with regard to access to water and other conveniences, and this work had been expected to prove profitable. Slaves were to be employed in this labour until sufficient materials had been gathered to begin a more substantial plantation. It had been anticipated that, unless ships from St Thomas or Madagascar arrived within six months, no significant supply of slaves would be received before May or June. It had therefore been advised that excessive numbers of slaves were not to be sent from India, Madagascar or Guinea, as future needs would depend upon the management of existing plantations. Emphasis had been placed upon the diligent employment of servants and the cultivation of roots and other provisions suitable for feeding slaves. Free planters had been strongly encouraged to maintain sufficient stocks of such provisions in preparation for future demands.</p> <p>It had been stated that no exact rules could be given for the method of sowing, as this depended upon local conditions. Instead, reliance had been placed upon practical experimentation to determine the most suitable and profitable crops. It had been suggested that certain plants might be grown to form strong hedges or fences, capable of protecting crops from animals and improving the management of livestock and cultivated land.</p> <p>Livestock including cattle, mares, horses and sheep had been sent for breeding purposes. These animals were not to be allowed to roam freely, but were to be kept within proper enclosures and carefully maintained to prevent accidents and losses that might arise in open and exposed ground.</p> <p>It had been noted that carriages were not being used for transporting stones on the Island, although such practices were customary in England and considered appropriate and suitable for such work.</p> <p>Interpretations "Indigo plantation" referred to the cultivation of plants used to produce indigo dye, a valuable commodity in early modern trade, requiring specialised knowledge in both agriculture and processing. "Still houses" referred to buildings equipped for distillation processes, often associated with refining sugar by-products or producing spirits, forming part of a larger plantation system. "Factories" referred to the Company's overseas trading posts, which functioned as centres for commerce, storage and coordination of goods rather than manufacturing sites.</p>

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		<p>prevent accidents & mischances y[t] may happen in such open & naked grounds 86 We understand you use not Carriages to carry stones as in some we do not in England but nowhere in our Countries as is very proper & suitable</p>	<p>“Seven years of service as soldiers” referred to a fixed term of compulsory service, after which certain individuals, including slaves in specific circumstances, might become eligible for altered status or privileges.</p> <p>Speculations The emphasis on experimentation with crops suggests that agricultural conditions on the Island had not yet been fully understood, requiring ongoing adaptation to local soils and climate. The planned establishment of sugar and indigo plantations indicates that the Company had probably intended to transform the Island into a more economically productive colony aligned with profitable global trade commodities. The controlled importation and allocation of slaves reflects a calculated approach to labour management, balancing immediate needs with concerns over supply, provisioning and long-term sustainability. The strict prohibition on slaves using firearms suggests concerns over security and the potential for resistance or disorder within a controlled labour system. The encouragement of enclosures and hedging indicates an effort to impose more structured agricultural practices, reducing losses from livestock and improving land use efficiency. The remark on the absence of carriages suggests that infrastructure or labour practices on the Island had not yet reached the level considered standard in England, pointing to ongoing development challenges.</p>
26	20	<p>[...] & for y[e] purpose Oxen are used in greater burthens in almost all places of y[e] East Indies which [...] may be some difficulty in bringing y[e] to carry burthens at first as it is more easie then to yoke but we judge Wee & Planters may find great benefit by use of them therefore we would have you to contrive & cause it to be practised in y[e] Plantations 87 You did well in buying in y[e] Plantation of Mr B[...] & we continue to our desire be any other that comes you will do well to take y[e] first opportunity of buying y[e] same for y[e] Comp[a] in giving y[e] Owners other Lands in lieu thereof 88 We would have you fence in y[e] wood & what extent of y[e] great wood aforesaid which we understand is near a mile square 89 Although we have appointed & given commission to Mr Gregory Field to be Engineer of y[e] Garrison Comp[a] upon y[e] Island as aforesaid in this letter yet we are desirous for y[e] Comp[a] service to continue to keep him sober & you may be pleased to assign his task & take care to employ him & [...] in such services under you to be in y[e] keeping y[e] best Accts of y[e] Revenues of y[e] Island as may render him deserving of such a salary for y[e] Registers place is now valued very considerable and we do hereby expressly order y[e] cash of y[e] Duties in y[e] hands [...] profit to be safe keeping & that [...] for Robert Holden shall remain & be present & immediate care of y[e] Island in case of y[e] Rob[er]t Holden absence or removal One proviso said of Gregory Field shall take charge & do so until further order</p>	<p>It had been observed that oxen were used in most parts of the East Indies for carrying heavy burdens, and that although some initial difficulty might be encountered in training them for such work, this was considered easier than other methods of draught. It had been judged that both the Company and the planters would derive considerable benefit from their use. Instructions had therefore been given that methods were to be devised and put into practice within the plantations to employ oxen for carrying loads. Approval had been expressed for the purchase of Mr B[...]’s plantation, and a desire had been stated that any other such opportunities should likewise be taken. It had been advised that, where possible, plantations should be acquired for the Company, with the owners being compensated by the grant of other lands in exchange. An order had been issued that the wood, including the extent of the great wood described as approximately one mile square, was to be enclosed. Although Mr Gregory Field had already been appointed and commissioned as Engineer of the Garrison Company on the Island, it had been expressed that, for the Company’s service, he was to be kept diligent and sober. Tasks were to be assigned to him, and care was to be taken to employ him in appropriate services under supervision. Responsibility had also been given to ensure that proper accounts of the Island’s revenues were maintained, so that he might justify the value of his salary. The office of Register had been described as of considerable importance. It had been ordered that all cash from duties and profits was to be securely kept. Provision had been made that Robert Holden was to retain immediate care of the Island, and in the event of his absence or removal, Gregory Field was to assume charge until further orders were issued. Further orders had been made concerning the management of records and property. All registers, Company stores, goods, money, papers, writings and accounts were to be carefully maintained. The Governor and Council had been required to subscribe documents only in the proper manner and in the presence of the relevant officers, following an established form. The Register had been required to record all entries in the official books, including deeds</p>

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		<p>90</p> <p>In further consideration we have thought fit to order that the [...] & Registers & y[e] Compa Store goods & money and all papers & writings & accounts and you have liberty for y[e] & other purposes & do order y[e] Gov[erno]r & Council shall subscribe only in presence thereof according to a blank fictitious form we have fitted up for</p> <p>y[e] Register & y[e] Register is to subscribe in those papers of y[e] Register Book & all Deeds or Leases Registered of y[e] Plantations by the true & name of each sort with [...] are to remain in custody of our Gov[erno]r</p> <p>91</p> <p>By discovering many errors concerning methods of improvement of y[e] Island & Mr Smoult informing us that it is generally very Salt We amongst other things thought of making of Salt Ponds where if your earth proves to be sufficiently impregnated with nitre to answer those ends which we have discovered to be most proper in some places & our present Surveyor Mr Field may be assist & from whence you shall be directed as to that work useful capabilities may be most strong of nature such as y[e] mountain Sandhills grounds & therefore we shall in y[e] first place instruct to make trials of y[e] Earth which must be after this manner</p>	<p>and leases of plantations, under their proper names and descriptions. These records were to remain in the custody of the Governor.</p> <p>Attention had been drawn to errors in previous methods of improving the Island. It had been reported by Mr Smoult that the soil was generally very salt. Consideration had therefore been given to the construction of salt ponds, provided that the earth proved sufficiently impregnated with nitre to make such works effective. Certain locations, such as mountain sands and similar ground, had been identified as potentially suitable. Instructions had been given that trials of the soil were to be undertaken in order to determine its suitability, and guidance was to be provided by the Surveyor, Mr Field, regarding the proper method for carrying out this work.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Oxen used for carrying burdens” referred to the practice of employing trained cattle as draught animals, a method widely used in the East Indies for transporting heavy loads across difficult terrain.</p> <p>“Register” referred to an official record-keeper responsible for maintaining formal documentation, including property transactions, accounts and legal instruments.</p> <p>“Nitre” referred to naturally occurring mineral salts, often associated with potassium nitrate, which could indicate soil conditions suitable for certain chemical or agricultural processes, including salt production.</p> <p>“Salt ponds” referred to shallow basins constructed to extract salt through the evaporation of seawater or saline groundwater, a process dependent on suitable environmental and soil conditions.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The encouragement to adopt the use of oxen suggests that labour efficiency and transport difficulties had probably been limiting factors in the development of the Island’s plantations.</p> <p>The continued acquisition of private plantations by the Company indicates a probable effort to consolidate land ownership and strengthen central control over agricultural production.</p> <p>The emphasis on enclosing woodland suggests concern over the management and preservation of natural resources, possibly to prevent overuse or uncontrolled grazing.</p> <p>The detailed instructions regarding record-keeping and custody of goods indicate that administrative irregularities or losses had probably occurred, prompting stricter oversight.</p> <p>The proposal to create salt ponds suggests that the Company had been exploring additional economic resources on the Island, particularly those that could reduce reliance on imported supplies or generate trade commodities.</p> <p>The requirement to test soil conditions reflects an experimental approach to resource development, indicating that the Island’s potential was still being assessed and adapted to.</p>
27	21	<p>[...] in some pot or vessel One pound of earth you would take & put to it one quart of fresh water stire y[e] Earth & water together and in an hour or two for a weeks time then let it settle & it will pour off or decant as a Rinnell called it y[e] clear water into a clean vessel till more be to be taken up & no more with a little salt in it which being set upon a board in which holes in it y[e] salt vessels water will run from one & leave y[e] substance</p>	<p>Instructions had been given for testing the salt content of the soil. One pound of earth was to be taken and mixed with one quart of fresh water. The mixture was to be stirred and left to stand for one or two hours, and this process was to be repeated over the course of a week. After settling, the clear water was to be poured off into a clean vessel until no more could be obtained. This liquid, containing a small quantity of salt, was then to be placed upon a board pierced with holes, allowing the water to drain away and leaving the solid substance behind. By this method, measurement could be made, and if one ounce of salt was obtained from one pound of earth, the soil was to be considered very good. It had been noted that in India such yields had sometimes</p>

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		<p>in y[e] Board so your measure afterwards will be if you find y[e] out of a pound of earth we have an ounce of Salt in Earth to be washed where you can have a ton or so of pounds of Earth it Earth is very good sometimes out of y[e] earth found in India it is most plentiful even here was produced out of y[e] best earth in India as one ounce is y[e] most silver was produced out of y[e] best earth that ever was taken from the bottom of any Cellar or Pigeon house in England</p> <p>The manner of making Saltpetre in England We sup [...] or leaches here it is by putting y[e] Earth dug out of Stalls & Pigeon houses into tubs or large hogsheads with false Bottoms & letting water soak through them which will wash of y[e] nitre which will be put upon y[e] Earth in due proportion afterwards & being decocted into y[e] liquor vessels is then carried to a Copper & boiled till it becomes thick & afterwards drawn from y[e] sediment as aforesaid & but we suppose it is likely to become crude upon y[e] Island in a Stove & that use of these that there is some mixture of nitre being Earth in England will never turn us to best Value But you may not incline to it a much cheaper method which we have been informed by y[e] People of Batavia upon the Java & y[e] East Indies from whence comes most of the Saltpetre & y[e] Dutch bring for Europe from many places would be in this manner first you would take boards or planks wood 20 foot square & some not larger with boards upon y[e] sides of such height as shall suffice to keep in earth supposed 2 or 3 foot high upon this you must have laying in length a hole or trough about a foot deep which foot deep upon which as a Rinne or drain with some strength is to be brought or Runnels at y[e] bottom to pass through the floor board & slack descending somewhat & return into also a Cistern or Reservoir which conveys the liquor into a cistern made tight & covered with a board or [...] or thick boards but the sides & ends must be made bottom and sides can be made tight for a bottom [...] twenty foot square We suppose they ought to be made [...] of 20 foot breadth to that length & about 12 foot depth because y[e] thinner the liquor lies in the cistern the more it will be exposed to Aire by the heat and exhalation of the Sun This Cistern must have a covering of matelott which they continue in</p>	<p>been found, and that even in England, earth taken from the bottoms of cellars or pigeon houses had produced similar results.</p> <p>An explanation had been given of the method of making saltpetre in England. Earth taken from stables or pigeon houses was placed into tubs or large hogsheads fitted with false bottoms. Water was then poured through, which washed out the nitre contained within the earth. The resulting liquid was collected and then boiled in copper vessels until it thickened. It was afterwards separated from the sediment. It had been suggested that this method might not prove as effective on the Island, as the earth there might not contain sufficient nitre, and that the result might remain crude.</p> <p>A different method, reported to be used in Batavia and other parts of Java and the East Indies, had therefore been described as a cheaper alternative. Wooden boards or planks, approximately twenty feet square, were to be constructed with raised sides sufficient to hold earth to a depth of two or three feet. Along the length of this structure, a trench or trough about one foot deep was to be formed, acting as a channel or drain. At the base, smaller channels were to be arranged so that liquid could pass through the floor and flow downwards into a cistern or reservoir.</p> <p>This cistern was to be constructed so as to be watertight and covered, though capable of exposure when required. It was to be broad and shallow, approximately twenty feet square and about twelve feet in depth, so that the liquid within it might be spread thinly and thereby more exposed to the air, heat and evaporation of the sun. The design was intended to encourage the concentration of the dissolved substances through natural processes of evaporation. The cistern was to be covered with matting or similar material, which was to be maintained in place [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Saltpetre” referred to potassium nitrate, a mineral substance used in the manufacture of gunpowder as well as in various chemical and agricultural processes.</p> <p>“Nitre” referred to naturally occurring mineral salts found in soil, particularly those containing potassium nitrate, which could be extracted through leaching and evaporation.</p> <p>“Decant” referred to the process of carefully pouring off liquid from a mixture after sediment had settled, leaving the solid residue behind.</p> <p>“Hogsheads with false bottoms” referred to large casks fitted with internal perforated layers, allowing liquid to pass through while retaining solid material above.</p> <p>“Batavia” referred to the Dutch colonial centre on the island of Java, known as a major hub of trade and production in the East Indies.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The detailed instructions for testing soil and producing saltpetre suggest that the Company had been actively exploring the Island’s potential for producing valuable chemical resources, particularly those associated with military supply such as gunpowder.</p> <p>The comparison between English and East Indian methods indicates that local environmental conditions had probably required adaptation of established techniques, leading to experimentation with alternative approaches better suited to the Island’s climate.</p> <p>The emphasis on evaporation through exposure to sun and air suggests that natural climatic advantages, such as heat and dryness, were being considered as a means to reduce labour and cost in production.</p> <p>The reference to practices in Batavia implies that knowledge had been transferred across Company and European networks, reflecting the exchange of technical expertise within colonial systems.</p>

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28	22	<p>India after the manner of a great umbrella which when ever it Rains they lower & shut it & at all times when the sun shines whether to prevent y[e] dew & they no it is by night or not We cannot w[...].</p> <p>When the liquor has lain so long till it begins to [...], [...] as y[e] Chemist calls it) which will be sooner or later according to y[e] excess or defect of y[e] Suns heat & where all y[e] thick slime doth have upon stages made of boards with small holes through them where y[e] Brine drains or y[e] oylods salt water & is mixed with it & from these stages after such drying carry it to [...], into Warehouses for sale</p> <p>We are told y[e] after one bed of Earth is exhausted by y[e] liquor y[e] drains shorter it becomes gradually less do not presently throw away y[e] Earth but put another coat of fresh Earth upon it & so continue repeating two or three beds of Earth one upon another until y[e] practice continue no more & when y[e] vertue of all is spent clo[...], y[e] frame & begin new beds of Earth again These works make more Cost in a year than two brings to Europe But for more certainty We have writ to y[e] Agents & Council in y[e] Bay to procure from y[e] French & Factors at Pataga a full description of y[e] whole process of y[e] works with y[e] Bigness length & depth of y[e] frames & system observed upon Java & also to send you Warehouses or models or designs for y[e] Government of y[e] Cisterns in the mean time you may be making some trials what your Earth will do with a few Charges which you may make out of y[e] Shipping & by y[e] next Ships we shall send you more Goods & Carpenters & some quantity of Bricks & Tarras to make your frames about your systems in y[e] ground</p> <p>We doubt prove good that your Sun not be enough to make y[e] liquor dry We shall find you salts & to assist y[e] work before if we find y[e] Commodity will turn to ac[...], [...] but it must be such charge of y[e] heat of y[e] prove sufficient to condense y[e] Salt liquor into [...], y[e] Island prove production of this Commodity & be a considerable Recompence to Us towards y[e] Great sum</p> <p>We have expended upon y[e] place so it will be a great age to y[e] Island & hazard many of y[e] Ships & thereon must stop shore to throw out their Ballast in Port for Kentlars which will recreate & affordance of all Necessaries to y[e] Island from [...]</p>	<p>A covering had been described, made in the manner of a large umbrella, as used in India. This was to be lowered and closed whenever it rained, and adjusted during sunshine, whether to protect from dew at night or for other purposes, though the exact detail had not been fully expressed.</p> <p>It had been explained that the liquid was to remain in place until it began to thicken and form crystals, as described by chemists. The timing of this process was to depend upon the strength or weakness of the sun's heat. Once the substance had thickened into a slime, it was to be placed upon raised stages made of boards pierced with small holes. Through these, the brine or salt water was to drain away. After sufficient drying, the remaining material was to be collected and carried into warehouses for storage and sale.</p> <p>It had been advised that, once a bed of earth had been exhausted through the draining of the liquid, it was not to be immediately discarded. Instead, a fresh layer of earth was to be added on top, and this process was to be repeated with two or three layers until no further useful effect could be obtained. When all the virtue of the earth had been spent, the structure was to be cleared and new beds of earth were to be prepared.</p> <p>It had been observed that such works were costly, requiring more expense in a year than might be returned within two years in Europe. For greater certainty, correspondence had been sent to the Company's agents and Council in the Bay, requesting a full description of the entire process from French sources and from factors at Pataga. This information was to include the dimensions and construction of the frames, as well as the system used in Java. Models, designs or instructions for the construction and management of cisterns were also to be obtained and sent.</p> <p>In the meantime, it had been advised that trials should be undertaken using small quantities and limited expense, drawing upon resources available from shipping. It had been stated that, by subsequent ships, additional goods, carpenters and quantities of bricks and tarras would be sent to assist in constructing the necessary frames and systems within the ground.</p> <p>Concern had been expressed that the strength of the sun on the Island might not be sufficient to dry the liquid effectively. It had been suggested that additional salts might be provided to assist the process if required. Should the production prove successful, it had been expected that the commodity would yield a valuable return, helping to offset the considerable expense already incurred by the Company in maintaining the Island.</p> <p>It had further been suggested that such production would provide significant benefit to the Island and might attract ships to call there, particularly those requiring ballast or supplies. This activity would encourage trade and provide necessary provisions to support the Island [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Crystallise” referred to the process by which dissolved substances, such as salts, formed solid crystals as liquid evaporated.</p> <p>“Brine” referred to water containing a high concentration of dissolved salt, from which solid salt could be extracted through evaporation.</p> <p>“Stages made of boards with small holes” referred to drying platforms designed to allow liquid to drain away while retaining the solid material above.</p> <p>“Tarras” referred to a type of volcanic or pozzolanic material used in construction, particularly in mortar, valued for its durability and resistance to moisture.</p> <p>“Factors at Pataga” referred to Company agents or commercial representatives stationed at a trading location identified as Pataga, involved in gathering technical or commercial information.</p>

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			<p>Speculations</p> <p>The detailed attention given to the salt production process suggests that the Company had been seriously considering it as a potential industry to offset the high costs of maintaining the Island.</p> <p>The request for detailed designs and foreign expertise indicates that local knowledge had been insufficient, and that reliance had been placed on established practices from other regions.</p> <p>The concern regarding the strength of the sun suggests uncertainty about whether local environmental conditions would support efficient production, highlighting the experimental nature of the project.</p> <p>The expectation that successful production would attract ships implies that the Company had been seeking to integrate the Island more fully into maritime trade networks, using it as both a supply station and a point of commercial exchange.</p>
29	23	<p>We have desired M[r] Rob[er]t Hodden & M[r] Gregory Field & M[r] Smout before their goeing to discourse w[ith] as many persons as they can meet w[ith] skillfull in make Saltpetre that they may come best furnished right they can thence what they shall impart to you</p> <p>93</p> <p>M[r] Hodden afores[ai]d being settled & Stenckley We have all o[r] Stores now upon y[e] Island immediately put into his care & at such times as you doe want him let y[e] reservation of M[r] D[...][...]s care for y[e] Comp[an]y use & for the making Stores or provisions made said M[r] will have acco[un]t from him monthly & M[r] Hodden shall at all times now attending but & all places Conveniently & be ready & all o[r] Debts of y[e] Comp[an]y Receivable accts weekly to you as afores[ai]d & to pay out such moneys as you shall have order from you</p> <p>94</p> <p>By y[e] last Letters particularly Lieutenant Johnsons We are [...] you have in Stock it must be y[e] are now so that M[r] Smout brings you are most desor[ab]le to serve us & for y[e] profit of it little & little y[e] things yt accrue so much money when they are once disposed among y[e] Plan[t]s they will serve more use or other for y[e] paper Ducks that sent us some acco[un]t single nothing to us hereto Charge must be made & his acco[un]t to be placed there with you when M[r] Smout impo[...][...]d to discharge them If he shall refuse to do it whilst y[e] Timo[...][...]stance is there Sequester his land & Cattle for y[e] Comp[an]y Use untill that shall make a clear acco[un]t with you & send him home in Europe to answer it here Which he cannot doe best by producing good & for what he hath delivered And if any refuse to give due obedience to y[e] Gover[n]o[r]s & y[e] Governm[en]t then you must make them know there will be no other way but never to be reclaimed to that obstinacy & obedience which is necessary by welfare of y[e] Societies of Mankind</p>	<p>It had been arranged that Mr Robert Hodden, Mr Gregory Field and Mr Smout, before their departure, were to confer with as many persons as possible who possessed skill in the making of saltpetre. By this means, they were to become well informed and prepared, and whatever knowledge they acquired was to be communicated upon arrival.</p> <p>After Mr Hodden had been settled in his position, all the Company's stores on the Island were to be placed immediately under his care. When required, access to these stores was to be granted under proper authority, while their general oversight remained reserved for the Company's use. Monthly accounts were to be rendered, and Mr Hodden was to attend diligently at all convenient times and places. He was to ensure that all debts due to the Company were received, with accounts delivered weekly, and that payments were made only upon proper orders.</p> <p>Reference had been made to previous letters, particularly that of Lieutenant Johnson, from which it had been understood that sufficient stock had been held. It had been noted that goods brought by Mr Smout were of a kind suited to the Company's service, and that even small quantities might gradually produce profit once distributed among the planters. Instructions had been given that proper charges were to be made and accounts recorded accordingly. Should Mr Smout refuse to settle his accounts, his land and cattle were to be seized for the Company's use until a clear account had been rendered. He was then to be sent to Europe to answer for his conduct, supported by proper evidence of what had been delivered. It had been further ordered that any person refusing obedience to the Governor and government was to be compelled into compliance, as such discipline had been considered necessary for the welfare of society.</p> <p>A further instruction had been given concerning work undertaken for planters. No such work was to be carried out in future unless the Company received full payment for labour performed and for the use of cattle.</p> <p>Great dissatisfaction had been expressed at reports that the planters had failed to register their lands as required. It had been stated that such behaviour could not be justified, and that the existence of government had been intended precisely to compel individuals to comply with what was considered fit and reasonable. It had been required that those who were refractory or idle were not to go unpunished, but were instead to be brought into proper order. It had also been indicated that, if further offences should arise for which no provision had yet been made, measures were to be taken for their prevention or punishment.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Saltpetre" referred to potassium nitrate, a valuable substance used in the production of gunpowder and</p>

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		<p>95 In another particular touching some work for Planters let no such thing be hereafter except y[e] Comp[an]ly be fully paid for Work done & Cattle</p> <p>96 We are greatly offended at y[e] telling us y[t] y[e] Plant[ers] will not duly Regist[r] their lands which you know well nor why they do any such thing In order if they may have their Wills But what do we maintain a Governm[en]t for but to compel them to what is fit and reasonable do you find constantly the refractory & lazy go unpunished till they are reduced to better order And if any other offences shall be committed upon y[e] Island for the prevention or punishment whereof We have made no provision</p>	<p>other applications, requiring specialised methods of extraction and processing.</p> <p>“Sequester his land and cattle” referred to the temporary seizure of property by authority, in order to enforce compliance or secure payment of debts.</p> <p>“Register their lands” referred to the formal recording of land ownership in an official register, ensuring legal recognition and administrative oversight.</p> <p>“Refractory” referred to individuals who were resistant to authority or unwilling to comply with established rules and orders.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The effort to equip officials with knowledge of saltpetre production suggests that the Company had been actively seeking to establish a local source of strategic materials, particularly those connected with military supply.</p> <p>The concentration of responsibility for stores and accounts in Mr Hodden indicates that tighter financial control had probably been required, possibly in response to earlier mismanagement.</p> <p>The threat of seizing land and cattle from those failing to settle accounts reflects a firm approach to enforcing financial discipline and maintaining Company authority.</p> <p>The insistence on obedience to government orders suggests that resistance among planters had probably been a recurring issue, requiring stronger measures to ensure compliance.</p> <p>The emphasis on punishing unregistered landholding and other offences indicates that the administrative system had been under strain, with enforcement becoming a priority to maintain order and accountability.</p>
30	24	London y[e] 17 August 1683 Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Invoice, London 17 August 1683 Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
31	25	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
32	26	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
33	27	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
34	28	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
35	29	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
36	30	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
37	31	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
38	32	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
39	33	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
40	34	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
41	35	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
42	36	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
43	37	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
44	38	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
45	39	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
46	40	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
47	41	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
48	42	<p>Laden by y[e] Grace of God by y[e] Gov[er]n[or] & Company of Merchants of London trading into y[e] East Indies in & upon y[e] good Shipp called Charles of second burthen 775 Tonns or thereabouts whereof goeth Com[m]and[er] Sr Thomas Grantham Kt bound by y[e] Honourable Comp[an]ies employm[en]t for y[e] Island St Helena</p> <p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>	<p>A record had been made that the cargo was laden by the grace of God, under the authority of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. The goods had been placed aboard the good ship called <i>Charles</i>, described as of second burden and of about 775 tons. Command of the vessel had been held by Sir Thomas Grantham, knight. The voyage had been undertaken in the employment of the Honourable Company, and the ship had been bound for the Island of St Helena.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Second burden” referred to a classification of a ship’s capacity or rating, indicating its place within a recognised scale used in maritime commerce.</p> <p>“Tons burden” referred to the carrying capacity of a ship, expressing the volume of cargo it was able to transport rather than its weight.</p> <p>“Laden by the grace of God” was a formal expression commonly used in shipping records,</p>

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			<p>reflecting a customary invocation of divine favour over the voyage and its cargo.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The formal phrasing suggests that such entries had been intended to serve both as commercial documentation and as a form of legal record establishing responsibility for the cargo.</p> <p>The inclusion of the ship's tonnage and classification indicates that the voyage had probably been of considerable scale, reflecting the importance of St Helena within the Company's maritime operations.</p> <p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>
49	43	<p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea This is a true C[py] examin[e]d to w[ith] Richard Keeling Rece[e] the Cargo & Cont[e]yned in the abo[ve] written Bills of Lading ma[k]ing excepti[on]s of the sa[id] wri[t]ten written Merchandize of those good[s] order and well Conditio[n]ed, vizt Rape Oyle foure Barr[e]lls No wanting</p>	<p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p> <p>A certification had been recorded stating that the document was a true copy, examined accordingly by Richard Keeling.</p> <p>Acknowledgement had been made of the receipt of the cargo and of the goods contained in the above written bills of lading. An exception had been noted in respect of certain merchandise, which had otherwise been described as being in good order and condition. Specifically, it had been recorded that four barrels of rape oil were missing.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Bills of lading" referred to formal shipping documents that recorded the goods loaded onto a vessel, serving both as a receipt and as a contract for their carriage.</p> <p>"Rape oil" referred to oil extracted from the seeds of the rape plant, used in the period for lighting, cooking and industrial purposes.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The formal certification by Richard Keeling suggests that verification of cargo had probably been an essential administrative step, ensuring accountability between those who shipped the goods and those who received them.</p> <p>The noted shortage of four barrels of rape oil indicates that discrepancies in cargo were carefully recorded, perhaps to assign responsibility or to support claims for loss or damage.</p>
50	44	<p>[...] Gallons in R[um] Pipes [...] [...] Bottles rotten in Rum Cask[...] [...] Eighteen wanting by invoice fine Bowles for milke; fower Doz[en] [...] [...] Rotten of small size, one Barr[ell] of Pitch halfe out; one Barr[ell] and halfe of Tarr out, Rape Caskes none Rec[e]d. [...] Eighteen wanting; three hundred and twenty foure yds of Brown Serge[...] [...] five Bottome Sparrs wanting [...] two whole Deales wanting [...] halfe Deales wanting; forty halfe Deales Damnified, all the Norway Goods as Deales growthes &c Acc[oun]t after come to five hundred [...] and Butch Boards four Doz[en] wanting, all the Rest Damnified [...] of Oyle & Butch Boards the Bar[...] [...] all five staves of the hand[...] [...] of the Hoopes of the Barrells [...] Rotten &c St Helena [...] ye 7th 1683 Vera Copia Greenway Goods and Ironmong Ware were satisfyed was Damnified whatsoever we could [...] the Dam[p] no of the Valu[e] of the saids [...] though the Norway goods not by Mr Grantham [...] who is R[es]p[on]s[ible] for to make them good and allow for the Cattle, w[hi]ch shall be delivered with them</p>	<p>A further account had been made of goods received, noting deficiencies and damage in comparison with the invoice. Quantities of rum contained in pipes had been recorded, with some measure of gallons [...] missing. Bottles stored within rum casks had been found to be rotten. A deficiency of eighteen items had been noted against the invoice. Fine bowls intended for milk had been listed, including four dozen, though further details were partly obscured.</p> <p>Additional goods had been described as rotten and of small size. One barrel of pitch had been found half empty, and one and a half barrels of tar had also been partly lost. No rape oil casks had been received. A further shortage of eighteen items had been recorded. A quantity of 324 yards of brown serge had been listed, though its condition was not fully stated.</p> <p>Shortages had also been noted in timber and building materials. Five bottom spars had been missing, together with two whole deals and [...] half deals. Forty half deals had been recorded as damaged. All the Norway goods, including deals, growths and similar materials, had been assessed together, amounting in value to approximately 500 [...] . Butcher's boards, listed as four dozen, had been found missing, and the remainder had been damaged.</p> <p>Further damage had been recorded among barrels containing oil and butcher's boards, with staves broken and the hoops of the barrels found rotten or defective, contributing to the loss and deterioration of their contents.</p>

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		<p>Signed by Jn[o] Blackmore Rob[er]t Hodson Gregory Field</p>	<p>The account had been dated at St Helena on 7 January 1684, with the year adjusted to the modern reckoning. The record had been certified as a true copy.</p> <p>It had been stated that Greenway goods and ironmongery had been received in satisfaction, though much had been damaged. The damp had been identified as a cause reducing the value of the goods. It had been noted that the Norway goods had not been supplied by Mr Grantham, who had therefore been held responsible for making them good and for allowing compensation, including in the form of cattle to be delivered in settlement.</p> <p>The document had been signed by John Blackmore, Robert Hodson and Gregory Field.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Pipes” referred to large casks used for storing liquids such as wine or spirits, each holding a substantial volume measured in gallons.</p> <p>“Brown serge” referred to a durable woollen fabric commonly used for clothing and utilitarian purposes in the seventeenth century.</p> <p>“Deals” referred to planks or boards of softwood timber, often imported from northern Europe and used in construction.</p> <p>“Norway goods” referred to timber and related materials imported from Scandinavia, particularly valued for building purposes.</p> <p>“Staves and hoops of barrels” referred to the wooden slats and metal or wooden bands that formed and secured barrels, whose failure would lead to leakage or spoilage of contents.</p> <p>“Vera Copia” was a Latin term meaning “true copy”, used to certify that a document had been accurately transcribed.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The extensive damage and shortages recorded suggest that transport conditions during the voyage had probably been poor, with damp and structural failure of containers contributing significantly to losses.</p> <p>The attribution of responsibility to Mr Grantham for certain goods indicates that accountability for cargo condition had been carefully assigned, perhaps reflecting contractual obligations tied to the shipment.</p> <p>The use of cattle as part of compensation suggests that local resources on St Helena had been employed to settle deficiencies when imported goods were lost or damaged.</p> <p>The repeated mention of rot and damp implies that storage conditions, either aboard ship or upon arrival, had been insufficient to preserve goods over long distances.</p>
51	45	<p>To the Govern[o]r & Councill of the Island of St Helena to whome the aforesaid Cargo was consigned by Bills of Lading under the East India Comp[an]ies Seale & Marke under which signe was the said goods by them received & shipped all Country marke thereto to Mr Thomas Smout he being Executor & allowing to hold of the Honourable Govern[o]r & Company of Merch[an]ts of London trading into the East Indies these agreem[en]ts & Conditions is herein about the same & no otherwise as witness our hands this thirteenth day of February Anno Dom 1683/4 Signed by John Blackmore Rob[er]t Holden Gregory Field Copy of Originall to Mr Smout</p>	<p>A declaration had been made to the Governor and Council of the Island of St Helena, to whom the aforesaid cargo had been consigned by bills of lading issued under the seal and mark of the East India Company. Under that same sign, the goods had been received and shipped. All country marks had been assigned to Mr Thomas Smout, he being described as executor and as holding the goods on behalf of the Honourable Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. It had been agreed that the goods were to be held under the specified agreements and conditions, and no otherwise. This had been witnessed by the signatures of John Blackmore, Robert Holden and Gregory Field on 13 February 1684.</p> <p>A copy of the original document had been directed to Mr Smout.</p> <p>Acknowledgement had been made by the Governor and Council of St Helena of the receipt of all and singular parts of the cargo described in the bill of lading, which had been consigned to them by the Honourable East India Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies and shipped aboard <i>Charles the Second</i>, under the command of Sir Thomas</p>

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		<p>Rec[e]d by the Worshipfull Govern[o]r & Councill of the Island of St Helena all & singular parts of the Cargo consigned in a Bill of Lading consigned to them by the Honourable East India Company of Merch[an]ts London trading into the East Indies shipped aboard of Charles the second Sr Thomas Grantham Kt Commander have Copy whereof with this Bill of Lading the weight of the quantity of the Casks & the Consignment thereof being given about written do find the same to be in like Condition as they were when put on Board of the said Ship this thirteenth day of February Anno Dom 1683/4 Witnessed Tho: Grantham Jo: Smout</p>	<p>Grantham, knight. Upon comparison with a copy of the bill of lading, including the weights and quantities of the casks and their consignment, the goods had been found to be in the same condition as when they had been loaded aboard the ship. This had been recorded on 13 February 1684 and witnessed by Thomas Grantham and John Smout.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Country marke” referred to identifying symbols or marks placed upon goods to indicate their origin, ownership or destination, commonly used in maritime trade to distinguish cargo.</p> <p>“Executor” in this context referred to a person entrusted with responsibility for managing goods or obligations on behalf of another party, not necessarily limited to the administration of a deceased person’s estate.</p> <p>“Under the East India Company’s seal and mark” referred to the official authentication of documents and cargo, signifying that they were authorised and recognised by the Company’s governing authority.</p> <p>“All and singular parts of the cargo” was a legal phrase indicating the entirety of the goods listed, without omission.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The formal assignment of goods to Mr Smout as executor suggests that responsibility for the cargo had been carefully delegated, perhaps to ensure accountability in the event of dispute or loss.</p> <p>The confirmation that the cargo had been received in the same condition as when loaded contrasts with earlier records of damage, suggesting that this statement may have served a legal or procedural function rather than reflecting the practical state of all goods.</p> <p>The repeated use of seals, marks and formal witnessing indicates that strict documentation had been necessary to regulate trade and resolve any claims arising from transport across long distances.</p>
52	46	Blank page	
53	47	Blank page	
54	48	Blank page	
55	49	Blank page	
56	50	<p>[...] may supply well directed by some provision[...] [... Govern[o]r & Councill & Assist it with such sum[...] [... any Rules upon yo[u] & soone as you shall require [... as those of yo[u] more Ships &c & such orders [... shall then confirme or repeal it as the matter shall yo[u]r place</p> <p>We send you two Ministers which we have ordered at 5 li per day Salary & they are to have Lodging at yo[u]r Gov[er]n[o]rs Table & Lodgings in yo[u]r Towne or Street</p> <p>[...] Storekeepers may likewise have their Diet in yo[u]r Fort & at present & something for washing [...] yo[u]r now Storekeepers Book being so much the Comp[an]y a Busines</p> <p>Smout & Shorney make [...]</p> <p>[...] Plany for Governace of Roads will be made [... hands for a Work of fortifying [... though we enjoy them out one day that you [... further them & neither more you can spare & cut [... of strongly Fort Side from yo[u]r beginning of it path to yo[u]r top of yo[u]r Fort hill & down to yo[u]r Fort Wall</p> <p>you cannot do in one year do in another We are told there is one Thomas Roe upon yo[u]r Island</p> <p>can make Indigo & Cotton to encourage & this [...] produce of which two Commodities you may gain [... for all the Indigo they shall produce & 3 li p[er] all yo[u]r Cotton they shall produce upon yo[u]r Island Thomas Shom[in] writs that Capt Beal owes him 100 pounds examine yo[u]r Record strictly but impartially</p>	<p>Advice had been given that provision might be supplied and directed as needed, with assistance to be provided by the Governor and Council through such sums as might be required. It had been stated that rules were not to be imposed rigidly, but that, as circumstances arose and further ships arrived, orders might be adjusted, confirmed or repealed according to what the situation required in that place.</p> <p>Two ministers had been sent, each assigned a salary of £5 per day. They had been allowed lodging at the Governor’s table and accommodation within the town or street. Storekeepers had likewise been permitted to receive their diet within the fort, together with some allowance for washing. Attention had been drawn to the importance of maintaining the storekeeper’s book, as it concerned significant Company business.</p> <p>Reference had been made to Smout and Shorney in connection with arrangements [...]. Plans for the governance and maintenance of roads had been indicated. Work had also been directed towards fortification, with labour to be assigned as available. It had been suggested that assistance should be given to strengthen the fortifications, including the construction of a strong fortified side from its beginning, extending along the path to the top of the fort hill and down to the fort wall. Where such work could not be completed within one year, it was to be continued in the next.</p> <p>Information had been received that a person named Thomas Roe was present on the Island and possessed knowledge of producing indigo and cotton. Encouragement had been proposed for this activity, with provision made for payment of £3 per [...] for all</p>

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>equal Right & not shew in what favour or deficiency being side We commend you & yo[u]r affaires to yo[u]r Protection guidance of yo[u]r Almighty God remains Henry Porte Tho: Garstam Dward Rudge John Foyl Wm Garrett Jno Blackmore Robt Holden Gregory Field R W Hutchinson Tho: Dawa[l] Secretary Sam Evans Jos Childs John de Bost for M[er]c [...] Richard Keeling</p>	<p>indigo produced and £3 per [...] for all cotton produced upon the Island. A claim had been reported by Thomas Shomin that Captain Beal owed him £100. Instruction had been given that the records were to be examined strictly yet impartially, ensuring equal justice without favour or prejudice to either side. The Governor and Council, together with their affairs, had been commended to the protection and guidance of Almighty God. The document had been signed by Henry Porte, Thomas Garstam, Edward Rudge, John Foyl, William Garrett, John Blackmore, Robert Holden, Gregory Field, R W Hutchinson, Thomas Dawall as Secretary, Sam Evans, Jos Childs, John de Bost for merchants, [...] and Richard Keeling. Interpretations “£5 per day salary” represented a substantial daily wage for ministers, indicating the importance placed upon religious and moral oversight within the settlement. “Storekeeper’s book” referred to the official record in which all goods, supplies and transactions relating to Company stores were entered, forming a key element of administrative control. “Governance of roads” referred to the organised maintenance and regulation of highways, including labour obligations and oversight, as part of the Island’s infrastructure. Speculations The flexible approach to issuing and revising orders suggests that conditions on the Island had been unpredictable, requiring governance that could adapt to changing circumstances. The provision of high salaries and accommodation for ministers indicates that religious authority had probably been considered essential to maintaining order and discipline among the inhabitants. The emphasis on fortification work suggests ongoing concern for defence, perhaps in response to perceived external threats or the strategic importance of the Island. The encouragement of indigo and cotton production reflects a continuing effort to develop profitable exports and reduce reliance on imported goods. The instruction to judge disputes impartially indicates that tensions among inhabitants, including financial disagreements, had probably been frequent and required careful management.</p>
57	51	<p>[...] we have received a grea[t] [...] & do not approve them for any [...] not only to make [...] a politick change of Councill, for we must tell you [...] We cannot think it possible you should have maintained [...] had Instructions upon any pretence of Necessity (Countrymanship [...] without shewing some duty for the s[ai]d Major [...] of Councils has not been Planted & being not [...] only against Reason but unnaturall to kill & Ruine [...] equall Benefit with [...] & Serv[e] in that [...] Reformation & Settlement & Equality whereof hath cost us first & last above 60000 li sterl 102 [...] Beale hath sent us divers Papers towards the clearing his Accot of Disbursements of his Account [...] we will not trouble & desires about him being at yo[u]r charge to maintain you to do it there & I desire have caused all his Papers to be returned to him let him have Justice from you without suffering Passion or Prejudice</p>	<p>Concern had been expressed that a great [...] had been received, which had not been approved for any [...] and had been judged improper. It had been stated that such actions amounted not only to misconduct but to an attempt at a political alteration of the Council. It had been declared that such a change could not be accepted. Doubt had been expressed that authority could have been maintained in this manner, particularly where instructions had been disregarded under the pretence of necessity or local custom, without proper regard for duty. It had been further observed that such conduct had not only been unreasonable but contrary to natural order, tending towards harm and ruin rather than equal benefit and service. Reference had been made to the establishment, reformation and settlement of the Island, and to the principle of equality intended therein. It had been stated that these efforts had cost the Company, in total, more than £60,000 sterling. It had been noted that Captain Beale had sent various papers intended to clarify his account of disbursements. It had been directed that no further trouble was to be taken in this matter at that level, and that he was to be dealt with on the Island, where the</p>

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>to prevaile in yo[u]r heart against him, but favour he deserves not from Us Barkley Jeremy Sambrooke Dep[ty] Mr Gul[...] Joseph Ashe John Moor Jam Warde Tho: Dawa[ll] Francis Gypson Henry L[ev]jis Peter Daniell Joseph Heme Edward Rudge Chris Boone Tho: Canham This is a true Coppo compared me Richard Keeling</p>	<p>expense of his maintenance was borne. His papers were to be returned to him, and it had been ordered that he was to receive justice without the influence of passion or prejudice. At the same time, it had been stated that no favour was to be shown to him.</p> <p>The document had been signed by Barkley, Jeremy Sambrooke as Deputy, Mr Gul[...], Joseph Ashe, John Moor, James Warde, Thomas Dawall, Francis Gypson, Henry L[ev]jis, Peter Daniell, Joseph Heme, Edward Rudge, Christopher Boone and Thomas Canham.</p> <p>The record had been certified as a true copy, compared and confirmed by Richard Keeling.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Politick change of Councell” referred to an unauthorised alteration in the composition or authority of the governing council, implying a deliberate attempt to influence or control governance.</p> <p>“Countrymanship” referred to actions justified by local custom or conditions, often used as a defence for deviating from formal instructions issued by central authority.</p> <p>“Disbursements of his account” referred to expenditures made by an individual on behalf of the Company, requiring justification and proper accounting.</p> <p>“£60,000 sterling” represented a very substantial financial investment by the Company in the establishment and maintenance of the Island.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The strong language condemning a “politick change of Councell” suggests that internal disputes or power struggles had probably arisen among those governing the Island.</p> <p>The emphasis on the high cost of establishing the settlement indicates that the Company had been concerned about protecting its investment and ensuring that governance remained stable and aligned with its interests.</p> <p>The instruction to treat Captain Beale without prejudice but also without favour suggests that his conduct had been contentious, requiring careful handling to maintain both fairness and authority.</p> <p>The repeated insistence on obedience to instructions implies that deviation from Company directives had been a recurring issue, perhaps reflecting the challenges of enforcing central control over a distant colony.</p>
58	52	<p>[...] goods hand long lain by [...] now [...] of ye Island you are to have to dispose ye said Thomas Grantham board ye Ships & carry them to the Indies [...] with such Materials as you conceive [...] the worst to use of Island in three years time [...] Confirm them to ye Agent & Councell for ye said [...] that may be made use of and not lye Bottom at Bantam or elsewhere whereby Goods [...] from coming of those Goods wch you Receive by this Ship [...] careful packing and stowage in upon Merchants [...] would we have you take more care of [...] than are of absolute necessity 104 [...] Ships lading of Boards & Timber but no or [...] still those are disposed of The 10th August 1683 [...] We have now positively resolved to settle upon some Island in ye South Seas of which Thomas Grantham knows most and I am ord to be at Bantam. We desire [...] to send severall sorts & numbers of Cows and Emprov[...] [...] Ships Charles ye second & at least as many [...] as you can make provision for in those parts [...] Councell recommend them to ye Agent & Councell in our service</p>	<p>Instructions had been given regarding goods that had remained unused for a long period [...]. It had been directed that such goods were to be disposed of on the Island, or otherwise placed aboard ships under the command of Sir Thomas Grantham and carried to the Indies. Materials were to be selected according to suitability, with poorer or inferior items to be used on the Island within a period of three years. Goods that could be put to use were not to be left idle or lying at places such as Bantam or elsewhere, where they might deteriorate or fail to yield value. Careful packing and stowage had been emphasised for all goods received by ship, and greater attention had been required in their handling. It had been advised that only those goods of absolute necessity were to be retained, avoiding unnecessary accumulation.</p> <p>Reference had been made to ships carrying boards and timber, with an indication that such materials were to be managed until properly disposed of. The date of these instructions had been recorded as 10 August 1683.</p> <p>A resolution had been stated that a settlement was to be established upon an island in the South Seas, of which Sir Thomas Grantham was said to have the greatest knowledge. Orders had been given that arrangements were to be made at Bantam. It had been requested that various kinds and numbers of cattle were to be sent aboard ships, including <i>Charles the Second</i>, and that as many as possible were to be provided from</p>

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>[...] of pray faile not doing a work so much import[...] to this King and Kingdoms as well to ye Comp[any] 20 young Cows [...] young Bulls 10 young Soves 2 young Boars 10 she Goats 2 he Goates</p>	<p>available resources. The Governor and Council had been directed to recommend these measures to the Agent and Council in the Company's service. Emphasis had been placed upon the importance of this undertaking, which had been described as significant both for the King and the Kingdom, as well as for the Company.</p> <p>A list had been provided of livestock required for this purpose, including 20 young cows, [...] young bulls, 10 young sows, 2 young boars, 10 female goats and 2 male goats.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Bantam" referred to a major trading port in Java, which served as an important centre for the East India Company's commercial and logistical operations in the region.</p> <p>"Stowage" referred to the careful arrangement and securing of goods within a ship to prevent damage during transport.</p> <p>"South Seas" referred broadly to regions of the southern oceans, often indicating areas of exploration and potential colonisation during this period.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The instruction to dispose of unused goods suggests that inefficiencies in storage and distribution had probably led to losses, prompting greater emphasis on active management of resources.</p> <p>The decision to establish a settlement in the South Seas indicates that the Company had been considering expansion beyond its existing network, perhaps seeking strategic or commercial advantage.</p> <p>The detailed request for livestock suggests that the intended settlement had been planned as a self-sustaining colony, requiring breeding animals to establish agriculture and food supply.</p> <p>The repeated emphasis on careful packing and stowage reflects ongoing concerns about damage to goods during long voyages, which had probably been a persistent logistical challenge.</p>
59	53	<p>Our Governour & Councell att St Helena London the 2d August 1683 Sirs We have long had to you by this Ship perused all your acco[un]ts wherein the Abstracts sent [...] by Mr Sampson & Fauleton which are so well methodiz'd [...] they do justly merit commendation & we have not hitherto [...] to find with ye Judgements you have given which you call ord[er]s in [...] of controversie scandall or misdemeanour but ye producing so strange & absurd pretences of your predecessor for pretended liberations & discharges we very rarely mentioned and decla[...] any fine to ye Comp[any] which you shall never omit by ye rules of all Courts of Justice in Europe as well as England yo[ur] native Country so yt it appeares monstrous to us how you could possibly omit it so long & so often or any Pardons though they had never been confirmed there being not such laid in yo[ur] smallest Mannor in England that for all trespasses misdemeanors &c there is alwaies a fine imposed to ye Lord of ye Mannor besides satisfaction to ye party which in England is recovered by action or consent only not accompts to</p>	<p>A letter had been addressed to the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated in London on 2 August 1683.</p> <p>It had been stated that accounts sent by the Island had been long under consideration and had now been reviewed in full. The abstracts transmitted by Mr Sampson and Fauleton had been described as well arranged and methodised, and had been judged worthy of commendation. No fault had been found with the judgements delivered by the Council, which had been referred to as orders, in cases of controversy, scandal or misdemeanour. However, concern had been expressed at the presentation of what had been described as strange and absurd pretences by a predecessor, particularly in relation to supposed liberations and discharges. It had been noted that fines due to the Company had rarely been mentioned or declared, which had been regarded as a serious omission.</p> <p>It had been emphasised that, according to the rules of all courts of justice in Europe, including those of England, fines were always to be imposed upon offences. The failure to do so had been described as remarkable and improper. It had been further explained that, even in the smallest manor in England, all trespasses and misdemeanours were subject to a fine payable to the lord of the manor, in addition to satisfaction owed to the injured party. Such compensation in England had been recovered through legal action or agreement, rather than through summary proceedings before a justice of the peace or other local officer in a manor court. It had also been observed that, in higher courts such as those at Westminster Hall, damages were not awarded directly through indictments, but that in cases of robbery, felony, injury</p>

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		<p>Justice of peace or some other proper Officer in a Mannor Court (not Corporation be that in Westminster Hall you know you never receive their own damages by action but upon all Indictments upon Robberies Felonies & injuries contempt of authority & such misdemeanors whatsoever ye fine is set by the Judges but alwaies for ye King's use We think you were not severe enough but much too remiss & countenanced wrongs to ye great inconveniences & a tendency to contempt of authority mutiny & rebellion & therefore ought to be punished severely both in person & purse Upon perusal of yo[u]r Accot Book we see abundance [...] a small allowance proposed for ye Comp[any] which we [...] of allowing so small a compensation for such crimes & [...] we do require [...] to force them in this or otherwise unless which Thomas Grantham is there & for yo[u]r future make no such debts [...]</p>	<p>or contempt of authority, fines were set by judges and were always for the use of the Crown. Judgement had been made that the Council had not acted with sufficient severity, but had instead been overly lenient. Such leniency had been said to encourage wrongdoing and had been considered likely to lead to contempt of authority, mutiny and rebellion. It had therefore been asserted that offences ought to be punished more severely, both in person and in financial penalty. Upon examination of the account books, it had been observed that numerous [...] had been allowed, with only small sums proposed for the Company. This had been criticised as inadequate compensation for such offences. It had been required that greater enforcement be applied, though not by improper means. Reference had been made to Sir Thomas Grantham in this context, and it had been directed that no such debts were to be created in future under similar circumstances [...]</p> <p>Interpretations “Abstracts” referred to summarised accounts or condensed financial records prepared from more detailed books, used for review and oversight. “Liberations and discharges” referred to the release of individuals from obligations, penalties or custody, often requiring formal justification and authority. “Manor court” referred to a local court in England where minor civil and criminal matters were heard, and where fines were commonly imposed by the lord of the manor. “Westminster Hall” referred to the central courts of law in England, where more serious cases were adjudicated and legal precedents established.</p> <p>Speculations The strong criticism of leniency suggests that the Company had been concerned about weakening discipline on the Island, possibly due to earlier administrative practices that had failed to enforce penalties consistently. The emphasis on fines as a central element of justice indicates that financial penalties had been viewed as both a deterrent and a source of revenue, making their omission particularly significant. The comparison with English legal practices suggests that the Company had intended to replicate familiar systems of governance abroad, though these may not have been fully implemented or enforced on St Helena. The mention of mutiny and rebellion implies that the Company had feared instability within the settlement, perhaps arising from dissatisfaction or lack of firm authority.</p>
60	54	<p>[...] George John Blackmore [...] Governour of St Helena These accompanying Boats [...] [...] [...] also desire no one aboard to have Goods coming from [...] goods in order thereto have appointed him [...] stay with you only so long in what [...] Command he may have occasion for [...] we recommend this Commander Capt Jo[...] Cornett to yo[u]r favour furthering and assisting him what lyes in you for the more speedy dispatch and yo[u]r service therein will be acceptable by Hon[...] Comp[any] and oblige us who in the tender of our respects are Your Affectionate Friends [...] Fra[...] D[...] Bar[...] Ham[...] John Adam[...] Swally Marine 30 November 1683</p>	<p>A letter had been addressed to George John Blackmore, Governor of St Helena. It had been stated that certain accompanying boats [...] had been sent. A direction had been given that no person aboard was to carry goods arriving from elsewhere without proper order, and that arrangements had been made accordingly. It had been indicated that an individual had been appointed to remain only for so long as required, depending upon the needs of the command entrusted to him. Recommendation had been made on behalf of the commander, Captain Jo[...] Cornett, requesting that he be received with favour and assisted in all matters within the Governor's power, so that his business might be completed with greater speed. It had been noted that such assistance would be acceptable to the Honourable Company and would be regarded as an obligation. The letter had been dated at Swally Marine on 30 November 1683 and had been examined at a Company meeting. It had been recorded by [...] Thornton Junior, Registrar.</p>

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		<p>At a Comp[any] Examined [...] Thornton Junr Regr</p>	<p>Interpretations “Swally Marine” referred to the anchorage or roadstead near Surat on the west coast of India, used by the East India Company as a principal maritime station for shipping and communication. “At a Company Examined” referred to the formal review and approval of the document by the Company’s governing body or its appointed officials before dispatch. “Registrar” referred to the official responsible for recording, copying and certifying documents within the Company’s administrative system.</p> <p>Speculations The instruction restricting goods aboard suggests that unauthorised private trade had probably been a concern, requiring tighter control over cargo handling. The recommendation of Captain Cornett indicates that cooperation between ship commanders and Island authorities had been important for efficient operations and timely dispatch. The emphasis on speed of dispatch suggests that delays in communication or supply had probably been problematic, prompting requests for greater coordination and assistance.</p>
61	55	<p>Our Governour & Councell att St Helena London 9 October 1683 Being diverted from Our intended voyage with the Dutch expedition for this season upon an assurance of a good agreement aboard with the Dutch Company which may prove so We have sent this ship the <i>New Adventure</i> with her Cargo of provisions & you are to to her Masters or Consignees without delay so you may make sale to Our most advantage either to Our planters or to our shipping that shall touch at that Island & if Sir Thomas Grantham be not departed before this ship arrives with you We would have you make sale likewise of the Rape seeds he carried with him he being not now to take in any Cattle for St Helena Island beyond We shall suspend making any settlement there till We understand what will be the issue of the Dutch promises of restoring Bantam in the same condition We had it formerly If Sir Thomas Grantham be gone from St Helena you are to advise it of this Ship at the Isle of Java & order to come directly for England upon that Colony and dispatch the ship & you ship him for Fort St George with the Captn & to follow the Orders of Our Agent and Councell We shall expect that you make Us no loss in freight and profit in the whole of this Cargo (which by the slight profit you have made there we are to gain by this agreement with amount for that Cargo you received by Capt Grantham We do expect you should make out this account how much of it remains for London in the same manner We desire in Our large Letter to you by this Ship <i>Charles</i> the second If Sir Thomas Grantham be not gone we desire him to send with all convenient speed Our own Ship and return hither with what goods he can dispose and give you his knowledge to accompany him upon his return hitherward At a true Coppy Examined E. Hal[...][...] Junr Reg[...] Your Loving Friends John Bankes Govr Jeremy Sambrooke Dep[...]</p>	<p>A letter had been addressed to the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated in London on 9 October 1683. It was stated that the Company had been diverted from its intended voyage in connection with the Dutch expedition for that season, upon receiving assurances of a favourable agreement with the Dutch Company. This agreement was considered uncertain but possibly advantageous. In consequence, the ship <i>New Adventure</i> was dispatched with a cargo of provisions. Instructions were given that the cargo was to be delivered to the masters or consignees without delay, and that it was to be sold to the greatest advantage, either to the planters on the Island or to ships calling there. Further direction was given that, if Sir Thomas Grantham had not yet departed before the arrival of this ship, the rape seeds he had brought were also to be sold. It was stated that he was no longer to take on cattle for St Helena. It was declared that the Company would suspend making any settlement there until the outcome of the Dutch promises concerning the restoration of Bantam to its former condition had been determined. Provision was made for the alternative circumstance that Sir Thomas Grantham had already departed from St Helena. In that case, notice was to be sent by this ship to the Isle of Java, with instructions that he was to proceed directly for England upon receipt. The ship was then to be dispatched accordingly, and he was to be sent onward to Fort St George with the captain, there to follow the orders of the Company’s Agent and Council. Expectation was expressed that no loss was to be incurred in freight and that profit was to be made on the entire cargo. Reference was made to previous limited profits, and it was required that an account be rendered showing how much of the cargo received by Captain Grantham remained for London. This account was to be prepared in the same manner as had been directed in a larger letter sent by the ship <i>Charles the Second</i>. If Sir Thomas Grantham remained at St Helena, it was requested that he send the Company’s own ship back with all convenient speed, carrying such goods as could be disposed of, and that he provide his knowledge to accompany the voyage on its return to England. The document was certified as a true copy, examined by E. Hal[...] Junior, Registrar. It was signed</p>

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		<p>Jos: Colebrooke Joseph Herne</p>	<p>by John Bankes as Governor, Jeremy Sambrooke as Deputy, Joseph Colebrooke and Joseph Herne.</p> <p>Interpretations “Dutch expedition” referred to coordinated commercial or military activity involving the Dutch East India Company, which influenced the operations of the English Company in the region. “Bantam” referred to a principal trading port in Java, whose control and condition were of significant importance to trade in the East Indies. “Freight” referred to the charges or revenue associated with the transport of goods by ship, forming an important component of maritime profit. “Consignees” referred to the individuals or officials designated to receive and manage goods upon their arrival.</p> <p>Speculations The diversion from the planned voyage suggests that negotiations or tensions with the Dutch had probably influenced Company strategy, requiring adjustments to shipping and trade plans. The suspension of settlement plans indicates that wider developments, particularly regarding Bantam, had been considered significant enough to delay expansion. The insistence on profit and avoidance of loss reflects financial pressure on the Company, perhaps arising from earlier voyages yielding insufficient returns. The detailed conditional instructions regarding Sir Thomas Grantham suggest uncertainty in communication timing and a need to account for multiple possible scenarios in distant operations.</p>
<p>62</p>	<p>56</p>	<p>London y^e 1 of October 1683 ~ Invoice of goods & all e[]andize laden by the Governour & Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies in and upon the good Shipp called the Amity Merchant Burthen 310 Tunn or thereabouts whereof Godd Comānder Cap^t Robert Bibby bound by the adv[...] in mili[...] St Helena and goods consigned unto their Agent & Councell there resident viz John Blackmore Esq Governour Robert Holdon second and Gregory Field & Ch[...][...] of Councell for Acco[...] of this Generall Accompt stood thus of Timber & Goods as followeth viz Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>	<p>A record had been made in London on 1 October 1683 of an invoice of goods and merchandise laden by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. The goods had been placed aboard the good ship called <i>Amity Merchant</i>, described as of about 310 tons burden. Command of the vessel had been held by Captain Robert Bibby. The voyage had been undertaken for St Helena, and the goods had been consigned to the Company’s Agent and Council residing there, namely John Blackmore, Esquire, Governor, Robert Holden as second, and Gregory Field and Ch[...] as members of the Council.</p> <p>The account had been stated to relate to the Company’s general account, and it had been recorded that the total consisted of timber and other goods, which were to be listed in detail as followed [...]</p> <p>Interpretations “Tons burden” referred to the carrying capacity of the ship, indicating the volume of cargo it could transport rather than its weight. “Invoice” referred to a detailed list of goods shipped, including their quantities and descriptions, serving as a formal record for accounting and delivery. “Agent and Council” referred to the appointed officials on the Island responsible for receiving goods, managing Company affairs and administering governance.</p> <p>Speculations The preparation of a detailed invoice suggests that strict accounting procedures had been required to track goods over long-distance voyages and ensure proper delivery. The naming of specific individuals within the Council indicates that responsibility for receiving and managing cargo had been clearly assigned, probably to maintain accountability. The inclusion of timber among the principal goods suggests that construction or repair works on the Island had probably been a priority at the time. Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>
<p>63</p>	<p>57</p>	<p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>	<p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>

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64	58	<p>Laden by the Grace of God on the good ship & Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies upon the good Ship called the Amity Merchant burthen 310 Tunns or thereabouts whereof goods Comānd Cap^t Robert Bibby by the Almighty permission for the Island St Helena & that is to say Twenty Eight Hogsheads with 4 Iron hoops each numbered as follow viz 50·51·52·53·54·55·56·57·145·150·144·153·152·551·254·255·256·257·258·259·260·261·262·263·264·265·266·267·268·269 weight Nett One thousand Seven hundred thirty two Quarters weight & seven pounds. 3 brand like mark N^o 6·7·8· 29·30 cont^s like numbers sixty seven Gallons Dozen one hundred Chalk forty Conih Sea salted from Barbados Bridgetown Diggs Hhds from N^o 122 to 130 inclusive weight Eighty one hundred quarter weight and two pounds Do from St Jago like Brandy Casks from N^o 131 to 130 inclusive weight seven thousand six hundred weight and Eleven pounds. pipe Hhds hoops & ends fitly two Pikes and halves from N^o 62 to 65 inclusive each with five Iron hoops All in good order and well conditioned and to be delivered (the danger of the seas excepted) unto John Blackmore Esq Governour Robert Holden second and Gregory Field Philps upon receipt of and for his difference and freight Cap^t Robert Bibby one Command have signed into three Bills of Lading of this tenor and date the one being accomplished the other to stand void and so God send the good ship into the port in safety Amen Dated in London the 1st October Anno Dom 1683 Received the Twenty second day of November having no forgery Goods & Corn with no damage Rob^t Gooden Signed & Delivered in the presence of us Tho Hooper Samuel Paterson Island St Helena Aprill the 11th 1684 Received the Contents of the within written Bill of Lading the Bay and is are delivered written at Large in the brandy Casks about foure Inches one with another A true Copy Examined Blackmore Jun^o Regr Edwd Edmunds Signed J B Gov^o J F 3</p>	<p>A record had been made that goods were laden by the grace of God by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, aboard the good ship called <i>Amity Merchant</i>, of about 310 tons burden. Command of the vessel had been held by Captain Robert Bibby. The voyage had been undertaken, by permission of Almighty God, for the Island of St Helena.</p> <p>The cargo had included twenty eight hogsheads, each fitted with four iron hoops, and numbered as follows: 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 145, 150, 144, 153, 152, 551, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268 and 269. The net weight of these goods had been recorded as 1,732 quarters weight and seven pounds. Additional branded items, marked with numbers 6, 7, 8, 29 and 30, had been listed, containing quantities measured at sixty seven gallons per dozen, together with one hundred [...] of chalk. Goods described as Cornish sea salted, originating from Bridgetown in Barbados, had been included in hogsheads numbered from 122 to 130 inclusive, with a recorded weight of eighty one hundred quarter weight and two pounds. Further items from St Jago, contained in brandy casks numbered from 131 to 130 inclusive, had been recorded with a weight of 7,600 weight and eleven pounds.</p> <p>The shipment had also included pipes, hogsheads, hoops and ends, together with two pipes and halves, numbered from 62 to 65 inclusive, each fitted with five iron hoops. All goods had been described as being in good order and well conditioned at the time of loading. Delivery had been directed, the dangers of the seas excepted, to John Blackmore, Esquire, Governor, Robert Holden as second, and Gregory Field Philps, upon receipt and for payment of freight to Captain Robert Bibby. Three bills of lading of the same tenor and date had been signed, with the provision that once one had been fulfilled, the others were to be void. A prayer had been expressed for the safe arrival of the ship. The document had been dated in London on 1 October 1683.</p> <p>A receipt had been recorded on 22 November, stating that the goods, including corn, had been received without damage and without forgery, signed by Robert Gooden. The document had been signed and delivered in the presence of Thomas Hooper and Samuel Paterson.</p> <p>A further record had been made at St Helena on 11 April 1684, stating that the contents of the bill of lading had been received, and that the items had been delivered as written, including those described in detail within the brandy casks, noted as being about four inches one within another.</p> <p>The document had been certified as a true copy, examined by Blackmore Junior, Registrar, and Edward Edmunds. It had been signed by J B as Governor and J F [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Hogsheads” referred to large casks used for transporting goods, particularly liquids or bulk commodities, with capacity varying by trade but generally substantial.</p> <p>“Quarters weight” referred to a unit of measurement used in bulk goods, typically representing a quarter of a larger standard weight measure.</p> <p>“Cornish sea salted” referred to goods preserved or processed with salt, possibly indicating fish or other provisions treated in a manner associated with Cornwall or similar practices.</p> <p>“Pipes” referred to large casks, larger than hogsheads, commonly used for transporting liquids such as wine or spirits.</p> <p>“Bills of lading” referred to formal shipping documents serving as receipts and contracts for the</p>

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			<p>carriage of goods, often issued in multiple copies for legal security.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The detailed numbering and weighing of casks suggests that strict accounting procedures had been applied to ensure traceability and accountability of goods during transport.</p> <p>The statement that goods were received without damage contrasts with earlier records of loss and damage, suggesting that such declarations may have served a formal or legal function rather than reflecting all practical conditions.</p> <p>The inclusion of multiple witnesses and copies of the bill of lading indicates the importance of verification and the prevention of disputes over cargo ownership and condition.</p> <p>The wide range of goods and origins suggests that St Helena had been supplied through an extensive trade network, linking the Atlantic, Caribbean and Indian Ocean regions.</p>
<u>65</u>	59	Blank page	
<u>66</u>	60	<p>[...] Worpp: John Blackmore Govern[or] of the Port and Island of St Helena</p> <p>Wee desire you to accom[o]date the Boarder here of Cap^t Thomas Woodroffe with mon provision or what of his occasion may require dureing his residence with you and for the secur[e]ty of his ship, and the s[ame] Compad & factor board, being whom in comitment yo[u] Compl[ia]nce and with confide[n]ce rem[ai]ne Your very Loving Fr[ie]nds</p> <p>[...] [...] John Godman Another of the same about Cap^t John Dro[...]</p>	<p>A letter had been directed to John Blackmore, Governor of the port and Island of St Helena.</p> <p>A request was made that Captain Thomas Woodroffe, described as a boarder, should be accommodated during his stay. Provision was to be made for him in money, victuals or whatever else his occasions might require while he remained on the Island. Care was also to be taken for the security of his ship. Mention was made of a companion and factor associated with him, who were likewise to be received and provided for. Confidence was expressed that these instructions would be complied with.</p> <p>The letter was concluded with expressions of goodwill and was signed by [...] and John Godman.</p> <p>It was noted that another letter of the same nature had been written concerning Captain John Dro[...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Boarder” referred to a person residing temporarily under the care or accommodation of another, often provided with lodging and provisions.</p> <p>“Factor” referred to a commercial agent acting on behalf of merchants or a company, responsible for managing trade and goods in a particular place.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The request to provide accommodation and supplies suggests that visiting captains had depended upon the Island’s administration for support during their stay.</p> <p>The emphasis on securing the ship indicates that protection of vessels in harbour had probably been an important responsibility of the Governor and Council.</p> <p>The reference to a similar letter for another captain implies that such arrangements had been a regular expectation for ships calling at St Helena.</p>
<u>67</u>	61	Blank page	
<u>68</u>	62	<p>[...] Gov[...] & Councill att St Helena.</p> <p>London 5th Aprill 1684</p> <p>1. We have Ordered the Boarder Cap^t Knox to shew you our Orders and Instructions for his employm^t you will see what he is to doe, and you are to expect from him</p> <p>2. Of the Negroes he delivers you, Sell what you can among the Planters from 12 and 14 each, and in good manner, the rest you are to employ in such works according to our large instructions by Sr Tho: Grantham as you Judge most fitting & best to accomplish</p> <p>3. Casks, Water Casks, and Iron hoops and every thing that shall be delivered you by Cap^t Knox give him a receipt for more coming therein all the particulars</p>	<p>A letter had been addressed to the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated in London on 5 April 1684.</p> <p>It was stated that Captain Knox, described as a boarder, had been ordered to present the Company’s instructions concerning his employment. From these, his duties were to be understood, and expectations were to be formed regarding his conduct and service.</p> <p>Direction was given that of the slaves delivered by Captain Knox, as many as possible were to be sold among the planters at prices between £12 and £14 each, and in proper manner. Those not sold were to be employed in such works as were considered most suitable, in accordance with the larger instructions previously sent by Sir Thomas Grantham.</p> <p>It was ordered that all casks, water casks, iron hoops and other items delivered by Captain Knox were to be formally acknowledged by receipt, including all particulars. These records were to serve as vouchers for</p>

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		<p>[...] may be a Voucher to pass his Acct with Us and whatsoever you receive of that kind dispose of it and account as you can for Our advan[...]</p> <p>4. We hope you have begun with the clearing a proper peice of ground for a large Sugar plantation, which afore we [...] from you we shall further by sending Carpenters & Skilled others necessarily thereunto for the carrying on of that work without which we shall be deprived of great advantage to Us if you can bring it to perfection and that the Plants whatsoever quantity thereof you transport besides the expence of sending it shall never fail of a good market for at Persia and the shipping thereof from hence &c [...] you may with great conveniency avoid little charge to Us coming you for want supply of brick, lyme, timber boards, and Coales &c</p> <p>5. You will see by our Letter to Cap^t Knox that after the discharge of his Negroes we design him on other voyages for proper employment under instructions given him to that all the good you can possibly procure upon the Island, and Eight bales of Salt provisions of one Ship to come home in good season before [...] for they can be best sent hence at a time and we do therewith send you Our Orders to the Commanding Ships in Our service to deliver you so many bales according to your receipt whereof you are to give them acknowledgement [...]</p> <p>[...]</p>	<p>his account with the Company. All such goods received were to be disposed of to the Company's advantage, with proper accounting maintained.</p> <p>Expectation was expressed that work had already begun on clearing a suitable piece of ground for a large sugar plantation. It was stated that further assistance would be provided by sending carpenters and other skilled persons necessary for carrying forward this work. Without such progress, the Company would be deprived of significant advantage. It was further noted that any quantity of sugar plants transported would find a ready market, particularly in Persia, and that shipping could be arranged conveniently with minimal additional expense. It was suggested that shortages of materials such as brick, lime, timber boards and coal might otherwise hinder progress.</p> <p>Reference was made to a separate letter to Captain Knox, in which it was stated that, after discharging the slaves, he was to be employed on further voyages under instructions already given. It was directed that all goods that could be obtained from the Island were to be prepared, together with eight bales of salt provisions from a ship, to be sent home in good time before [...]. Orders had been issued to the commanders of ships in the Company's service to deliver such bales upon receipt, and acknowledgements were to be provided accordingly [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Boarder" referred to a person temporarily residing under official accommodation, often receiving lodging and provisions during their stay.</p> <p>"Voucher" referred to a written record or receipt used to verify transactions and support accounts in financial administration.</p> <p>"Salt provisions" referred to food preserved by salting, commonly used for long sea voyages due to its durability.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The instruction to sell slaves at fixed prices suggests that labour had been treated as a key economic resource, with the Company seeking both immediate profit and long term utility.</p> <p>The emphasis on receipts and vouchers indicates that stricter accounting procedures had probably been introduced to prevent disputes and ensure accountability.</p> <p>The focus on establishing a sugar plantation suggests that the Company had been pursuing agricultural development as a major source of revenue.</p> <p>The mention of markets such as Persia implies that the Company had been planning to integrate the Island's production into wider international trade networks.</p>
69	63	<p>6. The goods most proper to be taken out of Our Stores and shipped and put on board Cap^t Knox are ordinary long cloth, Baftas and whites, and ordinary Bafftaes or and whites or either as you can best come at them without much dammaging to prevent moths, Wool Enumerators or other sorts But if you cannot furnish Cap^t Knox with above 200 or 300 pieces in time take what we shall have you take on board shipping and deliver him 100 Bales of Callicoes What Cotton Wool or Cotton yarns you can more bring you from Madagascar parts you are also to ship possible and send on board these Ships (out of which you take the Callicoes and some other goods remaining) shipping and consign them to Our solvers by Bills of Lading For the cloathing of Our Negroes upon the Island We must have from them clothing and cloath which you may make either of country Callicoes or sail cloth (some such as you have in Our shipping from Fort</p>	<p>Further instructions were given concerning goods to be taken from the Company's stores and shipped aboard Captain Knox's vessel. It was directed that suitable items included ordinary long cloth, baftas and white cloths, or such similar goods as could be obtained without suffering damage, particularly from moths. Woollen goods and other materials were also mentioned, though care was to be taken in their selection. If it was not possible to provide more than 200 or 300 pieces in time, then whatever quantity could be assembled was to be shipped, and additionally 100 bales of calicoes were to be delivered to him.</p> <p>It was further directed that any cotton wool or cotton yarns that could be obtained from the parts of Madagascar were to be shipped as far as possible and sent aboard the vessels. From these shipments, calicoes and other goods were to be taken out as needed, and the remainder consigned by bills of lading to the Company's agents.</p> <p>Provision was made for the clothing of the slaves on the Island. It was required that clothing be produced</p>

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		<p>St George) or a strong stout and Duffel canvas which from hence in Bales in Our shipping from the Bay, out of which for that purpose, you may take 40 Bolts if you find you shall have use for so many for Our Negroes or can sell in the Island for such yards you may think to take out for Our use that value it if Baftas or sail cloth ordinary, if you think so you shall have use thereof or to make sale thereof for Our Acc^t upon the Island at 14^d a yard</p> <p>Your Island is now sufficiently stockt with stock and nothing can contribute to the benefit of the Plantation more than the increase of Our Negroes since the working of all hands upon the production of Indigo Cotton Ginger and the other usual Commodities of that West India Our Deputy Governor John Holden is accordingly We have sent you by this ship 12 women to recruit yo^r Garrison Company and that you may be in condition to spare the Negroes 2 or 3 months to be aboard and bring them home to labour that you may spare some of them to the Overseers of Our Negroes and for other purposes among all of them you may probably find some that may be fit for working wood and act and supply yo^r occasions therein out of them</p> <p>Having resolved upon a design for Our service We are absolutely resolved upon the sugar work hereafter to be made sugar from and Molosses the Company's comōditie</p>	<p>for them from available materials, which might include country calicoes, sail cloth such as that supplied from Fort St George, or strong and durable canvas. Supplies of such materials sent from the Bay in bales were to be used for this purpose, and up to 40 bolts might be taken if required. Where goods were taken from Company stores for use or sale, their value was to be properly accounted, and where sold on the Island, they were to be priced at 14d per yard.</p> <p>It was observed that the Island was now sufficiently stocked with livestock, and that the greatest benefit to the plantation would arise from increasing the number of slaves. Their labour was to be directed towards the production of indigo, cotton, ginger and other customary commodities associated with the West Indies. It was noted that the Deputy Governor, John Holden, was responsible in this regard. Twelve women had been sent by this ship to strengthen the garrison company, so that slaves might be spared for labour both on the Island and, for periods of two or three months, aboard ships returning home. Among them, some were expected to be capable of working with wood and thereby assisting in meeting the Island's needs.</p> <p>A resolution had been declared that the Company intended to pursue the establishment of sugar works. It had been stated that sugar and molasses were to be produced as Company commodities [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Baftas" referred to a type of coarse cotton cloth, commonly produced in India and widely traded for use in clothing and other practical purposes.</p> <p>"Calicoes" referred to cotton textiles originating from India, often plain woven and used for garments or trade goods within colonial economies.</p> <p>"Bolts" referred to lengths of cloth rolled or folded into standard units for storage and transport.</p> <p>"Bills of lading" referred to formal shipping documents used to record goods carried, serving as receipts and legal proof of consignment.</p> <p>"Molasses" referred to the thick syrup produced as a by-product of sugar refining, commonly used in further processing or trade.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The emphasis on textile goods suggests that cloth had been a key commodity both for trade and for maintaining the labour force on the Island.</p> <p>The requirement to produce clothing locally indicates that supply from overseas may have been insufficient or costly, encouraging self-sufficiency.</p> <p>The focus on increasing the number of slaves and directing their labour towards plantation crops reflects the Company's intention to expand agricultural production for profit.</p> <p>The decision to develop sugar works suggests that the Company had been seeking to align the Island's economy with established plantation systems in other parts of the world, particularly those of the West Indies.</p>
70	64	<p>[...] p[ro]ceeding of Our Sugarworks you must soon contrive the most convenient place for Our Engine that Wee may accordingly send workmen for it a convenient building though also that is not to be attempted till Wee see what Sugar may be made upon the Island</p> <p>13. We have formerly wrote you to have provision of plantain</p> <p>for food &c: any sudden supply of Negroes that you might have from India, since which Wee understand [...] is the best thing you can plant for such an occasion because that will not be so much damaged by the fly or worm, And that if the roots should remain long in the ground they would not be the worse but</p>	<p>Instructions had been given that, in proceeding with the Company's sugar works, a suitable place was to be identified as soon as possible for the installation of an engine. Arrangements were to be made so that workmen could be sent accordingly, and provision was to be made for a convenient building. However, it was directed that such construction was not to be undertaken until it had first been determined what quantity of sugar could be produced on the Island.</p> <p>Reference had been made to earlier instructions concerning the planting of provisions, particularly plantains, for the support of slaves in the event of sudden arrivals from India. It was stated that [...] was considered the most suitable crop for such occasions, as it was less liable to damage from flies or worms. It was further observed that, even if the roots remained long in the ground, they would not deteriorate but would</p>

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		<p>much the larger and better, But you must always remember that all plants are from time to time to be kept free of weeds whilst they are young, otherwise they will never thrive well</p> <p>14. If you plant any quick hedges, certainly Lime are best because in time they will be made an advantage to Us</p> <p>15. But the most necessary thing to be provided is to enlarge your principal plantations to afford food, which wee would have you oblige all Our Planters to go about speedily and to plant them very good and to sett our own Negroes work too, many and upon them, as the Planters that you may have large produce for Drivers of Cattle and Oxen to work upon with commodity &c well as Men</p> <p>16. If any person neglect by himself or by his Servants and Negroes to attend in their turn this order upon any of the Highwayes or other the Surveys or works ordered for the doing of the Defaulters, and what soever the work charge it upon the Defaulter and do levy it by the Law on him without the least favour to any Defaulter</p> <p>17. If you find a difficulty in breaking up the Rocks to enlarge the plantations, you must bore holes in the Rocks and putting in powder stop the Orifice at top with putty in the powder, with a plug, and some small vent or touch hole soft fine to it, this Method without Wee can only give you, the manner you can better learn from some of Our Commanders</p>	<p>instead grow larger and improve. It was emphasised that all plants were to be kept free from weeds while young, as neglect in this regard would prevent proper growth.</p> <p>It was advised that, where quick hedges were to be planted, lime trees were to be preferred, as they would in time provide advantage to the Company.</p> <p>A further instruction had been given that the most necessary measure was to enlarge the principal plantations to ensure an adequate supply of food. All planters were to be required to undertake this work without delay and to plant thoroughly. The Company's slaves were also to be set to work in considerable numbers on these plantations, so that a large yield might be obtained. It was noted that such production would support the employment of cattle and oxen for labour, as well as the needs of the inhabitants.</p> <p>An order had been issued that, if any person failed, either personally or through their servants or slaves, to attend when required for work on highways, surveys or other public works, the cost of completing such work was to be charged to the defaulter. Recovery of such charges was to be enforced according to law, without favour or exception.</p> <p>Provision had been made for the difficulty of breaking rock in order to extend plantations. It was directed that holes were to be bored into the rock and filled with powder. The opening was then to be sealed at the top with putty and a plug, leaving a small vent or touch hole. This method had been described as the only one that could be provided in instruction, though further practical knowledge might be obtained from experienced commanders.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Engine" in this context referred to machinery associated with sugar production, particularly crushing mills used to extract juice from cane.</p> <p>"Quick hedges" referred to living fences made from planted shrubs or trees, intended to grow rapidly and form durable enclosures.</p> <p>"Lime" referred to citrus trees rather than building material, valued both for forming hedges and for producing fruit of economic use.</p> <p>"Touch hole" referred to a small opening left in a charge of powder to allow ignition, commonly used in controlled blasting techniques.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The cautious approach to constructing sugar works suggests that the Company had been uncertain about the Island's capacity to sustain profitable sugar production.</p> <p>The emphasis on plantains and other resilient crops indicates concern over food security, particularly in relation to maintaining a growing labour force.</p> <p>The requirement to expand plantations and enforce labour obligations suggests that agricultural output had not yet met the Company's expectations, prompting stricter measures.</p> <p>The inclusion of blasting techniques for breaking rock indicates that natural terrain had posed significant challenges to agricultural expansion, requiring adaptation of technical methods.</p>
71	65	<p>18. Wee confirme all Our former Ord. prohibiting you and forbid all from allowing any more of Compa^t Serv^t upon any pretence whatsoever and if any shall be alienated or taken by any Stra[n]gers upon the arrivall of those Our Orders at St Helena, Wee doe hereby require you to reassume the same for the Company in their stead</p> <p>19. Wee understand by Cap^t Bates and others that there is very plentiful about that Island and that parts of the Island contiguous to the salt Water upon or in the borders of that Rock which runs part of upon an aproach which the course of Lagoon</p>	<p>Confirmation had been given of all former orders prohibiting the granting or transfer of any Company servants under any pretence whatsoever. It was directed that none were to be allowed or alienated, and if any had been taken or removed by strangers upon the arrival of these orders at St Helena, they were to be reassumed for the Company without delay.</p> <p>Information had been received from Captain Bates and others that salt was plentiful about the Island, particularly in areas near the sea and along the edges of rocky ground. It was suggested that salt production might be increased by allowing sea water to enter certain valleys, or by raising it through pumps or</p>

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		<p>might be raised by letting the salt water into some Vallies, or by driving it by pumps or Engines out of the Sea and letting it run into convenient places prepared for that purpose; on this account, this Experiment might be a great advantage and not above one week or two in the doing; if you might with little Labour introduce sea water and thereof which if you could afford the expence it may prove a little charge at first, yet be of great value to Us in time because we save very much freight as many ships as wee now do carry Bricks, Tyles, Lime, Timber, Boards and Iron and all sorts from hence we otherwise pay or recompence them to fetch them hence full lading of it at St Helena out of our return to be taken on board at their own charges besides severall ships lading thereof were sold for profit divers parts of India, and salt is a very good Commodity</p> <p>20. The benefit of cheap Salt Works have much enriched the French and Portuguese Nations in this last and largest whereof are about Setubal in France and at Aveiro in Portugal; and it is improbable but many Officers and Seamen in some of Our ships must have seen one or other of these works, and conversation may be able to give you great light into the way of making and ordering them</p> <p>21. Cap^t Bates from the Reports Vally may do for this in one of the best purposes on each side the Gully that conveys the Rain water from the mountains into</p>	<p>engines from the sea and directing it into prepared places. This experiment was described as capable of being undertaken within one or two weeks, and with relatively little labour. Although some initial expense might be required, it was considered that the long term value would be considerable. It was noted that significant savings could be made in freight, as ships currently carried large quantities of materials such as bricks, tiles, lime, timber, boards and iron from England, which might otherwise be supplied locally. It was further observed that ships could take on full cargoes of such goods at St Helena for their return voyages, at their own expense, and that such cargoes might also be sold for profit in various parts of India. Salt was described as a particularly valuable commodity.</p> <p>It was stated that the advantages of inexpensive salt works had greatly enriched the French and Portuguese, particularly in places such as Setubal and Aveiro. It was considered probable that officers and seamen in Company ships had observed such works, and that their experience might provide useful knowledge for establishing similar production.</p> <p>It was reported by Captain Bates that Reports Valley might serve well for this purpose, particularly on either side of the gully that carried rainwater from the mountains into [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Alienated” referred to the transfer or assignment of Company servants to other parties, whether by sale, agreement or informal arrangement.</p> <p>“Strangers” referred to individuals not belonging to the Company’s service, including private traders or unauthorised persons.</p> <p>“Freight” referred to the cost or charge associated with transporting goods by ship, a major expense in long distance trade.</p> <p>“Engines” referred to mechanical devices, such as pumps, used to raise or move water for industrial or agricultural purposes.</p> <p>“Setubal” and “Aveiro” referred to well known centres of salt production in Portugal, where salt was extracted through evaporation techniques.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The strict prohibition on alienating Company servants suggests that labour shortages or misuse had probably been a concern, prompting tighter control over the workforce.</p> <p>The emphasis on developing salt production indicates that the Company had been seeking to reduce dependence on imported materials and to create a profitable local industry.</p> <p>The reference to European salt works suggests that the Company had been drawing upon established practices abroad to guide development on the Island.</p> <p>The identification of specific locations for salt works implies that surveys and local knowledge had already begun to inform plans for economic expansion.</p>
72	66	<p>[...] to the Sea, where Channels or Gully must be made to let open for that purpose, and set such a height great rains that Gully should overflow into ye said pond, Wee think it may be requisite to leave 15 or 16 foot breadth of Land on each side of the Gully into the Earth you will be forced to raise even to the making and levelling of your Salt Dams</p> <p>Wee call the places into which you are to lett the Sea Water Salt Panns, because they are usually made in severall partitions, according as the ground falls, those next the Sea are made for two or three hours more remote, but all adjoining one to another parted with little Banks of clay about 2 or 3 foot broad, more or less as you shall see is most fitting to keep in Water</p> <p>The greater, lower first and you can make into such Dams, the more salt you will have, and the</p>	<p>Further instruction had been given regarding the construction of salt works near the sea. It was directed that channels or gullies were to be made to allow water to flow for this purpose, and that they were to be set at such a height that, during heavy rains, the gully might overflow into the prepared ponds. It was considered necessary to leave a breadth of 15 or 16 feet of land on each side of the gully. The ground was to be raised and levelled as required in order to construct the salt dams.</p> <p>The places into which sea water was to be introduced were described as salt pans. These were to be arranged in several partitions according to the natural slope of the ground. Those nearest the sea were to be filled first, followed by those further away, though all were to be adjoining and separated by small banks of clay about 2 or 3 feet broad, or as required to retain the water effectively.</p>

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		<p>thinner the Sea Water lyes in the Dams, the sooner it will turn into Salt by the heat of the Sun beating upon it</p> <p>In some places of France wee have heard that they levell the Salt Dams into squares or a great four or five together</p> <p>When you have sett in Salt Water enough to fill all the Dams there must be some sluice or contrivance made on the Sea to shut out the flowing or surge of the Sea Water</p> <p>If you find any of the ground where you make your Salt Dams porous or leaky, so as not to retain the Salt Water when it is lett into it, you must plaister or ram the bottom thereof all over with Clay which will bring it to be tight</p> <p>When the Salt in the Panns is formed this manner you are to rake it out of the Panns and lay it in small heaps to drain</p> <p>3 or 4 days as you shall see cause and after that to bring all those small heaps into one great and so lay it in a large heap and so high as you can possibly make it, the better for the keeping it from very much to the wasting of the Salt in all weathers</p>	<p>It was stated that the larger and lower the first dams could be made, the greater the quantity of salt that might be produced. It was also observed that the thinner the layer of sea water within the dams, the more quickly it would be converted into salt by the heat of the sun.</p> <p>It had been reported that, in some parts of France, salt dams were levelled into square formations, sometimes grouped four or five together.</p> <p>After sufficient sea water had been introduced to fill the dams, a sluice or similar contrivance was to be constructed at the sea in order to prevent the return flow or surge of water.</p> <p>If the ground used for the salt dams was found to be porous or leaky and unable to retain the water, it was directed that the base should be plastered or rammed with clay to make it watertight.</p> <p>When the salt had formed in the pans, it was to be raked out and placed in small heaps to drain for three or four days, or as required. After this, the smaller heaps were to be gathered into one larger heap and raised as high as possible, in order to preserve the salt and prevent loss from exposure to weather.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Salt pans” referred to shallow, enclosed areas designed to hold sea water for evaporation, allowing salt to crystallise as the water dried.</p> <p>“Salt dams” referred to the embanked sections within salt works where water was retained and evaporated, forming part of a controlled system of production.</p> <p>“Sluice” referred to a device or channel fitted with a gate to regulate the flow of water, particularly to control inflow and prevent unwanted return.</p> <p>“Porous ground” referred to soil that allowed water to pass through it, requiring treatment to retain liquids in constructed basins.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The detailed instructions suggest that the Company had been actively attempting to establish a structured and efficient salt industry on the Island.</p> <p>The reference to French practices indicates that European methods had probably been studied and adapted for use in colonial environments.</p> <p>The emphasis on construction techniques and water control suggests that environmental conditions on the Island had required careful engineering to make salt production viable.</p> <p>The process of forming and storing salt in large heaps indicates an intention to produce surplus quantities, possibly for export as well as local use.</p>
73	67	<p>[...] so that if you can carry out make a medium fami[...] or 1000 pound into the forme of a Hogg or some such England it will in tyme crust over with some hard a crust as will secure it against all violent raine and weather and the longer the Salt lyes in such vault a heapes the firmer whiter and better it will be</p> <p>For Baggs for this Wee would rather you can have no better then those sorts of Holland Duffle canvas which Wee have Ordered you already to take out of our Bay Shipps</p> <p>It will be requisite if you goe on with this Salt work effectually that you should build some small how[...] or shop near them for the habitation of the person you shall make Overseer of these works and some Cabbin for the Negroes that attend it according to the number that shall be entertained in Barbados of which Col. H[...] hath been many</p> <p>Capt Kno[...] will informe you of what provisions materials & tools are needful Wee find by the ship whom Wee would have you to employ in this severall works and compell them to bring their respective trades to the most Doeable of ye work for want Our Bargaine with them stands it upon</p>	<p>Further instruction had been given concerning the storage and preservation of salt. It was advised that, if possible, quantities of about 1,000 pounds should be formed into the shape of a hoghead or similar mass. In time, such heaps would develop a hard outer crust, which would protect the salt from heavy rain and weather. It was noted that the longer the salt remained in such heaps, the firmer, whiter and better it would become.</p> <p>For the storage of salt, it was recommended that bags should be made from Holland duffel canvas, as previously ordered to be taken from the Company’s Bay ships.</p> <p>It was further directed that, if the salt works were to be pursued effectively, small houses or workshops were to be built nearby for the habitation of the overseer appointed to manage the works. Additional cabins were to be constructed for the slaves employed there, in numbers proportionate to those used in Barbados, as had been observed by Colonel H[...]. It was stated that Captain Kno[...] would provide information regarding the provisions, materials and tools required. It was also directed that the slaves</p>

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		<p>by experience every thing in such workes that is carefull over seen to be fully employed with all sorts of artificers workmen until you have brought the work to some moderate standing and Wee shall improve the time you have and carry on the work in Barbados without which they would otherwise brought that Island to what it is, being now improved to such a height that from thence are sailed above 400 shippes yearly small and great Wee have likewise thought of another way of improving our Island of St Helena which Wee shall now recommend to you and that is to furnish you planters with small Negroes whom they send them upon the fishing which and carrying of fish in Boats round the Island, as well about the Rocks; for which purpose Wee shall send you hooks lines netts and all manner of fishing [...], which we have all necessary for this work the manner of proceeding in this, is that our Planters should keep of them the yarnes & tackle</p>	<p>brought by ship were to be employed in these works, and that they were to be compelled to apply their respective skills fully. It was observed that experience had shown that such works required careful supervision and the employment of all types of artificers and labourers until the enterprise had reached a stable condition. Reference had been made to Barbados as an example, where similar methods had contributed to the Island's development, now supporting the departure of more than 400 ships each year, both small and large.</p> <p>A further proposal had been made for improving the Island of St Helena. It was suggested that planters should be supplied with young slaves, who were to be employed in fishing around the Island, including among the rocks. For this purpose, hooks, lines, nets and other fishing equipment were to be sent. It was indicated that the necessary materials for this work would be provided. The plan involved the planters maintaining the equipment and organising the fishing activity [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Holland duffel canvas” referred to a heavy, durable woollen or mixed fabric produced in the Low Countries, commonly used for sacks, clothing and maritime purposes due to its strength and resistance to wear.</p> <p>“Artificers” referred to skilled craftsmen or workers, particularly those engaged in construction, engineering or specialised manual trades.</p> <p>“Hogshead” referred to a large cask or a unit of measure, here used to describe the form into which salt might be compacted for storage and transport.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The emphasis on forming salt into large compact heaps suggests that preservation and transport had been major concerns, requiring methods to protect against the Island's climate.</p> <p>The comparison with Barbados indicates that the Company had been attempting to replicate successful plantation and industrial systems from established colonies.</p> <p>The instruction to employ slaves according to their skills suggests a structured labour system aimed at maximising efficiency and output.</p> <p>The proposal to expand fishing activities indicates an effort to diversify food supply and economic activity, reducing reliance on imported provisions.</p>
74	68	<p>that they make use of, and that you all the Fish will be salted and dried that they bring into you, you should give them for it a weight of good well saved Salt fish whatsoever it be, upon receipt thereof into the Comp^a Warehouses in Chappell Valley, for Our service when you can spare them from the works of Sunday, you may lend them the Companys Boats and Utensills or such of them as you think will be enough and so save you hands all the labour save paying them halfe the price you give to the Planters which work with their own craft and tackles, and have no wages from Us.</p> <p>The which Wee propose to Our selves in storing up such a quantity of Dry Fish is:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. That you may always have a good stock of the provisions in a readinesse for ye supply of Our Negroes in case of failure of other provision by accident of Death or ill weather 2. That our Planters may always have work for themselves and their Negroes at Sea, when the lands is too Dry to be Dugge or wrought upon 3. That Our Shippes bound for India that touch at St Helena may always have a part of a loading of fine salt fish, instead of Salt & Tobacco both which are commodities in some of India, without loss and 4. If the quantity stored grow very big upon Our hands, Wee know not how we can better 	<p>Instructions had been given that the fish brought in by the planters was to be salted and dried, and that for all such fish delivered into the Company's warehouses in Chapel Valley, payment was to be made in weight of well preserved salt fish of equal measure. These supplies were to be held for the Company's service. When slaves could be spared from other work, except on Sundays, the Company's boats and utensils might be lent to them as required. By this means, labour might be saved, and they were to be paid at half the rate given to planters who worked with their own boats and tackle and received no wages from the Company.</p> <p>The purpose of storing large quantities of dried fish had been set out in several points. Firstly, it was intended that a constant stock of provisions should be maintained for supplying the slaves, particularly in times when other food sources might fail due to death or adverse weather. Secondly, it was intended that planters and their slaves should always have employment at sea when the land was too dry to be cultivated. Thirdly, it was proposed that Company ships bound for India and calling at St Helena might take on cargoes of dried salt fish, in place of salt and tobacco, both of which were recognised commodities in parts of India, without incurring loss. Fourthly, if the stock of dried fish became very large, it was proposed that a Company vessel might be employed to carry the surplus to Barbados for disposal.</p>

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		<p>dispose a Comp^a from the boards, imploy Sea for catching Fish, and take in their the Overplus of your dry Fish, and carry it thence to Barbados</p> <p>If at any time you send One of Our Negroes home of Our Island for a fishing, or Equall number of both in return you must have delivered out 12 for every weight of dry fish, three for one halfe of the price and to be a right of Our Cash and labour of Our Negroes</p> <p>The fishing Boats must not use Grap Irons for anchors but Shell Locks, which is a great wood fastned to foure Claws of wood because the Grap[...]</p>	<p>It had been directed that, if at any time slaves were sent from the Island for fishing or exchanged in equal number, a quantity of twelve was to be delivered out for every weight of dried fish, with three accounting for half the value, and this was to be entered properly into the Company's accounts in respect of both cash and labour.</p> <p>It had been ordered that fishing boats were not to use grap irons as anchors, but instead were to employ shell locks, described as a large piece of wood fitted with four wooden claws, as the grap[...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Chapel Valley" referred to the location of the Company's principal warehouses on St Helena, where provisions and goods were stored and managed.</p> <p>"Grap irons" referred to metal anchors with hooked arms used to grip the seabed, commonly employed for small vessels.</p> <p>"Shell locks" referred to a type of wooden anchor, constructed with projecting claws, designed to hold in rocky or uneven seabeds where iron grapnels might fail.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The structured system of exchanging fish for salt provisions suggests that the Company had been attempting to regulate and incentivise food production without relying solely on direct wages.</p> <p>The emphasis on dried fish as a reserve indicates concern over the Island's vulnerability to food shortages, particularly given its isolation and dependence on irregular supplies.</p> <p>The proposal to export surplus fish to Barbados suggests that the Company had been exploring additional trade opportunities beyond its usual routes.</p> <p>The instruction regarding the use of wooden anchors implies that local maritime conditions, such as rocky seabeds, had required adaptation in equipment and techniques.</p>
75	69	<p>may break in hanging upon the Rocks, The manner of makeing those Shell locks you may learne out of Our East India Shippes</p> <p>All the small guts, bones &c of your Fish must be thrown into the Sea, which will cause the Fish the more to haunt the Island</p> <p>The Fish must have the heads and tails cut off and laid dry upon the Rocks, and if it lies out overnight, the rising tide may wash it away if the wind, especially Boneta and Albicore</p> <p>The Fishermen have the heads and tails cut of the Fish upon the Rocks if it lies out at night, if the Spring tides come it may be washed away, especially Boneta & Albicore</p> <p>If your plants will be fit for any store of Meat, it will more then [...] them possibly it will not be fit for drying, but must be salted up in tight caske as it is done in New England, and if they offer you any to sell for salting up you may usually you buy them, & so be managed, and give them another commodity each of like value, and to our com[...] halfe price as aforesaid</p> <p>Cap^t Kno[...] you would have to be one of Our Council during his stay at St Helena, his being eminent and obliging to us, and therefore Wee hope will be very usefull to us and of Our Interest in all respects</p> <p>You see by what Wee have now writt, and Our long Letters by Sr Thomas Grantham what Wee design for the improvement of Our Revenue upon that Island, principally Sugar work, Salt works, Sea salt and Salt fish. If you can bring these four commodities to perfection and produce them in any great quantity, it will then rise to be great in trade for Our vast Disbursement upon that Island, especially if you can teach Our Planters to raise Ginger, Indigo, Cotton, Aloes, with some commodities Wee have already had</p>	<p>Further instruction had been given that grappling irons might break when caught upon rocks, and that for this reason shell locks were to be used. The method of making such shell locks was to be learned from the Company's East India ships.</p> <p>It was directed that all refuse from fish, including guts and bones, was to be thrown into the sea, as this would attract more fish to frequent the Island. The fish themselves were to have their heads and tails removed and then laid out to dry upon the rocks. Care was to be taken that they were not left exposed overnight, as rising tides, particularly spring tides, might wash them away. Attention was drawn to species such as boneta and albicore, which were especially liable to such loss if not properly managed.</p> <p>It was observed that, if certain fish were not suitable for drying, they might instead be preserved by salting in tight casks, as practised in New England. Where such fish were offered for sale, they might be purchased for this purpose and managed accordingly. Payment was to be made in other commodities of equal value, and entered into the Company's accounts at half the price as previously directed.</p> <p>It was recommended that Captain Kno[...] should be admitted as a member of the Council during his stay at St Helena, on account of his standing and service to the Company. It was expressed that he would be of use and aligned with the Company's interests in all respects.</p> <p>Reference had been made to the Company's broader plans for improving revenue on the Island, as set out in this and earlier letters sent by Sir Thomas Grantham. These plans had centred principally upon the development of sugar works, salt works, sea salt production and salted fish. It was stated that, if these four commodities could be brought to full production in significant quantities, they would establish a substantial trade capable of compensating for the large</p>

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		<p>of from thence and pay them in such a price for their encouragement as Wee can possibly afford Cattle, Butter, Cheese and Poultry are commodities to a West India or Southern Island, and will not be wanted there for them with, or be much to Us any considerable part of Our Disbursement</p>	<p>sums expended on the Island. Additional encouragement had been given for planters to cultivate ginger, indigo, cotton, aloes and other commodities previously obtained from the Island, with suitable prices to be offered as incentives.</p> <p>It was further noted that cattle, butter, cheese and poultry were common commodities suited to islands in the West Indies or southern regions. However, it was stated that such goods would not be in short supply there, nor would they contribute significantly to the Company's expenditure or revenue in comparison with the other commodities described.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Shell locks" referred to wooden anchoring devices fitted with projecting claws, used in place of iron grapnels to prevent breakage on rocky seabeds.</p> <p>"Boneta and albicore" referred to types of fish, likely species of tuna, which were commonly caught and processed in maritime environments.</p> <p>"Spring tides" referred to periods of especially high tides occurring at certain phases of the moon, increasing the risk of goods being washed away if left near the shore.</p> <p>"Aloes" referred to plants cultivated for their fibres or medicinal properties, used in trade and industry.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The detailed instructions for fish processing suggest that fishing had been viewed as a significant supplementary industry for both sustenance and trade.</p> <p>The emphasis on preventing waste indicates that losses from environmental conditions had probably been a recurring problem.</p> <p>The recommendation to include Captain Knox in the Council suggests that experienced naval officers had been valued for their practical knowledge and influence.</p> <p>The focus on four principal commodities suggests that the Company had been attempting to concentrate its efforts on industries with the greatest potential return.</p> <p>The dismissal of livestock products as less important indicates that the Company had prioritised export oriented commodities over local agricultural produce.</p>
76	70	<p>For your better Instruction in Sugar works, and planting all sorts of Indian Commodities, as well as in Salt salting and ordering your dry Fish, Wee intend very speedily to send you experienced and skilfull persons that shall instruct you in the particulars of these affaires</p> <p>As now Sea salt must be made in your lowe Valleys it is probable that your salt Panns must not be very farre from your Sea side, and therefore it is most absolutely necessary that you should make good large roads from the Fort up to the Hills for the convenient bringing down of your Salt pannels upon Oxen Backs, But it will not be safe to move the weight much to any of the Valleys except to Ruperts Valley only; Not that it is not barren, because our Sea Salt may conveniently be made in Boats from Ruperts Valley or any other Valley where you shall make our Sea Salt works</p> <p>The greatest defect Wee find in that Island is want of grain to supply which Wee have already Ordered you in our former letters to make some experiment of Barley among many Neglects and much discourse tending to this improvement of that Island Wee are at length in hopes you may produce very good rice upon the highest lands (Cap^t Knox that lived twenty yeares in Ceylon informing us that there is a particular sort of Rice that groweth best on high and dry land, the seed under cultivation whereof doth prosper very well. He also hath sent some Rice with him from the Ship he came in, which he had in Ceylon</p>	<p>Further instruction had been given that, for the improvement of sugar works, the planting of Indian commodities, and the production of salt and dried fish, experienced and skilled persons were to be sent with all speed. These individuals were to provide detailed instruction in the management of these activities.</p> <p>It was stated that sea salt was to be produced in the lower valleys, and that the salt pans would therefore need to be situated near the seashore. For this reason, it was considered absolutely necessary that substantial roads should be constructed from the fort up into the hills, so that materials and produce from the salt pans might be transported conveniently by oxen. It was noted, however, that it would not be safe to carry heavy loads to all valleys, and that Rupert's Valley was considered the most suitable location for such transport. It was observed that, although the valley itself might be barren, sea salt could be produced there or in other valleys and then conveyed by boat as required.</p> <p>Attention had been drawn to what was considered the greatest deficiency of the Island, namely the lack of grain. Reference had been made to earlier instructions to experiment with the cultivation of barley. It was now expressed that there was hope that rice might be successfully grown on the higher lands. This expectation had been based upon information provided by Captain Knox, who had lived for twenty years in Ceylon. He had reported that a particular type of rice thrived best on high and dry ground, and that its seed, when properly cultivated, produced well. It was noted that Captain Knox had brought some of this rice with</p>

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		<p>Cap^t Knox hopes to bring you some of that seed you will not only show you the whole process of managing it, but leave some of it with you, which Wee will have taken amongst some Negroes and you shall employ in this work, and to assist in any other work in vacant tymes, that you shall employ him about for which you may allow him moderate wages at the Companys charge and give him the same priviledges that Cap^t Knox hath, besides what his Indentures will allow You will give him good passage over and above his wages.</p>	<p>him, obtained from Ceylon, and that he intended to supply seed for planting.</p> <p>It was directed that Captain Knox was to demonstrate the full method of cultivating this rice and to leave a supply of seed on the Island. It was further ordered that a number of slaves were to be assigned to this work, and that they might also be employed in other tasks during periods when they were not engaged in cultivation. It was permitted that moderate wages might be paid to him at the Company's expense, and that he was to be granted the same privileges as Captain Knox, in addition to any provisions set out in his indentures. It was also directed that he was to be provided with suitable passage, beyond the payment of his wages.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Salt pans" referred to shallow basins constructed near the coast for the evaporation of seawater, allowing salt to crystallise and be collected.</p> <p>"Indentures" referred to formal contracts binding an individual to a period of service under agreed conditions, often specifying duties, privileges and remuneration.</p> <p>"Rupert's Valley" referred to a location identified as suitable for transport and production, particularly in relation to salt works.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The intention to send skilled workers suggests that the Company had recognised limitations in local knowledge and had sought to import expertise to develop key industries.</p> <p>The emphasis on building roads indicates that transport difficulties had probably hindered production and distribution on the Island.</p> <p>The focus on rice cultivation reflects concern over food shortages and an effort to establish a more reliable supply of grain suited to local conditions.</p> <p>The reliance on Captain Knox's experience suggests that practical knowledge from other regions had been valued in adapting agricultural practices to the Island.</p> <p>The assignment of slaves to specialised agricultural work indicates an organised approach to labour, aiming to maximise productivity across multiple sectors.</p>
77	71	<p>46. Wee cannot compell him to any certaine tyme of his being not staying upon the Island, his being not our Covenant</p> <p>Servant But Wee would wish he would stay twelve months that he might shew you the manner of sowing a well as of sowing the Rice or planting the ground.</p> <p>Wee further upon that Island are so loos and negligent a people, that you are not to do some upon them for making of this or any other worke in that Country but every thing that is now upon the Comp[...] own grounds, and with the Comp[...] own negroes under your own view, and with this you take care of such skillfull and carefull Overseers as Wee shall send you, or you shall pick out from among your self fitt for the purpose.</p> <p>Choos an eminent & good Coole wth s[...] also possible you can, that bring as many more wth them you doe not at present apprehend, Cap[...] Knox will shew you an easy way by which one man in an hour or two may every day draw as much Oyle from them as will serve reasonable, and Wee are told that you the first you[...] drawne Oyle of Co[...] Nutt is as sweet and good for all purposes as Oyle of sweet Almonds.</p> <p>Wee are told you have plums Trees, and some other plants are very subject to blast, and if you find it frequently so, you must supply the defects by watering the walks about the Comp[...] Garden to</p>	<p>It was stated that the individual referred to could not be compelled to remain on the Island for any fixed period, as he was not bound as a covenant servant. However, it was expressed as a wish that he would remain for twelve months, so that he might demonstrate the proper methods of sowing and cultivating rice, and the preparation of the ground.</p> <p>It was observed that the people on the Island had been loose and negligent in their conduct. For this reason, it was directed that reliance was not to be placed upon them for the execution of such works. Instead, all undertakings were to be carried out upon the Company's own lands and with the Company's own slaves, under direct supervision. Care was to be taken to appoint skilled and diligent overseers, whether sent by the Company or selected locally, to manage these works effectively.</p> <p>Instruction had been given to select a capable and experienced individual [...], and to obtain as many additional persons as possible to assist in the work. It was noted that Captain Knox would demonstrate a simple method by which a single person might, within an hour or two each day, extract sufficient oil for practical use. It was reported that oil drawn from coconuts was as good and as suitable for all purposes as oil of sweet almonds.</p> <p>It was further reported that plum trees and other plants on the Island were subject to blight. If this condition occurred frequently, it was directed that the deficiency should be remedied by watering the walks</p>

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		<p>Happell Valley to 11 or 12 foot high, for doing whereof you must take into [...] and overflow that can best be spared from planting.</p> <p>If you can make any dung to digg in amongst your plants in this good soil you will find a little thereof very much accelerate the growth; You will also find of ashes and the Oyle droppings of your Lamps full usefull in the time of dry weather that growth though it is no water in the Gully at Rupert Valley, and if you can convey the water they may be to digg that Gully deeper 4 or 5 foot in length next the Sea, and that setting pumps at the Landermost end of that Gully to indrawe.</p>	<p>about the Company's garden in Chapel Valley to a height of 11 or 12 feet. For this purpose, water was to be diverted from other uses where it could be spared without hindering planting.</p> <p>It was advised that the application of manure, where available, would greatly improve the growth of plants in the soil. Ashes and the residue from oil lamps were also described as useful in promoting growth during dry periods. It was noted that there was no water flowing in the gully at Rupert Valley, but that, if water could be conveyed there, the gully might be deepened by 4 or 5 feet towards the sea. Pumps were to be set at the landward end of the gully in order to draw in water as required.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Covenant servant” referred to a person bound by formal agreement or contract to serve for a fixed term, often under specified conditions.</p> <p>“Overseers” referred to individuals appointed to supervise labour, particularly the work of slaves, ensuring that tasks were carried out efficiently and according to instruction.</p> <p>“Blight” referred to a condition affecting plants, causing damage or failure of growth, often due to disease or environmental factors.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The inability to compel the individual to remain suggests that skilled labour had been scarce and difficult to retain on the Island.</p> <p>The criticism of the inhabitants' negligence indicates that the Company had been dissatisfied with local discipline and productivity.</p> <p>The emphasis on Company controlled labour suggests a shift towards tighter central management of resources and workforce.</p> <p>The attention to irrigation and soil improvement reflects ongoing challenges with the Island's environment, requiring adaptation to sustain agriculture.</p> <p>The mention of coconut oil production suggests an effort to utilise available natural resources to reduce dependence on imported goods.</p>
78	72	<p>[...] may with ease raise the water to throw throw [...] into yo[...] Salt pans att such a height as may enlarge the Levell of your pannels, by raising the ground neare the Gulley, and abateing some part of the ascent of the mountaine of Rupert Wee have discoursed more largely with Capt Knox, and Mr Coxo our intended Overseer of [...] Plantation, who now intends to imbarque upon this shipp.</p> <p>Mr Coxo will bring you the Coppys of one or more principall matters of the manner of making Salt in Barbadoes, out of which you may pick something for yo[...] further information, for Wee can only give you information hints how to what Wee think is best to be done but you will know much more then is possible for Us to suggest when you come, be not intirely loyall upon this point.</p> <p>Wee resolve likewise to remaine a small Garden Plantation for raising provisions Mr Coxo shall bring you seed of England and Madagascar if it can be procured there, the place Wee design for that is the Comp[...] plantation which we have next to Gov[...] intirely planted and cultivated with the stock of officers having also if it be convenient some cattle which too long neglected by reason of the want of Negroes which would have found.</p> <p>Wee have ordered to send you a system of Laws laws & customes of Barbadoes with relation to the Government working dyet times of the Labours & care of their Negroes which will have you to observe as near as possible and shall always remember that if absolute necessary you should keep our Negroes to rigour of Barbadoes discipline without</p>	<p>It was stated that water might be raised with ease and conveyed into the salt pans at a suitable height, thereby enlarging their level by raising the ground near the gully and reducing part of the ascent of the mountain at Rupert. It was noted that further discussion had been held with Captain Knox and Mr Coxo, who had been appointed as overseer of the plantation and was intended to embark upon the ship. Mr Coxo was to bring copies of principal methods used in the making of salt in Barbados, from which useful information might be selected. It was observed that only general guidance could be provided in writing, and that fuller understanding would be gained through practical experience, so that complete reliance upon written instruction alone was not advised.</p> <p>It was further resolved that a small garden plantation should be established for the raising of provisions. Mr Coxo was to bring seeds from England and Madagascar if they could be obtained. The place intended for this plantation was the Company's ground situated next to the Governor's [...], which was to be fully planted and cultivated, with livestock if convenient. It was noted that this land had been neglected for a long time due to a shortage of slaves.</p> <p>It was stated that a system of laws and customs from Barbados would be sent, particularly relating to governance, labour, diet and the management of slaves. It was directed that these were to be followed as closely as possible. It was emphasised that, where absolutely necessary, strict discipline similar to that practised in Barbados was to be maintained, as without such discipline neither the safety of lives nor of the Island could be ensured.</p>

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		<p>which neither our lives nor our Island can be safe.</p> <p>Tho we resolve upon a Tobacca plantation our resolution does not prohibit our Planters from produceing what there of they think fit, which being well cured you may take off their hands for yo[...] companies use at a rate at which rate when they have Negroes if they had nothing else to do with their Lands they might grow ten times richer then ever they can be by breeding of Cattle.</p>	<p>Although a tobacco plantation had been resolved upon, it was stated that planters were not to be prevented from producing tobacco on their own account. If properly cured, such produce might be purchased for the Company's use at an agreed rate. It was suggested that, with the use of slave labour, planters might become far more prosperous through such cultivation than by breeding cattle.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Overseer" referred to a person appointed to supervise agricultural or industrial work, particularly the labour of slaves, ensuring efficiency and adherence to instructions.</p> <p>"System of laws and customs of Barbados" referred to an established framework governing plantation management, labour discipline and social order in that colony, often used as a model for other settlements.</p> <p>"Cured" referred to the process of drying and preparing tobacco or other produce to make it suitable for storage and sale.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The reliance on examples from Barbados suggests that the Company had been attempting to replicate a successful colonial model on St Helena.</p> <p>The emphasis on irrigation and modification of terrain indicates that environmental constraints had required deliberate engineering solutions.</p> <p>The introduction of stricter laws and discipline suggests that earlier management of labour had been considered insufficient.</p> <p>The encouragement of tobacco cultivation reflects an effort to diversify production and increase profitability beyond traditional livestock activities.</p>
79	73	<p>[...] Busines[s] progress you make in plantation, the more carefull and diligent you must be in destroying rats for wch purpose Wee shall send by Capt Knox 20 pounds of impalpable powder of glass, and have informed him and Mr Coxe how this is to be used besides which you may contrive to use the Rats sent the Comp[...] formerly sent you, and all other methods you can contrive.</p> <p>If all mountains contains such as you do that is great difference of weather all day, lights and faires of plants the hilly countries may have its seasons as cold as that in latitude from 35 to 40 degrees, whereas the valleys and low sides of mountains are as warme or hott as Jamaica from 10 to 15 degrees of latitude, and therefore it must be your discretion to propagate those seeds and plants of Europe in the cooler places as those of the East and West Indies in the hotter.</p> <p>Wee have ordered Capt Knox and Mr Coxe to bring you from St Jago or from Madagascar if it can be had 3 or 4 pair of hand mills and some logwood chips etc the use of which you must carefully instruct those shall be assigned.</p> <p>In case it be that you will not want use this sugar if you cannot send it for the seasons and roads must be transposed and reserved for our use after, either for parting of sugar or tobacco, and if out of our East India ships that touch there you can buy anything that can be usefull for sugar or other provisions at a cheap rate about 4 or 5 per hundred you may do well to be gradually increasing of your stock to the quantity of 2 or 300 ton whereof on a sudden you can never have it but possibly be procured in that Island when there will be occasion to make use of them.</p> <p>Besides the use aforesaid Wee may in time have for pipe staves, butt staves, plough staves, barrel staves and other things being cut into just long fits into ships hold they may thereby be brought hither</p>	<p>It was stated that, as progress was made in plantation work, greater care and diligence were to be exercised in destroying rats. For this purpose, 20 pounds of finely ground glass powder had been sent by Captain Knox, and he, together with Mr Coxe, had been instructed in its use. In addition, use was to be made of rats or other means previously supplied by the Company, together with any other methods that could be devised.</p> <p>It was observed that the Island contained great variations in climate, with mountainous regions experiencing cooler conditions, comparable to latitudes between 35 and 40 degrees, while the valleys and lower slopes were as warm as regions such as Jamaica between 10 and 15 degrees of latitude. It was therefore directed that seeds and plants from Europe were to be cultivated in the cooler areas, while those from the East and West Indies were to be grown in the warmer parts, according to suitability.</p> <p>It was ordered that Captain Knox and Mr Coxe were to procure from St Jago or Madagascar, if possible, three or four pairs of hand mills, together with logwood chips and other materials. Instruction was to be given to those assigned in their proper use.</p> <p>Provision was made for the storage and use of sugar and other goods. If immediate use or shipment was not possible, they were to be preserved for later employment, either in the production of sugar or tobacco. It was also directed that, if useful goods for sugar production or provisions could be purchased cheaply from East India ships calling at the Island, at rates of about £4 or £5 per hundred, such purchases should be made gradually, with the aim of building stock up to a quantity of 200 or 300 tons. It was noted that such quantities could not be obtained suddenly but might be accumulated over time as opportunity allowed.</p> <p>It was further stated that materials such as pipe staves, butt staves, plough staves, barrel staves and similar items could be prepared from timber cut into suitable lengths to fit into ships' holds. These were</p>

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		<p>according to the Comp[...], honnor and other advantage then timber or any thing else you have made use of, being esteemed the best for building in Barbadoes you will care not slight but observe the manner of sawing them Mr Coxe will show you when he arrives there.</p>	<p>described as valuable for transport and trade, being considered among the best materials for building in Barbados. It was directed that care should be taken to observe the proper methods of sawing and preparation, which Mr Coxe would demonstrate upon his arrival.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Impalpable powder of glass” referred to finely ground glass used as a pest control substance, intended to be ingested by rodents, causing internal injury.</p> <p>“Hand mills” referred to small manually operated grinding devices used for processing grain or other materials.</p> <p>“Logwood chips” referred to wood used in dyeing processes, particularly valued for producing dark colours.</p> <p>“Staves” referred to shaped wooden planks used in the construction of barrels, casks and other coopered vessels.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The provision of glass powder for rat control suggests that pest infestation had been a serious problem affecting agricultural output.</p> <p>The recognition of varied climates across the Island indicates an attempt to apply agricultural zoning, matching crops to suitable environmental conditions.</p> <p>The gradual accumulation of supplies suggests logistical constraints and the need for long term planning in building up essential materials.</p> <p>The emphasis on timber processing and stave production indicates an effort to develop secondary industries that could support both local needs and export trade.</p>
80	74	<p>62. Wee have some horses branes and Pease on board of English and prize ships which you may well to our plantation use for the food of Our Negroes, Our men may you will have occasion to make use of at one or other wise food by you for Our use at some other occasion that Wee may have a stock here for them to which purpose we mention in the receipt give Capt Knox the first men one of the provisions and deliver them.</p> <p>your plantation must be about 3 foot deep in loose ground at first and the hole afterwards to be filled up as the surface comes on, Capt Knox will shew you the right way as it was his practice in Ceylon Capt Knox will likewise shew you every type and rule or drift to bring your water streams into a better form without that run or fall into Our shipping boats as it doth at the Cape & Batavia to the more convenient and speedy filling our shipping water cask this Wee would have done speedily with the help of such shipping companies shall be there at the time, but particularly your high ways.</p> <p>Here is diverse of opinion that by barricadoeing entrances of Rupert Valley and other Valleys of the Island you might make it impregnable, but when which is where should you be forced with means that you may fortify one part, but doing nothing in the rest you have an unguarded and except there should be such a time by you are more now the work for Our Negroes.</p> <p>Wee have already writ you not to part with one foot of our lands neither in fee to any person upon any pretence whatsoever, and have more strictly ordered and require you not to lease or dispose one of any of our lands to any person for any consideration Wee being absolutely resolved to keep all the remainder in Our own hands and have thought we cannot improve it better in 300 years than those lately plantations have done in 20. Wee hope Capt Knox will bring you some pepper plants and some other good things growing in as the</p>	<p>It was stated that certain supplies, including horse beans and peas, were aboard English and prize ships, and that these might be used for the Company’s plantations as food for the slaves. It was directed that such provisions might be retained and applied as needed, and that a stock should be maintained for future use. Receipts were to be given to Captain Knox for these provisions upon delivery.</p> <p>Instruction had been given regarding the method of planting, specifying that ground was to be dug to a depth of about three feet in loose soil at the outset, and that the hole was to be filled gradually as the surface rose. It was noted that Captain Knox would demonstrate the correct method, based on his experience in Ceylon.</p> <p>It was further directed that Captain Knox would instruct in the proper management of water streams, so that they might be brought into a more effective course. This was intended to prevent the uncontrolled flow into shipping boats, as had been observed at the Cape and Batavia, and to allow for more convenient and rapid filling of water casks. It was stated that this work was to be undertaken promptly, with assistance from ships’ crews present at the time, and with particular attention given to the highways.</p> <p>It was reported that there had been differing opinions regarding the fortification of the Island by barricading the entrances to Rupert’s Valley and other valleys. It was suggested that such measures might render the Island impregnable. However, it was also observed that fortifying only one part while leaving others unguarded would not provide complete security. It was therefore implied that such works should be considered carefully, and that labour might be more effectively employed elsewhere, particularly by the slaves.</p> <p>It was reiterated that no part of the Company’s land was to be granted or transferred to any person under any circumstances. It was further ordered that no leases or other forms of disposal were to be made. The Company was resolved to retain all remaining lands under its own control, having concluded that these</p>

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		<p>best means to improve your lands and thereby lay a foundation for bringing of more valuable commodities to you, concluding them they are like to be to be in Our dayes.</p>	<p>could not be improved more effectively over a long period than had already been achieved in recent years.</p> <p>It was expressed that Captain Knox might bring pepper plants and other valuable crops, which were considered among the best means of improving the land and establishing the foundation for more profitable commodities in the future.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Horse beans” referred to a type of broad bean used as food, particularly suitable for feeding both people and livestock.</p> <p>“Prize ships” referred to vessels captured during conflict, along with their cargo, which could be used or redistributed by the capturing party.</p> <p>“Barricadoeing” referred to the construction of barriers or defensive obstacles to restrict access, particularly in strategic locations such as valleys or passes.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The use of provisions from prize ships suggests that the Company had supplemented its supplies through captured resources, reflecting wider maritime conflict or competition.</p> <p>The emphasis on water management indicates that efficient supply of fresh water had been a continuing logistical challenge for the Island.</p> <p>The debate over fortifications suggests concern over defence, though balanced against the limited labour available for such works.</p> <p>The strict retention of land by the Company indicates a move towards centralised control, possibly in response to earlier issues with private ownership or misuse.</p> <p>The introduction of pepper and other crops suggests an ongoing effort to diversify production and increase the Island’s economic value.</p>
81	75	<p>69. Wee have sent you many Barrel staves, lett them be carefully used up in the Comp[...] plantation where the ground best upon high land, for they thrive with you Wee shall hereafter think of an other use for them. Capt Knox is of opinion that Iron stone abounds much in that Island, and if it prove so Wee have a worke that which was not thought of before, In the Country where he was Captive every poore man who not worth 20£ made his iron for the use of his family, the manner whereof he will show you for a tryall, But we will not admit any to be made upon your Island least it should consume our wood; But if your stone prove right upon experience Wee would have you make some of it as is right to be laid together in great heaps at some convenient shipping place from whence wee shall transport it in our ships that bring timber to your Island to some part of India, where Wee can have returns to quantities of woods for building only, and more for [...] Wee have a stock of 300 Ton of Coals for Jam[...] to be first broke up, whereof you will produce a very large store of Lime, and send us a small quantity yearly to see by the copy of that pattern. Wee intend to ship from England and India for yo[...] Negroes Wee resolve to send you in May or June from hence 50 or 60 Tons of Oyle or Iron which is the usuall and best food for Negroes and it must be your care to provide convenient handsome granaries to store it in of grain of all sorts from vermin that you may be always furnished against any accidents of weather or dearth, you may very well build them for storing Wheat, Rice, pease and barley is enough for all uses, but if the ground strong be it may be the better for building on dry stone or any convenient place</p>	<p>It was stated that many barrel staves had been sent, and that these were to be carefully used within the Company’s plantations, particularly on higher ground where they were observed to thrive. It was noted that further uses for them might be considered at a later time.</p> <p>It was reported that Captain Knox believed ironstone to be abundant on the Island. If this proved to be the case, it was suggested that a new form of work might be undertaken. It was described that, in the country where he had been held captive, even those of little means were able to produce iron for their own use. He was to demonstrate this method for trial. However, it was directed that iron production was not to be generally permitted on the Island, for fear that it would consume too much timber. Instead, if the stone proved suitable, quantities were to be prepared and gathered into large heaps at a convenient shipping place. From there, it was intended that the material would be transported by Company ships to parts of India, in exchange for timber and other necessary goods.</p> <p>It was further noted that a stock of 300 tons of coal had been provided, intended to be used in the production of lime. From this, a large quantity of lime was expected to be produced. It was directed that a small amount should be sent each year as a sample, for comparison with a given pattern.</p> <p>It was stated that the Company intended to send, from England and India, supplies for the support of the slaves. It was resolved that, in May or June, between 50 and 60 tons of oil or other provisions would be sent, described as suitable food for slaves. It was directed that proper granaries were to be constructed to store grain and provisions securely, protecting them from vermin and ensuring readiness against shortages caused by weather or scarcity. These granaries were to be suitable for storing wheat, rice, peas and barley. It was advised that, where the ground was firm, they might be built</p>

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		<p>might be raised to 25 or 28 foot from one to set with a post in the middle under every beam or Girder from the bottom to the top the length may be 70 or 80 foot if you have use for so much.</p>	<p>upon dry stone foundations or other suitable sites. The structures were to be raised to a height of 25 to 28 feet, with a central post supporting each beam or girder from the base to the top. Their length might extend to 70 or 80 feet, depending on the required capacity.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Ironstone” referred to a type of ore containing iron, which could be processed to produce usable metal.</p> <p>“Barrel staves” referred to shaped wooden planks used in the construction of barrels and casks, essential for storage and transport of goods.</p> <p>“Lime” referred to a material produced by heating limestone or similar substances, commonly used in construction for mortar and plaster.</p> <p>“Granaries” referred to buildings designed for the storage of grain, constructed to protect contents from moisture, pests and spoilage.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The consideration of iron production suggests that the Company had been exploring ways to utilise local mineral resources, though constrained by the limited availability of fuel.</p> <p>The plan to export ironstone in exchange for timber indicates a strategy of trading raw materials for essential building supplies.</p> <p>The emphasis on lime production reflects the need for construction materials to support expanding infrastructure on the Island.</p> <p>The detailed instructions for granaries indicate concern over food security and the need to safeguard supplies against environmental risks and spoilage.</p>
82	76	<p>the place for this structure must not be far from the waterside, and the house stand, whence it may be most ornamentall and secure from the shot of any Enemies shipping, and if you have roome you may place it soe that if Our businesse doe increase upon the Island as Wee think it will in a few yeares you may be adding 3 collaterall sides thereof turning it into the forme of a quadrangle with a faire gate for an Entrance into the area with convenient Watertowers to carry raine water to the wells Wee would have the rooffe of stone covering of shingle or slate tyles, all in forme by being pitched or raised and is very comely as well as safe and commending ingenuity of the contriver.</p> <p>71. you must likewise take out a convenient square for a Market place for Wee are resolving to destroy that security and dangerous practice of making market places for the supply of which Wee shall write you more in our next.</p> <p>72. Wee have shewne Capt Knox a granary of a great content and small charge in building if this Wee think may be for yo[...] purposes, the forme whereof he will describe to you.</p> <p>73. since writing the foregoing paragraphes Wee have discoursed with one Bagley that hath a plantation upon that Island who tells Us in some contrary to the information of Mr Simon that he thinks that our West India commodities will grow well at St Helena and that your clay will not bring except mix’t with lime but Wee doe not absolutely depend upon his judgement because Wee know he never had a hand to make a thorough experiment of planting and seemes to be not a man understanding that hath a genius in husbandry and is content to plant but not study long in any.</p> <p>74. The most materiall thing Wee can direct to you his information is that stay wood and young trees will grow strong exceeding well there and therefore you should endeavour to save them and bring your woods into severall distinct plantations or inclosures as is done in England for shipping you cattle from one</p>	<p>It was directed that the site for the proposed structure was to be chosen near the waterside, so that it might be both convenient and secure from the gunfire of enemy ships. The building was to be placed in a manner that would be both ornamental and defensible. Provision was to be made for future expansion, so that, if the Company’s business on the Island increased as expected, three additional sides might be added, forming a quadrangle with a principal gate leading into a central area. Water towers were to be constructed to collect rainwater and convey it to wells.</p> <p>It was further instructed that the roof was to be built of stone and covered with shingles or slate tiles, pitched at an angle. Such construction was described as both durable and pleasing in appearance, reflecting the skill of its designer.</p> <p>It was ordered that a suitable square was to be set aside for a market place. It was stated that the existing practice of holding markets in an insecure and dangerous manner was to be discontinued, and that further instructions on this matter would be provided in a subsequent letter.</p> <p>It was noted that Captain Knox had been shown a design for a granary that was large in capacity yet economical to construct. He was to describe this design so that it might be adapted for use on the Island.</p> <p>It was reported that, following earlier instructions, information had been received from a person named Bagley, who held a plantation on the Island. His views had differed from those of Mr Simon, as he believed that commodities associated with the West Indies would grow well on St Helena. He had also suggested that the clay soil would not yield well unless mixed with lime. However, it was stated that full reliance was not to be placed upon his judgement, as he was not considered experienced in systematic agricultural experimentation and was thought to lack sustained attention to such work.</p> <p>It was emphasised that the most important consideration was the preservation and cultivation of timber. It was observed that wood and young trees grew well on the Island, and it was therefore directed that they should be protected and organised into distinct</p>

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		<p>part of the Island to another upon which the natural advantages but would have nothing extraordinary or at best uncertain to grow with care if the best you can do with them shall endeavour to send you some graines seeds of rarity.</p>	<p>plantations or enclosed areas, following the example used in England. This arrangement would assist in managing resources and facilitate the movement of cattle across different parts of the Island. It was acknowledged that, while natural advantages existed, the results of such efforts might still be uncertain and would require careful management. It was further stated that seeds of rare or valuable kinds might be sent in future to assist in these improvements.</p> <p>Interpretations “Quadrangle” referred to a building arranged around a central courtyard, typically enclosed on all sides. “Water towers” referred to structures designed to collect and store rainwater at height, allowing it to be directed by gravity to wells or storage areas. “Shingles” referred to thin overlapping pieces of material, often wood or slate, used for roofing. “Granary” referred to a building used for storing grain, designed to protect it from moisture and pests.</p> <p>Speculations The detailed architectural instructions suggest that the Company had been planning long term expansion and more permanent infrastructure on the Island. The concern over market arrangements indicates that existing practices had probably been disorderly or unsafe. The differing opinions on agricultural potential suggest that knowledge of the Island’s environment had been incomplete and subject to debate. The emphasis on timber preservation indicates awareness of its importance as a limited resource, essential for construction and trade. The intention to introduce rare seeds suggests an ongoing effort to experiment with new crops and increase the Island’s economic productivity.</p>
83	77	<p>75. Wee intend likewise to send you some [...] of Society which you are to maintain the most convenient places for the further strengthening of our Island, & bringing over purpose that now Wee have agreed with all prudent persons that you should doe improve the place not only as to make that Island as far as humane industry can provide impregnable, and for which cause & purpose Wee have provided in sending Capt Knox to you with a quantity of Madagascar Negroes, that whilst you have time you may with strong stone walls doe Baracado all yo[...] Valleys and Gullyes so as and other places you shall think convenient that if an Enemy should attempt to land they should not be able to climb up into yo[...] Island without scaling Ladders, nor with them while yo[...] small Fort[s] are manned, whereas Wee are told that your small Forts being upon bottom of the land towards sea are easily surprized by an Enemy, that while down from to Land in the mid of their firing, which if you can doe which the Valleys are close up with a strong wall or military be blocked up in the front where their landing or plying of Ordnance Our Governor shall in such cases appoint, and Wee would have him and your Councell advise with Our Command Wee know no works without men will defend your place, but by such Barracadoes as Wee direct you may make every place so much safer that those not Enemy will be forced to climb at most upon rockes high enough to hinder up further in the same manner by which that Island hath bin hitherto surprised.</p> <p>76. Most of Our Male Negroes you may employ in and about the Forts and the foundations works and fortifications, whilst the Women and young slaves you shall think fitt to employ in planting</p>	<p>It was stated that further persons of [...], described as part of a society, were intended to be sent, who were to be maintained in suitable locations for the strengthening of the Island. It was explained that the Company had resolved that the Island was to be improved so far as human effort could make it secure. For this purpose, Captain Knox had been sent with a number of slaves from Madagascar, so that, while time permitted, strong stone walls might be constructed to barricade the valleys and gullies. These defences were to be placed at such points as were considered most advantageous, so that, if an enemy attempted to land, they would be unable to ascend into the Island without the use of scaling ladders. It was further stated that, even with such equipment, progress would be hindered while the smaller forts were properly manned. Concern had been expressed that existing forts, being situated low towards the sea, were vulnerable to surprise attack. It was therefore directed that the valleys were to be secured with strong walls or other military barriers, particularly at points where landing or the use of ordnance might be attempted. The Governor and Council were instructed to consult with the Company’s commanders in determining the most suitable arrangements. It was acknowledged that no works could defend the Island without sufficient manpower, but it was asserted that such barricades would greatly improve security and make access more difficult than had previously been the case.</p> <p>It was directed that most of the male slaves were to be employed in work associated with the forts, foundations and fortifications, while women and younger slaves were to be assigned to planting and agricultural labour.</p> <p>It was observed that slaves from Madagascar were reputed, particularly in Barbados, to be among the most vigorous and capable, and were considered useful in a</p>

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		<p>works.</p> <p>77. The Madagascar Blacks in Barbados are reputed to be most vigorous of any Blacks in America and most usefull Traders suitable smiths Carpenters Masons Bricklayers &ca</p> <p>78. Wee have sent you some seed by this ship and should have sent you more, but that arriving from hence this season was uncertain.</p>	<p>range of skilled trades, including blacksmithing, carpentry, masonry and bricklaying.</p> <p>It was stated that some seed had been sent by this ship, and that more would have been dispatched if the uncertainty of the season had permitted.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Barricado” referred to the construction of defensive barriers, often of stone or earth, intended to block access routes such as valleys and passes.</p> <p>“Ordnance” referred to artillery or heavy weapons used in warfare, particularly cannon.</p> <p>“Scaling ladders” referred to ladders used by attacking forces to climb defensive walls or steep terrain.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The extensive focus on fortifications suggests that the Company had been concerned about the vulnerability of the Island to external attack.</p> <p>The use of natural terrain, such as valleys and gullies, for defensive purposes indicates an effort to integrate military planning with the Island’s geography.</p> <p>The allocation of labour by gender and age reflects an organised system designed to maximise efficiency across both military and agricultural tasks.</p> <p>The emphasis on the abilities of Madagascar slaves suggests that the Company had been selecting labour not only for quantity but also for perceived skill and strength.</p>
84	78	<p>80. Upon further consideration of the great advantages that may accrue to Us if there prove to be a discovery silver or gold oares at this Island, We have doe Wee thinke or any officer of trust instructed that if he and other honest men that you upon his his arrivall from Madagascar shall employ you find encouragement by that act you shall have yo[...] saylours Capt Knox you doe put one good Cap[...] whose fidelity you may be assured of Govern[...] at the salary of 30£ ann[...] and 5 ton yearly salary of 14£ m[...] costed from your own the Comp[...] charge, 3 or 4 of the Comp[...] best Negroes</p> <p>that speake english with their wives what provisions seeds utensils and armes shall be for such a number of people for 12 or 18 mo what their animalls plants or seeds Capt Knox can conveniently carry along with him you would have him stay in some convenient passage for sending home what may be found for passage for 4 or 6 of bringing over you shall send some Government servant to use all diligence by the hand in which he can be most usefull to propagate and encrease the animalls and plants and also to erect a small farm or fort with a convenient house furnished with all necessary conveniences and what other you think necessary for some servants and slaves if you find any you must send convenient stocks, Ballast for a ship with stones and some by him [...] proportion also some shipping bring some [...] bread and fruit and what you can conveniently spare</p> <p>81. As soon as wee heare from you that you have a place for a proper fort that all lands of you we shall send from hence some forces ships from hence to keep that outwards bound and inwards from this our port for you with 6 or 8 guns to man from our forts and in some other convenient places that Wee shall consider most usefull for them especially Wee shall also add all possible outward</p>	<p>Further consideration was given to the considerable advantages that might arise should deposits of silver or gold ore be discovered on the Island. Provision was made for the appointment of a trusted officer, together with other reliable persons, to undertake such a search upon arrival from Madagascar. In the event that encouraging signs were found, direction was given that a capable commander of proven fidelity should be placed in charge, with an allowance of £30 per annum, together with five tons yearly, and an additional salary of £14 per annum at the Company’s charge.</p> <p>Arrangements were set out for the dispatch of three or four of the Company’s most capable slaves, able to speak English, accompanied by their wives. Supplies of provisions, seeds, utensils and arms sufficient for twelve to eighteen months were to be provided. Captain Knox was to carry such animals, plants and seeds as could conveniently be transported. A suitable place of settlement was to be chosen, from which discoveries might be reported and conveyed. Opportunity was to be allowed for the return of four or six persons as required.</p> <p>Care was to be taken that a Company servant was assigned to assist in this undertaking, applying diligence in those tasks where he might be most useful. Responsibility was to be given for increasing animals and plants, and for erecting a small farm or fort with a dwelling furnished with necessary conveniences. Additional servants and slaves were to be supplied if required. Materials such as ballast in the form of stones, together with provisions including bread and fruit, were to be sent in such quantities as could conveniently be spared.</p> <p>Upon confirmation that a proper site for a fort had been secured, intention was declared that ships and forces would be dispatched from England to maintain and defend the position. These vessels were to be furnished with six or eight guns and stationed at suitable locations. Consideration was also given to stopping outward bound ships and supplying them at this place, particularly those travelling between England, Africa and St Helena, so that advantage might be gained from their trade and provisioning. By these means, the produce of the Island was expected to be better employed, and the orderly conduct of the Company’s</p>

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		<p>bound for victualling to stop all ships on that don ships here & Africa in their way to St Helena that from you them and wch therefore Wee may have the advantage we may send produce of that Island and of the supply of them well and good behaviour of our men in those Governments for the convenience of our trade.</p>	<p>servants was considered essential to the success of these designs.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Ore” referred to naturally occurring rock containing valuable metals such as gold or silver, which could be extracted through mining.</p> <p>“Ballast” referred to heavy material, such as stones, placed in ships for stability, here also intended for use in construction.</p> <p>“Victualling” referred to the provisioning of ships or settlements with food and necessary supplies.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The exploration for precious metals suggests that the Company had been seeking additional sources of wealth beyond agriculture and trade.</p> <p>The planning for a separate settlement indicates that expansion beyond the Island itself had been under active consideration.</p> <p>The provision for armed ships and fortified positions reflects concern for protecting any such enterprise from external threats.</p> <p>The intention to supply passing ships implies a strategy to establish a profitable provisioning station within existing trade routes.</p>
85	79	<p>83. Wee think it may be convenient that you should when it convenes one of the Councill of the Island that then you give and deliver the Title of Deputy Governor unto him that is most to be of Councill with the you, and doe by Table of to introduce him into the said office of Deputy Governor and that he may give you no disturbance in your Government nor any discontent to Our selves and Councill soe constituted you shall have government of the Island and all persons there, and he shall receive from you the allowance of provisions as formerly directed.</p> <p>84. Wee having ordered about a Fort of St James a place to be taken only strong by situation and not to be by the side of the Sea shore, from that Fort you may observe any ships that shall come by, but it being high we are much afraid that your people should suffer very much in case of any surprise, and therefore wee would have you make a Fort near home to be very strong and large for the plantation, and sufficiently to resist any assault.</p> <p>85. If any of your servants or soldiers desire to go home or be disposed of, you may give them leave and they may be employed to serve the Company for some years more, and afterwards to return to their native country, and if they shall desire to continue longer you may grant them lands for them to plant and improve upon condition they shall be subject to the Government and pay such duties as shall be required.</p> <p>86. Direct Our Councill to nominate forthwith two persons fit to act in your absence to command the garrison, and also to have the care of the works and other affairs of the Island, and they shall be allowed salaries as shall be thought convenient.</p>	<p>Direction was given that, when convenient, one member of the Council on the Island should be appointed as Deputy Governor. The title was to be formally conferred, and he was to be introduced into the office in an orderly manner. Care was to be taken that he caused no disturbance in the government nor any dissatisfaction to the Company. Authority over the Island and all persons there was to remain with the Governor, while the Deputy Governor was to receive provisions as previously directed.</p> <p>Further direction concerned the fort at St James, which had been intended to occupy a position of natural strength rather than one situated close to the seashore. From this elevated position, passing ships might be observed. Concern was expressed, however, that, due to its height, the garrison might suffer in the event of a sudden attack. It was therefore ordered that a strong and substantial fort should also be constructed nearer to the main settlement, sufficient to defend the plantation and resist any assault.</p> <p>Provision was made that any servants or soldiers wishing to return home, or to be otherwise employed, might be granted permission to do so. Such persons might be retained in the Company’s service for a further period before returning to their native country. Should they wish to remain longer on the Island, land might be granted to them for cultivation, on condition that they remained subject to the government and paid the required duties.</p> <p>Further instruction required that the Council should nominate without delay two suitable persons to act in the Governor’s absence. These individuals were to command the garrison and oversee the works and other affairs of the Island. It was directed that they were to receive such salaries as were considered appropriate.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Deputy Governor” referred to an official appointed to act in support of, or in place of, the Governor, particularly during absence or incapacity.</p> <p>“Garrison” referred to the body of soldiers stationed on the Island for defence and security.</p> <p>“Duties” referred to payments or obligations owed to the Company, often in the form of taxes, rents or service requirements.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The formal appointment of a Deputy Governor suggests that administrative continuity had become a concern, particularly in the Governor’s absence.</p>

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			<p>The instruction to construct a second, stronger fort indicates recognition of weaknesses in existing defences and a need for improved protection.</p> <p>The conditional granting of land to servants and soldiers suggests an effort to encourage settlement while maintaining control and revenue.</p> <p>The requirement to appoint deputies to manage the garrison and works implies that governance structures had been strained by the Island's growing complexity.</p>
86	80	<p>[...] out to them what they shall desire and be able to cultivate not exceeding 100 acres to one man upon the terms aforesaid.</p> <p>87. As soon as we have our people well settled upon the Island, Wee shall publish our proposals here for the encouragement of more persons to go from hence thither, and Wee have reason to believe many will present and come of indifferent estates.</p> <p>88. The more which Capt Knox you can send the sooner the better, it will be of no inconsiderable advantage for us and yourselves, and whilst time for this work is free and things may be settled for the use of India or any forraigne markets or returns in England.</p> <p>89. Wee would have Capt Gay or a son of our Councill during his stay at St Helena, and you may have his advice in things of generall moment important of Barracadoeing securing the working places.</p> <p>90. And as regards some fit persons you must allow a good handsome salary from a person for one of them 20 or 30 per month besides dyet and lodging for him, and some of the Councill 18 or 20 per month besides charges.</p> <p>Wee have sent you some sets of figures in ground from No[...] to No[...] containing between and to learn you the manner of keeping of your accounts in so easy and plain a method that Wee would have observed in our service and may serve in stead of many registers in England, we require you to be exact therein and to comply with those directions, and the manner therein prescribed that shall be sent you.</p> <p>So commending you to Our Affairs &c we remain Your Loving Friends</p> <p>[...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...]</p>	<p>Provision was made that land might be granted to individuals according to their ability to cultivate it, not exceeding 100 acres for any one person, and subject to the previously stated conditions.</p> <p>Expectation was expressed that, once the Company's people were well settled upon the Island, proposals would be published in England to encourage further migration. Confidence was held that many persons of moderate means would be willing to present themselves and undertake the voyage.</p> <p>Encouragement was given for Captain Knox to send as many persons as possible with all speed. It was stated that this would be of considerable advantage both to the Company and to the Island, particularly while there remained sufficient time to establish such works and direct them towards trade with India or other foreign markets, as well as returns to England.</p> <p>It was directed that Captain Gay, or a son of the Council, should be admitted to the Council during his stay at St Helena. His advice was to be sought in matters of general importance, particularly those relating to barricading and securing the working places.</p> <p>Instruction was given that suitable persons employed in service were to be allowed proper salaries. One such individual was to receive between £20 and £30 per month, in addition to diet and lodging, while certain members of the Council were to receive between £18 and £20 per month, besides their expenses.</p> <p>It was stated that sets of figures had been sent, arranged in a method intended to instruct in the keeping of accounts in a clear and straightforward manner. This system was to be observed in the Company's service, and was described as capable of replacing multiple registers used in England. Strict adherence to these instructions was required, and all accounts were to be maintained according to the prescribed method.</p> <p>The letter concluded with commendation of the Company's affairs to their care and with expressions of goodwill from the signatories.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Indifferent estates" referred to persons of moderate means, neither wealthy nor destitute, considered suitable for settlement.</p> <p>"Barracadoeing" referred to the construction of defensive barriers to secure key locations such as working areas or approaches.</p> <p>"Registers" referred to official record books used for maintaining accounts and administrative information.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The limitation of land grants suggests an attempt to control the distribution of land while encouraging productive use.</p> <p>The expectation of further migration indicates that the Company had been planning to expand the population to support its economic ambitions.</p> <p>The emphasis on speed in sending people reflects urgency in establishing industries and securing trade advantages.</p> <p>The provision of salaries for skilled individuals suggests recognition that effective administration and technical expertise required proper incentives.</p> <p>The introduction of a simplified accounting system indicates an effort to improve administrative efficiency and oversight.</p>

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87	81	Blank page	
88	82	<p>Our Governours and Council at St Helena. London 7th April 16[...] We have received your letters by [...] Thompson with an acct of your proceedings in the two first letters, wherein you have acted with that prudence and truth as wee expected from you, and which is to our satisfaction in all respects. Capt Byde in the Amoy carried you a large supply of seeds and other provisions, and by a small ship with a Seale Board which wee intend to send about September next wee shall not abate only send you some money with our goods to purchase such things for occasions but also one or two chests of Dollars for Capt Knox his second voyage; Wee are Wee have dispatched Bonnet Dancer [...] [...] at St Helena [...] for ye service Yo[...] very loving friends John Bankes Jerem[...] [...] Jo[...] Bird Curtis Dash[...] [...] Byfield [...] Boone [...] Faring [...] Wa[...] [...] Eyer [...] Janson Tho[...] Compan</p>	<p>A letter had been addressed to the Governor and Council at St Helena, dated in London on 7 April 16[...]. Acknowledgement was made of letters received by [...] Thompson, together with an account of proceedings contained in the first two letters. These actions were described as having been conducted with prudence and honesty, and were considered satisfactory in all respects. It was noted that Captain Byde, in the ship <i>Amoy</i>, had carried a substantial supply of seeds and other provisions to the Island. It was further stated that a smaller vessel, together with a sealed board, was intended to be sent about September next. In addition to goods, money was to be provided for the purchase of necessary items as occasions required. It was also directed that one or two chests of dollars were to be sent for Captain Knox's second voyage. Reference was made to the dispatch of <i>Bonnet Dancer</i> [...], intended for service at St Helena. The letter concluded with expressions of goodwill, and was signed by John Bankes, Jerem[...] [...], Jo[...] Bird, Curtis Dash[...], [...] Byfield, [...] Boone, [...] Faring, [...] Wa[...], [...] Eyer, [...] Janson and Tho[...] Compan. Interpretations "Dollars" referred to silver coins, commonly Spanish or similar currency, widely used in international trade as a standard medium of exchange. "Seale Board" referred to a sealed document or set of instructions, formally authorised and intended to be opened or used under specific conditions. Speculations The positive response to the Governor's conduct suggests that earlier concerns about administration may have been resolved or improved. The continued supply of seeds and provisions indicates ongoing efforts to support agricultural development on the Island. The provision of money and silver coin suggests increasing commercial activity, requiring ready means of exchange. The reference to a second voyage for Captain Knox indicates that his role had been considered important to the Company's plans.</p>
89	83	<p>London the 8th April 16[...] Invoice of goods & Merchandize laden by the Governour & Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies in & upon a good shipp called the [...] Burthen 530 Tonns or thereabouts whereof goeth Commander Capt John Gayzer bound for [...] Imission for ye Island St Helena & goods consigned unto [...] Agent & Councell their resident Vizt John Blackmore Esq Govr Robert Holden Second & Gregory Price Third of Councill for acct of the Honorable Joint Stock & particulars are as followeth Vizt. Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>	<p>A record had been made in London on 8 April 16[...], describing an invoice of goods and merchandise laden by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. The goods had been placed aboard a ship called [...], of about 530 tons burden, under the command of Captain John Gayzer. The voyage had been undertaken for the Island of St Helena. The cargo had been consigned to the Company's Agent and Council residing on the Island, namely John Blackmore, Esquire, Governor, Robert Holden as second, and Gregory Price as third of the Council. The goods were stated to be for the account of the Honourable Joint Stock, and a detailed list of the particulars was to follow [...] Interpretations "Joint Stock" referred to the pooled capital of investors in the Company, from which voyages and trade were financed and profits distributed. "Invoice" referred to a formal document listing goods shipped, including their quantities and descriptions, used for accounting and verification. "Consigned" referred to goods entrusted to designated recipients responsible for receiving and managing them upon arrival. Speculations</p>

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			<p>The continued preparation of detailed invoices suggests that strict accounting and oversight remained central to the Company's operations.</p> <p>The naming of specific Council members indicates clear assignment of responsibility for receiving and managing goods.</p> <p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>
<u>90</u>	84	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
<u>91</u>	85	<p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea Land St Helena July 26th 1684</p> <p>Received this daye of our above written contents of the within written Bill of Lading in good order & well conditioned, as also six compleat Carriages for ordnance (not mentioned in ye said Excepting sick Truck & there (as appears) Cas[t] [...] rec[...] & tons whose names follow Mr Bennet Delver[...] Elisha Coles Joseph Boile Joseph Clark Senr Thomas Browne William Channell Thomas Harding Joseph Clark Junr Nathaniel Paterson Joseph Onessman Witness our hands ye daye & yeare above written Receipt for ye Bill of Lading on ye other side John Blackmore Gregory Price</p>	<p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea A record had been made at St Helena on 26 July 1684, stating that the contents of a previously written bill of lading had been received on that day. The goods were acknowledged as having been delivered in good order and well conditioned. In addition, six complete carriages for ordnance had been received, although these had not been mentioned in the said bill of lading.</p> <p>Exceptions were noted in respect of sick truck and other items [...], together with certain [...] and tons, the details of which were partially recorded. A list of persons had been included, namely Mr Bennet Delver[...], Elisha Coles, Joseph Boile, Joseph Clark Senior, Thomas Browne, William Channell, Thomas Harding, Joseph Clark Junior, Nathaniel Paterson and Joseph Onessman.</p> <p>The receipt had been confirmed by signatures, including John Blackmore and Gregory Price, and had been described as a receipt corresponding to the bill of lading recorded on the reverse.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Carriages for ordnance” referred to the wheeled frames or mounts used to support and move artillery pieces such as cannon.</p> <p>“Truck” in this context referred to parts or fittings associated with artillery equipment, possibly including small wheels or supports used in mounting guns.</p> <p>“Bill of lading” referred to the formal shipping document that recorded goods transported and served as proof of delivery upon receipt.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The inclusion of ordnance carriages not listed in the bill of lading suggests that discrepancies in shipping records had occurred, requiring formal acknowledgement upon receipt.</p> <p>The reference to damaged or defective items indicates that losses or deterioration during transit had been a common issue.</p> <p>The listing of multiple individuals suggests that responsibility for receiving and verifying goods had been shared among several members of the Island's administration or workforce.</p>
<u>92</u>	86	<p>[...] of grace of God by the Governour & Company of Merchants of London trading to ye East Indies upon a good shipp called ye Society Burthen 530 Tonns or there abouts whereof goeth Commander Capt John Gayser bound by ye Almighty's permission for ye Island St Helena That is to say Copper Barrs 30 Chests from No 1 to 30 inclusive weigh tittle three thousand Nine hundred thirty four pounds, Iron Ordnance Six with two Culverings & four Demy Culverings weigh one hundred fifty two hundred & thirty quarters weight, Chack Cloors 5 Shippes on 2 hundred & fifty tonns Clover grass seeds 5 Barr No 2 Seining twine 9 Barr No 3 of five hundred & Bricklayers toolles 1 Box No 3 Barrs 6 fo 5000 Casks No 4 q 12 Nayles 6 Barrs Nos 6,7,8,9 & 10 of 24 Cwt each Window Glass 1 Box No 11 Packes Yarn 5 Casks No 12 Cloth 8 Barrs containing 5 Shippes 2 qt each Three hundred Sixty six Coats Thick baize 20 Butts & Third from No</p>	<p>A bill of lading had been issued on 8 April 1684 for goods shipped by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, aboard the ship <i>Society</i>, of about 530 tons burden, under the command of Captain John Gayser, bound for the Island of St Helena.</p> <p>The cargo was described in detail. It included 30 chests of copper bars, numbered 1 to 30, weighing in total 3,934 pounds. Six pieces of iron ordnance were listed, consisting of two culverins and four demi culverins, with a combined weight recorded as one hundred fifty two hundred and thirty quarters weight [...]. Five [...] of clover grass seed were included, together with two hundred and fifty tons of [...]. Seining twine was listed in nine barrels marked number 3. Bricklayers' tools were contained in one box, also marked number 3.</p> <p>Further items included six barrels [...] of 5,000 casks marked number 4 [...], and six barrels of nails marked numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, each of 24 hundredweight. One box of window glass was marked number 11. Five casks of yarn were marked number 12. Eight barrels of cloth were listed, containing five [...] of</p>

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		<p>13 to 14 inclusive of one hundred quarters, Horse shoe Crames 5 Puncheons from No 15 to 21 inclusive of 4 quarters half peck 3 Cloves Little Household Irongross Back 3 hundred & sixty six, large waggon Hinges 50 pieces of Iron hundred thirty two fo 15 Matches Wheat 1 Brought Nett hundred one quarters weight 8 pcent two per cent in [...] All Merchandize in good condition as in like manner to be delivered the dangers of the Seas unto their Agents & Councell there resident Vizt John Blackmore Esq Governour Robert Holden Second & Gregory Price Third or to freight And for true performance hereby the said John Gayser binds unto these Bills of Lading this being Dated 7 one being accomplished the other to be void & so God send the good ship to her port aforesaid safely Amen Dated the Eight Day of Aprill 1684 Signed by us in presence of John Harper Dan[...] D[...] Contents or Qualities not known Mich Wood Purser</p>	<p>two quarters each. A total of 366 coats of thick baize were included.</p> <p>Additional goods comprised 20 butts and thirds marked numbers 13 to 14, containing 100 quarters [...]. Five puncheons of horseshoe cramps were listed, marked numbers 15 to 21, containing four quarters and half a peck, together with three cloves [...]. Household iron goods were recorded in large quantities, including 366 items [...], as well as 50 large wagon hinges. A quantity of iron weighing 132 [...] was also included. Wheat was listed, weighing 101 quarters weight and eight pounds, subject to an allowance of two per cent [...].</p> <p>All merchandise was declared to be in good condition and was to be delivered, subject to the dangers of the sea, to the Company's Agent and Council at St Helena, namely John Blackmore, Esquire, Governor, Robert Holden as second, and Gregory Price as third of the Council, or to their assigns. For the performance of this agreement, Captain John Gayser had bound himself to the bill of lading. It was noted that one of the bills being fulfilled would render the others void.</p> <p>The document had been signed in the presence of John Harper and Dan[...] D[...], with the contents or qualities of the goods stated as not known. The purser, Mich Wood, had been named.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Culverin” referred to a type of long ranged cannon used in the seventeenth century, valued for its accuracy and relatively light construction.</p> <p>“Demi culverin” referred to a slightly smaller type of cannon than a culverin, still capable of significant range and power.</p> <p>“Puncheon” referred to a large cask used for storing liquids or heavy goods, larger than a barrel.</p> <p>“Hundredweight” referred to a unit of weight, in this period commonly equal to 112 pounds in the English system.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The inclusion of artillery suggests that strengthening the Island's defences had been a priority at this time.</p> <p>The wide range of materials, including tools, seeds and clothing, indicates that the shipment had been intended to support both military and civilian development.</p> <p>The presence of agricultural supplies such as clover seed and wheat suggests ongoing efforts to establish more stable food production.</p> <p>The statement that contents were “not known” reflects common practice in shipping, where responsibility for exact quantities or quality might not have been fully verified before loading.</p>
93	87	<p>Aprill ye 10: 1684 An Invoice of stores you shall receive to allotments upon ye Master smith forg[...] of these war[...] Shirt [...] 52 : 06 Carrying on board [...] 00 : 06 2 Ditto from priming & mat[...] [...] 11 : 12 3 Ditto the same price & mat[...] [...] 11 : 12 At Drant ditto 3 young harts at 3 s per lb 10 : 02 45 : 00 To the Governour and Councill of St Helena. Shipped by the grace of God in good order and well conditioned by the Governour & Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies and in and upon the good Ship called the Society whereof Master John Gayser now is bound for St Helena to say there to be delivered unto Messrs Blackmore and Price or their assigns 3 Putters, 3 mats and prints being marked and numbered as in the margent and are to be</p>	<p>A record dated 10 April 1684 set out an invoice of stores to be received and allocated, including items connected with the master smith and other works. Among the entries were charges for shirts amounting to £52 6s, carrying goods on board at 6s, and two further items described as being from priming and materials valued at £11 12s each. A further entry noted three similar items at the same price and materials. An additional charge was recorded for three young harts at 3s per pound, totalling £10 2s. The total of these listed charges was given as £45 0s [...].</p> <p>A bill of lading was also issued to the Governor and Council of St Helena. It recorded that goods had been shipped in good order and well conditioned by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, aboard the ship <i>Society</i>, under the command of John Gayser, bound for St Helena.</p> <p>The goods were to be delivered to Messrs Blackmore and Price, or to their assigns. The items included three putters, three mats and prints, all marked</p>

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		<p>delivered in the like good order and well conditioned at the aforesaid port of St Helena (the dangers of the seas only excepted) unto the Governour and Council or to their assigns he or they paying freight for the said goods with primage and average accustomed In witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading all of this tenor and date the one of which Bills being accomplished the other to stand void and so God send the good Ship to her desired port in safety Amen Dated in Deal Aprill ye 10th 1684. John Gayser</p>	<p>and numbered as noted in the margin. Delivery was to be made in the same good condition at St Helena, subject only to the dangers of the sea, to the Governor and Council or their assigns, upon payment of freight together with the customary charges of primage and average.</p> <p>Confirmation was given that three bills of lading of the same tenor and date had been signed by the master or purser of the ship, with the provision that fulfilment of one would render the others void. The document had been dated at Deal on 10 April 1684 and signed by John Gayser.</p> <p>Interpretations “Primage” referred to a customary payment made to the master or crew of a ship, usually calculated as a small percentage of the cargo’s value. “Average” referred to a maritime principle under which losses or expenses incurred for the safety of a voyage were shared proportionally among all parties involved. “Putters” referred to small tools or implements, possibly associated with metalwork or fitting, though the exact form in this context remains uncertain.</p> <p>Speculations The inclusion of detailed cost entries suggests careful tracking of expenses associated with supplies and labour. The presence of specialised items connected with a master smith indicates ongoing construction or repair work on the Island. The use of standard shipping terms such as primage and average reflects established maritime practices governing trade and risk. The relatively small consignment of goods suggests that this shipment may have been intended to supplement larger deliveries already dispatched.</p>
94	88	<p>Island St Helena July 26th 1684 Copie of this Rec[eiv]d this day & year above written ye contents of this Bill of lading in good order & well conditioned being three Yoke shall laden on the three Mainsailes & foresailes three yards whereof there Rutters three Mast & three Sprots Witness our hands ye day & year first above written John Blackmore Robert Holden Greg Price To the Wor[...] John Blackmore Govr of ye Port & Island of St Helena Wee desire you to accommodate this Bearer being Capt John Sparling Commander of shipp Carolina with provision or what else his occasions may require during his residence with you, and for the service of his Shipp, and the Honble Company Estate on board, herein you doubt not your compliance and with kind salutations remain Your very loving Friends Swilly Marney 15th Aprill 1684 E[...] Bit[...] Brian John Evans John Glassman Dominic [...]</p>	<p>A record dated 26 July 1684 at St Helena stated that a copy of a bill of lading had been received on that day, and that its contents had been delivered in good order and well conditioned. The items included three yokes, together with equipment described as having been laden upon three mainsails and foresails, with three yards, together with their rigging, including three masts and three sprits.</p> <p>The receipt was confirmed by signatures of John Blackmore, Robert Holden and Gregory Price.</p> <p>A separate letter had been addressed to John Blackmore as Governor of the port and Island of St Helena. In this letter, a request had been made that the bearer, Captain John Sparling, commander of the ship <i>Carolina</i>, should be accommodated with provisions and any other necessities required during his stay. Assistance was also to be given for the service of his ship and the Company’s estate on board. Confidence was expressed that such support would be provided.</p> <p>The letter had been dated 15 April 1684 at Swilly Marney and was signed by E[...] Bit[...], Brian [...], John Evans, John Glassman and Dominic [...].</p> <p>Interpretations “Yoke” referred to a wooden frame or harness used for joining draft animals, though in a maritime context it might also denote a structural or fastening component. “Yards” referred to the horizontal spars attached to masts, from which sails were suspended. “Sprots” referred to spars used to extend sails, particularly in fore and aft rigging.</p> <p>Speculations The mention of masts, sails and associated equipment suggests that the shipment included materials intended for ship repair or maintenance. The formal request to assist Captain Sparling indicates the importance of cooperation between Company vessels and the Island’s administration.</p>

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			<p>The emphasis on providing provisions and support reflects the Island's role as a supply station for passing ships engaged in long voyages.</p>
95	89	<p>[...] Wee desire you to accommodate the Bearer Cap[...] Joseph Haddor[...] in the what manner and other necessaries he may have occasion for, for the use of his shipp and service of this Hon[...] Comp[...] Estate upon his home according to customs. By the Masonburgh and the Coast shipp you will receive some Cotton seeds, and shipp here, the directions for the use of it, what other things the Honble Comp[...] have ordered to be provided for you. If some blacks shall take care for ag[...] shipping, I wish with kind salutations is the needfull from. Yo[...] Affectionate Friends Swally Marine 30 Aprill 1684 [...] [...] John Evans John Glassman Dominic [...]</p>	<p>A letter had been sent requesting that the bearer, Captain Joseph Haddor[...], should be accommodated in whatever manner was necessary, including the provision of supplies and other necessities required for the use of his ship and for the service of the Honourable Company's estate on his homeward voyage, according to established custom.</p> <p>It was stated that, by the ships <i>Masonburgh</i> and other coastal vessels, cotton seeds would be delivered, together with instructions for their use. Reference was also made to additional items that the Honourable Company had ordered to be provided for the Island.</p> <p>It was further noted that slaves might be assigned to take care of matters relating to shipping, [...].</p> <p>The letter concluded with expressions of goodwill and was dated at Swally Marine on 30 April 1684. It was signed by John Evans, John Glassman and Dominic [...].</p> <p>Interpretations "Swally Marine" referred to the anchorage or roadstead near Surat in India, used by East India Company ships as a principal maritime station.</p> <p>Speculations The request to support Captain Haddor suggests continued reliance on St Helena as a provisioning station for Company vessels on their return voyages.</p> <p>The delivery of cotton seeds indicates ongoing efforts to develop new agricultural products on the Island.</p> <p>The mention of assigning slaves to shipping duties suggests an expansion of labour roles beyond agriculture into maritime support.</p>
96	90	<p>To the Right Wor[...] the Governor of St Helena & Councill of St Helena Fort St George the 29th Aug[...] 1691 In order from ye Hon[...] Masters to supply ye Island with such most usefull Plants & Seeds from hence which we have endeavoured particular curiosities to procure to send for service & use which we suppose have good success and with great inconveniences for which have sent you our directions as we can gather from such experience of the seasons will best comport & ye Plants & Seeds will mostly require to be brought over their native soyle to thrive and to defend from the winds which would be worth charge to raise some shelter for that purpose that you may have substantial encrease to support themselves we have also sent you four hogsheads of flower from hence of ye Gambia for which we hope planted to good effect also a divine useful Grants small for amount we enclose Invoices which we have made it, if you please to send your desires what seeds or plants are wanting & how & in what to put them up & preserve them We shall furnish you as well as possible The Honble Comp[...] have ordered us to provide you with some blacks slaves for ye service of the plantation but provisions not plentiful here we cannot procure more at present yet hope you may have by the next opportunity some according you may be better happing we remaine Your Affectionate friends to serve</p>	<p>A letter had been addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena from Fort St George, dated 29 August 1691.</p> <p>Reference was made to orders from the Honourable Company to supply the Island with useful plants and seeds from that location. Efforts had been undertaken to obtain particular varieties considered valuable, and these had been sent for the service and benefit of the Island. It was expressed that these might succeed, although they had been procured with some difficulty. Directions had been provided based on such experience as could be gathered concerning the seasons most suitable for their cultivation.</p> <p>It was noted that the plants and seeds would generally require to be transported with their native soil in order to thrive, and that protection from the wind would be necessary. It was therefore recommended that shelters should be constructed for this purpose, so that the plants might establish themselves and increase sufficiently to sustain growth.</p> <p>It was further stated that four hogsheads of flour from the Gambia had been sent, with the expectation that they might be planted to good effect. Additional items, described as useful [...], had also been included, and invoices had been enclosed detailing these supplies. It was requested that the Governor and Council should indicate what further seeds or plants were desired, and specify how they should be packed and preserved, so that future shipments might be better suited to their needs.</p> <p>It was noted that the Honourable Company had ordered that slaves should be provided for the service of the plantations. However, due to a scarcity of provisions at that place, only a limited number could be procured at present. Expectation was expressed that more might be sent on a future occasion when conditions allowed.</p>

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		<p>[...] Yule John Mills John Littleton Aron Grey</p>	<p>The letter concluded with assurances of service and goodwill, and was signed by [...] Yule, John Mills, John Littleton and Aron Grey.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Hogshead” referred to a large cask or barrel used for transporting bulk goods, its exact capacity varying depending on the commodity.</p> <p>“Fort St George” referred to the principal East India Company settlement at Madras, serving as an administrative and trading centre.</p> <p>“Native soil” referred to the original earth in which a plant had been grown, believed to assist in successful transplantation.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The emphasis on transporting plants with their native soil suggests awareness of the challenges of acclimatising foreign species.</p> <p>The recommendation to construct shelters indicates that environmental conditions on the Island had posed difficulties for cultivation.</p> <p>The limited supply of slaves due to shortages of provisions suggests logistical constraints affecting labour expansion.</p> <p>The invitation to request specific plants and seeds indicates an increasingly organised approach to agricultural development.</p>
97	91	<p>Fort St George this 7th August 1684 Invoice of Provisions & [...] by ye Wor[...] Ship Yale Esq & [...] & Council in freight of goods on ye Ship Royall James and consigned to ye Wor[...] John Blackmore Governour & Council att St Helena for accot of ye Honble Company being marked as margin & Consigned as fol[...] Viz [...] Your Honourable Order No 70 May 42 : 2 June : 8 166 5 : 0 : 14 2 : 14 169 5 : 0 : 13 2 : 12 172 5 : 0 : 16 2 : 16 Gross [...] 2 : 1 : 23 [...] 2 : 18 : 8 Nett 17 : 2 : 16 Allow[...] 17 : 12 : 9 Seeds & Plants for one cask two Pages Bound Books & small Trunk --- 1 : 16 : 4 Oranges & Boxes Coffee --- 10 : 0 [...] Barrills of Rice Bags of Pepper --- [...] Invoices --- Gunpowder 2 Drills --- 3 : 10 : 0 Total as God prosper is --- 40 : 11 : 9 [...] Made up --- 87 : 35 Errors Excepted [...] Yale</p>	<p>A record dated at Fort St George on 7 August 1684 detailed an invoice of provisions and [...] shipped by the Wor[...] Ship <i>Royall James</i>, and consigned to John Blackmore, Governor, and the Council at St Helena, for the account of the Honourable Company. The goods were marked as noted in the margin and listed according to prior orders.</p> <p>Several entries were recorded with figures corresponding to quantities and values, including items marked No 70 for May and June, with amounts such as 42 : 2, 166 5 : 0 : 14 2 : 14, 169 5 : 0 : 13 2 : 12 and 172 5 : 0 : 16 2 : 16. A gross total was given as 2 : 1 : 23 [...], with further adjustments recorded as 2 : 18 : 8. The net total was stated as 17 : 2 : 16, with an allowance bringing it to 17 : 12 : 9.</p> <p>The cargo included seeds and plants contained within one cask, together with two pages of bound books and a small trunk valued at £1 16s 4d. Oranges and boxes of coffee were listed with a value of £10 0s. Additional goods included [...] barrels of rice and bags of pepper, together with invoices [...]. Two drills of gunpowder were recorded with a value of £3 10s 0d.</p> <p>The total value of the goods was stated as £40 11s 9d, described as “as God prosper is”. A further figure of £87 : 35 was recorded as made up [...], with errors excepted.</p> <p>The document concluded with the name [...] Yale.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Drills of gunpowder” referred to measured quantities or small consignments of gunpowder, prepared for use or distribution.</p> <p>“Gross” and “nett” referred to total and adjusted values respectively, with the latter accounting for deductions such as allowances or wastage.</p> <p>“Errors excepted” was a standard clause indicating that mistakes in calculation or recording were not intended to invalidate the document.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The detailed accounting suggests a structured system of financial recording and verification in Company transactions.</p> <p>The inclusion of seeds, plants and foodstuffs reflects the continuing effort to sustain and develop agricultural production on the Island.</p> <p>The presence of gunpowder indicates ongoing concern for defence and the maintenance of military readiness.</p>

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			<p>The use of phrases such as “as God prosper is” reflects customary expressions of uncertainty regarding the final outcome of shipments and trade.</p>
98	92	<p>Shipped by the grace of God in good order and well conditioned by the Wor[...] Elijah Yale Esq & Councell in Fort St George in & upon a good Ship called ye Royall James Burthen two hundred Tunns whereof is Master under God for this present voyage Capt James Marion and now riding at Anchor in the Road of Madraspatam & by Gods permission bound for ye Island of St Helena to say follow four Hogsheads, Sides & Plans one Cask Two Bages & one Barrell, 4 Puncheons of drinke all 4 Barrells Salt & one Barrell Gunpowder being Mark'd & Number'd as in ye Margent and are to be delivered in the like good Order & well conditioned att ye aforesaid Port of St Helena (the dangers of ye seas only excepted) unto the Right Wor[...] John Blackmore Governour & Councell of St Helena or to their assignes In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of ye said Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading all of this tenour & date the one of which the Bill being accomplished the other two to stand void And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in safety Amen Dated in Fort St George this thirteenth day of August One thousand Six hundred Eighty four Goods & Contents not known E. Mason Island St Helena November ye 27th 1684 Wanting of ye within mentioned Bill of Lading One Cask of Beads Instead of four Barrells of Tar & one qr Invoices should be forty six Bushells more in the of Salt And which Capt Marion allowance is The rest of ye within mentioned Bill of Lading Consists of Eight Casks of Salt mark'd as under & these Eight Casks are sent under Baysefulls lower Beechells Ordered to be delivered to the Order of Capt Barret Copy.</p>	<p>A bill of lading had been issued at Fort St George on 13 August 1684 for goods shipped by Elijah Yale, Esquire, and the Council, aboard the ship <i>Royall James</i>, of about 200 tons burden, under the command of Captain James Marion. The vessel had been lying at anchor in the road of Madraspatam and was bound for the Island of St Helena.</p> <p>The cargo had been described as consisting of four hogsheads, together with sides and planks, one cask, two bags, one barrel, four puncheons of drink, four barrels of salt and one barrel of gunpowder. All items had been marked and numbered as noted in the margin. Delivery was to be made in the same good order and condition at St Helena, subject only to the dangers of the sea, to John Blackmore, Governor, and the Council, or to their assignes.</p> <p>It had been stated that three bills of lading of the same tenor and date had been signed by the master or purser, with the condition that fulfilment of one would render the others void. The contents and qualities of the goods had been declared as not known, and the document had been signed by E. Mason.</p> <p>A subsequent note dated at St Helena on 27 November 1684 recorded discrepancies in the delivery. One cask of beads had been missing from the goods listed in the bill of lading. In place of four barrels of tar and one quarter [...], it had been noted that there should have been forty six bushels more of salt than had been received. Allowance for these deficiencies had been attributed to Captain Marion. It had further been recorded that the remainder of the goods consisted of eight casks of salt, marked as indicated, and that these had been sent under [...] lower [...], with instructions that they were to be delivered to the order of Captain Barret.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Puncheon” referred to a large cask used for storing liquids, typically larger than a standard barrel.</p> <p>“Road of Madraspatam” referred to the anchorage off Madras, where ships lay at anchor before departure or unloading.</p> <p>“Bushel” referred to a unit of dry measure used for commodities such as grain or salt.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The discrepancies between the bill of lading and the received goods suggest losses, substitution or mismanagement during transit.</p> <p>The mention of allowances being made to the captain indicates established procedures for accounting for such losses.</p> <p>The shipment of salt in multiple casks suggests its importance as a commodity for preservation and trade on the Island.</p> <p>The repeated statement that contents were “not known” reflects standard maritime practice, limiting liability for exact quantities and condition of goods at loading.</p>
99	93	<p>Shipped by the grace of God in good order and well conditioned by the Wor[...] Elijah Yale Esq & Councell in Fort St George in & upon a good Ship called ye Royall James Burthen two hundred Tunns whereof is Master under God for this present voyage Capt James Marion and now riding at Anchor in the Road of Madraspatam & by Gods permission bound for ye Island of St Helena to say follow four Hogsheads, Sides & Plans one Cask Two Bages & one Barrell, 4 Puncheons of drinke all 4 Barrells Salt & one Barrell Gunpowder being</p>	<p>A bill of lading had been issued at Fort St George on 13 August 1684 for goods shipped by Elijah Yale, Esquire, and the Council aboard the ship <i>Royall James</i>, of about 200 tons burden, under the command of Captain James Marion. The vessel had been lying at anchor in the road of Madraspatam and was bound for the Island of St Helena.</p> <p>The cargo had been described as including four hogsheads, together with sides and planks, one cask, two bags, one barrel, four puncheons of drink, four barrels of salt and one barrel of gunpowder. These goods had been marked and numbered as indicated in the margin. Delivery had been required to be made in</p>

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		<p>Mark'd & Number'd as in ye Margent and are to be delivered in the like good Order & well conditioned att ye aforesaid</p> <p>Port of St Helena (the dangers of ye seas only excepted) unto the Right Wor[...] John Blackmore Governour & Councill of St Helena or to their assignes In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of ye said Ship hath affirmed</p> <p>to three Bills of Lading all of this tenour & date the one of which the Bill being accomplished the other two to stand void And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in safety Amen Dated in Fort St George this thirteenth day of August One thousand Six hundred Eighty four</p> <p>Goods & Contents not known E. Mason Island St Helena November ye 27th 1684</p> <p>Wanting of ye within mentioned Bill of Lading One Cask of Beads Instead of four Barrells of Tar & one qr Invoices should be forty six Bushells more in the of Salt And which Capt Marion allowance is</p> <p>The rest of ye within mentioned Bill of Lading Consists of Eight Casks of Salt mark'd as under & these Eight Casks are sent under Baysefulls lower Beechells Ordered to be delivered to the Order of Capt Barret</p> <p>Copy.</p>	<p>the same good order and condition at St Helena, subject only to the dangers of the sea, to John Blackmore, Governor, and the Council, or to their assigns.</p> <p>It had been stated that three bills of lading of the same tenor and date had been signed by the master or purser, with the condition that fulfilment of one would render the others void. The contents and qualities of the goods had been declared as not known, and the document had been signed by E. Mason.</p> <p>A later note dated at St Helena on 27 November 1684 recorded discrepancies in the delivery. One cask of beads had been missing from the goods listed in the bill of lading. In place of four barrels of tar and one quarter [...], it had been noted that there should have been forty six bushels more of salt than had been received. Allowance for these deficiencies had been attributed to Captain Marion. It had further been recorded that the remainder of the goods consisted of eight casks of salt, marked as indicated, and that these had been sent under [...] lower [...], with instructions that they were to be delivered to the order of Captain Barret.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Puncheon” referred to a large cask used for storing liquids, typically larger than a standard barrel.</p> <p>“Road of Madraspatam” referred to the anchorage off Madras, where ships lay at anchor before departure or unloading.</p> <p>“Bushel” referred to a unit of dry measure used for commodities such as grain or salt.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The discrepancies between the bill of lading and the goods received suggest losses, substitution or mismanagement during transit.</p> <p>The mention of allowances being made to the captain indicates established procedures for accounting for such losses.</p> <p>The shipment of salt in multiple casks suggests its importance as a commodity for preservation and trade on the Island.</p> <p>The repeated statement that contents were “not known” reflects standard maritime practice, limiting liability for exact quantities and condition of goods at loading.</p>
100	94	<p>London ye 11th of December 1684</p> <p>Invoice of Bullion, Stoves & provisions laden by ye Governor & Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, in and upon ye good shipp called ye</p> <p>S[t][e][n][e][v][o][l][l][e] burthen 350 Tonns or thereabouts whereof</p> <p>is [M][a][s][t][e][r] Commandr Cap[t] William Talbott bound by</p> <p>Almighty's permission for ye Island of St Helena and goods consigned unto their Governor & Councill there resident for Acco[t] of ye Generall Joint Stock the pticulars are as foll[...].</p> <p>Silver 2 Chests N^o 144 & 145 to bee delivered unto Cap[t]</p> <p>Robt Knox when he arrives at ye Island St Helena consigned</p> <p>Report: Details of Silver Bullion Delivery</p>	<p>An invoice dated in London on 11 December 1684 recorded bullion, stores and provisions laden by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. These goods had been placed aboard the ship <i>Stenevolle</i>, of about 350 tons burden, under the command of Captain William Talbott, bound for the Island of St Helena by permission of Almighty God.</p> <p>The cargo had been consigned to the Governor and Council residing on the Island, for the account of the General Joint Stock, and the particulars were set out [...].</p> <p>Among the items listed were two chests of silver, numbered 144 and 145. These were to be delivered specifically to Captain Robert Knox upon his arrival at St Helena, being consigned accordingly [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Bullion” referred to precious metal, in this case silver, transported in bulk form rather than as coin.</p> <p>“General Joint Stock” referred to the collective investment fund of the Company, from which voyages and trade were financed and profits distributed among investors.</p> <p>“Consigned” referred to goods entrusted to designated recipients responsible for receiving and managing them upon arrival.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The inclusion of silver bullion suggests that the shipment had been intended to support trade transactions requiring ready payment.</p>

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			<p>The specific direction to deliver silver to Captain Knox indicates that he held a trusted role in handling valuable resources.</p> <p>The continued use of the Joint Stock system reflects the organised financial structure underpinning the Company's operations.</p> <p>Report: Details of Silver Bullion Delivery</p>
101	95	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
102	96	<p>Receiv'd of ye Grace of God by ye Governour & Company of Merch[an]ts London trading into ye East Indies in & upon ye good Shipp called ye Sherwo[...] burthen 350 Tonns or thereabouts whereof John Somner Capt: William [...] now bound for ye Island of St Helena to say deliver the same in like good order and well condic[i]on'd at ye said Island of St Helena unto Mr [...] or to his assigns he or they paying Freight for ye said Goods at ye rate of [...] p Ton and Average accustomed In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Shipp hath affirm'd to three Bills of Lading all of this Tenor and date the one being accomplish'd the others to be void And so God send ye said shipp unto her port aforesaid in safety Amen Dated in London ye Eleventh day of December Anno Dom 1684.</p> <p>Signed & deliver'd in ye presence of vizt Geo [...] Jn Hooper Jn [...] Contents unknown & ye receipt for ye Deale goods not produced Wm Harris Sr Jn Thorongood. Aprill ye 9th 1685. Island St Helena. The Contents of this within Bill of Lading were then lost Cask or Rundletts badly condic[i]on'd as to hoops especially one [...] out or wanting of Shott. J. B[...]more Gregory Field Robert G[...]</p>	<p>A bill of lading had been issued in London on 11 December 1684 for goods shipped by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, aboard the ship *Sherwo[...]*, of about 350 tons burden, under the command of Captain John Somner and Captain William [...], bound for the Island of St Helena.</p> <p>The goods were to be delivered in the same good order and condition at St Helena to Mr [...] or to his assigns, upon payment of freight at a specified rate per ton together with the customary charge of average. It was recorded that the master or purser of the ship had signed three bills of lading of the same tenor and date, with the provision that the fulfilment of one would render the others void. The document had been signed in the presence of Geo [...], John Hooper and John [...], with a note stating that the contents were unknown and that the receipt for the deal goods had not been produced. The names William Harris Senior and John Thorongood were also recorded.</p> <p>A later note dated at St Helena on 9 April 1685 recorded that part of the contents of the bill of lading had been lost. It was further stated that certain casks or rundlets had been found in poor condition, particularly with respect to their hoops. One item was noted as being [...] or missing shot. The receipt had been confirmed by John B[...]more, Gregory Field and Robert G[...].</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Average” referred to a maritime principle under which costs or losses incurred during a voyage were shared proportionally among the parties involved.</p> <p>“Rundlets” referred to small casks or barrels, often used for liquids or smaller quantities of goods.</p> <p>“Deal goods” referred to timber products made from softwood, commonly used for planks and construction materials.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The note that contents were unknown suggests that verification at the time of loading had been incomplete or formal rather than exact.</p> <p>The loss of goods and damage to casks indicates that deterioration and leakage during long sea voyages had been a recurring problem.</p> <p>The mention of missing shot suggests that military supplies had been included in the shipment, reflecting ongoing concern with defence on the Island.</p>
103	97	Blank page	
104	98	<p>Our Governour & Councill St Helena London 26th Novr 1684 Mr Trail now give particular answers to all your letters of the 23 and 25th of February 11, and 20 of March 1683 6m and 21 of May 8 We have paid the Ballance of Mr Graamond and Mr Stephen accot as you desired, and of this we supp you will see we have sent you by this ship what you have wrote for vizt some letters and two Deale yards and 600 pound money more then you ever writ for and have added as this ship not to part from St Helena in the night we have now sent for inclofed and you will receive that more particular Mr B[...]r partly by a particular share of me, although we shall get each order in some by Mr Bartens acct and we shall make Capt Danell and Capt Preston pay for</p>	<p>A letter dated in London on 26 November 1684 had been addressed to the Governor and Council at St Helena. It was stated that Mr Trail had been directed to provide particular answers to all letters dated 23 and 25 February, 11 and 20 March 1683/1684, and 21 May 1684.</p> <p>It was recorded that the balance of the accounts of Mr Graamond and Mr Stephen had been paid as requested. Notice was given that, by this ship, items previously requested had been sent, including letters, two deal yards and £600 in money, being more than had originally been requested. Additional matters had also been included [...], and further particulars were to be received through Mr B[...]r, partly by a separate arrangement. Reference was made to accounts involving Mr Bartens, and it was stated that Captain Danell and Captain Preston would be required to pay freight charges.</p>

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		<p>they freight away, notwithstanding all this we now we have likewise paid the Ballance of all accompts and have transmitted to you, being advan[...] accompt in good order careful and the difficul Transaction of all our affaires by our Govern we have satisfied our Soldiers more and the powder and small arms sent in ships that pass we are sorry</p> <p>Of all we send you more that you complained are often ill done we would likewise to say that you must not only come and command at the Command of one ship to a certaine point if not the one of some and such as from the this Governour that shall make orders to be obeyed, our order is that they shall not stay in St Helena road so long as any great quanti of goods but it may be spare for one voyage not exceeding one month for every one ship but we must desire you not to make use of that order except your owne apprehension extreame necessity for it.</p> <p>Doctor Traill we doe hereby disp[...] him true Service upon the appointment of this ship and doe appoint him to proceed upon her port.</p>	<p>It was further stated that the balances of all accounts had now been settled and transmitted, and that these had been placed in good order despite the difficulty of the transactions and the management of affairs by the Governor. It was noted that the soldiers had been satisfied, and that powder and small arms had been sent in ships passing to the Island. Regret was expressed that certain matters previously complained of had not been well executed.</p> <p>Instruction was given that authority was not to be exercised solely upon the command of a single ship, but rather in accordance with proper governance. It was ordered that ships were not to remain in the road at St Helena for extended periods when carrying large quantities of goods, and that their stay should not exceed one month for each voyage, unless exceptional necessity required otherwise. It was advised that this order was not to be enforced except in cases of clear and urgent need.</p> <p>It was stated that Doctor Traill had been appointed for service upon this ship and was to proceed accordingly to its destination.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Deal yards” referred to quantities of timber, usually softwood planks, used for construction and repairs.</p> <p>“Road” referred to an anchorage where ships lay offshore rather than in a protected harbour.</p> <p>“Balance of accounts” referred to the settlement of outstanding financial obligations between parties.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The detailed attention to accounts suggests ongoing efforts to maintain financial control and accountability in distant operations.</p> <p>The provision of additional funds beyond those requested may indicate concern over shortages or the need to stabilise the Island’s administration.</p> <p>The restriction on ships remaining at anchor suggests awareness of risks such as congestion, delay or vulnerability to attack.</p> <p>The appointment of Doctor Traill implies the need for trusted agents to oversee correspondence and administrative follow up.</p>
105	99	<p>Bengall to goe employed as Mapp Cann in some of our principall Factories where our affayres are concerned that think most neccessary and proper we cannot but impute to advantage and taking that to continue where he shall be better think otherwise you may send him home by any of our returning Shippes</p> <p>And we do againe desire you more to be well satisfied with the Ministers & Surgeons you have made choice of we shall not for the future send you any Minister or surgeon from hence but leave it to your discretion to choose whom you like best out of our Ships to the end that being made by you & sent hither may be more conformable to your orders, and you may make them when you please, and chuse others.</p> <p>We have received six pieces of 8/8 of Silver and have sent you as many more and quarter pieces as we could for greater exchange of money, and it is our order to instruct you not to cont may abide upon the Island, that the pieces of 8/8 shall pass current at six and a half and at what rate that shall have approbation as paid by you</p> <p>We approve of & discharge you from what complaint Johnson concerning his accot but you have been to have it house in England Johnson professes innocence and</p>	<p>Reference was made to a person intended to proceed to Bengal, to be employed as map maker or in a similar capacity within one of the principal factories where the Company’s affairs were conducted. Such employment was considered advantageous, and it was directed that he should remain where he was judged most useful. However, if it were otherwise thought, provision was made that he might be sent back to England by any returning ship.</p> <p>Renewed instruction was given that greater care should be taken in selecting ministers and surgeons. It was stated that no further ministers or surgeons would be sent from England, and that the choice was to be left to the discretion of the Governor and Council. They were to select suitable persons from among those arriving on Company ships, so that such appointments might better conform to local needs and could be changed as required.</p> <p>It was recorded that six pieces of eight in silver had been received, and that an equal number, together with additional quarter pieces, had been sent to improve the availability of smaller currency for exchange. Direction was given that such pieces of eight were to circulate on the Island at a value of 6½, subject to approval in practice according to payments made.</p> <p>Approval was given in respect of a complaint concerning Johnson’s account, and discharge was granted from responsibility in that matter. It was noted that Johnson had asserted his innocence regarding the Company’s charge. Instruction was given that the matter was to be examined, and, if his claim were found</p>

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		<p>his Company charge, we desire you to examine into it and if you find it so to make him into the Company possession, and hope Capt Johnson being so honest a man will not be against it</p> <p>This third Ship we have sent to make a discovery of same supposed mine (called Allum) which were very good a mine, how chargeable a thing it is you now know more, in remote places than those we desire you for such settlements and Factories abroad to employ persons with numbers of hands at least [number] of their charge by Company``</p>	<p>to be true, that he should be restored to the Company's service or position. Confidence was expressed that Captain Johnson, being regarded as an honest man, would not oppose such a resolution.</p> <p>It was further stated that a third ship had been sent to undertake a discovery of a supposed mine, identified as alum. The potential value of such a mine was acknowledged, although the expense of such ventures, particularly in remote places, was also recognised. It was therefore directed that, for such settlements and factories abroad, persons were to be employed with sufficient numbers of labourers at the Company's charge, to ensure the work could be carried out effectively.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Pieces of eight" referred to Spanish silver coins widely used in international trade, often divided into smaller fractions for everyday transactions.</p> <p>"Factories" referred to trading posts or settlements established by the Company for commerce and administration.</p> <p>"Alum" referred to a mineral used in dyeing, tanning and other industrial processes, valued as a commercial resource.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The delegation of authority to choose ministers and surgeons suggests increasing trust in local governance and recognition of differing conditions on the Island.</p> <p>The adjustment of coin values indicates ongoing efforts to stabilise currency and facilitate trade within the settlement.</p> <p>The investigation into Johnson's account reflects concern with fairness and accountability in Company administration.</p> <p>The attempt to discover alum deposits suggests continued interest in diversifying economic resources beyond agriculture and trade.</p>
106	100	<p>Capt Gayer we of Society we gave you severall directions for sending you a son and some of ye sketches of the soundings harbours for Ships to ride in, which we rec[e]ive advice of ye English letter sent you herewith</p> <p>These Islands lying in such latitude would prove a very convenient place for our most useful of excellent use to refresh our outward bound Ships, and [...] would place is for our home ward bound Ships and may likewise be of great use all we require you in this matter, wood, Oyle, timber of this ship good at that season of the year to make a further discovery if the Country shall be acceptable for a good harbour could here, and if Capt L[...] be willing we would have you send him thither by this Ship to be the first Governour of that place at the Salary of 40 li per annum besides all and other accomodacons as our Governour, and in other respects you may take the directions we formerly gave you by Capt Keate and Capt Gayer for your support we do hereby order Capt [...] Command of this Ship the Sherwo[...] to follow such orders as he shall receive from you, and if you find no encouragement for a setlement in any of these Islands you may then advise him to proceed directly for England in ye River of Thames and likewise we also do from England command if you send him from St Helena with his after his first arrivall you now</p> <p>Clock and by Capt Keate we send all our to our planters at the best price you can procure though we are sensible that 12 months time for our work being each man bound to pay to interest after the rate of 10 per Cent from the second day of shipment as respecting that</p>	<p>Reference was made to Captain Gayer of the ship <i>Society</i>, to whom several directions had previously been given concerning the sending of a son and certain sketches showing soundings and harbours suitable for ships to anchor. Advice had been received that an English letter on this matter had been sent, and it was enclosed accordingly.</p> <p>Consideration had been given to certain islands situated within a favourable latitude, which were thought likely to prove highly convenient for the Company's purposes. These were described as suitable places for refreshing outward bound ships and also as advantageous for homeward bound vessels. Their potential usefulness extended to the supply of wood, oil and timber. It was therefore directed that, at a suitable season, further discovery should be undertaken to determine whether the country might be fit for a good harbour.</p> <p>Provision was made that, if the location proved suitable and Captain L[...] was willing, he should be sent there by this ship as the first Governor of the place. A salary of £40 per annum was to be allowed, together with other accommodations equivalent to those provided to the Governor at St Helena. Further guidance was to be taken from earlier instructions issued through Captain Keate and Captain Gayer.</p> <p>Orders were given to the commander of the ship <i>Sherwo[...]</i> to follow such instructions as might be received from the Governor and Council at St Helena. In the event that no encouragement for settlement was found in these islands, it was directed that the ship should proceed directly to England, arriving in the River Thames.</p> <p>It was also stated that goods sent for the planters were to be sold at the best price obtainable. A term of twelve months had been set for such transactions, with each person required to pay interest at the rate of 10 per</p>

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		<p>become due upon at the time you shall ap for it</p> <p>We take notice yo Business is much increased as probably it may much more by the increase of the trade and number of people there at your Island, therefore we do intend to send you more help by this Ship but if we should not we have</p>	<p>cent from the second day after shipment, until payment became due as appointed.</p> <p>Notice was taken that the business of the Island had increased, and that it might grow further with the expansion of trade and population. Intention was expressed to send additional assistance by this ship, although provision had also been considered in case such support was not dispatched.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Soundings” referred to measurements of water depth used to determine safe anchorage or navigation routes for ships.</p> <p>“Latitude” referred to the geographical position of a place, often indicating climate and suitability for navigation or settlement.</p> <p>“Interest at the rate of 10 per cent” referred to a charge applied to outstanding payments, calculated annually on the value of goods supplied.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The interest in surveying nearby islands suggests an effort to expand the Company’s network of strategic ports and supply stations.</p> <p>The emphasis on harbours and resources such as timber indicates practical concerns for maintaining and supporting maritime operations.</p> <p>The appointment of a governor for a potential new settlement shows that expansion was being seriously considered rather than merely explored.</p> <p>The imposition of interest on goods supplied to planters suggests increasing commercial discipline and a move towards more structured economic management on the Island.</p>
107	101	<p>We now direct you to entertaine one or two young men that are designing write good hands out of any of our Ships to whom we shall not only allow & sallaries you agree together which suppose may be one hundred pounds for two shall that after three years as you shall agree with them and when found honest and diligent men may promise to send them for service in quality of Factors degree and as much to their advantage as if they had served as writers 5 yeares in India, which is good preferment and better for them then if they were sent writers immediately to have no regard means as cost they are in their youth & by example of diligence before they are qualified business as you pleased rather then most of the unfit factors there by which they will rise to be sooner to better preferment</p> <p>Besides ye money for ye use of ye Island we have sent two Chests of Silver to be put in to our Capt Keate and employed by him in purchase of such necessaries of this goods as formerly directed to be taken out of our Ships and put on board him at all events to be consigned to himself and in case of his death to his first or second Mate</p> <p>We have agreed with Mr Box at our Factory at Fort St George to take over of our Plantation and our Councill there to deliberate formerly upon borders of that at G[ol]derington Plantation in Barbados and it would succeed in buying of sugar planting a sugar Plantation proper & planting of the Canes to the refining of sugar the proposals that if after some experiments they find it impracticable to make sugar there or some other Commodity more convenient to you that may answer our charge he will not desire to continue there or be at unnecessary expence to us we have promised him that if the carrying</p>	<p>Direction was given that one or two young men of good handwriting were to be engaged from among those arriving on Company ships. Salaries were to be agreed with them, amounting in total to about £100 for the two. It was proposed that, after three years of service, if they proved honest and diligent, they might be advanced to the position of factors. This advancement was to be regarded as equal or superior to that obtained by serving five years as writers in India, and was considered a beneficial form of preferment. It was observed that such a method would encourage diligence at an early stage and produce more capable servants than those who might otherwise be appointed without sufficient experience.</p> <p>It was further stated that, in addition to money sent for the use of the Island, two chests of silver had been dispatched. These were to be entrusted to Captain Keate and employed by him in the purchase of necessary goods, as previously directed, from Company ships. The goods so acquired were to be placed aboard his vessel and consigned to him. In the event of his death, responsibility for them was to pass to his first or second mate.</p> <p>Agreement had been made with Mr Box at the Company’s factory at Fort St George to undertake responsibility for the plantation, and the Council there had been directed to deliberate further on the matter. Reference was made to the example of the plantation at G[...] Plantation in Barbados, and it was considered that similar success might be achieved in establishing a sugar plantation, from the planting of canes through to the refining of sugar.</p> <p>It was proposed that, after trial and experiment, if sugar production proved impracticable, or if another commodity appeared more suitable and profitable, Mr Box would not be required to continue or to incur unnecessary expense. Assurance had been given that, if the sugar works were brought to perfection or any other production on the Island proved profitable, he would be rewarded with a substantial gratuity.</p> <p>Interpretations</p>

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		<p>on of a sugar work to perfection or make any other production upon our Island which turn us to account we will consider him a very good gratuity.</p>	<p>“Writers” referred to junior clerks employed by the Company, responsible for copying documents and assisting in administrative work.</p> <p>“Factors” referred to senior Company agents entrusted with trade, accounting and management of commercial operations.</p> <p>“Factory” referred to a Company trading post or settlement where goods were stored, exchanged and administered.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The encouragement of young clerks suggests an effort to improve the quality and training of Company personnel through practical experience.</p> <p>The allocation of silver for purchasing goods indicates a flexible approach to supply, allowing local procurement where necessary.</p> <p>The reference to Barbados plantations reflects the Company’s attempt to apply successful colonial agricultural models to St Helena.</p> <p>The conditional arrangement with Mr Box suggests caution, balancing ambition for profit with awareness of the risks involved in new enterprises.</p>
108	102	<p>The Dutch Pilot that came home gave us the best next informed some of that water may bring water from some springs upon hills or hills where every row of trees much if you have conveniency & shall effect the Island doubt but they will grow extraordinary large that Land where the order at St Helena & shewed them in Jam[...] how to do it upon the plantation & so advanceth you may find other places as commodious as that where you have chused enough to employ in such works we doe also take place in Councill made of y[...] Cap[t] Keate we have likewise entertained Mr G[...] to serve as an Engineer Extraordinary at the Salary of 30 li per ann & for services to be of your Councill work & for Mr Box desired Cap[t] Redesage & his family into one of India who is at that occasion and not additional charge we doe expect both by this Ship and after the arrivall of [...] abate 20 li p ann of his Salary when you take notice of ye accot and from according to if he likes to continue upon ye Island on the terms & if he doe not like to remain or there to serve you may give him leave to return for England if he will only [...] Liberty to continue in that & he will take confirmation have desired him to make use of experience & study of this place and to be done</p> <p>We likewise send you by this Ship Mr G[...] a writer at 10 li per ann whom to do any employment you shall put him upon and we desire to have him accommodation in house with Diet Lodging & for after 3 years you have promised he shall be in quality of Factor for India as Mr Hall & writers were and therefore we have sent you against ye expiration of this the twelve months writer to serve you in these heads.</p>	<p>Information had been received from a Dutch pilot who had returned, providing favourable reports concerning the Island. It was suggested that water might be drawn from springs in the hills and conveyed to plantations. By such means, rows of trees might be well supplied, and, where suitable conditions existed, they were expected to grow to an exceptional size. Reference was made to methods demonstrated at St Helena and at Jam[...] showing how such improvements might be carried out. It was observed that other locations on the Island might be found equally convenient for such works, and that sufficient labour was available to undertake them.</p> <p>Notice was given that Captain Keate had been appointed to a place in Council. It was further stated that Mr G[...] had been engaged to serve as an Engineer Extraordinary at a salary of £30 per annum. His duties were to include work for the Council and assistance in matters relating to construction and improvement. Reference was also made to Mr Box, and to Captain Redesage and his family, who were associated with service in India and were not to be placed at additional charge.</p> <p>Expectation was expressed that, upon arrival of this ship and thereafter, a reduction of £20 per annum might be made from a salary, depending on circumstances. Instruction was given that the account was to be examined, and that, if the person concerned wished to remain on the Island under the agreed terms, he might continue. If he preferred not to remain, permission was to be granted for his return to England. It was stated that he had been encouraged to apply his experience and study to the place, and to undertake such work as might be required.</p> <p>It was also recorded that Mr G[...] had been sent by this ship as a writer, with a salary of £10 per annum. He was to be employed in such duties as might be assigned, and was to be provided with accommodation, including diet and lodging. It was further noted that, after three years, he had been promised advancement to the position of factor for service in India, in the same manner as Mr Hall and other writers. To ensure continuity, another writer had been sent to take his place after the expiration of that term.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Engineer Extraordinary” referred to a specialist appointed outside the usual establishment, often for specific technical or construction work.</p> <p>“Writer” referred to a junior clerk employed in administrative and record keeping duties within the Company.</p>

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			<p>“Factor” referred to a senior Company agent responsible for trade, accounts and management at a factory or settlement.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The use of water management techniques suggests increasing attention to improving agricultural productivity through irrigation.</p> <p>The appointment of an engineer indicates that more complex construction and infrastructure projects were being undertaken.</p> <p>The adjustment of salaries reflects ongoing efforts to control costs while maintaining necessary expertise.</p> <p>The structured progression from writer to factor suggests a developing system of training and promotion within the Company’s service.</p>
109	103	<p>If one of your negroes upon their own account would have you first supply equall and distribution of them that every poor planter that one who would make their own subsist to be supplied with two and that they shall repay you what you have disbursed & greater number of those by Capt Keate who shall presently send you a ship with Ammunition & stores & proceed a voyage but not to have too much upon the Island of one sort we shall endeavour to supply both to gold coast negroes of the Royal Company & send them to you being forwarder by experience of our own and all other our nations shall endeavour provide for our Europe plantation to send you Horses & Cattle upon my place which is discovered and established negroes and the drawne whose capital of these shall conclude hath been the principals ought that the managers upon that Island have yet found any ways to produce any special or profitable Commodity</p> <p>Jno Goodrick John Moore Geo: Dan[...] Jos[...]e O[...]le Govern Govr & 2nd Dep[...] Jeremy Sambrooke Rich: Jones Sam D[...]wood Hen: Parson Rich: Johnson Henry S[...] Edward B[...] Edward Rudge Tho: Canham</p>	<p>Direction was given that, if any slaves were to be employed on their own account, care was to be taken to ensure an equal and fair distribution among the poorer planters. It was intended that each such planter, particularly those seeking to maintain themselves, should be supplied with two slaves. It was required that the cost of such provision should be repaid to the Company by those receiving them.</p> <p>Expectation was expressed that additional numbers of slaves would be sent by Captain Keate, who was to dispatch a ship carrying ammunition and stores and then proceed on a further voyage. At the same time, caution was given that the Island was not to be overburdened with too many of one sort of supply. Efforts were to be made to obtain slaves from the Gold Coast through the Royal Company, drawing upon the experience of the Company and other nations.</p> <p>It was further stated that provision would be made to supply horses and cattle from Europe to support the plantations. Reference was made to the establishment and development of such resources, with the observation that labour provided by slaves had been the principal means by which managers on the Island had attempted to produce commodities of value. However, it was acknowledged that, up to that time, no particularly profitable commodity had yet been successfully produced.</p> <p>The letter concluded with the signatures of John Goodrick, John Moore, Geo: Dan[...], Jos[...]e O[...]le Govern[...], Jeremy Sambrooke, Rich: Jones, Sam D[...]wood, Hen: Parson, Rich: Johnson, Henry S[...], Edward B[...], Edward Rudge and Tho: Canham.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Gold Coast” referred to the region of West Africa from which slaves were commonly obtained for European trade.</p> <p>“Royal Company” referred to the Royal African Company, which held a monopoly over English trade along the West African coast.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The controlled distribution of slaves suggests an attempt to stabilise the Island’s social and economic structure by supporting smaller planters.</p> <p>The caution against over supply indicates awareness of logistical limits and the need to balance resources.</p> <p>The continued importation of livestock reflects efforts to diversify and strengthen agricultural production.</p> <p>The admission that no highly profitable commodity had yet been established suggests ongoing difficulty in achieving the Company’s economic objectives on the Island.</p>
110	104	<p>If one of your negroes upon their own account would have you first supply equall and distribution of them that every poor planter that one who would make their own subsist to be supplied with two and that they shall repay you what you have</p>	<p>Instruction was given that, where slaves were to be employed on their own account, an equal and fair distribution was to be made. It was directed that poorer planters, particularly those seeking to maintain themselves, were to be supplied with two slaves each. It</p>

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		<p>disbursed & greater number of those by Capt Keate who shall presently send you a ship with Ammunition & stores & proceed a voyage but not to have too much upon the Island of one sort we shall endeavour to supply both to gold coast negroes of the Royal Company & send them to you being forwarder by experience of our own and all other our nations shall endeavour provide for our Europe plantation to send you Horses & Cattle upon my place which is discovered and established negroes and the drawne whose capital of these shall conclude hath been the principals ought that the managers upon that Island have yet found any ways to produce any special or profitable Commodity</p> <p>Jno Goodrick John Moore Geo: Dan[...] Jos[...]e O[...]le Govern Govr & 2nd Dep[...] Jeremy Sambrooke Rich: Jones Sam D[...]-wood Hen: Parson Rich: Johnson Henry S[...] Edward B[...] Edward Rudge Tho: Canham</p>	<p>was required that such planters should repay the Company for the expense incurred in providing them.</p> <p>It was further stated that additional numbers of slaves would be sent by Captain Keate, who was to dispatch a ship carrying ammunition and stores before proceeding on a further voyage. Care was to be taken that the Island was not oversupplied with any single type of resource. Efforts were to be made to obtain slaves from the Gold Coast through the Royal Company, drawing upon the experience gained by the Company and other nations in that trade.</p> <p>Provision was also to be made for supplying horses and cattle from Europe for the use of the plantations. It was observed that labour provided by slaves had formed the principal basis upon which the managers of the Island had attempted to develop production. However, it was acknowledged that no particularly valuable or profitable commodity had yet been successfully established.</p> <p>The letter concluded with the signatures of John Goodrick, John Moore, Geo: Dan[...], Jos[...]e O[...]le Govern[...], Jeremy Sambrooke, Rich: Jones, Sam D[...]-wood, Hen: Parson, Rich: Johnson, Henry S[...], Edward B[...], Edward Rudge and Tho: Canham.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Gold Coast” referred to the West African region from which slaves were procured for European trade.</p> <p>“Royal Company” referred to the Royal African Company, which controlled English trade along the West African coast.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The emphasis on distributing slaves among poorer planters suggests an attempt to stabilise subsistence farming and reduce inequality within the settlement.</p> <p>The caution against over supply indicates awareness of the Island’s limited capacity to absorb labour and resources.</p> <p>The continued reliance on imported labour and livestock reflects ongoing difficulty in achieving a self sustaining and profitable economy.</p> <p>The admission that no profitable commodity had yet been established suggests that the Company’s expectations for economic return from the Island had not yet been realised.</p>
111	105	<p>We cannot expect any further advice in that matter, the best one way to have them out to take them by force or drive part on the sea coast, and that we dare not attempt Cinnamon trees there is no probability of getting any there, though we have had some to grow here, the Dutch ships pour it in great plenty, they will be had there, not so good round pepper we have you send wood in this Country, there is upon the Coast of Malabar in the same President Gifford will send from thence some Cotton & Saffron seeds and some plants of long pepper wood here and you by the help of Mr William Mec[...] are advised that long pepper plants must be set in a place shaded by trees, otherwise will not thrive</p> <p>Mr Charnock hath not yet sent us the Directions desired for making salt Petre, but therewith you send you directions we receivd from the Isle of Cottana</p> <p>We are now in great troubles at present stopp upon all our business, we shall not send from hence any more ships hence shortly and William East India House (Company by reason the goods and the Orme Capt Green where are in here parts the Dockyard Captn the Return the Orme Merchant & Bengal Merchant the Defence and the Resolution, you will not have to come two or three Summer</p>	<p>It was stated that no further advice could be expected in that matter, and that the only effective method of obtaining them would be by force or by driving them towards the sea coast, although such action was considered too hazardous to attempt.</p> <p>It was reported that there was little probability of obtaining cinnamon trees in the relevant location, although some had previously been made to grow. It was observed that the Dutch supplied cinnamon in great quantity, though it might be obtained elsewhere, albeit of inferior quality. Reference was also made to pepper, and it was noted that, along the Coast of Malabar, President Gifford would send cotton and saffron seeds, together with plants of long pepper. Instruction was given, based on the advice of Mr William Mec[...], that long pepper plants were to be set in shaded places beneath trees, as they would not thrive otherwise.</p> <p>It was further stated that Mr Charnock had not yet provided the requested directions for making saltpetre. In the meantime, alternative instructions received from the Isle of Cottana had been sent for guidance.</p> <p>Notice was given that significant difficulties were then affecting operations, causing a stoppage of business. It was stated that no further ships would be sent for the time being from England. Reference was made to several ships, including <i>Orme</i>, <i>Orme Merchant</i>, <i>Bengal Merchant</i>, <i>Defence</i> and <i>Resolution</i>, which were engaged in various parts, including the dockyard and return voyages. It was indicated that no ships were</p>

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		<p>voyages from the Coast of Bengal, Merchant who are bringing in sugar to Persia there is also the James Merchant the Eagle and John and Mary designed for this place, the Japan Merchant is still in with Vizagapatam but cannot come into this Bay till September when soon begin, the Eagle and the John & Mary were there not yet</p> <p>We should be very glad to accommodate any thing that may be for the Honour of our Company.</p>	<p>expected to arrive from the Coast of Bengal for two or three summer voyages. Mention was also made of the ships <i>James Merchant</i>, <i>Eagle</i> and <i>John and Mary</i>, which were intended for service in the region, while <i>Japan Merchant</i> was reported to be at Vizagapatam and unable to enter the bay until September. It was noted that <i>Eagle</i> and <i>John and Mary</i> had not yet arrived there.</p> <p>Expression was given that any opportunity to act in a manner beneficial to the honour of the Company would be welcomed.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“President” referred to the senior official overseeing a Company factory or region, often responsible for trade and administration.</p> <p>“Saltpetre” referred to potassium nitrate, a substance used in the manufacture of gunpowder and other applications.</p> <p>“Summer voyages” referred to seasonal sailing periods determined by prevailing winds and weather patterns, particularly in the Indian Ocean.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The reluctance to use force suggests concern over the risks involved in securing resources or labour.</p> <p>The reliance on Dutch supplies highlights the competitive nature of European trade in valuable commodities such as cinnamon.</p> <p>The disruption to shipping indicates broader operational or political difficulties affecting the Company’s trade network.</p> <p>The detailed tracking of ships reflects the importance of maritime logistics in sustaining the Company’s activities.</p>
112	106	<p>Service upon your Island that you of any thing ordered can therefor be had, and what we order come may have to accot what shall redound to their use. Wee are</p> <p>R Mopp [...]</p> <p>Your most friend & Servt</p> <p>John Beard William Astell Ri: Trencheild Edw: Crowough London 5th Aprill 1684</p> <p>Whereas we have ordered ye Govr and Councill of St Helena to ship on board ye Conqueror Merchant, ordinary road whole and good Sloop or Boats and long course long Boats and to deliver out of service as you please those two or three of their Cattel said Sloop and to deliver made in case of damage to keep the same of Holland Merchants to discharge & order you respectively to deliver Commodities out of some or one of your Ships by order of Councill a particular Accompt of same we shall be a sufficient discharge</p> <p>We would not have you permit or suffering the order for it have some reason not managing the same nor importance to fall for ye future employ of Captains now Ship we expect</p> <p>Geo: Du Bois Fran: Danvers Cha: Peale Jno: Fige Peter Daniell Edward Ridge John Beard Govern [...] Astell Sir: Daniell Jonas Wood Tho: B[...] Robt Hutchinson Wm Garrett</p>	<p>A letter dated in London on 5 April 1684 had been addressed concerning the service of the Island. It was stated that whatever had been ordered and could be obtained there was to be accounted for, and that all such matters were to be recorded for the Company’s use and benefit. The letter was signed by John Beard, William Astell, Richard Trencheild and Edward Crowough, who described themselves as friends and servants.</p> <p>It was further recorded that orders had been issued to the Governor and Council of St Helena to ship aboard the <i>Conqueror Merchant</i> suitable boats, including a sloop or long boats of sound condition. Authority had been given to deliver two or three head of cattle for the service of the vessel, with provision made that, in the event of damage, appropriate arrangements were to be made to compensate or replace them.</p> <p>Instruction was given that commodities might be delivered from one or more ships by order of the Council, and that a detailed account of such transactions was to be kept. Such an account was to serve as sufficient discharge of responsibility for the goods.</p> <p>It was directed that no permission was to be granted, nor any practice allowed, that might lead to mismanagement or misuse of such orders in future employment of ships and captains. Care was to be taken to ensure that all actions were properly regulated and justified.</p> <p>The letter concluded with the signatures of Geo: Du Bois, Fran: Danvers, Cha: Peale, John Fige, Peter Daniell, Edward Ridge, John Beard as Governor, William Astell, Sir: Daniell, Jonas Wood, Tho: B[...], Robert Hutchinson and William Garrett.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Sloop” referred to a small sailing vessel, often used for coastal transport or communication.</p> <p>“Discharge” referred to formal release from responsibility, usually supported by written accounts or receipts.</p>

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			<p>“Long boats” referred to larger ship’s boats used for transport between ship and shore or for carrying goods.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The instruction to supply boats suggests ongoing logistical demands for transport and communication between ships and the Island.</p> <p>The emphasis on proper accounting reflects continued concern with preventing misuse or loss of Company property.</p> <p>The caution against mismanagement indicates prior issues or fears regarding the handling of resources.</p> <p>The provision of cattle for ships implies the importance of fresh provisions for long voyages.</p>
113	107	<p>By the Govr & Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies Dated ye 7th Aprill 1684.</p> <p>You are upon sight to receive and deliver out the cargoe on board our two former Ships to you 8 Bales of Ordinary long Cloth great white and part Blew or 8 ½ Inch broad best great white and part Blew to both or Holland or Duck made in ye Bay 4 bales of Ordinary strong sail cloth that usually come from Micklapollam fitt to make cloaths for our Negroes 2 bales of course and Gingham or Niclaus fitt for the Clothing of our men at 5 p cent for wch you shall bee yo discharg[e].</p> <p>To ye respective Commanders of our Ships that shall arrive at St Helena from India homeward bound.</p> <p>John Bankes Govr Jeremy Sambrooke Dep[...] Berkeley Cha Peale Jo Edwards John Moore Charles Banks Ri: Hutchinson Wm Garrett Wm Goodricke John du Bois Edward Ridge Geo: Torr[e]</p>	<p>An order dated 7 April 1684 had been issued by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, directed to the commanders of Company ships arriving at St Helena from India on their homeward voyages.</p> <p>Instruction was given that, upon sight of the order, the cargo carried aboard the two former ships was to be received and delivered out accordingly. The goods specified included eight bales of ordinary long cloth, described as great white and partly blue, or cloth measuring about 8½ inches in breadth, as well as Holland or duck cloth produced in the Bay. A further four bales of ordinary strong sailcloth, usually obtained from Micklapollam, were to be provided for making clothing for the slaves. In addition, two bales of coarse gingham or niclauses were to be supplied, suitable for clothing the Company’s men.</p> <p>It was directed that these goods were to be issued at a rate of 5 per cent, and that such issue would serve as a valid discharge for the transaction.</p> <p>The order was addressed to the respective commanders of ships arriving at St Helena from India, and it was signed by John Bankes as Governor, Jeremy Sambrooke as Deputy, Berkeley, Cha: Peale, Jo Edwards, John Moore, Charles Banks, Richard Hutchinson, William Garrett, William Goodricke, John du Bois, Edward Ridge and Geo: Torr[e].</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Long cloth” referred to a type of cotton textile commonly used in trade, particularly for clothing.</p> <p>“Holland or duck” referred to durable, tightly woven fabrics, often used for sails, workwear or other heavy duty purposes.</p> <p>“Ginghams or niclauses” referred to coarse woven textiles suitable for everyday clothing, especially for labourers.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The allocation of cloth for slaves and Company servants suggests ongoing efforts to maintain a stable workforce through provision of basic necessities.</p> <p>The inclusion of sailcloth indicates practical use of trade goods for local production rather than resale.</p> <p>The fixed rate of 5 per cent implies a controlled pricing system intended to regulate distribution and accounting.</p> <p>The reliance on incoming ships for supplies highlights the Island’s dependence on maritime logistics.</p>
114	108	<p>By the Govr & Compy of Merchants of London trading to ye East Indies Whereas we are informed that some of our people upon St Helena are become so insolent in hopes of impunity they have grown upon such an Occasion, we thought not fitt to pass it againe, we doe therefore strictly require you that you becafe there shall be given you and all of you to give all the best assistance in your power to the Govr & Councill of St Helena for securing of our said Island to his Majties use against all traitorous rebellions or whatsoever</p>	<p>An order dated 26 November 1684 had been issued by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, addressed to the commanders of all ships in the Company’s service then in the East Indies or thereafter arriving at the road of St Helena.</p> <p>It was reported that some persons on the Island had become insolent, acting in expectation of impunity. This conduct had been judged sufficiently serious that it was not to be overlooked. Instruction was therefore given that all commanders were to provide full assistance to the Governor and Council of St Helena in</p>

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		<p>persons what soever, and for the better securing thereof we doe hereby order and require that no one of you do shall be there secured of any Govr and Councill of St Helena to stay with your ship in the road of St Helena for more than one month over and above the time you are to stay there in loading your ship for and you do shall pay and allow demorage to the Company but we doe not intend that the one ship upon any occasion shall by the Govr and Council aforesaid be required to stay longer than two or three months unless unavoidable by Act of God and have this 26th of November 1684.</p> <p>To the Commanders of all Ships in the East Indies Company service here or that shall hereafter arrive in the Road of St Helena.</p> <p>Joseph Ashe Govr [...] Child Dep[...] Jeremy Sambrooke Ja: Edwards Wm Bowcher Ri: Hutchinson Henry S[...] Joseph Herne Henry Johnson Wm Hutton Wm Goodricke Edward Bawne Edward Rudge</p>	<p>securing the Island for His Majesty's use against any form of treason, rebellion or disorder by any persons whatsoever.</p> <p>Further direction was given that no commander was to permit his ship to remain at anchor in the road of St Helena for more than one month beyond the time required for loading. If any ship remained longer, demurrage was to be paid to the Company. It was stated, however, that no ship was to be required by the Governor and Council to remain for more than two or three months in total, except where delay was unavoidable due to an act of God.</p> <p>The order concluded with the signatures of Joseph Ashe as Governor, [...] Child as Deputy, Jeremy Sambrooke, James Edwards, William Bowcher, Richard Hutchinson, Henry S[...], Joseph Herne, Henry Johnson, William Hutton, William Goodricke, Edward Bawne and Edward Rudge.</p> <p>Interpretations “Demurrage” referred to a charge payable for delay in loading or unloading a ship beyond the agreed time. “Road” referred to an anchorage where ships lay offshore rather than within a sheltered harbour. “Act of God” referred to natural events beyond human control, such as storms, which could justify delays.</p> <p>Speculations The reference to insolence suggests that discipline among settlers or Company personnel had deteriorated. The emphasis on cooperation with the Governor indicates concern about maintaining authority and order on the Island. The limitation on time spent at anchor reflects the need to keep ships in active service and avoid unnecessary delay. The inclusion of provisions for unavoidable delays shows practical recognition of the uncertainties of maritime travel.</p>
115	109	<p>To the Honble the Govr & Company of ye East India Merchants These are to certify and acknowledge to whom we direct concern that the Schooner and Pinnace belonging to the Province is freely accepted may require one such two Ships Provisions & Dispatches with such conveniency may serve leaders & Recommendation from Your very friend Sir Child John Gadman Concluded and this letter shall be sent and delivered by the Governor of St Helena unto the Messenger conveying this 16th October 1684 Directions to be observed about ye seeding Indies & Cotton To begin to sowing your must make caution good seeding and sow at the rate of 4 bushels to the acre and to keep them from the worms or grubs and also to keep them above water until they come up and after they have sprouted then you must transplant them and keep them well watered and shaded from the sun and after some months then you may plant them and after that you must weed them and tend them until they grow up to maturity and yield fruit.</p>	<p>A certificate had been issued to the Honourable Governor and Company of East India Merchants, acknowledging that a schooner and pinnace belonging to the Province had been freely accepted. It was stated that such vessels might be required for the transport of provisions and dispatches, and that they would be used with appropriate convenience for leadership and communication. The letter was presented as a recommendation and expression of goodwill, signed by Sir Child and John Gadman. It was concluded that the document was to be conveyed by the Governor of St Helena to the messenger responsible for its delivery, dated 16 October 1684.</p> <p>Instructions were also provided concerning the cultivation of indigo and cotton. It was directed that sowing should begin with careful preparation of good seed, to be sown at the rate of four bushels per acre. Measures were to be taken to protect the plants from worms or grubs, and to ensure that they were not overwatered during their initial growth. After sprouting, the plants were to be transplanted and maintained with adequate watering and shade from the sun. Following a period of growth, they were to be planted out more permanently, with continued attention given to weeding and care until they reached maturity and produced fruit.</p> <p>Interpretations “Schooner” referred to a small sailing vessel with two or more masts, commonly used for transport and coastal service. “Pinnace” referred to a small boat or tender used for carrying goods and personnel between ship and shore. “Bushel” referred to a unit of dry measure used for agricultural produce, particularly seed.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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			<p>The acceptance of local vessels suggests a need to supplement Company shipping resources for communication and supply.</p> <p>The detailed agricultural instructions indicate continued efforts to establish viable cash crops on the Island.</p> <p>The emphasis on careful cultivation reflects awareness of environmental challenges affecting crop success.</p> <p>The inclusion of both indigo and cotton suggests diversification of agricultural production in pursuit of profitable commodities.</p>
116	110	<p>To ye Honble the Govr & Council of ye Island of St Helena These come to be delivered unto you ships stores & provisions for your use what is wanting we shall supply and send by ye next conveyance according to your desire and request which we have considered and do approve thereof and recommend to your care and management all such matters and affairs belonging to ye Island Salem March 10th 1685 To be delivered to Jno Child Sergant Day Barbados John Gadman Fort St George 10th Octobr 1684 To ye Right Worpll Governour and Council of St Helena This serves in answer to acquaint you that we have recd your letter and do find your affaires in good condition and your supplies of provisions and stores well ordered and provided and do desire you to continue your care and diligence in the management thereof and to send us account of your proceedings with all convenient speed G. Fletcher William Henshaw John Gale Tho Lea Sam Higg John Long</p>	<p>A communication had been addressed to the Governor and Council of the Island of St Helena, stating that ships, stores and provisions had been delivered for their use. Assurance was given that any deficiencies would be supplied and sent by the next available conveyance, in accordance with their requests. These requests had been considered and approved, and responsibility for the care and management of all matters relating to the Island had been entrusted to them. This document was dated at Salem on 10 March 1685, and was to be delivered to John Child, Sergant Day and John Gadman at Barbados.</p> <p>A further letter, dated at Fort St George on 10 October 1684 and addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena, acknowledged receipt of their correspondence. It was reported that the affairs of the Island were found to be in good condition, and that supplies of provisions and stores had been properly ordered and maintained. Instruction was given that such care and diligence were to be continued, and that an account of proceedings was to be sent back with all convenient speed.</p> <p>The second letter was signed by G. Fletcher, William Henshaw, John Gale, Thomas Lea, Sam Higg and John Long.</p> <p>Interpretations “Conveyance” referred to the transport of goods or correspondence by ship. “Stores” referred to supplies held for use, including provisions, equipment and materials.</p> <p>Speculations The assurance of continued supply suggests that maintaining the Island’s provisions remained a priority. The approval of local management indicates confidence in the Governor and Council’s administration. The request for regular accounts reflects the Company’s need for oversight and communication across distant settlements. The involvement of multiple locations such as Salem, Barbados and Fort St George demonstrates the wide network supporting St Helena.</p>
117	111	Blank page	
118	112	<p>St Helena March 23d 1685 Rec[e]d then a returne of ye goods of ye Shipp Conqueror whereof Mr Rich Keate Commander accounted of ye Honble Companys account from England and of ye originall invoice of goods shipped for this Island of St Helena and consigned to Capt Robert Knox accompt vizt Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>	<p>A record dated at St Helena on 23 March 1685 had noted that a return of goods from the ship <i>Conqueror</i> had been received. The vessel had been commanded by Mr Richard Keate, and the goods had been accounted for on behalf of the Honourable Company.</p> <p>Reference was made to the original invoice of goods shipped from England for the Island of St Helena. These goods had been consigned to Captain Robert Knox for the Company’s account, with the particulars to follow [...]</p> <p>Interpretations “Returne of goods” referred to an account or report detailing goods received, delivered or accounted for after a voyage. “Invoice” referred to a formal list of goods shipped, including their quantities and values.</p>

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			<p>“Consigned” referred to goods entrusted to a named individual responsible for receiving and managing them.</p> <p>Speculations The preparation of a return suggests ongoing monitoring of shipments to ensure accountability. The involvement of Captain Knox indicates reliance on trusted individuals to manage Company property. The reference to an original invoice highlights the importance of accurate record keeping in long distance trade.</p> <p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>
119	113	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
120	114	<p>Island St Helena Aprill ye 28th 1685 Rec[el]d of Captn Robert Knox Commander of the good Shipp Conqueror Merchant lately arrived from the Island of Madegascar according to ye English East India Companys orders ye above written Invoice of goods being the remaindr of ye Madagascar Cargoe and balance due to ye originall Invoic[e] at Mr Richd Keate consigned to him amounting to ye summe of fourteen hundred pounds Eight pounds thirteen shillings & ten pence being partly in specie goods aboard which we prized to the Value of fourty hundred pounds of the barrells our Estimation valued at ye Dollar of Forty Eight pounds and 2 puncheons of Jackwood or some such wood lying in ye Ballast and were aboard ye said Shipp Conqueror the Planks, Knees etc & Boards with Lead and Iron taken upon Captn Knox acct to be brought for quantity to bring back unto ye same for ye Island manned and consigned to be brought for England The Govr & Councill of ye Island St Helena for accompt of ye Honble English East India Company according to their order doth this day weare as above expressed give receipt as Witness our Hands Two receipts of ye same tenor and date was given to Captn Robt Knox sign'd by us and Councill as a bond by written Jn Beard Nat Haddon Gregory Field Nathaniel Fox Thomas C[...]</p>	<p>A receipt dated at St Helena on 28 April 1685 recorded that goods had been received from Captain Robert Knox, commander of the ship <i>Conqueror Merchant</i>, which had recently arrived from the Island of Madagascar. These goods were received in accordance with the orders of the English East India Company.</p> <p>The goods were described as the remainder of the Madagascar cargo and the balance due upon the original invoice consigned to Mr Richard Keate. The total value was stated as £1,408 13s 10d. Part of this amount consisted of goods in specie aboard the ship, which had been appraised at a value of £400. The barrels had been estimated according to a valuation based on the dollar at 48 pounds. In addition, two puncheons of jackwood or similar timber had been found in the ballast.</p> <p>Further items included planks, knees, boards, together with lead and iron, which had been taken upon Captain Knox's account. These materials were intended to be carried and returned for use on the Island, and were consigned for transport back to England as required.</p> <p>The Governor and Council of St Helena acknowledged receipt of these goods on behalf of the Honourable English East India Company, in accordance with their orders. Two receipts of the same tenor and date were issued to Captain Robert Knox, serving as formal acknowledgement and bond.</p> <p>The document was signed by John Beard, Nathaniel Haddon, Gregory Field, Nathaniel Fox and Thomas C[...].</p> <p>Interpretations “Puncheons” referred to large casks or containers, often used for storing liquids or bulky materials. “Knees” referred to curved pieces of timber used in shipbuilding to strengthen joints between beams and frames. “Specie” referred to money in the form of coin rather than goods or credit.</p> <p>Speculations The detailed valuation of goods suggests careful accounting to ensure accuracy in Company records. The inclusion of shipbuilding materials indicates ongoing maintenance and development of infrastructure on the Island.</p> <p>The dual issuance of receipts reflects the importance placed on formal documentation in commercial transactions.</p> <p>The reference to Madagascar cargo highlights the Island's role as a point of exchange within wider Indian Ocean trade networks.</p>
121	115	<p>To ye Rt Worpll Govr Blackwell &c Governr and Councill of ye Island St Helena Hugly 2d Febr 1684 Our last to you was ye 23d Decemr since which wee have no further directions nor any of yours are since come to hand wee doe remaine in readiness to putt any Shipp in motion and not load untill wee are</p>	<p>A letter dated at Hugli on 2 February 1685 had been addressed to the Governor and Council of the Island of St Helena. It was stated that the previous correspondence had been sent on 23 December, and that no further directions had since been received, nor had any reply from the Island come to hand. It was affirmed that readiness had been maintained to dispatch ships as required, although no loading would take place until proper instructions had been received. The letter</p>

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		<p>Yo r aff[e]ctionate fr[i]ends & Servts Jno Beard William Astell Ri: Trenchield Edw: Crowough This comes by Ship Delight Capt John Smith Commander whom we have sent towards you, he is to call upon you for what money & accout customary & allowed both for men & provisions at the Island regarding for what shall be needfull & what he shall have of your accompt shall be duely answered in England Pondy March 23d 1685 Jno Beard W Astell To Mr John Burton Governour at St Helena or to his Deputies there St Helena</p>	<p>was signed by John Beard, William Astell, Richard Trenchield and Edward Crowough. It was further noted that the ship <i>Delight</i>, commanded by Captain John Smith, had been sent towards St Helena. Instruction was given that the captain was to call upon the Governor and Council for such money and accounts as were customary and allowed, both for men and provisions on the Island. It was stated that whatever sums or provisions were received on account would be duly settled in England. A further endorsement dated at Pondicherry on 23 March 1685 repeated the names of John Beard and William Astell. Direction was also included that the letter was to be delivered to Mr John Burton, Governor at St Helena, or to his deputies there.</p> <p>Interpretations “Hugli” referred to a major trading location in Bengal where the Company maintained a factory. “Account customary and allowed” referred to standard payments or provisions due according to established practice. “Deputies” referred to officials authorised to act in place of the Governor.</p> <p>Speculations The lack of recent correspondence suggests delays or disruptions in communication between the Island and Company factories. The readiness to dispatch ships indicates ongoing reliance on maritime coordination for supply and administration. The instruction regarding payments reflects established systems for provisioning ships during their passage. The involvement of multiple locations such as Hugli and Pondicherry highlights the interconnected nature of the Company’s trading network.</p>
122	116	<p>Worshipfull Sir This comes by ship Seaflower Capt Jonathan Andrews Commander, whom we recommend to your kind treatment when he calls upon you, & desire you will afford him the accustomed assistance both for men and provisions as his occasions may require for his enabling him to proceed forward to his voyage that he may arrive God send him safe, with wch we rest in all respects Worshipfull Sir Your loving friends J: Child J: Ward John Gadman James King Swally Marine ye 25th Aprill 1685 To ye Worshipfull John Blackmore These serve only to accompany John Gadman whom we have now sent on the Delight Capt Smith Commander, it is herewith and other orders & principles in that we desire you him away, to avoid too much charge to us, you would upon receipt hereof without goe off ye Island out hence that he may not longer that thence within the time of his business to you good dispatch conclude all from Your very loving friends E Liza[...] Frances Richd Stanley</p>	<p>A letter dated at Swally Marine on 25 April 1685 had been addressed to the Governor of St Helena. It was conveyed by the ship <i>Seaflower</i>, commanded by Captain Jonathan Andrews. Recommendation was made that the captain should receive courteous treatment upon his arrival, and that he should be provided with the customary assistance in men and provisions as required for his voyage. It was expressed that such support would enable him to proceed effectively, with a wish given for his safe arrival. The letter was signed by J. Child, J. Ward, John Gadman and James King. A further communication was addressed to John Blackmore, Governor of St Helena, accompanying John Gadman, who had been sent aboard the ship <i>Delight</i>, commanded by Captain Smith. It was stated that this letter served to introduce him along with other orders and instructions. Direction was given that he was to be dispatched from the Island without delay upon receipt of the letter, in order to avoid unnecessary expense to the Company. It was required that his business be concluded promptly and that he should not remain longer than necessary. This second letter was signed by E. Liza[...], Frances [...] and Richard Stanley.</p> <p>Interpretations “Swally Marine” referred to the anchorage near Surat on the west coast of India, used by the Company’s ships. “Accustomed assistance” referred to the usual provision of supplies, labour and support given to ships calling at the Island. “Dispatch” referred to the prompt execution or completion of business.</p> <p>Speculations The emphasis on assisting visiting ships reflects the Island’s role as a vital resupply point in long distance voyages.</p>

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			<p>The instruction to limit Gadman's stay suggests concern over administrative costs and efficiency.</p> <p>The use of multiple ships for communication highlights the reliance on maritime routes for governance.</p> <p>The repeated emphasis on provisions indicates the importance of sustaining voyages across long distances.</p>
123	117	<p>Copy Comp: general letters P: J. Peyton Our Governour & Councell at St Helena London 8th May 1685</p> <p>We have recd yo: of ye 17th January by ye Hare, and ye 27 of December by ye Royall Sh[...] both giving us an acco[...] of ye traitorous rebellion of ye planters and some of ye Souldiers, with ye storm which you might conceive had long since a foresight of, ye people as all others have bin pardoned for the rebellion being naturally apt to fall into the Execution of Justice upon notorious offenders being yonely known way to keep any people in peace and subjection to you laws</p> <p>Yo: care and fidelity in defending yo: just rights is much commendation, but we do not like yo: pardoning of those two rebellious [...] which were condemned by law just and in force, a jury and who since we have his Maj[es]ties Commission to approve of plantations and Martial law we do absolutely necessary in such remote places we would have you proceed according to such His Maj[es]ties Commission in his new charter of ye 12th August 1683 of wch we send you a complete schedule and also according to his now Majesty's directions to us we send you comission to be signed by Eng: directed to Gov: and to Capt Wiborn and other officers you may approve of them</p> <p>Upon yo: charter and commission aforesaid you may observe there is no appeale allowed to his Majesty's have you power to pardon any person accused of high Treason but in his Maj[es]ties first directions you need execute of Justice upon such notorious offenders in your mean to preserve ye peace and ye same in respect to it is manifest by ye former instances upon ye Island</p>	<p>A general letter dated in London on 8 May 1685 had been addressed to the Governor and Council at St Helena. It was stated that letters dated 17 January, received by the ship <i>Hare</i>, and 27 December, received by the ship <i>Royall Sh[...]</i>, had been received. These letters had reported a traitorous rebellion among the planters and some of the soldiers, together with a storm which had long been foreseen.</p> <p>It was noted that the people involved had been pardoned for the rebellion, although it was observed that the proper execution of justice upon notorious offenders was the only effective means of maintaining peace and subjection to the law. Commendation was given for the care and fidelity shown in defending rightful authority. However, disapproval was expressed regarding the pardoning of two rebellious persons who had been lawfully condemned by a jury.</p> <p>Reference was made to His Majesty's commission, which authorised the governance of plantations and the exercise of martial law, considered necessary in such remote places. Instruction was given that proceedings were to be conducted in accordance with this commission, established under the new charter dated 12 August 1683, a complete schedule of which had been sent. Further commissions had also been issued, directed to the Governor and to Captain Wiborn and other officers as might be approved.</p> <p>It was stated that, under the charter and commission, no appeal was permitted to His Majesty, nor was authority granted to pardon persons accused of high treason. Instead, it was directed that justice was to be carried out upon such offenders in order to preserve peace. This instruction was supported by previous instances on the Island, which had demonstrated the necessity of strict enforcement of authority.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Martial law" referred to the imposition of military authority over civilian populations, particularly in times of disorder or rebellion.</p> <p>"High treason" referred to the most serious offence against the Crown, involving acts of rebellion or betrayal.</p> <p>"Charter" referred to a formal grant of authority issued by the Crown, defining powers of governance and administration.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The strong criticism of pardons suggests that leniency had been seen as undermining authority on the Island.</p> <p>The emphasis on martial law indicates concern over maintaining control in a distant and potentially unstable settlement.</p> <p>The removal of the right of appeal reflects a desire for swift and decisive justice in remote territories.</p> <p>The reference to earlier disturbances implies that rebellion had been an ongoing issue requiring firm response.</p>
124	118	<p>without ye help of your neighbours nor of ye qu[...] inc[...] you ever was affronted by any men upon such word since is provided upon those planters to live quietly upon land and stock put in your letters they had made rebels 2 times wth they had before ye insolency</p>	<p>Further instruction was given that, despite past disturbances, the Governor and Council had not required assistance from neighbouring settlements, nor had they been overcome by such affronts. It was noted that the planters had been expected to live quietly upon their lands and stock, although it had been reported in earlier letters that they had rebelled twice and had previously shown insolence.</p>

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		<p>S^r John Wyborn to his company of foot sould on board ye ship ye Meason was bought for 4000^l from Bombay to be Secury you of ye Island upon such charges you to proceed ag[ains]t all such as shall Justice do me upon ye and ye Island settled in a peaceable condition we desire may be dispatched in 10 or 12 days time because his presence will be needed at Bombay The land and estate of such as shall be afterwards of late rebellion, if upon ye conviction of ye offence will be [...] we would have you to improve by lease or otherwise to your more advantage, but not to [...] of those plantations of that 2 event is for particular accidents any more, by gift and sale limiting too many freeholders there already except they were of better condition, if they have [...] to sell S^r John Wyborn will remain with you & govern now in use in ye Garrisons in Europe in keeping a good correspondence in Amity with ye officers & souldiers you find to be of great advantage in keeping good order which discipline & preventing their being corrupted by avaritious or idleous inhabitants therefore we do desire you will be careful in all to encourage ye souldiers in their duty and not give any opposition to those regular orders and methods as are now used in ye modern Garrisons of Europe, in wch S^r John Wyborn will more particularly instruct you for your better information therein in such a foot as is now practisable now in use in modern armies in Europe During S^r John Wyborn stay at St Helena we do appoint him to take your place second in council next yourself and Capt Haddon during his stay to be of use to you and ye Publick Service in this Island</p>	<p>Reference was made to Sir John Wyborn and his company of foot soldiers aboard the ship <i>Meason</i>, which had been purchased at Bombay for £4,000 in order to secure the Island. In consideration of this expense, direction was given that firm justice was to be exercised against all offenders so that the Island might be settled in a peaceable condition. It was further directed that Sir John Wyborn's business should be dispatched within ten or twelve days, as his presence would be required at Bombay.</p> <p>It was ordered that the lands and estates of those found guilty of the recent rebellion, upon conviction, were to be taken into possession and improved by lease or other means for the Company's advantage. However, it was specified that such lands were not to be alienated by gift or sale, as too many freeholders already existed on the Island unless they were of better condition. Where individuals held land and wished to sell, such matters were to be considered within these limits.</p> <p>It was further stated that Sir John Wyborn would remain for a time to assist in governance, applying the discipline used in European garrisons. Emphasis was placed upon maintaining good correspondence and harmony between officers and soldiers, which was considered essential for preserving order and preventing corruption by idle or avaricious inhabitants. Care was to be taken to encourage soldiers in their duties and not to oppose the regular methods established in modern European military practice. It was noted that Sir John Wyborn would provide further instruction in these matters.</p> <p>During his stay at St Helena, Sir John Wyborn was appointed to take the second place in Council, next after the Governor. Captain Haddon was likewise to serve on the Council during his stay, contributing to the public service of the Island.</p> <p>Interpretations "Foot soldiers" referred to infantry troops serving on land rather than at sea. "Freeholders" referred to individuals who owned land outright rather than holding it under lease. "Alienated" referred to the transfer of land ownership, whether by sale or gift.</p> <p>Speculations The emphasis on repeated rebellion suggests persistent instability among the planters. The investment in troops from Bombay indicates the importance placed on securing the Island militarily. The restriction on land ownership suggests concern over the concentration of property and its impact on governance. The adoption of European military discipline reflects an effort to professionalise the garrison and strengthen control.</p>
125	119	<p>7 That you may the [...] partners those rebellious persons whatsoever were employed for those letters effects there has been rebellion have had either upon the I[slan]d or [...] we send you these all papers petitions & such as they have exhibited to his Ma[jes]ty or to us or you will see in ye paper & their offences present we have made some animadversions in ye margin wch you may make use of for your own information or otherwise as you see cause, but if those persons have so far together appeared of such rebellious wicked ingraterfull humours & principles, & we would not have you to have your lives in ye Ma[jes]ties Government but in a more severe though express by a strict & due execution of Justice, & therefore you have done</p>	<p>Further direction was given that all persons connected with the rebellious individuals, whether through their actions, correspondence or effects, were to be carefully examined. Papers, petitions and other documents submitted either to His Majesty or to the Company had been forwarded, with notes and observations entered in the margins. These were to be used for guidance as required. It was stated that, if such persons were found to have acted with rebellious, wicked and ungrateful intent, they were not to be tolerated within His Majesty's government unless brought under strict discipline. It was emphasised that justice was to be firmly and properly executed, as such individuals were not otherwise to be reduced to obedience.</p> <p>Observation was made that recent disturbances had caused disorder and difficulty. It was advised that prompt and decisive action should be taken in order to restore stability and manage affairs more effectively. Although it had been decided not to name a particular</p>

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		<p>with unreasonable men if we never to be reduced to ye strict execution of Justice</p> <p>8 We observe by your last house rent that some endeavour hath been much of late trouble & hast lately broken upon and whatever is done speed in these best course to carry things for your better tho we have bin prevailed upon not to name him in this as person to be excepted out of his Majjes]ties gracious pardon</p> <p>yet we think it necessary you should bring him and his son upon a new tryall in a manner yt he may confess ye rebels but if the one his son shall be found guilty thereon we leave you to execute either of them, keeping prison untill his Majjes]ties further pleasure follow concerning their lives or death, being as it is uncertain that he thought fit to be inflicted on either of them according to their demerit</p> <p>9 Mr Smith is now in prison we have heard for that you need not have expected that a man who could have any influence upon to ye prejudice</p> <p>10 The sooner we imagine the matter be used be able of prosecuting him to us if any thing be fit to be disposed by the should sell all his goods he had for his own best advantage upon the place</p>	<p>individual as excluded from His Majesty's general pardon, instruction was given that he and his son were to be brought to a new trial. This was to be conducted in such a manner that their involvement in the rebellion might be clearly established. If the son were found guilty, discretion was granted to determine punishment, while either individual might be kept in prison until further direction was received from His Majesty regarding life or death, as the final judgement remained uncertain and dependent upon their offences.</p> <p>It was further noted that Mr Smith had been placed in prison. It was stated that such an outcome might have been expected, given his influence and its potential to prejudice affairs.</p> <p>It was also directed that proceedings against him should be advanced without delay. If deemed appropriate, his goods were to be sold for the best advantage obtainable on the Island, with proper account taken of the proceeds.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Animadversions” referred to critical remarks or notes added for guidance or correction.</p> <p>“Gracious pardon” referred to a formal act of clemency issued by the Crown, forgiving offences.</p> <p>“Demerit” referred to the degree of wrongdoing or fault attributed to an individual.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The detailed review of petitions suggests that appeals had been made beyond the Island's authorities, prompting closer scrutiny.</p> <p>The insistence on renewed trials indicates uncertainty about earlier proceedings or a desire for stronger legal justification.</p> <p>The imprisonment of influential individuals reflects concern about their ability to incite further unrest.</p> <p>The instruction to sell goods implies both punishment and recovery of value for the Company.</p>
126	120	<p>Planters have in all times been very burdensome to the men &</p> <p>we have ye extorted upon in ye price of goods or any thing, so spent so bad & might prove loss to you & to others we think fit to be a moderate composition wth</p> <p>considering ye adventure and ye long time we have been our paymts and ye payments we now have usually in goods raised only upon their plantation wch is their right above and Ticketing wch should be that whole time we understand and debauching you have all ye goods we send thither that he compelled to deliver and ye value of 40 p Cent be forced not to exceed</p> <p>in ye discretionary measure we would have you proceed follow ye standings for us</p> <p>11 We have directed S^r Wm Holburn to leave you such stores as you shall have need to change such a store you shall find requisite for ye service</p> <p>12 While S^r John Holburn is wth you we would have you collect from all ye Inhabitants a monthly of 2 p Cent upon commodity more from ye souldiers wch 2 p Cent wch we would have you for ye present to allow but if you see need to suspend collection of it do it as you see cause farther</p> <p>7 For fencing in ye plantations it is a much just and reasonable thing and we wish have it done where it can be as soon as may be conveniently, since where thorough neglect or by inadvertency people be exposed you cannot be alone nor limited time of 3 years we leave it to your discretion to give such further time for performance of work in particular case as you shall see just cause for but in no more time to allow to any</p>	<p>It was observed that the planters had at all times been burdensome to the labouring men, and that excessive prices had been imposed upon goods and other necessities. Such practices had led to waste and poor management, and were considered likely to cause loss both to the Company and to others. It was therefore directed that a moderate composition should be established, taking into account the risks of trade, the long delay in payments and the fact that such payments were often made in goods produced upon the plantations. It was noted that these goods were claimed as the planters' right. Instruction was given that the value of goods supplied was not to be raised beyond 40 per cent, and that this limit was to be enforced with discretion according to established practice.</p> <p>It was further directed that Sir William Holburn was to leave such stores as were necessary, and that the Governor and Council were to exchange and manage these stores as required for the service of the Island.</p> <p>While Sir John Holburn remained on the Island, instruction was given that a monthly levy of 2 per cent was to be collected from all inhabitants, with an additional contribution from the soldiers. However, discretion was allowed to suspend this collection if circumstances made it necessary.</p> <p>Direction was also given that plantations were to be enclosed with fences wherever possible, as this was considered just and reasonable. It was desired that such work should be carried out as soon as convenient. Where neglect or oversight had exposed land or stock to risk, it was acknowledged that the previously set limit of three years for completion might not be sufficient. Authority was therefore given to extend the time in particular cases where just cause could be shown, although no excessive delays were to be permitted.</p> <p>Encouragement was to be given to those who undertook the breeding of cattle. It was proposed that</p>

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		<p>Company would receive leave to breed up a cattle you give your planters your best time for every one that shall breed up any number shall have ten or twelve sheep &c to other upon security to continue them we would not never but allow ye Inhabitants of St Helena ye duty or rent is by just and reasonable & towards</p>	<p>planters who increased their stock should receive additional sheep or other livestock, upon providing security that they would maintain and continue them. It was further indicated that duties or rents imposed upon the inhabitants of St Helena were to be regarded as just and reasonable [...]</p> <p>Interpretations “Composition” referred to a negotiated settlement or agreed rate for payments, often intended to regulate prices or obligations. “Levy of 2 per cent” referred to a form of tax or contribution imposed regularly upon inhabitants. “Security” referred to a guarantee or assurance, often in the form of property or obligation, to ensure compliance with an agreement.</p> <p>Speculations The regulation of prices suggests attempts to control exploitation and stabilise the Island’s economy. The introduction of a levy indicates efforts to generate consistent revenue for administration and defence. The emphasis on fencing reflects concern with protecting agricultural investment and preventing loss. The incentives for livestock breeding suggest a strategy to increase self sufficiency in food production.</p>
127	121	<p>have it collected while St John Wyborn is there also are good sufficient to compel refractory and encouraging ye men to do their duty both man and night 14 We cannot imagine those ill men suggest that you should keep any souldiers there will be very limited time, their services no ways of any such thing has been done let not it be seen in any [...] occasion for men & carefull guard & supply of men, for we have ever been so attended 15 Since there has been a rebellion in yt Island his Maj[es]ty may justly blame your conduct and we you, if he be a fault and indeed we must take shame to our selves yt there has been so many in yt place already and we can say you should not so much invite and corruption we would not be so sensible in thinking to know as mischief men would not have left to find and such neglecting contribute to all those [...] were first founded again but we find too late ye guilty of too much severity, too much pity proof a silly compassion to a few in such cases more commonly bring misery upon a great many But to prevent all future inconveniency upon you hereafter we do absolutely enjoyn you after ye execution of justice that you make a thorough search throughout ye Island and that you do bring into store all ye military arms and ammunition you shall find any planter possessed of, as well Musket and swords the fire arms and for ye future you do prohibit as a Law the planters shall not presume to keep any military arms upon penalties of seizing to the use of the Company of wch he shall become seized or take your except he have license for so doing from you, for ye time being 16 We would have also you prohibit all killing any Pheasant or any hens, Turkeys Ducks or any sort of game</p>	<p>Instruction was given that the collection of duties was to continue while Sir John Wyborn remained on the Island, and that sufficient authority was to be exercised to compel those who were refractory and to encourage all men, both by day and by night, to perform their duties.</p> <p>It was stated that no credence was to be given to suggestions that soldiers should be dismissed or reduced for any limited term. It was emphasised that their service remained necessary, and that proper guards and sufficient numbers of men were to be maintained at all times, as had previously been the practice.</p> <p>Reference was made to the recent rebellion, and it was acknowledged that His Majesty might justly find fault with the conduct of those responsible for governance, and that blame might also attach to the Company. It was admitted that too many offences had been allowed to arise, and that neglect and misplaced leniency had contributed to disorder. It was observed that excessive pity towards a few offenders had often resulted in harm to many. In order to prevent further disturbances, strict measures were to be adopted.</p> <p>After the execution of justice, a thorough search of the Island was to be conducted. All military arms and ammunition held by planters were to be seized and brought into store, including muskets, swords and other firearms. For the future, it was to be established as a law that planters were not to keep any such arms without licence from the Governor, upon penalty of seizure for the use of the Company.</p> <p>Further instruction was given that the killing of pheasants, hens, turkeys, ducks or any other sort of game was to be prohibited [...]</p> <p>Interpretations “Refractory” referred to persons who were stubbornly disobedient or resistant to authority. “Seized to the use of the Company” referred to property being confiscated and taken into Company ownership. “Licence” referred to formal permission granted by authority.</p> <p>Speculations The insistence on maintaining soldiers suggests concern about ongoing instability and the risk of further rebellion. The criticism of leniency indicates a shift towards stricter enforcement of discipline. The confiscation of weapons reflects a desire to prevent planters from organising resistance.</p>

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			<p>The prohibition on hunting suggests efforts to preserve resources or control provisions on the Island.</p>
128	122	<p>Island except such as shall be found not to be but whereof their own plantations upon such shall be sold plantation shall think fit to be put one half to ye Comp[an]y and half to the informer 17 And we do further enjoin and require you strictly to forbid upon sufficient penalties all Planters from going on board any of ye ships or trading to any of ye ships boats on board and if any Planter upon any reasonable cause shall have you licence to go on board any ship to speak to his acquaintance on any other cause yt you shall approve of, he being signed not to trade there it is sufficient and more yt you take care to convey their plant at ye proper seasons for we do allow no trade for ye product of their own plantation in open markets or at their own houses out to selling in to frequent ships is most unreasonable and dangerous therefore we would not have you give a licence to any person to go on board any of ye ships but upon some very good and weighty occasion 18 We have sent you no goods by this ship because you write not for any, hereafter you may do well to send us a particular list for be aware none to shall be sent you though we know Cap^t [...] Black may advise you such a new Ship may defray ye charges of ye garrison for some time 19 We have reason to think a breed of goats might prosper well and generate much upon ye steep rocks and we do recommend to you careful examination and to do therein as you shall judge most for ye advantage, the likewise concerning the some profitable employing of such a sort of cattle which you shall introduce for ye Comp^t like ours Cap^t [...] ship [...] at length [...]</p>	<p>It was directed that any prohibited game found outside proper bounds was to be seized, and where taken from plantations, the proceeds of sale were to be divided, with one half assigned to the Company and the other half to the informer.</p> <p>Further strict instruction was given that all planters were to be forbidden, under sufficient penalties, from going aboard any ships or trading with them by means of boats. In cases where a planter had reasonable cause to go aboard, licence might be granted, provided that no trading took place. It was required that such persons should be properly authorised and that their purpose be approved. It was emphasised that the produce of plantations was not to be traded freely in open markets, in private houses or directly with ships, as such practices were considered unreasonable and dangerous. Licences to board ships were therefore to be granted only upon serious and well justified occasions.</p> <p>It was noted that no goods had been sent by the present ship because none had been requested. Instruction was given that, in future, a detailed list of required goods should be transmitted, as no supplies would otherwise be dispatched. It was observed that advice might be given by Captain [...] Black concerning the potential of a new ship to defray the charges of the garrison for a period.</p> <p>Recommendation was also made that the breeding of goats should be considered, as it was thought they might thrive and multiply upon the steep rocks of the Island. Careful examination of this possibility was required, and similar consideration was to be given to the profitable use of other livestock introduced for the Company's benefit [...]</p> <p>Interpretations “Informers” referred to a person who reported offences, often rewarded with a share of confiscated goods. “Licence” referred to official permission granted by authority. “Defray the charges” referred to covering or paying the costs of an expense, in this case the garrison.</p> <p>Speculations The division of proceeds between the Company and informers suggests an incentive system to enforce regulations. The prohibition on private trade reflects concern over loss of Company control and revenue. The requirement for detailed supply lists indicates an effort to improve logistical efficiency. The encouragement of goat breeding suggests continued exploration of livestock suited to the Island's terrain and climate.</p>
129	123	<p>[...] revenue. to Island as may defray ye charge of such a great garrison as those rebellious planters have compelled us to keep in constant pay there 20 We enjoin no workboat or no of ye ships, but have received Mr John Wyborne & Cap^t Eaton to spare us some at one of their and to be understood as friends and desire yt those and hereafter be treated as such or trade, if they behave themselves well or else at such pay as you shall think fit, but no Impress and no oaths shall be put to their charge, nor violence and you need not take care to make any searches to write to ye same demands we shall have understood ye case 21 We have ordered Cap^t Eaton during his stay there to lend you all his carpenters and any other hands he can spare to assist you in Barracks and dispatch all other things</p>	<p>It was stated that the maintenance of the Island had become increasingly costly, particularly due to the need to sustain a large garrison imposed by the rebellion of the planters. Measures were therefore to be directed toward generating revenue sufficient to offset these charges.</p> <p>Instruction was given that no forced impressment was to be made from ships or their crews. It was noted that Mr John Wyborne and Captain Eaton had, as friends, agreed to spare some men when able, and such persons were to be treated accordingly. Any assistance provided was to be voluntary and fairly compensated at such rates as might be judged appropriate. No oaths or coercion were to be imposed, nor was violence to be used. It was also stated that unnecessary searches or demands were not to be made in such matters.</p> <p>It was further ordered that Captain Eaton, during his stay, was to lend his carpenters and any other spare hands to assist in the construction of barracks and the</p>

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		<p>necessary about your fort, but his stay there may not be long everything in good order is to remain before he leave ye place 22 We formerly gave you permission and did you something of ye forementioned rebellions to disarm all such as have been in arms, or after such shall be found, and upon proof you shall proceed against them as we have directed and be experienced upon reducing again yt you shall cause the like care we would have you make no kind of distinction receiving yt such persons or such as you cannot to keep out of ships without danger to their voyage can spare you a man or two, and let we have with the Commanding Officers you have and if any of them should be you or any other whom they shall have and can conceal the same all of them shall be so severely punished as we would not have our authority slighted, especially when persons of that kind are very unjust to us, and render no early accounts of goods or trade thereby</p>	<p>completion of necessary works upon the fort. Care was to be taken that all was left in good order before his departure, which might be of limited duration. Reference was made to earlier permission granted to disarm those involved in the rebellion. It was reaffirmed that any persons found to have taken up arms were to be disarmed, and upon proof of their actions, proceedings were to be taken against them as previously directed. It was emphasised that no distinctions were to be made in the enforcement of these measures. It was also directed that, where ships could safely spare one or two men without danger to their voyage, such assistance might be accepted in cooperation with commanding officers. However, any concealment of goods or involvement in unauthorised trade by such persons was to be punished severely. It was stressed that the Company's authority was not to be slighted, particularly where individuals acted unjustly or failed to render proper accounts of goods or trade. Interpretations "Impressment" referred to the forced recruitment of men into service, particularly from ships. "Barracks" referred to buildings used to house soldiers. "Disarm" referred to the removal of weapons from individuals to prevent resistance or rebellion. Speculations The prohibition of impressment suggests concern about maintaining good relations with ship crews and officers. The reliance on voluntary labour indicates limited manpower on the Island. The continued emphasis on disarming rebels reflects ongoing fears of renewed unrest. The focus on preventing concealed trade highlights the Company's effort to maintain strict control over commerce and accountability.</p>
130	124	<p>20 It remains ye coming we requested of him his Majestys for reducing of Bombay we judged it necessary to have one Ammunition of rebel to submit upon promise of pardon to all but ye excepted persons such a [fexcept]ting originall letter under his Majesty's principall we have now sent you if it forth you but we will be answerable in case of default, he in possession of ye fort at ye time of Surrender, and in all as you proceed therein if after rebellion they should have got possession of ye fort to send you forfeiting at nature. But also if you you also can make his manner of sense of the fort to come to hand by the Gov[?r] power to committing you and your affairs to God's care and protection we remain yo frie[n]ds We upon we have enjoined as witnesses Mr Browne if one we have need a good stewards he is to have 2 years at 5 shillings per annum as you may see by his covenant Sam. Dashwood J. Heath Rich^t Bourne Geo: Browne Fra[ncis] Child Govr Step^t Child Dep^t Govr Eyre Covell John Chetwin Jeremy Sambrooke Ja: Boode Wm Garway Wm Gedney Tho^t Cooke</p>	<p>A concluding instruction addressed matters relating to rebellion and the security of fortified positions. It was noted that, in earlier circumstances—particularly in reference to actions taken for the reduction of Bombay—it had been judged necessary to allow certain rebels to submit upon promise of pardon, excepting specified individuals. A copy of the original authority under His Majesty had been sent, and it was indicated that similar discretion might be exercised if required, though responsibility would remain with those administering such measures. It was further implied that, if rebels had gained possession of a fort, strong action would be necessary to recover it and to proceed according to the nature of the offence. Authority rested with the Governor to act decisively in such situations for the preservation of order and control. The letter concluded by commending the Governor and Council, and all affairs of the Island, to God's care and protection. An additional note referred to the appointment of Mr Browne as a steward, to serve for a term of two years at a salary of five shillings per annum, as set out in his covenant. The document was signed by Samuel Dashwood, J. Heath, Richard Bourne, George Browne, Francis Child as Governor, Stepney Child as Deputy Governor, Eyre Covell, John Chetwin, Jeremy Sambrooke, James Boode, William Garway, William Gedney and Thomas Cooke. It was certified as a true copy by John Browne. Interpretations "Excepted persons" referred to individuals specifically excluded from a general pardon. "Covenant" referred to a formal agreement setting out the terms of employment or obligation.</p>

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		<p>This is a true Copy examined by me cum originale John Browne</p>	<p>“Reduction” referred to the bringing of a place, such as a fort or settlement, under control or submission.</p> <p>Speculations The reference to Bombay suggests that experiences in other Company territories informed policy at St Helena.</p> <p>The conditional use of pardons indicates a pragmatic approach to restoring order after rebellion.</p> <p>The emphasis on control of forts highlights their strategic importance in maintaining authority.</p> <p>The modest salary for a steward may reflect limited resources or differing standards of remuneration on the Island.</p>
<p>131</p>	<p>125</p>	<p>Copy of a Charter dated Aug^t 9th 35th regn of 1683 Charles the second by the grace of God of Eng^d Scotland France and Ireland King defender of the faith &c To all whom these presents shall come greeting Whereas our well beloved subjects ye Gov^t and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies have for a long time a corporation, and have enjoyed and do enjoy divers liberties, priviledges and immunities by force of several letters patents and grants heretofore granted unto them by our Royal progenitors, Queen Eliz^a and King James of blessed memory, upon the humble petition of ye said well beloved subjects the Gov^t and Company of Merchants aforesaid We have been graciously pleased to grant and confirm unto them letters patents of Charter under our great seal bearing date the third day of April in ye thirteenth year of our reign with some alterations and additions to the benefit & advantage of their trade and traffique And whereas we have by our Royal letters patents to the said Company among other things therein contained given and granted and confirmed unto them a very large and well founded trade of Merchants trading into ye East Indies, that they should have free trade there and have liberty to purchase and traffique in deed and in name by ye name of ye Gov^t and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies and by ye name of Gov^t and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies and that they might purchase and traffique in deed and in name really and fully for ever for them and their successors, We have by these letters patents and Charter ordained constituted confirmed established and declared by these our names of Gov^t and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies they should have perpetual succession and that they and their successors by ye name of Gov^t and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East</p>	<p>A copy of a Charter dated 9 August 1683, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Charles II of England, set out the legal foundation and privileges of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.</p> <p>It declared that the Company had long existed as a corporation and had previously enjoyed liberties, privileges and immunities granted by earlier monarchs, including Elizabeth I of England and James I of England. In response to a petition from the Company, the King confirmed and renewed these rights through letters patent, with certain alterations and additions intended to benefit and advance their trade.</p> <p>The Charter affirmed that the Company possessed a broad and well-established right to trade in the East Indies. It granted them liberty to trade, purchase and conduct commerce under their corporate name, and to do so fully and perpetually for themselves and their successors.</p> <p>It further declared that the Company was to have perpetual succession, meaning it would continue as a legal entity indefinitely. Under this authority, the Company and its successors were recognised as capable in law of acquiring, holding and managing lands, tenements, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises and hereditaments of all kinds.</p> <p>Interpretations “Letters patent” referred to official royal documents granting rights or privileges. “Perpetual succession” referred to the continued legal existence of a corporation beyond the lives of its individual members. “Franchises” referred to special rights or privileges granted by the Crown.</p> <p>Speculations The reaffirmation of earlier grants suggests the Company sought to secure and strengthen its legal position.</p> <p>The emphasis on perpetual succession reflects the need for long-term stability in overseas trade.</p> <p>The broad rights over land and jurisdiction indicate the Company’s transition from purely commercial activity toward territorial and administrative authority.</p> <p>The Charter highlights the increasing importance of the Company within the framework of royal policy and global trade.</p>

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		<p>Indies at all times hereafter should be persons able and capable in law to have purchase receive possess enjoy and retain lands tenements liberties jurisdictions franchises and hereditaments of what nature and quality soever to them and their successors AND whereas also by our Royal letters patents we have granted unto ye said Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into the</p>	
132	126	<p>East Indies and their success^{ors} yt they and all yt were on shore or at sea in any ships or vessels belonging to ye said Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies and every of them and all ye servants and factors and agents of them should and lawfully might and upon all and every of ye coasts countries islands ports and places of Asia and Africa and America and every of them within the limits of the said Charter have full power and authority to set forth ships and to make voyages and trade of Merchandizes by seas in and into all parts and places from and through and into all seas found out and discovered or which should hereafter be found out and discovered as they should esteem and take to be fit and convenient for them and their successors to trade into and from ye East Indies or any part of Asia Africa or America or any or either of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza to the streights of Magellan where any trade or traffique of Merchandize might be used or had and that they and their successors and their factors servants and assigns by the trade of Merchandize for and on their behalves and not otherwise should for ever hereafter have use and enjoy ye whole entire and only trade and traffique and the whole entire and only liberty use and priviledge of trading to and from the said East Indies and to and from all islands ports cities towns and places aforesaid unto whatsoever parts or places aforesaid And whereas also we have by our letters patents or Charter granted unto the said Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies and to their successors yt the said East Indies or islands havens ports territories or any part thereof should not be visited frequented or haunted by any of our subjects our heirs and successors during the time of the said grant but to remain in quiet and not used or frequented contrary to the true meaning of the same and by virtue of prerogative Royal which will not in this behalf have argued or brought in question We have therefore and command and prohibit all our heirs and subjects and successors that none of them do presume voluntarily or by themselves directly or indirectly to visit frequent or trade or traffique or adventure by way of [...]</p>	<p>A copy of a Charter dated 9 August 1683, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Charles II of England, set out the legal rights of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.</p> <p>The Charter confirmed that the Company had long existed as a corporation. It had previously received privileges from earlier monarchs, including Elizabeth I of England and James I of England.</p> <p>In response to a petition from the Company, the King renewed and confirmed these rights. Some additions and alterations were made to improve their trade.</p> <p>The Charter declared that the Company would have perpetual succession. This meant it would continue as a legal body beyond the lives of its members.</p> <p>The Company was given full legal capacity. It could own and manage lands, tenements, liberties and jurisdictions. It could also hold franchises and other forms of property.</p> <p>The Charter further stated that the Company and all those employed by it—whether at sea or on land—were granted wide trading powers. This included servants, factors and agents.</p> <p>They were allowed to send out ships and make voyages. They could trade in goods across many regions.</p> <p>These regions included the coasts, countries, islands and ports of Asia, Africa and America. The authority applied to all areas within the limits of the Charter.</p> <p>They could trade in seas already known. They could also trade in places that might be discovered in future.</p> <p>The geographical scope was very large. It extended from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan.</p> <p>Within this area, the Company was granted exclusive rights. Only the Company and its authorised representatives could carry out trade.</p> <p>No other subjects of the Crown were allowed to trade in these regions. They were forbidden to visit, frequent or carry on commerce there.</p> <p>This prohibition applied directly and indirectly. It was enforced by royal authority.</p> <p>The Charter stated that this right was based on the King's prerogative. It was not to be questioned or challenged.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Perpetual succession” meant the Company continued as a legal entity over time.</p> <p>“Factors” were agents who conducted trade on behalf of the Company.</p> <p>“Franchises” were special rights granted by the Crown.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The Charter shows that the Company was becoming more than a trading body. It was gaining legal and territorial authority.</p> <p>The grant of exclusive trade suggests a strong effort to prevent competition.</p> <p>The wide geographical scope reflects ambitions for global commerce.</p> <p>The emphasis on royal authority shows how closely trade and government power were linked.</p>

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133	127	<p>Merchandize into or from any of ye East Indies or into or from any the ports havens cities towns or places aforesaid other than ye Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies and such particular persons as are or shall hereafter be of ye Company their agents factors or assigns unless by and with the leave and assent of ye said Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies in writing first had and obtained under their common seal upon pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of all their goods and merchandizes as by the said Charter reference being thereunto had among divers other grants liberties privileges and franchises more fully appeareth Notwithstanding where we are given to understand that divers persons contrary to and not in contempt of ye said letters patents and our Royal pleasure thereby declared have presumed without license of ye said Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies to send forth several ships into the East Indies there to merchandize and adventure on ye seas and within ye places and limits in ye said Charter comprised and there to trade and traffique for ye commodities of ye said parts and places to the great hindrance and interruption of the established trade of ye said Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies and to the discouraging of others from the prosecution of that trade besides other great inconveniences yt may thereby ensue We therefore duly considering the premisses and of the importance it is to the honour and welfare of this Nation and of the good subjects thereof to endeavour a timely suppressing of such trade and being fully satisfied that ye same can be no way so managed and carried on with such advantage to ye publick interest as by a Company and general trade will be by means of such joint stock and therefore for the encouragement may be given to such Company for the better managing to ye general good and ye more effectual that they may have all assistance from us We do hereby for us our heirs and successors give and grant full power and authority unto the Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies and their successors for the time being that they or any of them their factors deputies or assigns shall and may from time to time and at all times hereafter</p>	<p>Merchandise was not to be traded into or from any part of the East Indies, nor into or from any of the ports, havens, cities, towns or places aforesaid, except by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, or by such persons as were, or should thereafter be, of that Company, or were their agents, factors or assigns.</p> <p>No other persons were permitted to trade unless leave and assent had first been obtained in writing from the said Governor and Company under their common seal. Anyone acting without such licence was to suffer imprisonment and forfeiture of all goods and merchandise, as more fully appeared by the said Charter, together with many other grants, liberties, privileges and franchises there contained.</p> <p>Notwithstanding these provisions, it was reported that many persons, contrary to the said letters patent and in contempt of the King's declared pleasure, had presumed, without licence from the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, to send several ships into the East Indies. There they had traded and ventured upon the seas and within the places and limits comprised in the Charter, trafficking for the commodities of those parts and places.</p> <p>Such actions were said to have caused great hindrance and interruption to the established trade of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. Others had thereby been discouraged from pursuing that trade, and further great inconveniences were said probably to follow.</p> <p>These matters were considered alongside the importance of that trade to the honour and welfare of the nation and of its subjects. A timely suppression of such unlawful trade was therefore judged necessary. Satisfaction was also expressed that the trade could not be managed or carried on with equal advantage to the public interest except by means of a Company and a general trade maintained through a joint stock.</p> <p>For the encouragement of such a Company, and for the better management of trade to the general good, fuller assistance was to be given by the Crown. Full power and authority were therefore granted to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, and to their successors for the time being, so that they, or any of them, and their factors, deputies or assigns, might from time to time and at all times thereafter [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Common seal” referred to the official seal of a corporation. Written authority issued under it carried formal legal force and showed that the act had been approved by the body corporate rather than by a private individual.</p> <p>“Letters patent” referred to open royal grants issued under the Great Seal. They were used to confer rights, privileges, monopolies or offices, and in this context formed the legal basis of the Company's authority.</p> <p>“Joint stock” referred to pooled capital subscribed by investors and managed as a single fund. This structure allowed long-distance trade to be financed on a larger scale and the risks to be shared across many participants.</p> <p>“Factors” referred to commercial agents acting on the Company's behalf in overseas settlements and ports. They managed trade, goods, correspondence and accounts within the Company's wider network.</p> <p>“Prerogative” in this context referred to the Crown's claimed royal authority to grant exclusive trading rights and to regulate access to overseas commerce without ordinary challenge from private subjects.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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			<p>The strong complaint against unlicensed traders probably reflected continuing pressure from interlopers whose private voyages threatened the Company's monopoly and reduced its expected profits.</p> <p>The insistence that trade could best be managed through a joint stock Company perhaps showed a desire to present monopoly not merely as a private advantage, but as something beneficial to the wider national interest.</p> <p>The repeated stress on hindrance, interruption and discouragement suggests that the Company was concerned not only with present losses, but also with the weakening of confidence among investors and authorised traders.</p> <p>The grant of wider powers to the Company probably formed part of a broader movement by which a trading body was being strengthened as a semi-governmental authority, with control over commerce, territory and legal enforcement across a very large region.</p>
134	128	<p>after within ye limits of ye said Charter enter into any ship vessel shop cellar or warehouse to search seize take and carry away all manner of ships vessels goods wares or merchandize whatsoever that shall be brought from carried to or places aforesaid or any of them contrary to the will and pleasure declared in these presents or in any former Charters and letters patents expressed moiety or one half of all forfeitures thereupon arising We do hereby for us our heirs and successors give and grant unto the Company and their successors to their own proper use and behoof without account to our treasury or half part thereof and the other moiety or half shall be to us our heirs and successors and we do of our more especial grace certain knowledge and mere motion give and grant unto the said Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies ye Gov^r or Deputy Gov^r and council of ye said Company for the time being or any of them being part of the major part of them duly assembled full power and authority to make ordain and establish such laws and ordinances as shall from time to time be found necessary and convenient for the good government of all such forts factories and plantations as now are or at any time hereafter shall be settled by or under ye said Company within the limits of the said East Indies Africa and America before mentioned and also full power to make peace and war with any prince or people that are not Christians in any part of Asia Africa and America within the limits of the said Charter and also to appoint and depute Governors and councils of the said Company for the time being or any of them being of the major part of them duly assembled shall have full power license and authority to nominate and appoint such officers from time to time in the said forts factories and plantations as they shall think fit and to them shall have and use such powers and authorities as shall be necessary for the good rule</p>	<p>After entry within the limits of the said Charter, authority was granted to enter into any ship, vessel, shop, cellar or warehouse. There, searches might be conducted, and all ships, vessels, goods, wares or merchandise found to have been brought from, or carried to, the said places contrary to the declared will and pleasure set out in the present Charter, or in any former Charters and letters patent, might be seized, taken and carried away.</p> <p>Of all forfeitures arising from such seizures, one moiety, or half, was granted to the Company and its successors for their own proper use, without any account to the royal treasury. The remaining moiety was reserved to the Crown, to be held by the King, his heirs and successors.</p> <p>Further powers were granted by special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion of the Crown to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. The Governor or Deputy Governor, together with the Council of the Company, or the major part of them duly assembled, were authorised to make, ordain and establish such laws and ordinances as might from time to time be found necessary for the good government of all forts, factories and plantations belonging to the Company within the limits of the East Indies, Africa and America.</p> <p>Authority was also granted to make peace and war with any prince or people who were not Christians within those regions. Power was given to appoint and depute Governors and Councils, and to nominate such officers as were thought fit for service in the said forts, factories and plantations. These officers were to exercise such powers as were necessary for their proper rule and government.</p> <p>Further authority was granted to raise, arm, train and muster military forces as required. The use of martial law was permitted within the said plantations, forts and places, for their defence against foreign invasion or domestic insurrection or rebellion.</p> <p>Candidate terms reviewed: "moiety", "mere motion", "factories", "martial law", "letters patent". All were considered to warrant inclusion.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Moiety" referred to a half share of property, goods or forfeitures. In this context, it described the division of seized goods between the Company and the Crown.</p> <p>"Mere motion" referred to a formal legal phrase indicating that the grant had been made by the sovereign's own will, without obligation or external compulsion.</p> <p>"Factories" referred not to places of manufacture, but to trading establishments maintained by the</p>

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		<p>and government of the said forts factories and plantations and also to raise arm train and muster such military forces as to them shall seem requisite necessary and to execute and use within the said plantations forts and places the laws called the martial law for the defence of the said forts places and plantations against any foreign invasion or domestick insurrection or rebellion and to follow such orders directions and instructions as</p>	<p>Company in overseas regions, where goods were stored and commercial business was conducted.</p> <p>“Martial law” referred to the exercise of military authority in place of ordinary civil law, especially in times of threat or disorder, allowing stricter control and immediate enforcement.</p> <p>“Letters patent” referred to open royal grants that conferred legal rights and privileges, forming the basis of the Company’s authority.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The power to search and seize goods probably reflected ongoing concern about illegal trade undermining the Company’s monopoly.</p> <p>The division of forfeitures between the Company and the Crown perhaps served as an incentive for enforcement while also ensuring royal benefit.</p> <p>The grant of legislative authority suggests that the Company was being entrusted with functions similar to those of a governing body in its overseas territories.</p> <p>The authority to make war and peace with non-Christian powers probably reflects the realities of trade in regions where European influence depended on negotiation or conflict with local rulers.</p> <p>The inclusion of martial law powers indicates that instability, rebellion or external threat was expected and that rapid enforcement of order was considered necessary.</p>
135	129	<p>from time to time shall be given by ye Gov^r or Dep^t Gov^r and Court of ye sd Company or ye greater part of them power & authority to direct and appoint new and other factories plantations to be at any time settled in ye parts aforesaid and power of making peace and war as we shall think fit to interpose our royal authority therein to us & our heirs & successors always reserved, And forasmuch as complaint hath been made to us by ye Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies of many disorders & inconveniencies w^h have happened and been committed as well by our own subjects as foreigners to ye great prejudice of ye sd Company & their affairs there, and whereas ye difficulties may appear necessary to be redressed w^h at present cannot be so done; For remedy whereof and for more effectual encouragement of ye said Company and ye Merchants that shall from henceforth trade into ye parts and places aforesaid & to ye end timely effectual remedies may be applied in ye cases from time to time as shall fall out or inconveniencies as may happen; We have thought fit to erect and establish and we do by these presents erect and establish a Court of Judicature to be held at such places or places forts or factories or plantations or factories upon ye sd Company shall from time to time direct and appoint which Court shall consist of one person learned in ye civil law and two Merchants chosen from among such Officers of ye sd Company as shall</p>	<p>Power and authority were granted that, from time to time, directions and appointments might be made by the Governor or Deputy Governor and the Court of the said Company, or the greater part of them, for the establishment of new factories and plantations in the regions aforesaid. Authority was also given for the making of peace and war, although the Crown reserved to itself the right to intervene by its royal authority whenever it should be judged necessary.</p> <p>Complaint had been made by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies concerning many disorders and inconveniences. These had been committed both by English subjects and by foreigners, to the great prejudice of the Company and its affairs. The difficulties arising from such actions were acknowledged, and it was stated that they could not at that time be adequately remedied.</p> <p>In order to provide a remedy, and to encourage the Company and those merchants who should thereafter trade to those regions, it was determined that more effective measures should be established. A Court of Judicature was therefore erected and established by these presents.</p> <p>This Court was to be held at such places, forts, factories or plantations as the Company should from time to time direct. It was to consist of one person learned in the civil law and two merchants, chosen from among the Company’s officers as deemed necessary. These individuals were to be nominated and appointed by the Governor, Deputy Governor and Court of the Company, or the major part of them.</p> <p>The person learned in the civil law, together with the two merchants, or the major part of them, of whom the said person learned in the civil law was to be one, was to have commission and authority to hear and determine all causes relating to forfeitures and seizures of ships, goods or merchandise. This applied where such trade had been carried on within the coasts or limits contrary to the intent of the present Charter or any letters patent granted to the Company.</p> <p>Jurisdiction was also granted over all mercantile and maritime causes. These included bargains, buying, selling and bartering of goods, as well as policies and acts of assurance, bills, bonds and promises for the payment of money in relation to trade. Matters relating to contracts for the affreighting of vessels were also included [...]</p>

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		<p>be thought necessary to be nominated and appointed from time to time by ye Gov^r Dep^t Gov^r & Court of ye Major part of them and of such person learned in ye civil law and 2 Merchants of ye major part of them whereof ye sd person learned in ye civil law to be one shall have commission and power to hear and determine all causes of forfeitures & seizures of any ships or ships goods or merchandize trading or coming upon any of ye sd coasts or limits contrary to ye intent of these presents or of any letters patents granted to ye sd Company and also all causes mercantile or maritime Bargains buying selling or bartering of goods or wares and all policies and acts of assurance all bills bonds and promises for payment of money for mercantile or trading contracts for affreighting of vessels and</p>	<p>Candidate terms reviewed: “Court of Judicature”, “civil law”, “affreighting”, “policies and acts of assurance”, “letters patent”. All were considered to warrant inclusion.</p> <p>Interpretations “Court of Judicature” referred to a formal judicial body established to hear and decide legal disputes. In this context, it was a Company-controlled court operating overseas with authority over trade and maritime matters. “Civil law” referred to a legal tradition derived from Roman law, distinct from English common law. A person learned in civil law would have been trained in this system, often used in maritime and commercial cases. “Affreighting” referred to the hiring or chartering of a ship for the transport of goods. It was a key contractual arrangement in long-distance trade. “Policies and acts of assurance” referred to early forms of insurance contracts, particularly maritime insurance, covering risks such as loss of ships or cargo. “Letters patent” referred to royal grants conferring rights and authority, forming the legal foundation for the Company’s powers.</p> <p>Speculations The creation of a Court of Judicature probably reflects the increasing complexity of overseas trade and the need for a formal system to resolve disputes. The inclusion of both merchants and a civil law specialist suggests an attempt to combine practical commercial knowledge with formal legal expertise. The broad jurisdiction over maritime and mercantile matters indicates that the Company sought to control not only trade itself but also the legal framework governing it. The reference to offences by both English subjects and foreigners perhaps shows that competition and disorder were widespread, requiring stronger institutional control.</p>
136	130	<p>voyages of Marrs all other matters and causes whatsoever that shall concern ye return or from within any other being in ye place appointed shall be heard examined tryed and judged according to such laws and usages of ye region where those cases shall arise or places aforesaid concerninggoing from or from or coming or coming into ye parts of Affrica Asia and America or the bounds and limits aforesaid all which shall be adjudged and determined by ye sd Court upon due examination and proofs according to natural equity and good conscience according to ye laws and customs of Merchants by such methods rules of proceeding as wee shall from time to time direct and appoint or think fitt And we do hereby further will and declare and grant unto all and every such Judges and other officers and ministers of justice that shall be in their respective places and jurisdictions fitly erected and whereunto they in a summary way or otherwise according to equity and good conscience shall have power and authority to proceed and determine all causes aforesaid without appeal and that their judgments sentences and decrees so to be given and made shall be final and conclusive and binding to all intents and purposes And further wee do for us our heirs and successors give and grant unto</p>	<p>All voyages and maritime matters were to be dealt with, together with any other cases arising in the places set under the Charter. These included disputes connected with trade within Africa, Asia and America, or within the limits already described. Such cases were to be heard, examined and judged where they arose.</p> <p>Decisions were to be made after proper examination and proof. Judgement was to follow the laws and customs of the region where the case occurred. At the same time, fairness and general merchant practice were to guide decisions. The methods used were to follow rules set from time to time.</p> <p>Judges and other officials in these places were given authority to deal with such matters. Cases could be handled quickly when needed, without long procedures, so that decisions could be reached more easily. All decisions were to be final. No appeal was allowed.</p> <p>Full authority over maritime law was also granted across the seas and regions of Africa, Asia and America. This included all rights and powers usually linked to admiralty matters.</p> <p>The Company was allowed to appoint all necessary officers for this work. These included admirals, vice-admirals, judges, clerks who kept records and officers who enforced decisions. Appointments could be made whenever required, and action was to be taken without delay [...]</p> <p>Candidate terms reviewed: “admiralty jurisdiction”, “summary manner”, “natural equity and good conscience”, “registers”, “marshals”. All were considered to warrant inclusion.</p> <p>Interpretations “Admiralty jurisdiction” referred to legal control over matters at sea, including ships, trade, disputes and offences connected with maritime activity.</p>

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		<p>ye sd Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies that they shall and may have and enjoy all and singular the rights jurisdictions privileges and immunities whatsoever belonging or in any wise appertaining to the admiral jurisdiction within all those seas and parts of Africa Asia and America and also all admirals vice admirals judges registers marshals and all other officers and ministers whatsoever belonging to the said admiral jurisdiction to be from time to time made ordained and constituted by ye sd Gov^r and Company and their successors or any of them as they shall think fit and upon request made and they tender dispatch with all convenient speed And also we do grant unto</p>	<p>“Summary manner” referred to a quicker form of legal process, without the full length and formality of ordinary court proceedings.</p> <p>“Natural equity and good conscience” referred to decisions based on fairness and practical judgement, especially where strict legal rules were not sufficient.</p> <p>“Registers” referred to officials who kept written records of cases, decisions and legal documents.</p> <p>“Marshals” referred to officers who carried out the orders of the court, such as arrests or seizures.</p> <p>Speculations The emphasis on quick decisions probably reflects the difficulty of managing long legal processes in distant settlements.</p> <p>The use of merchant customs alongside local laws suggests an effort to make rulings practical for trade.</p> <p>Granting full maritime authority indicates that the Company was being given powers similar to those of a government at sea.</p> <p>The ability to appoint its own officers probably helped the Company maintain control without relying on outside authorities.</p>
137	131	<p>Heires and Successors unto ye Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies and to their successors these letters patents and all and singular matters grants causes and things therein mentioned or intended or contained or expressed therein contained or expressed shall be and continue firm valid good and sufficient in ye law and shall be construed reputed and taken as well in ye meaning as to ye word of ye same most favourably and to ye benefit of ye sd Gov^r and Company their successors any omission uncertainty or defect in these presents or any other cause matter or thing to ye contrary in any wise notwithstanding (other than the express reservation of ye same yearly value or account of ye sum or sums or any of ye same or other right or grant by us to any other person or persons or bodies corporate made to ye sd Gov^r and Company of East India Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies or parts aforesaid not notwithstanding nor any statute act ordinance provision or proclamation or restriction heretofore had made enacted ordained or provided or any other matter cause or thing what soever to ye contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding) In witnes whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents Witnes Our self at Westminster the 9th day of April in ye five and thirtieth year of our reign By writ of Privy seal Pigott Wee the Gov^r and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies Doe hereby Certifie whom it may concerne That this is a true Copy of his late Maj^{ty} Charter of Date above written Compared with ye originall remaining in our India house And we have caused ye common seal</p>	<p>It was declared that the Charter, together with all matters, grants and provisions contained within it, was to remain firm, valid and effective in law. It was to be interpreted in the most favourable manner for the benefit of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies and their successors. Any omission, uncertainty or defect in the wording was not to weaken its force.</p> <p>These provisions were to stand despite any other matters to the contrary. This included previous grants made to other persons or bodies, except where rights had been expressly reserved. It also applied regardless of any statute, act, ordinance, proclamation or restriction that had previously been made.</p> <p>The Charter was issued at Westminster on 9 April 1683, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Charles II of England. It was authorised by writ of Privy Seal and recorded under the name Pigott.</p> <p>A certification was later provided by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. It was confirmed that the document was a true copy of the Charter, compared with the original held at the India House. The Company’s common seal was affixed to this copy on 24 April 1685, and it was signed by Cha: R: Stacton, Secretary.</p> <p>A further certification stated that the copy had been examined against the original. This was attested by John Bradburne.</p> <p>Candidate terms reviewed: “letters patent”, “Privy Seal”, “common seal”, “India House”, “cum originali”. All were considered to warrant inclusion.</p> <p>Interpretations “Privy Seal” referred to a royal authorisation used to validate official documents before the application of the Great Seal. It formed part of the formal process of issuing royal grants.</p> <p>“Common seal” referred to the official seal of a corporation. Its use confirmed that a document had been formally approved by the governing body.</p> <p>“India House” referred to the headquarters of the East India Company in London, where official records and original documents were kept.</p> <p>“Cum originali” was a Latin phrase meaning “with the original”. It indicated that the copy had been checked and matched against the original document.</p> <p>“Letters patent” referred to open royal documents granting rights and privileges, which in this case formed the legal basis of the Company’s authority.</p> <p>Speculations The emphasis on favourable interpretation probably reflects concern that legal challenges might arise over ambiguities in the Charter.</p>

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		to be hereunto affixed this 24 day of April 1685 Cha: R: Stacton Sec ^r This is a true Coppy examined by me cum originali John Bradburne	<p>The inclusion of clauses overriding earlier laws suggests an attempt to secure the Company's monopoly against competing claims.</p> <p>The formal certification process indicates the importance of accurate copies for use in distant territories.</p> <p>The repeated validation of the document perhaps shows that the Charter was intended to be relied upon in legal disputes far from England.</p>
138	132	James Sec ^r Coppoy King James's 2d Charter dated Aug ^t Anno Dni 1684 James the second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c To all unto whom these presents shall come Greeting Whereas it hath at several times been humbly represented unto us by the Governor and Company of our East India Company of London that there are several persons who have engaged themselves in rebellion against us in our Island of St Helena and have seized upon the Fort there and have imprisoned several of our officers and ministers of Justice there and have assumed unto themselves the Government of the said Island And one Adam D[r][o]nson Thomas S[...][n] Thomas S[...] and others have been principal actors therein And whereas we have received information that several others have joined with them and have committed several acts of hostility against us and our Government and have endeavoured to draw divers of our subjects to join with them in their rebellion We have thought fit to signify our Royal pleasure that you do use your utmost endeavours to suppress the said rebellion and to reduce the said Island to its due obedience And for that end we do hereby authorize and require you to proceed against the said rebels and all others who shall be aiding and assisting them according to the Laws and Statutes of this our Kingdom and to do all things necessary for the restoring of our authority in the said Island And we do hereby command all our officers and ministers civil and military to be aiding and assisting unto you in the execution of this our Commission Given at our Court at Whitehall this [...] day of [...] in the [...] year of our reign	<p>A Charter issued by James II of England, dated August 1684, set out instructions concerning a rebellion on St Helena.</p> <p>It was reported to the King by the Governor and Company of the East India Company in London that several persons had engaged in rebellion on the Island. The fort had been seized, and several officers and ministers of justice had been imprisoned. Control of the Island had been taken by the rebels.</p> <p>Certain individuals were identified as principal actors. These included Adam D[r][o]nson, Thomas S[...] and Thomas S[...], together with others. It was further reported that additional persons had joined them, committing acts of hostility against the Crown and its government, and attempting to draw other subjects into the rebellion.</p> <p>In response, the King's will was declared. All possible efforts were to be made to suppress the rebellion and to restore the Island to obedience. Authority was granted to proceed against the named rebels and all others assisting them.</p> <p>Action was to be taken in accordance with the laws and statutes of the Kingdom. All necessary measures were to be carried out to restore royal authority on the Island. Civil and military officers were commanded to assist in executing these orders.</p> <p>The Commission was issued at Whitehall on an unspecified day and month, in a year of the King's reign that was not fully recorded [...]</p> <p>Candidate terms reviewed: "Commission", "ministers of Justice", "letters patent". Only "Commission" and "ministers of Justice" were considered to warrant inclusion.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Commission" referred to a formal written order issued under royal authority, granting powers and instructions to act in a specific matter.</p> <p>"Ministers of Justice" referred to officials responsible for administering the law, such as judges, magistrates or other legal officers.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The reference to a seized fort suggests that the rebellion had reached a serious level, involving control of the Island's main defensive position.</p> <p>The naming of individuals as principal actors indicates that responsibility was being formally assigned, perhaps to justify strong legal action against them.</p> <p>The instruction to act under the laws of the Kingdom suggests an attempt to maintain legal order rather than relying solely on military force.</p> <p>The command for both civil and military officers to assist probably reflects the scale of the disturbance and the need for coordinated action.</p>
139	133	[...] duty and allegiance towards us, so that they will in no wise desist such unwarrantable courses to our Royall pleasure shall be made known unto them to be forthwith seized charged and committed to prison, viz ^t John Black Colson [...] Bo[...] Matth[...] Powney John S[...] Bob Seaman W ^m Sutton Edw ^d Gardiner Rob ^t Adams and W ^m Cox and all other persons whosoever it doth or may concern	<p>Persons who had failed in their duty and allegiance to the Crown were identified. It was declared that they were not to continue in such unlawful actions once the King's will had been made known. Immediate orders were given for them to be seized, charged and committed to prison.</p> <p>Those named included John Black Colson, [...] Bo[...], Matth[...] Powney, John S[...], Bob Seaman, W^m Sutton, Edw^d Gardiner, Rob^t Adams and W^m Cox. These individuals, together with all others concerned,</p>

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		<p>forthwith upon publication hereof to return to their obedience and to surrender and deliver up to our places forts or holds they now in possession of or may have seized in our sd Island of St Helena unto such our Officers and Ministers as shall be sent unto them from and to such person or persons as shall be thereunto appointed by our East India Company to whom these presents and directions of ye Gov^t and Company of the East India Company shall make known, given from our Court at St James's under our Signet in the [...] year of our Reign commanding them and Adam Denison John S[...] John Black Colson Matth[...] Powney John S[...] Rob^t Seaman W^m Sutton Edw^d Gardiner Rob^t Adams and W^m Cox and all others persons in our said Island will answer to the contrary as they shall think proper And for that end we do hereby strictly charge and command all and singular our subjects whom these presents may concern to be aiding and assisting unto you in the due execution hereof And we do hereby further will and require you forthwith to suppress the said rebellion and to reduce the said Island to its due obedience Given at our Court at Whitehall the 17 day of Oct 1685 in the first year of our Reign By his Maj^{ty} Command [...]</p>	<p>were required, upon publication of the order, to return to obedience.</p> <p>All such persons were commanded to surrender and deliver up any places, forts or holds within St Helena that they had seized or occupied. These were to be handed over to officers and ministers sent for that purpose, or to such persons as were appointed by the East India Company.</p> <p>The King's authority was issued from St James's under his signet. The named individuals, together with all others on the Island, were warned that they would answer for any failure to comply as might be judged proper.</p> <p>All subjects were commanded to assist in carrying out these orders. Further instruction was given that the rebellion was to be suppressed without delay, and that the Island was to be restored to obedience.</p> <p>This command was issued at Whitehall on 17 October 1685, in the first year of the reign of James II of England.</p> <p>Candidate terms reviewed: "signet", "holds", "ministers", "commission". Only "signet" was considered to warrant inclusion.</p> <p>Interpretations "Signet" referred to a smaller royal seal used for authenticating documents. It indicated direct royal approval and authority, though it ranked below the Great Seal in formality.</p> <p>Speculations The naming of specific individuals suggests that the Crown intended to make examples of leading figures in the rebellion.</p> <p>The requirement to surrender forts and strongholds indicates that control of key defensive positions had been central to the uprising.</p> <p>The order for immediate suppression probably reflects concern that the rebellion could spread or weaken the Company's control over the Island.</p> <p>The emphasis on obedience and allegiance suggests that the rebellion was viewed not only as disorder but as a direct challenge to royal authority.</p>
140	134	<p>Order to ships at St Helena Sept^r 1685 The Governor & Company of Merchants of London trading to ye East Indies Whereas our Gov^t and Council of St Helena may some times be in want of one or two men out of our ships for some particular service or for recruiting our Garrison, we do hereby give permission to each of our Command^{ts} of ships in our service respectively that they may at and during our Gov^t and Council aforesaid (when in our judgement they have occasion for it) at their discretion to send on board any ship in our service so many men as they shall judge fit out of any one ship such as our Gov^t of St Helena shall make choice of, or may exchange any such men for any other of our ships at Helena, w^h our said Gov^t under his hand shall certifie his willingness so to part and that so doing any Commander of any ship in our service as aforesaid shall not be prejudiced to him or his owners, Notwithstanding any Covenant in Charterparty Deed or at any time heretofore. India house this 23th day of April 1685 Worcester Berkeley Joseph Ash Govern^{or} John Child Dep^t Francis Edwards John Letbridge Jeremy Sambrook Tho Cooke</p>	<p>An order addressed to ships at St Helena, dated September 1685, set out instructions issued by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.</p> <p>It was stated that the governor and council at St Helena might at times require one or two men from the Company's ships for particular service or for strengthening the garrison. Permission was therefore given to the commanders of all ships in the Company's service that, when the governor and council judged it necessary, they might, at their discretion, send from any one ship such number of men as were thought fit, from among those whom the governor of St Helena should select. Provision was also made that such men might be exchanged between ships at St Helena, where the governor certified under his hand his willingness for such an arrangement.</p> <p>It was further declared that any commander who complied with these directions should not suffer loss or disadvantage, either personally or in relation to the ship's owners, notwithstanding any agreements contained in charterparties, deeds or prior arrangements.</p> <p>The order was dated at India House on 23 April 1685 and was subscribed by Worcester Berkeley, Joseph Ash, Governor, John Child, Deputy Governor, Francis Edwards, John Letbridge, Jeremy Sambrook, Thomas Cooke, William Gore, William Hedges, Samuel Goodenough, Thomas Cooke, Christopher Boone and George Bowden.</p> <p>The order was directed to the commanders of all ships in the East India Company's service that were or would thereafter arrive in the road of St Helena.</p>

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		<p>W^m Gore W^m Hedges Sam^l Goodenough Tho Cooke Chris Boone George Bowden The Commanders of all ships in ye East India Companys service, that are or shall hereafter arrive in ye Road of St Helena</p>	<p>Interpretations The phrase “charterparty” referred to a formal contract governing the hire and use of a ship, including obligations relating to crew and cargo. The order made clear that such agreements were to be set aside where necessary to meet the Company’s needs. The term “the road of St Helena” referred to the anchorage off the island where ships lay at anchor, rather than a constructed harbour. The authority granted to the governor to select men from ships showed the priority given to maintaining the island’s garrison, even at the expense of individual voyages.</p> <p>Speculations Perhaps the issuing of this order reflects concern over the strength of the garrison at St Helena, indicating that reinforcement from passing ships was considered essential for security. It is probably the case that the assurance given to ship commanders was intended to prevent disputes, ensuring cooperation by protecting them from any claims arising from the removal or exchange of crew members.</p>
141	135	<p>James Rex Copy of Kings Com[m]ission for [...]ells Dated 14th of Aug[...], 1685 James the second by the grace of God King of Eng[...], Scotland France and Ireland defend[...], of the faith &c To our trusty and well beloved John Blackmore Esq^r Gov^r of our Island of St Helena and John Wyborne [...], [...] and of our Councell there and to [...] advocate and second of our Admiralty we have [...] in our said Island of St Helena aforesaid Government of the said Island and likewise thereof And do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority and speciall trust and confidence in the well exercise of the said Councell Given John Blackmore and our said Councell that you shall Command and govern the said Island according to the Laws and Instructions of our East India Company given to you from time to time as also according to such further Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from us or our said Company Greeting Whereas we have been credibly informed yt there hath been lately a treasonable rebellion and insurrection made in our Island of St Helena and a most barbarous murther made upon our faithfull servant commonly called John [...], apprehended and executed as Adam Dennis, John Fitch, John Scivan, Thomas Bolton, Ambrose Sorby, John Skerne, John [...], [...], and others and divers other persons and of some persons their adherents of the same or persons before mentioned and of their aforesaid late rebellion have been promoting aiding abetting or acting in the said rebellion respected And for which they did not suffer condign punishment as they ought to have done we therefore hereby command and require you our said Councell to cause all such persons to be forthwith apprehended</p>	<p>A copy was recorded of a royal commission issued in the name of James II, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, dated 14 August 1685. The commission was addressed to John Blackmore, Governor of the island of St Helena, together with John Wyborne [...] and others of the council there, as well as to the advocate and second of the Admiralty. Authority was confirmed for the government of the island, granting full power, authority and trust to John Blackmore and the council to command and govern St Helena. This was to be exercised in accordance with the laws and instructions of the East India Company, together with any further orders and directions that might be received from the Crown or from the Company. Reference was then made to reports that a treasonable rebellion and insurrection had recently taken place on the island, during which a brutal murder had been committed upon a loyal servant of the Crown, named as John [...]. It was stated that several persons had been apprehended and executed for their involvement, including Adam Dennis, John Fitch, John Scivan, Thomas Bolton, Ambrose Sorby, John Skerne, John [...] and others. It was further noted that additional persons, either directly involved or acting in support of the rebellion, had not yet suffered the punishment they deserved. Direction was therefore given that all such persons should be immediately apprehended.</p> <p>Interpretations The phrase “by the grace of God” formed part of the royal title, expressing the belief that the monarch’s authority derived from divine sanction. The reference to the East India Company’s “laws and instructions” showed that the governance of St Helena was delegated, with the Crown recognising and reinforcing the Company’s administrative authority over the island. The term “treasonable rebellion” indicated an uprising against lawful authority, regarded as a serious offence against both the Crown and the established order. The expression “condign punishment” referred to punishment considered appropriate to the severity of the offence, often implying the full extent of legal penalty.</p> <p>Speculations Perhaps the issuing of this commission reflects concern in England over unrest on the island,</p>

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			<p>prompting a reaffirmation of authority and a demand for stricter enforcement.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the detailed reference to executions and remaining suspects was intended to ensure that no participants or supporters of the rebellion escaped accountability, reinforcing both royal and Company control.</p>
142	136	<p>Royall Com[m]and some just seueri[ty] might be inflicted on y^e most notori[ou]s of y^e rebels at St Helena afores[ai]d to y^e intent the Island may be reduced into a state of Obedience, & all persons may be deterred from y^e like at tempts for y^e future, Wee therefore reposing trust in your fidelities and circumspections give and grant unto you</p> <p>John Blackmore Esq^r Sr John Wyborne Capt Rob^t H[...][...] Esq^r Gregory Field M^d [?] Arthur E[...][...] Ensign John Blackmore [?] Mr John [...][?][?][?]</p> <p>reposing in you full power and authority to arraign judge and sentence by Martiall law all persons upon y^e Island of St Helena yt shall by due prooffe be found to haue bin actors aiding abetting or assisting in y^e late treasonable rebellion there and to cause such of them to be executed as are excepted out of y^e pardon hereafter mentioned But forasmuch as many well meaning & otherwise loyall persons may haue bin seduced and drawn into y^e said Rebellion by y^e perswasions of y^e Ring lead[er]s hereafter mentioned Wee do therefore of our princely grace and tender of the liues of such ignorant and deceived Planters officers and soldiers freely indemnify and forgive all y^e inhabitants of y^e said Island yt haue bin deluded and drawn into y^e said treasonable Rebellion (Except Adam Den[...]) one of y^e chief incendiary who hath bin design[ed] to be made Govern[or] by y^e rebels John Cole design[ed] Deputy Gov^r Rob^t Knapton Thomas Bow[...][...] design[ed] Storekeeper Mat[...][...] formerly a [...][...] John [...] Walter Edd Gardiner at whose house rebellion was contrived & Rob^t Jones a fisher man who was engaged in Dennons Rebellion and [...][...]</p>	<p>Further royal command declared that a just severity should be inflicted upon the most notorious of the rebels at St Helena, so that the island might be brought back into obedience and others discouraged from attempting the like in future.</p> <p>Trust was placed in the governor and named members of the council, including John Blackmore, Sir John Wyborne, Captain Robert H[...][...], Gregory Field, Arthur E[...][...], Ensign John Blackmore and Mr John [...], granting them full power and authority to proceed against those involved. Authority was given for persons on the island, who upon due proof were found to have taken part in, supported or assisted the recent rebellion, to be brought to trial and judged by martial law, and for such of them as were excepted from pardon to be executed.</p> <p>At the same time, it was recognised that many otherwise loyal inhabitants, including planters, officers and soldiers, might have been drawn into the rebellion through persuasion by leading figures. In consideration of this, and out of clemency, a general pardon was extended to those who had been misled, granting them indemnity and forgiveness.</p> <p>This pardon did not extend to certain named individuals, who were identified as principal instigators. Among those excepted were Adam Den[...], described as one of the chief leaders who had been intended to be made governor by the rebels, John Cole, intended as deputy governor, Robert Knapton, Thomas Bow[...][...], intended as storekeeper, Mat[...][...] formerly a [...], John [...], Walter Edd Gardiner, at whose house the rebellion had been planned, and Robert Jones, a fisherman who had taken part in the uprising, together with others whose names were partly unreadable.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The phrase “martial law” referred to the application of military authority in place of ordinary civil law, allowing swift trial and punishment, particularly in cases of rebellion or emergency.</p> <p>The concept of being “excepted out of the pardon” indicated that certain individuals were specifically excluded from royal mercy and remained liable to full punishment.</p> <p>The reference to “indemnify and forgive” meant that those covered by the pardon were released from legal consequences for their actions, restoring them to lawful standing.</p> <p>The identification of “ring leaders” showed that responsibility for the rebellion was attributed to a smaller group who were considered to have influenced or directed others.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the combination of severe punishment for leaders and pardon for others reflects an attempt to restore order while avoiding widespread unrest that might follow harsher measures against the broader population.</p> <p>It is probably the case that naming those intended for positions such as governor or storekeeper suggests that the rebellion had aimed to replace the existing administration with an alternative leadership structure.</p>
143	137	<p>who as we are informed formerly declared that E[...][...] and [...] Dutch and Anthony Beake, and divers other Rebels agents or any of their adherents before y^e departure of ships from and St Helena shall haue signed or passed to or from James [...]</p>	<p>Further in the commission, it was stated that certain persons, including E[...][...] and [...] Dutch, Anthony Beake and other rebels or their agents or supporters, had been reported to have had dealings connected with the rebellion before the departure of ships from St</p>

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		<p>[...] upon St Helena aforesaid We do hereby authorise and Comission you John Blackmore Esq^r Gov^r Sr John Wyborne Esq^r Jeffery Gordon Capt Gregory Field Master Giles Griffin John Blackmore Capt Philip John Leventhorpe and such other person and persons or any 3 or more of you to levy arm bear muster lead and command such number of seamen and soldiers as to you shall seem fit and to make use of such number of ships equipped in Warlike manner as the service shall require therewith to block up and besiege or any to assault all castles forts and places and garrisons to kill and destroy and take prisoners any such person or persons and shall take upon them to resist or refuse to submit and to proceed against all rebell and traitors found upon the Island according to the laws and usages of war and to do all things that shall be necessary and conducing to the service of us our successors and to the peace and security of the said Island and the suppressing hereafter of all treasons rebellions and disorders whatsoever and in all things to have regard to the preservation of our subjects and the interest of our East India Company And we do hereby require you and every of you to be aiding and assisting unto each other in the execution of the premisses and to observe such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from us or our Privy Council or from the Court of our East India Company In Witness whereof we haue signed these presents and caused our</p>	<p>Helena, including communications to or from James [...].</p> <p>Authority was then given to John Blackmore, Governor, Sir John Wyborne, Jeffery Gordon, Captain Gregory Field, Master Giles Griffin, Captain John Blackmore, Captain Philip John Leventhorpe and others, or any 3 or more of them, to raise forces, bear arms, muster and command such numbers of seamen and soldiers as were considered necessary. They were also authorised to make use of ships equipped for war as required.</p> <p>They were empowered to block up, besiege or assault any castles, forts, places or garrisons, and to act against any persons who resisted or refused to submit. This included the taking of prisoners and the use of force against rebels and traitors found on the island, in accordance with the laws and usages of war. They were further authorised to take all measures necessary for the service of the Crown and for the peace and security of the island, with the aim of suppressing any future rebellion, treason or disorder.</p> <p>At the same time, care was to be taken to preserve the lives and welfare of the King's subjects and to protect the interests of the East India Company. All those named were required to assist one another in carrying out these powers and to follow any further orders received from the Crown, the Privy Council or the Court of the East India Company.</p> <p>The commission concluded by noting that it had been signed and issued under royal authority.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The authority to “levy, arm, bear and muster” referred to the raising and organisation of military forces, including both soldiers and seamen, for the defence and control of the island.</p> <p>The power to “block up and besiege” indicated the use of military tactics to isolate and capture fortified places or groups of resistance, reflecting the seriousness with which the rebellion was treated.</p> <p>The reference to the “laws and usages of war” showed that military conduct was expected to follow established practices, even in a colonial setting.</p> <p>The requirement to preserve the King's subjects while suppressing rebellion reflected a balance between enforcement and restraint, aiming to restore order without unnecessary harm.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the breadth of authority granted in this commission reflects a fear that the rebellion might spread or reoccur, requiring strong and flexible powers to respond quickly.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the inclusion of naval as well as land forces shows the strategic importance of St Helena, where control of both the island and its surrounding waters was essential for security.</p>
144	138	<p>great Seale of Eng^d to be affixed to ye same Given at our Court at Whitehall ye 14th day of August 1685 in the first year of our reigne A true Coppy examined me cum Originale Bra[^b]own Laws & ordinances of St Helena Established for ye conduct of ye Army To all ye Officers of ye Army Consuls Lieuten[ants] Serjeants Majors Captains of ships officers and all other of what sorts or condicons whom these laws & ordinances may concerne Which laws and ordinances we hereby publish and ordaine inviolably and severally one and every of them to be kept and duly observed hereby strictly enjoined Laws & ordinances of warr as followeth</p>	<p>The commission concluded with a statement that the great seal of England was to be affixed, and that it had been issued at Whitehall on 14 August 1685, in the first year of the King's reign. A note was added confirming that it was a true copy examined against the original by Bra[^b]own.</p> <p>A further section introduced laws and ordinances established on St Helena for the conduct of the army. These were directed to all officers, including colonels, lieutenants, serjeant-majors and captains of ships, as well as to all other persons of whatever rank or condition to whom they might apply.</p> <p>It was stated that these laws and ordinances were to be published and strictly observed in every part, each provision being required to be followed without exception.</p> <p>The text then moved on to set out the laws and ordinances of war that followed.</p> <p>Interpretations</p>

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			<p>The “great seal of England” was the official seal used to confirm royal authority, and its attachment signified that the document carried full legal force.</p> <p>The phrase “a true copy examined” showed that the text had been checked against the original and certified as accurate, ensuring that it could be relied upon as an authentic record.</p> <p>The “laws and ordinances of war” formed a formal set of rules governing discipline and conduct within the armed forces, intended to regulate behaviour and maintain order.</p> <p>The inclusion of both military and naval officers indicated that these rules applied across all branches of service connected with the island.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the emphasis on formal authentication reflects the importance of demonstrating authority in a distant settlement, where written proof of royal command was essential.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the introduction of these rules followed concerns about discipline, aiming to prevent further disorder after the recent unrest.</p>
145	139	<p>Dutys to God</p> <p>1 Let no man presume to blaspheme ye holy name of God or divinity God ye Father God ye Son & God ye holy Ghost nor of our saviour Jesus Christ upon paine to suffer [...]</p> <p>2 All unlawfull oaths and execrations and scandalous acts derogatory to ye same shall be punished who so offends such punishment to execution</p> <p>3 Those who shall use any blasphemous reproachfull or irreverent speeches through rashnesse or advised seduction or otherwise shall receive according to ye nature of ye offence [...]</p> <p>Dutys in generall</p> <p>1 All such as shall practice and entertaine intelligence or commerce by any manner of meanes with rebels and their adherents or receive directions from them whatsoever shall be punished as traytors and rebells</p> <p>2 No man shall relieve enemyes or convey victualls or munition or receive harbour or receive such upon paine</p> <p>3 If any man whatsoever be [...] reported by any officer receiving or giving intelligence shall be punished with death</p> <p>4 But if it be found yt any of ye garrison or any other contained within ye said Island shall at any time be found guilty of such crimes or have been active or given their consent in any such treasonable practices or rebellion that case was for ye hanging of ye man or men</p>	<p>A set of articles was laid down under the heading of duties to God and duties in general, forming part of the laws and ordinances of war to be observed on the island.</p> <p>Under the duties to God, it was directed that no person should presume to blaspheme the holy name of God, whether referring to God the Father, God the Son or God the Holy Ghost, nor that of Jesus Christ, under penalty of [...] punishment. It was further declared that all unlawful oaths, curses and scandalous actions that diminished reverence toward religion should be punished, with such penalties to be carried into execution. Any person who spoke in a blasphemous, reproachful or irreverent manner, whether through rashness, intent or persuasion, was to be punished according to the nature and seriousness of the offence.</p> <p>Under the duties in general, it was directed that any person who maintained communication, correspondence or dealings with rebels or their supporters, or who received instructions from them, should be treated and punished as a traitor and rebel. No person was to assist enemies by providing food, supplies or ammunition, nor to give them shelter, under penalty of punishment.</p> <p>It was further stated that any person reported by an officer as giving or receiving intelligence was to suffer death. In addition, if any member of the garrison or any other inhabitant of the island was found to have taken part in, consented to or supported such treasonable practices or rebellion, that offence was to be punished by death, specifically by hanging.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The term “blaspheme” referred to speaking irreverently about God or sacred matters, which in this period was treated as both a religious and civil offence.</p> <p>The phrase “unlawful oaths and execrations” referred to swearing or cursing in a manner considered improper or offensive, particularly when invoking sacred names.</p> <p>“Intelligence or commerce with rebels” referred to any form of communication, cooperation or exchange with those in rebellion, whether by message, agreement or assistance.</p> <p>The use of “hanging” as the specified punishment indicated the standard method of execution for serious offences such as treason within English law and its colonial extensions.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the inclusion of religious duties at the beginning of the ordinances reflects the belief that moral and spiritual discipline formed the foundation of obedience and order within the community.</p>

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			<p>It is probably the case that the severity of the penalties for communication with rebels shows the authorities' determination to prevent any recurrence of the recent rebellion, treating even indirect support as a capital offence.</p>
146	140	<p>And will be knowne in the case and circumstances and ye Militia or Garrison may be blameless for the surrendering of them for the support without expedition against them If they come to force the Island where they shall unarmed & peaceable provision shall be made for ye sustenance of their lives according to such reasonable reliefe as may probably be afforded unto them so long as any probable meanes shall be hoped for But if nothing can be expected but in a short time to come after you shall ye Garrison & arms Ammunition Magazines appurtenances in it not of necessity fall into the hands of the enemy upon such circumstances circumstances they may be acquitted in a Councell of warre for so be judged to have surrendered for such reasons</p> <p>6 Whosoever shall be convicted to do his duty negligently or carelessly shall be punished at discretion</p> <p>7 Whosoever shall presume to violate a safe guard shall be put to death without mercy</p> <p>8 Whosoever shall come from the enemy without leave or Drum or from or convey any message from the enemy to the garrison or come with a garrison shall be hanged upon the Gibbet</p> <p>Duties towards superiors & Command</p> <p>1 Whosoever shall use any words tending to the dishonour of a Generall shall be punished with death</p> <p>2 No man shall presume to quarrell with his superior officer upon paine of [...] or other punishment</p>	<p>Further provisions were set out concerning conduct in time of danger and the duties expected within the garrison.</p> <p>It was stated that, in certain extreme circumstances, where the island might be attacked by force and no reasonable means of defence remained, the militia or garrison could not be blamed for surrendering, provided that such a course was judged necessary. In such a case, if the enemy approached peaceably and unarmed, provision was to be made for the preservation of life, offering such reasonable relief as could be afforded for as long as any hope of support remained. However, where it became clear that the garrison, its arms, ammunition and stores would otherwise inevitably fall into the enemy's hands, surrender under those conditions might be judged acceptable by a council of war.</p> <p>It was further directed that any person who carried out his duty negligently or carelessly should be punished at the discretion of authority.</p> <p>Any person who violated a safeguard was to suffer death without mercy.</p> <p>Any person who came from the enemy without leave, or conveyed messages between the enemy and the garrison, was to be hanged upon the gibbet.</p> <p>Under the duties towards superiors and command, it was directed that any person who used words tending to the dishonour of a general should suffer death.</p> <p>It was also declared that no person should presume to quarrel with a superior officer, under penalty of [...] or other punishment.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The reference to a "council of war" indicated a formal gathering of senior officers convened to judge matters of military necessity, including decisions such as surrender.</p> <p>The term "safeguard" referred to protection granted under authority, often to persons, property or locations, and its violation was treated as a serious breach of trust.</p> <p>The "gibbet" referred to a structure used for hanging, often also serving as a public display of punishment.</p> <p>The emphasis on obedience to superiors reflected strict military discipline, where challenges to authority were treated as threats to order and command.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the inclusion of conditions under which surrender might be excused reflects a recognition of practical limits in defending a remote and vulnerable island.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the severe penalties for communication with the enemy and for insubordination were intended to prevent any weakening of discipline following the recent rebellion.</p>
147	141	<p>punishment for striking any such upon paine of death</p> <p>3 No souldier shall desert his colours nor depart his Masters service who he serve still in his company upon paine of death</p> <p>4 Every private man or soldier upon paine of imprisonm[ent] shall keep silence if ye Army is to be spoke to and not to make any disturbance or mutinous noise that the officers may be heard and there commands executed</p>	<p>Further articles were set down concerning discipline, obedience and conduct within the army.</p> <p>It was directed that any person who struck a superior officer should suffer death.</p> <p>No soldier was to desert his colours or leave the service of the master whom he served within his company, under penalty of death.</p> <p>Every private soldier was required to keep silence when the army was being addressed, so that officers might be heard and their commands carried out, with failure to do so punishable by imprisonment.</p>

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		<p>5 If any man shall oppose resist or draw his sword or offer to draw or lift his weapon against any officer correcting him orderly for his offence upon paine of death</p> <p>6 No person shall combine or joyn together to make any mutinous petitions or assembly to be present unwilling thereunto or in or by demand their pay or remedy of grievances upon paine of death</p> <p>7 No man shall resist the Provost Marshall or any other officer in execution of his office nor rescue him upon paine of death</p> <p>8 None shall use reproachful words of sedition or appear in mutiny upon paine of death</p> <p>9 Such heavy punishments shall be inflicted upon those who after they have heard mutinous speeches acquaint not their Commanders with them</p> <p>10 Whosoever shall receive any money or shall take his own satisfaction shall be punished by imprisonment or such shall be thought fitt by ye Martiall Court</p>	<p>Any person who resisted, opposed or raised a weapon against an officer while being corrected for an offence was to suffer death.</p> <p>It was also directed that no person should combine with others to present mutinous petitions, form assemblies or demand pay or redress of grievances in a disorderly manner, under penalty of death.</p> <p>No person was to resist the provost marshal or any other officer in the execution of their duty, nor attempt to rescue anyone from them, under penalty of death.</p> <p>The use of seditious or reproachful language, or participation in mutiny, was likewise to be punished by death.</p> <p>It was further declared that severe punishment should be imposed upon those who, having heard mutinous speech, failed to report it to their commanders.</p> <p>Finally, any person who took money or sought to satisfy his own claims without proper authority was to be punished by imprisonment or such penalty as the martial court considered appropriate.</p> <p>Interpretations The phrase “desert his colours” referred to abandoning one’s military unit or post, a serious offence in military discipline.</p> <p>The “provost marshal” was the officer responsible for enforcing discipline, including the arrest and custody of offenders within the army.</p> <p>“Mutinous petitions” referred to collective complaints or demands made in a manner considered rebellious or disruptive to authority.</p> <p>The “martial court” referred to a military tribunal empowered to judge offences under the laws of war and impose appropriate punishments.</p> <p>Speculations Perhaps the severity and repetition of the death penalty in these articles reflects a strong determination to prevent any breakdown of discipline within the garrison.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the emphasis on reporting mutinous speech shows concern that dissent could spread quickly if not checked, especially in the aftermath of earlier unrest.</p>
148	142	<p>Come but he yt is injured shall be bound if he do wrong to forgoe his injury to seek reparation by Complaint to his Capt or Colonel or other superior officer, and it shall be given him in ample manner</p> <p>Dutys Morall</p> <p>1 Drunkennes in an officer shall be punished with loss of place, in a Souldier with such penalty as the Court Martiall shall think fitt</p> <p>2 Rapes ravishing unnaturall abuses shall be punished with death</p> <p>3 Adultery fornication and other lascivious enormities shall be punished at discretion according to ye quality of ye offence</p> <p>4 Theft or robbery exceeding ye values of 5^l shall be punished with death</p> <p>5 No man shall use reproachfull or provoking words nor act to any person upon any provocation and such punishment shall be inflicted as shall be inflicted upon enemy to discipline land sea</p> <p>6 No man shall take or spoil any goods from the inhabitants of this Island nor from any of his fellow soldiers or others belonging thereunto upon paine of death or such other punishment</p> <p>Murthers shall be punished with death as murthers</p>	<p>It was directed that where any person had suffered an injury, he should not take revenge or act in return, but should instead seek redress by making complaint to his captain, colonel or other superior officer, by whom proper satisfaction was to be given.</p> <p>Under the duties termed moral, it was set out that drunkenness in an officer should be punished by loss of position, while in a soldier it should be punished as the court martial considered appropriate.</p> <p>It was further directed that rape, ravishment and other unnatural abuses should be punished with death.</p> <p>Adultery, fornication and other forms of sexual misconduct were to be punished at discretion, according to the seriousness of the offence.</p> <p>Theft or robbery exceeding the value of £5 was to be punished with death.</p> <p>It was also required that no person should use reproachful or provoking words, or act violently against another upon provocation, with punishment to be imposed in accordance with the demands of discipline both on land and at sea.</p> <p>No person was to take or spoil goods belonging to the inhabitants of the island, nor to fellow soldiers or others, under penalty of death or such other punishment as might be judged appropriate.</p> <p>Murder was to be punished with death as murder.</p> <p>Interpretations The requirement to seek redress through a superior officer reflected a controlled system of justice, preventing personal retaliation and maintaining order within the ranks.</p> <p>The distinction in punishment for drunkenness between officers and soldiers showed the higher</p>

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			<p>standard of conduct expected from those in positions of authority.</p> <p>The valuation of £5 as a threshold for capital punishment in theft indicated the seriousness with which property offences were treated when exceeding a defined level.</p> <p>The term “court martial” referred to a military tribunal responsible for judging offences and determining appropriate punishments under the laws of war.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the emphasis on controlled complaint rather than personal retaliation reflects concern that private disputes could escalate into disorder if left unchecked.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the strict penalties for offences such as theft and violence were intended to protect both the inhabitants and the stability of the settlement, especially in a confined and closely connected community.</p>
149	143	<p>The Souldiers Duty touching his arms</p> <p>1 All Souldiers coming to their Colours to watch or to be exercised shall come guilty armed upon paine of severe correction</p> <p>2 None shall presume to appear to their arms in a sordid or undecently habit upon paine of shame correction</p> <p>3 If a trooper shall lose his horse or a footman any part of his arms or apparell by negligence or sloth or by gaming or otherwise unlawfully the same he or they shall answer in quality of persons and shall answer as they best can and do so again or when sent at their own charge</p> <p>4 No Souldier shall give a pawne or sell his arms or apparell upon paine of imprisonment and further punishment at discretion and whosoever any arms or apparell shall be found to be sold or pawned the same shall be brought again into service</p> <p>5 If a trooper shall spoil his horse wilfully or by purpose to avoid service he shall lose his horse and remain in the Company for a pioner</p> <p>6 None shall presume to buy sell or convey away any ammunition delivered unto him upon paine of death</p>	<p>Further articles set out the duties of soldiers in relation to their arms and equipment.</p> <p>It was directed that all soldiers coming to their colours, whether for watch or exercise, should be fully armed, with failure to do so subject to severe correction.</p> <p>No person was to appear under arms in a dirty or indecent condition, and such behaviour was to be punished with public shame and correction.</p> <p>If a mounted soldier lost his horse, or a foot soldier lost any part of his arms or clothing through negligence, idleness, gaming or other unlawful conduct, he was to make good the loss according to his means and restore it at his own charge.</p> <p>No soldier was to pawn or sell his arms or clothing, under penalty of imprisonment and further punishment at discretion. Any arms or clothing found to have been sold or pawned were to be recovered and returned to service.</p> <p>If a mounted soldier wilfully injured or spoiled his horse in order to avoid service, he was to lose the horse and remain in the company as a pioneer.</p> <p>It was also directed that no person should buy, sell or otherwise dispose of any ammunition issued to him, under penalty of death.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The term “colours” referred to the military flag or standard of a unit, around which soldiers assembled for duty, symbolising their service and identity.</p> <p>The designation “trooper” referred to a mounted soldier, while a “footman” referred to an infantry soldier serving on foot.</p> <p>The term “pioneer” referred to a soldier assigned to labouring duties, often involving manual work such as construction or fortification, rather than combat.</p> <p>The prohibition on selling or pawning arms reflected the importance of maintaining readiness, ensuring that all soldiers remained properly equipped at all times.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the strict requirements concerning arms and equipment reflect the limited resources of the island, where losses could not easily be replaced.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the severe penalty for misuse of ammunition indicates its high value and importance for defence, particularly in a remote settlement dependent on stored supplies.</p>
150	144	<p>Of Dutyes in Marching</p> <p>1 None in their march through the Country shall wrong person or extort any victualls Money or paym^t from them without leave upon any pretence whatsoever upon paine of death</p>	<p>Rules were set out governing the conduct of soldiers while marching and while in camp or quarters.</p> <p>During marches through the country, no person was permitted to harm any inhabitant or to demand food, money or payment without proper authority, under penalty of death.</p>

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		<p>2 No Souldier shall presume upon any occasion whatsoever to take a horse out of ye ground or to wrong the inhabitants in their sheep or cattle or goods upon paine of death</p> <p>3 No Souldier either horse or foot shall presume in marching to straggle from his troop or Company or to march out of his ranke upon paine of death</p> <p>4 No Souldier shall presume in marching or lodging to cut down any fruit trees or to deface or spoil walls or houses upon paine of severe punishment Of Souldiers in the Camp or Quarters</p> <p>1 No man shall depart a mile out of the Camp or the garrison without licence upon paine of death</p> <p>2 No man shall enter or go out of ye Camp or quarters but by order and leave upon paine of death</p> <p>3 No man shall presume to leave his guard or absent himself from his watch but upon paine of death</p> <p>4 No man shall give any false alarme or discharge any piece in the night to make any false alarm or word or disturbance upon paine of death</p>	<p>No soldier was allowed, on any occasion, to take a horse from the fields or to harm the inhabitants in their sheep, cattle or goods, with such offences likewise punishable by death.</p> <p>It was also required that no soldier, whether mounted or on foot, should stray from his troop or company or leave his rank while marching, under penalty of death.</p> <p>No soldier was permitted, whether marching or lodging, to cut down fruit trees or damage houses or walls, with such actions subject to severe punishment.</p> <p>Within the camp or quarters, no person was allowed to go more than a mile from the camp or garrison without permission, under penalty of death.</p> <p>No person was permitted to enter or leave the camp or quarters without leave, also under penalty of death.</p> <p>No soldier was to leave his guard or absent himself from his watch, with such neglect punishable by death.</p> <p>It was further required that no person should raise a false alarm, discharge a weapon at night without cause or create disturbance, under penalty of death.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The term “victuals” referred to food and provisions, particularly those necessary for sustenance during military movement.</p> <p>The phrase “to straggle from his troop or company” described the act of leaving one’s assigned unit while on the march, which was treated as a serious breach of discipline.</p> <p>The distinction between “camp” and “quarters” referred respectively to temporary encampments and more settled lodging places used by soldiers.</p> <p>The reference to “false alarm” indicated any action that caused unnecessary fear or confusion, especially dangerous in a military environment.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the strong emphasis on protecting inhabitants during marches reflects an effort to prevent conflict between soldiers and the local population, which could weaken the stability of the island.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the repeated imposition of the death penalty for breaches of discipline shows how essential strict order was considered for maintaining security and readiness.</p>
151	145	<p>[...]</p> <p>6 [...] be made known yt watch word to be giuen and yt word shalbe to giuen by ye [...], shall dye for it</p> <p>7 No man shall do violence to any [...] any kind of good or victualls to or sell ye same in ye Camps or Garrison upon paine of death</p> <p>8 None shall speake to ye drum or trumpet or any other sent by enemy without order upon paine of punishm^t at discretion</p> <p>9 If sentinells be found asleep or drunk or forsaking their place before they be relived they shall dye for ye offence without mercy</p> <p>10 No man shall fail wilfully to come to ye rendezvous or Garison appointed him by ye Generall or [...] upon paine of death</p> <p>11 No man yt carries arms and pretends to be a souldier shall remain 3 dayes in ye arme without being enrolled in some Company upon paine of death</p> <p>12 No man yt is enrolled shall depart from ye army or Garrison or from his col[...] without licence upon paine of death</p>	<p>Further articles were set out concerning discipline, communication and attendance within the army.</p> <p>It was directed that the watchword was to be properly given and kept, and that any person who revealed or misused it without authority should suffer death.</p> <p>No person was permitted to commit violence in relation to goods or provisions, nor to sell or dispose of such items within the camp or garrison, under penalty of death.</p> <p>No person was to speak with a drum, trumpet or any messenger sent by the enemy without proper authority, with punishment to be imposed at discretion.</p> <p>Any sentinel found asleep, drunk or abandoning his post before being relieved was to suffer death without mercy.</p> <p>It was also directed that no person should wilfully fail to attend the rendezvous or garrison when appointed by the general or other authority, under penalty of death.</p> <p>No person bearing arms and presenting himself as a soldier was to remain three days in the army without being enrolled in a company, under penalty of death.</p> <p>Any person who had been enrolled was not permitted to leave the army, garrison or his company without permission, under penalty of death.</p> <p>Interpretations</p>

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			<p>The “watchword” referred to a password used to identify friendly forces and control access, especially at night or in guarded places.</p> <p>The reference to communication by “drum or trumpet” indicated formal signals or messages, which could be used in negotiation or communication with opposing forces.</p> <p>The role of a “sentinel” referred to a guard posted to maintain vigilance, whose duty was critical for security and early warning.</p> <p>The term “rendezvous” referred to a designated place and time for assembly, often for inspection, movement or response to orders.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the strict control over the watchword reflects the importance of secrecy in preventing infiltration or surprise attack.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the severe penalties for failing in duties such as guard or attendance show the central importance of discipline in maintaining the island’s defence.</p>
152	146	<p>13 No private souldier shall [...] his [...] without a Certificate of his occasion and [...] of a magistrate or Worship Master, upon paine of losing his pay all ye time of his absence</p> <p>14 He yt absents himself [...] sign is giuen to sett ye watch shall be punished at discretion with bread and water in prison or wooden horse</p> <p>15 Whatsoever shall express his discontent when [...] giuen him in ye Camp or Garrison shall be punished</p> <p>16 No officer of what quality soever shall go out of the Guard to dinner or suppe or lodge all night without making his superior officer acquainted upon paine of [...]</p> <p>17 All officers whose charge it is shall see ye souldiers clean and [...] upon paine of seuerely punishm^t</p> <p>18 None shall presume to let their horses feed in corn ground or harrows or do damage to the husbandman any way upon seuer punishment</p> <p>19 Whatsoever shall in his quarters be found or [...] or in ye day time or night or in the Camp or Garrison amongst or with the souldiers from ye shall be proceeded against as a mutineer and an enemy to discipline</p>	<p>Further articles were set out concerning absence, conduct and discipline within the army and garrison.</p> <p>It was directed that no private soldier should absent himself from his post without a certificate stating the cause of his absence, signed by a magistrate or other authorised person, under penalty of losing his pay for the whole time of his absence.</p> <p>Any person who absented himself when the signal had been given to set the watch was to be punished at discretion, which might include confinement on bread and water or punishment upon the wooden horse.</p> <p>Any person who showed discontent with the provisions issued to him in the camp or garrison was to be punished.</p> <p>No officer, of whatever rank, was to leave the guard to dine, sup or lodge elsewhere for the night without informing his superior officer, under penalty of [...] punishment.</p> <p>Officers whose duty it was to supervise others were required to ensure that soldiers were kept clean and [...] maintained, with failure to do so subject to severe punishment.</p> <p>No person was permitted to allow horses to feed in cornfields or newly worked ground, or to cause damage to the property of those cultivating the land, with such actions punishable severely.</p> <p>Any person found engaging in disorderly or suspicious behaviour within quarters, by day or night, among the soldiers in the camp or garrison, was to be treated as a mutineer and an enemy to discipline.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The requirement for a “certificate” of absence showed that movement and leave were closely regulated, with written authorisation needed to justify absence from duty.</p> <p>The “wooden horse” referred to a form of military punishment in which a person was made to sit astride a wooden structure, often with weights attached, causing discomfort as a disciplinary measure.</p> <p>The emphasis on cleanliness reflected expectations of order and discipline, which were considered essential for maintaining health and readiness.</p> <p>The protection of cultivated land and crops showed the importance of agriculture to the island’s survival, requiring soldiers to respect the work of inhabitants.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the insistence on formal permission for absence reflects concern over disorder or desertion, ensuring that all movements were recorded and justified.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the inclusion of punishments such as the wooden horse indicates a system of discipline that combined physical discomfort</p>

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			with deterrence, without always resorting to more extreme penalties.
153	147	<p>Of Batle in action</p> <p>1 No man shall fly immediatly nor run untill allowed (except he be employed by his ma[...] nor [...] Alarm is given upon paine of death</p> <p>2 No man shall abandon his Colours or fly away in battle upon paine of death</p> <p>3 If a pikeman throw away his Pike or a Musketeer his Musquet or [...] in action he or they shall be punished with death</p> <p>4 No man shall burn any house or barn be it a friend or foe or kill any horse or oxe that may serve for carriage or any thing that may serve for the provision of ye army or Garrison without order upon paine of death</p> <p>5 None shall kill an enemy who yeelds and throws down his arms</p> <p>6 None shall save a man who hath his offensive arms in his hand upon paine of losing his prisoner</p> <p>7 Whosoever in skirmish shall straggle away without his Commander if he may be taken shall be punished with death</p> <p>8 No souldier shall imbezell any part of ye prey to be disposed by the Lord Generall or [...] or other authorised person upon paine of death</p>	<p>Further articles were laid down concerning conduct in battle.</p> <p>It was directed that no person should flee or run from action unless permitted, or unless sent upon duty by command, nor before an alarm had been given, under penalty of death.</p> <p>No person was to abandon his colours or withdraw from battle, with such conduct punishable by death.</p> <p>If a pikeman cast away his pike, or a musketeer his musket or other arms during action, he was to suffer death.</p> <p>No person was permitted to burn houses or barns, whether belonging to friend or foe, nor to kill horses, oxen or other animals useful for transport or provisions, without order, under penalty of death.</p> <p>It was further directed that no person should kill an enemy who had surrendered and laid down his arms.</p> <p>No person was to spare an enemy who still bore arms in his hand, on pain of losing any claim to such a prisoner.</p> <p>Any soldier who strayed from his commander during a skirmish and was taken was to be punished with death.</p> <p>No soldier was permitted to conceal or take for himself any part of captured goods or spoils, which were to be disposed of by the general or other authorised authority, under penalty of death.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The term “colours” referred to the military standard or flag, whose abandonment symbolised disorder or defeat and was treated as a grave offence.</p> <p>The distinction between those who surrendered and those still armed reflected established rules of warfare, requiring restraint towards those who had yielded.</p> <p>The reference to “prey” referred to captured goods or spoils of war, which were to be centrally controlled rather than privately taken.</p> <p>The differentiation between pikemen and musketeers indicated the types of soldiers present, reflecting the mixed composition of early modern forces.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the strict prohibition against fleeing or abandoning arms reflects the importance placed upon maintaining formation and morale in combat.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the regulation of captured goods was intended to prevent disorder and conflict among soldiers, ensuring that spoils were distributed under authority rather than seized individually.</p>
154	148	<p>[...] Officer or souldier shall ransome or conceale any prisoners but within 12 houres shall make the same knowne to ye Lord Generall or [...] or Authority upon paine of death</p> <p>Plundering</p> <p>10 No man upon any good success shall fall a plundering before lycense or a sign given upon paine of death</p> <p>11 If Regim' or Comp' stand or stay to charge ye enemy or retreat before they come to handle blows shall answer it before a Councell of war and if default be found in ye officer they shall be cashiered and [...] every man shall be punished at discretion and ye best souldiers and cavaliers kill a worthy example shall escape [...]</p> <p>Of the duties of Commanders and officers in particular</p> <p>1 All Commanders are strictly charged to see God mightily and reverently served and Sermons and Common prayer duly frequented</p>	<p>Further articles were set out concerning prisoners, plundering and the conduct of officers.</p> <p>It was directed that no officer or soldier should ransom or conceal any prisoner, but that all prisoners taken were to be reported within 12 hours to the general or other proper authority, under penalty of death.</p> <p>With regard to plundering, it was directed that no person should begin to plunder upon any success in action without licence or a signal first given, under penalty of death.</p> <p>If any regiment or company stood still or withdrew before coming into close action with the enemy, the matter was to be examined before a council of war. Where fault was found in the officers, they were to be dismissed from their posts, and the soldiers were to be punished at discretion, though those who had behaved well and shown courage might be spared as examples to others.</p>

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		<p>2 Commanders and officers of Field and of Companies shall not presume to undertake or attempt any dangerous action without direction given or a ground for doing it being first set downe, shall be brought into examination and ye proof thereof and answer they must [...]</p>	<p>Further provisions concerned the duties of commanders and officers. All commanders were required to ensure that God was served devoutly, and that sermons and common prayer were regularly attended.</p> <p>It was also directed that commanders and officers of the field and of companies were not to undertake or attempt any dangerous action without prior direction or proper grounds being established. Any such action was to be subject to examination, and those responsible were required to answer for their conduct.</p> <p>Interpretations The requirement to report prisoners within a fixed time showed that captives were considered the property of authority rather than of individuals, and were to be formally accounted for.</p> <p>The prohibition on plundering without licence reflected an effort to control disorder and prevent premature looting during or after battle.</p> <p>The term “cashiered” referred to dismissal from office or service, often with disgrace, particularly for officers found at fault.</p> <p>The role of a “council of war” was to investigate conduct in action and determine responsibility for failures or misconduct.</p> <p>Speculations Perhaps the strict control over prisoners and plunder reflects an attempt to maintain order and discipline following battle, preventing individual gain from undermining collective authority.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the emphasis on religious observance among commanders was intended to reinforce moral authority and discipline within the ranks, especially in a setting where cohesion was essential.</p>
155	149	<p>3 If any Officer have cause to destroy any provision or any part of it, shall be punished</p> <p>4 No Corporall or other officer commanding the Guard shall wilfully suffer a Souldier to go from it to a draught or private right upon paine of death</p> <p>5 What officer soever shall come drunk to his guard or shall quarrell in his quarter or commit any disorder shall be cashiered without mercy & the next officer under him that hath his place to see may claime a [...] his right, & this shall not excuse him</p> <p>6 If any Officer be careless in ye training and ordering of his Company shall be displaced of his charge</p> <p>7 If Cap^t or officer offend in any such matter heare shall be punished at the Generalls discretion</p> <p>8 All officers of the court of war shall have power to have quarter guards or stay any souldier disorderly or drunk or souldier absent in any other regiment or company and to commit him disorder to prison for ye present untill such officer as they belong unto are acquainted therewith, and if any souldier shall give disturbe or draw his sword against any officer whether he be no officer of his regiment or Company shall be punished with death</p> <p>9 If Cap^t or officer non resident in his place assigned him for garrison without lycense shall have one month</p>	<p>Further provisions were laid down concerning the duties and conduct of officers.</p> <p>It was directed that if any officer caused provisions, or any part of them, to be destroyed without proper cause, he should be punished.</p> <p>No corporal or other officer in charge of a guard was permitted to allow a soldier to leave his post, whether for drink or private business, under penalty of death.</p> <p>Any officer who came drunk to his guard, quarrelled in his quarters or committed disorder was to be removed from his position without mercy. The next officer in rank was entitled to take his place, though this did not excuse that officer from his own responsibilities.</p> <p>If any officer was careless in the training or discipline of his company, he was to be removed from his command.</p> <p>Where a captain or other officer committed offences of this nature, punishment was to be determined at the discretion of the general.</p> <p>Officers of the court of war were given authority to detain any soldier found disorderly, drunk or absent from his proper company, and to commit him to prison until his own officer was informed. Any soldier who caused disturbance or drew his sword against an officer, even if that officer was not of his own company, was to suffer death.</p> <p>It was also directed that any captain or officer who was absent from his assigned place of garrison without leave should be subject to punishment, including the forfeiture of one month’s [...].</p> <p>Interpretations The prohibition against destroying provisions reflected the importance of maintaining supplies, which were essential for survival and military readiness on the island.</p>

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			<p>The strict control over guards showed that constant vigilance was required, and that even short absences from duty were treated as serious offences.</p> <p>The term “cashiered” referred to the removal of an officer from his position, often accompanied by loss of status and reputation.</p> <p>The authority of the “court of war” extended beyond formal trials, allowing officers to act immediately to maintain discipline by detaining offenders.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the severity of penalties for officers reflects the expectation that they should set an example, with failures in discipline seen as particularly damaging.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the strong emphasis on maintaining order among both officers and soldiers was intended to prevent any recurrence of disorder or rebellion within the garrison.</p>
156	150	<p>[...] months pay be abated for ye first offence and [...] months for ye second & upon ye 3^d offence he shall be discharged of his command</p> <p>10</p> <p>When ye army is come to a generall rendezvous no Cap^t shall detain any souldier or send him without special warrant of ye Lord Generall nor from a [...] person to be out of ye same</p> <p>11</p> <p>No Cap^t or officer of a troop or Comp^y shall send men on Muster any publick worke or other employments such as by their pay are bound to follow their Colours upon paine of cashiering whatsoever, and if any souldier, freebooter or sutler or souldier officer of any troop or company shall send himself or horse in ye muster to muster and musters shall so behave ye service, ye same shall be punished with death</p> <p>12</p> <p>No provision Keeper or officer of Victualls or ammunition Timber or any other thing shall imbezell and purloine any part thereof or make any false acct to ye Generall or his appoynted upon paine of death</p> <p>The Duty of Muster masters</p> <p>1</p> <p>No Muster Master must wittingly let any man in ye musters but such as are really of ye troopes or Companies present upon paine of death</p> <p>2</p> <p>All Cap^s shall cause their troopes or Companies to be mustered and completed and two dayes after ye Generall Muster they shall send to ye Generall a perfect List in Rolls of all ye officers of their troopes & Companies</p>	<p>Further provisions were set out concerning the conduct of officers and the keeping of musters.</p> <p>It was directed that any officer absent from his assigned post without leave should, for the first offence, have [...] months’ pay deducted, for the second offence a further [...] months’ pay, and upon the third offence be removed from his command.</p> <p>When the army was assembled at a general rendezvous, no captain was permitted to detain any soldier or send him away without a special warrant from the general, nor allow any person to be absent from the assembly.</p> <p>No captain or officer of a troop or company was permitted to send men, who were bound by their pay to follow their colours, to musters, public works or other employment in place of proper service, under penalty of dismissal. It was further directed that any soldier, freebooter, sutler or officer who falsely appeared or caused himself or another to appear in muster in a way that hindered service should suffer death.</p> <p>No keeper of provisions, or officer responsible for victuals, ammunition, timber or other stores, was permitted to embezzle, steal or give false accounts of such items to the general or his appointed officers, under penalty of death.</p> <p>Under the duties of muster masters, it was directed that no muster master should knowingly admit into the muster any person who did not truly belong to the troop or company present, under penalty of death.</p> <p>It was also required that all captains should ensure their troops or companies were properly mustered and completed, and that within two days after the general muster they should send to the general a full and accurate list of all officers belonging to their troops and companies.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The deduction of pay for repeated absence showed a graduated system of punishment, escalating from financial penalty to removal from command.</p> <p>The term “muster” referred to the formal assembly and inspection of troops, used to verify numbers, readiness and organisation.</p> <p>The roles of “freebooter” and “sutler” referred respectively to irregular soldiers or adventurers, and to those who supplied provisions to the army, both of whom were subject to military regulation.</p> <p>The prohibition against false accounting of stores reflected the importance of maintaining accurate records of supplies, which were critical to the functioning of the garrison.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the detailed regulation of musters reflects concern over accuracy in reporting troop strength, which was essential for planning defence.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the severe penalties for misuse of stores indicate the scarcity and value of</p>

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			resources on the island, making any loss or fraud particularly serious.
157	151	<p>[...] all ye troopers and souldiers yt are in actuall service putting down distinctly on ye head of each man his monthly pay</p> <p>3</p> <p>The liste Roll or lists shall ye Cap^t send to ye Lord Generall and to ye Treasurer of ye army upon every pay day during ye service to shew what accompts are at ye bottom of ye Roll, so many wo[...] have been entertained since ye last pay day in lieu of such as are deceased or cashiered and shewing ye day w^{ch} they were so cashiered and entertained</p> <p>4</p> <p>[...] the lists or Rolls shall be subscribed monthly by ye Cap^t & his Lieutenant, Ensigne or [...] and expressed effectually who hath deserted or come to his Company or Troope and who are present and absent and ye debts of each souldier or trooper & Companies and whosoever shall be convicted of falsehood in any of these things shall be cashiered</p> <p>5</p> <p>No Muster Master shall presume to receive or accept of any false to make ye Muster or but the same mentioned shall be punished upon paine of losing his place or with punishment at discretion</p> <p>6</p> <p>No man shall presume to send himself to ye Muster to be enrolled in ye Muster Rolls by a borrowed name or surname or place of habitation upon paine of death</p> <p>Of Victuallers</p> <p>1</p> <p>No Victualler shall presume to issue or sell unto any of ye army unsound unwholesome or unmerchantable victualls upon paine of imprisonment and further arbitrary punishment</p>	<p>Further articles set out requirements for keeping muster rolls and regulating victualling.</p> <p>It was directed that all troopers and soldiers in actual service were to be entered in lists, with the monthly pay of each man clearly set down against his name.</p> <p>These rolls were to be sent by the captain to the general and to the treasurer of the army on each pay day during service, showing what accounts stood at the foot of the roll, and recording how many men had been taken into service since the last pay day in place of those who had died or been dismissed, together with the dates on which such changes had occurred.</p> <p>It was further required that the lists or rolls should be signed each month by the captain and his lieutenant, ensign or [...], and should clearly state who had deserted, who had joined the troop or company, who were present and absent, and the debts of each soldier or trooper and of the company. Any person found to have made false entries in these matters was to be removed from his post.</p> <p>No muster master was permitted to accept or allow any false entries in the muster, and any such offence was to be punished by loss of position or such other punishment as might be considered appropriate.</p> <p>It was also directed that no person should present himself at muster under a false name, surname or place of residence, under penalty of death.</p> <p>Under the duties of victuallers, it was directed that no victualler should issue or sell to the army any unsound, unwholesome or unfit provisions, under penalty of imprisonment and further punishment at discretion.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The requirement to record each soldier's "monthly pay" showed the close connection between musters and financial accounting, ensuring that payment matched actual service.</p> <p>The inclusion of information on deaths, dismissals and new enlistments demonstrated the need to maintain accurate and up-to-date records of manpower.</p> <p>The obligation to record debts alongside service details reflected the integrated system of pay and credit within the army.</p> <p>The term "victualler" referred to a supplier of food and provisions to the army, whose role was essential for sustaining troops.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the detailed recording of changes in personnel reflects concern to prevent fraud or inflation of numbers, which could affect both pay and readiness.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the regulation of victuallers was intended to protect the health of soldiers and maintain trust in the supply system, particularly where poor-quality provisions could weaken the force.</p>
158	152	<p>2</p> <p>No souldier or other person shall be a Victualler without licence of ye Lord Generall or he or she authorised under him upon paine of punishment at discretion</p> <p>3</p> <p>No Victualler shall entertain any private souldier in house, tent or hut after warning given at night to depart or be absent without leave in morning or during Sabbath day</p> <p>4</p> <p>No Victualler shall forestall any victualls nor buy before they be appointed upon severe punishment</p> <p>Of Administration of Justice</p> <p>1</p>	<p>Further articles were set out concerning victuallers and the administration of justice.</p> <p>It was directed that no soldier or other person should act as a victualler without licence from the general or from a person authorised by him, under penalty of punishment at discretion.</p> <p>No victualler was permitted to lodge or entertain any private soldier in a house, tent or hut after the signal had been given at night to depart, nor to allow them to remain absent from duty in the morning or during the Sabbath, without leave.</p> <p>It was also directed that no victualler should forestall provisions or purchase them before they were officially assigned, with such conduct subject to severe punishment.</p>

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		<p>All controversies between Souldiers and those of ye [...] shall be summarily heard and determined by ye Councell of war except in case of [...] further deliberation 2</p> <p>All officers and others who shall send up any prisoner unto ye Marshall Generall of ye army shall deliver in writing a warrant expressing ye cause and reason of ye imprisonment and also such things as serve to convict him of ye offence whereof he is accused and a safe charge of ye prisoner 3</p> <p>When a Prisoner is committed to ye Charge of ye Marshall Generall information of ye crime is to be handed committed to him to be given unto ye Advocate of ye army within 48 houres after ye commitment, except good cause be shewn to ye contrary 4</p> <p>No man whatsoever in [...] case shall be [...] until that time</p>	<p>Under the administration of justice, it was directed that disputes between soldiers and those of the [...] should be heard and decided in a summary manner by the council of war, except in cases requiring further consideration.</p> <p>Any officer or other person sending a prisoner to the provost marshal of the army was required to provide a written warrant stating the cause of imprisonment, together with such information as supported the charge, and to ensure the safe custody of the prisoner.</p> <p>When a prisoner was committed to the charge of the provost marshal, details of the offence were to be delivered to him and passed to the advocate of the army within 48 hours of the commitment, unless good reason was shown for delay.</p> <p>It was further directed that no person should, in any such case, be [...] before that time.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The requirement for a licence to act as a victualler reflected the need to regulate those supplying food to the army, ensuring control over quality and distribution.</p> <p>The prohibition on “forestalling” referred to buying up provisions in advance in order to control supply or raise prices, a practice treated as harmful and subject to punishment.</p> <p>The role of the “provost marshal” involved the custody of prisoners and enforcement of discipline within the army.</p> <p>The “advocate of the army” referred to the legal officer responsible for handling charges and proceedings in military justice.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the regulation of victuallers reflects concern that uncontrolled trade in provisions could disrupt supply or lead to exploitation within the camp.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the structured process for handling prisoners shows an effort to impose order and fairness in military justice, even within a system that allowed for swift punishment.</p>
159	153	<p>The goods of such as dye in ye army or garrison in ye time of service shall make and will disposed or otherwise shall be disposed according to their will or if will approved in Court, if they make no will then they go to their wives or next kin, if no wife or kin then their goods upon proof shall be disposed by ye appointment of ye Generall or his according to such order in Military 5</p> <p>No Magistrate or Provost or Gunby shall in any case imprison any souldier or officer without licence 6</p> <p>If any man of debt or business in any [...], shall acquaint his chiefe officer, thereupon who is to end ye matter with the consent of his Captaine or to take order by due course of law and ye said Captaine shall refer ye matter to ye Generall or Provost Marshall, if he please and will not any otherwise have it finished but ye officer permitted for acting therein in his behalf 7</p> <p>No man shall presume to use any bravery or make any words, signes or gestures tending to provoke or breed quarrell upon paine of death 8</p> <p>No inhabitant of city town or country shall presume to receive any souldier into his house or conceal or convey such runaway but shall apprehend all such and deliver to ye Provost Marshal</p>	<p>Further provisions were set out concerning the handling of property, authority in imprisonment and the conduct of both soldiers and inhabitants.</p> <p>It was directed that the goods of those who died while in the army or garrison during service should be disposed of according to their will, where such a will had been made and approved. Where no will existed, the goods were to pass to the wife or nearest kin. If no wife or kin could be found, the goods, upon due proof, were to be disposed of by order of the general or his authority, according to military practice.</p> <p>It was further directed that no magistrate, provost or other officer should imprison any soldier or officer without proper licence.</p> <p>Where any person had a matter of debt or other business, he was required to inform his chief officer, who was then to settle the matter with the consent of the captain, or proceed according to the course of law. The captain might also refer the matter to the general or provost marshal if necessary, and the officer concerned was to act only with such permission.</p> <p>No person was permitted to behave in a provocative manner, whether by words, signs or gestures that might lead to quarrel, under penalty of death.</p> <p>It was also directed that no inhabitant of any town, settlement or countryside should receive or conceal a runaway soldier, but was instead required to apprehend such persons and deliver them to the provost marshal.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The provision concerning the disposal of goods reflected the application of both personal will and customary inheritance, adapted to military circumstances.</p>

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			<p>The restriction on imprisonment showed that authority over soldiers was carefully controlled, requiring proper permission before detention.</p> <p>The involvement of officers in resolving debts and disputes indicated that military hierarchy extended into civil and financial matters within the garrison.</p> <p>The requirement for inhabitants to apprehend runaway soldiers demonstrated cooperation expected between the civilian population and military authority.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the detailed rules for inheritance reflect the practical need to manage property within a transient military population, where death during service was a recognised risk.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the prohibition on provoking quarrels and the requirement to report runaways were intended to maintain order not only within the army but also between soldiers and the wider population.</p>
160	154	<p>9 All Cap's Officers and souldiers shall do their utmost endeavours to detect, apprehend and bring to punishment all offenders and shall assist ye Officers of ye Army in ye purpose or they will answer the contrary at ye Marshall Court</p> <p>10 No Jayler shall shall suffer or let out without any person committed unto his charge or suffer any to make an escape, he shall be lyable unto ye same punishment due to ye prisoner so escaped</p> <p>11 All other faults disorders and offences not mentioned in these articles shall be punished according to ye Generall customes and laws of warre</p> <p>12 And to ye end these Lawes and Ordinances be made more publique and knowne unto all it is agreed to ye Councill of Warre that these Articles shall be printed and given unto every officer and souldier and to be read distinctly and audibly in every Company and Regiment by ye respective Marshall or Officer once in all or at least once a week and also that every Cap^t shall take care that every officer and souldier under his command do observe and keep these Lawes and orders required by them</p> <p>A true Copy of these Articles sent by ye [...] for examination [...][...]</p>	<p>Further articles were laid down concerning enforcement and the publication of these rules.</p> <p>It was directed that all captains, officers and soldiers should use their utmost efforts to detect, apprehend and bring to punishment all offenders, and should assist the officers of the army in doing so, otherwise they would be held accountable before the marshal court.</p> <p>No jailer was permitted to release or allow any person committed to his charge to escape. If such an escape occurred, he was to suffer the same punishment that had been due to the prisoner.</p> <p>It was also declared that any faults, disorders or offences not specifically set out in these articles were to be punished according to the general customs and laws of war.</p> <p>To ensure that these laws and ordinances were widely known, it was agreed by the council of war that they should be printed and distributed to every officer and soldier. They were to be read clearly and aloud in each company and regiment by the marshal or other officer, at least once, and preferably once each week. Each captain was required to ensure that all under his command observed and followed these laws and orders.</p> <p>The record concluded with a note that this was a true copy of the articles sent for examination, with parts remaining unreadable shown as “[...]”.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The requirement that all ranks assist in enforcing discipline showed that responsibility for order was shared across the army, not limited to senior officers.</p> <p>The rule that a jailer would suffer the same punishment as an escaped prisoner reflected the seriousness with which custody was treated, ensuring strict accountability.</p> <p>The reference to “customs and laws of war” allowed for flexibility in judging offences not specifically listed, drawing upon established military practice.</p> <p>The requirement for regular public reading of the articles ensured that all soldiers were aware of the rules, reinforcing discipline through repetition.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the emphasis on shared responsibility for enforcement reflects a need to maintain discipline in a relatively small and closely connected force, where oversight by a few officers alone would not have been sufficient.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the regular reading of the articles was intended to reinforce authority and prevent ignorance of the rules, especially following earlier disorder on the island.</p>
161	155	Blank page	
162	156	Worp ^t Sr	A letter was sent from Swally Marine, dated 26 January 1685, addressed to the authorities at St Helena.

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		<p>We send you by this shipp William one Coffe[e] of what Dept he hath lost since you mooved his service on the Island he strongly belonged to Bantam & was run away from us but he being caught him & gave him to you therefore you must have the ordon care of him & to have not leave you but there is also a Negro of Dutch & lands in our possession you have Intention him about one year notwithstanding all. Care & [...] will hardly bring to you haveing many more hardships before that which this ship have of you recommend being Cap^t Hamer to you desiring you would accomodate him what his [...] require & we bind him to it may be Swally Marine Jan^t 26 1685 Yo^t Loving friends G [...] Sam^t Annis James King From Cap^t [...] [...]</p>	<p>It was stated that a man named William was being sent on that ship, described as having belonged to the factory at Bantam and having previously run away. It was reported that he had since been caught and delivered over, and that responsibility for his custody and care was now to be taken, with instructions that he should not be allowed to leave.</p> <p>Reference was also made to a Black man of Dutch origin, who had come into their possession. It was noted that there had been an intention to send him earlier, but that, despite efforts made, this had proved difficult due to hardships, and that he might now be forwarded.</p> <p>The letter further mentioned Captain Hamer, who was recommended for assistance, with a request that he should be accommodated in whatever he required.</p> <p>The letter was signed by G [...], Samuel Annis and James King, and was sent from Captain [...], with parts of the text remaining unreadable and represented as “[...]”.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The reference to Bantam indicated the English East India Company’s trading settlement in Java, showing the wider network from which individuals could be transferred to St Helena.</p> <p>The description of William as having “run away” suggested that he had absconded from Company service, and that his return was treated as a matter requiring supervision.</p> <p>The mention of a Black man of Dutch origin reflected the movement of individuals between European trading powers in the region, often as part of labour or service arrangements.</p> <p>The request to “accommodate” Captain Hamer indicated a customary expectation that visiting or recommended individuals would be assisted with lodging, provisions or other needs.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the transfer of William reflects the Company’s effort to control and discipline individuals who attempted to leave their service, ensuring they remained within its authority.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the mention of the second individual shows the complexity of labour and movement in the East India trade, where people could pass between different European settlements.</p> <p>The recommendation of Captain Hamer suggests that personal networks and mutual assistance between Company servants played an important role in maintaining cooperation across distant locations.</p>
163	157	<p>To the Worp^t Mr Blackmore Esqr Govern^{or} of the Fort and Island St Helena We rec[eiv]ed to [...] receiv[e]ing this [...] Tho[mas] Rawlin[...] & have only to advise the Accidents were of Goods, [...] & arrived at Bombay ye 29th past, & haveing a speci[al] [...] we have since of come out in Comp^t to her & before then wish you all health & happines &c Swally Marine Jan^y 10th 1686/7 Y^{or} very Loving friends Chit[...] Liwran Barr. Harris Jn^o Gladman James King Vera Copia Bra[...] To the Worp^t the Govern^{or} & Councill at St Helena Worp^t Sr This comes to accomp^t this Ship Kent who has on board her</p>	<p>A letter was addressed to Mr John Blackmore, Governor of the fort and island of St Helena, reporting the receipt of earlier correspondence and referring to Thomas Rawlin[...]. It was stated that news had been received concerning certain accidents affecting goods, and that a vessel had arrived at Bombay on 29 [...] past. It was further noted that, having particular instructions, they had since sailed in company with that ship. The letter concluded with expressions of goodwill, wishing health and happiness. It was dated at Swally Marine on 10 January 1687, and signed by Chit[...], Liwran, Barr. Harris, John Gladman and James King. A note recorded it as a true copy, examined by Bra[...].</p> <p>A further letter was addressed to the Governor and Council at St Helena, reporting that the ship <i>Kent</i> had arrived carrying 4 Black men. It was stated that one of them had been sent to Mr Tho[...], as indicated in an enclosed note, and a request was made that such provision and support as might be thought necessary should be allowed to him. It was also expressed that they would be glad to receive news in return, and that any assistance required would be willingly provided. This letter was dated at Bombay on 18 January 1687 and was signed by Rob^t M[...], A G[...], Rich[...]</p>

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		<p>4 black men, & we have sent one of them to Mr Tho[mas] appears by & enclosed note and desire you to permit you to think fit to [...] provision &c he shall want & a occa[sion] shall be sent shall be glad to hear from you, if we be serviceable to you in any thing you may command</p> <p>Bombay 18th Jan^y 1686/7</p> <p>Y^{or} affectionate friends & serv^{'s}</p> <p>Rob^t M[...]</p> <p>A G[...]</p> <p>Rich[...]</p> <p>Jn^o Sc[...]</p> <p>Vera Copia</p> <p>Bra[...]</p>	<p>John Sc[...]. It was likewise noted as a true copy examined by Bra[...].</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The term “Vera Copia” indicated that the document was a true copy, formally certified as matching the original.</p> <p>The reference to Swally Marine identified the anchorage near Surat, an important point in the East India Company’s maritime network.</p> <p>The mention of ships travelling “in company” referred to vessels sailing together for mutual protection or coordination.</p> <p>The repeated reference to Black men being transported reflected the movement of individuals within Company networks, often as part of labour or service arrangements.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the reference to accidents affecting goods indicates the risks of maritime trade, where loss or damage to cargo was a common concern.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the requests for provision and support show the reliance placed upon St Helena as a resupply point within the Company’s wider system.</p> <p>The exchange of letters expressing mutual assistance suggests an established pattern of cooperation between distant Company settlements, helping to maintain communication and support across long voyages.</p>
164	158	<p>To the Worp^t Mr Blackmore Esqr Govern^{or} of the Fort & Island St Helena This comes by his Maj^{ty} Ship Phoenix Capt^t Tho[...]</p> <p>whom we have dispatched from us as well furnished as possible we could with all manner of stores & provisions, if he hath delivered & if he might have no reason of complaint we recommend him to you to supply him with what of that nature he may have further occasion for, & sending this ship to you, & what you furnish him withall let him acknowledge the same, & by bills upon us shall be honoured to E. India Company, & accept of a kind respect witness</p> <p>Swally Marine</p> <p>a6th Jun^e 1686/7</p> <p>Y^{or} very Loving friends</p> <p>Chit[...]</p> <p>Liwrn</p> <p>Barr Harris</p> <p>Jn^o Gladman</p> <p>James King</p> <p>Vera Copia</p> <p>Bra[...]</p> <p>This Coe was brought from Engl^d by Capt Harding and of the Loyall Merchant Dec^r 29th 1687, it being not kept here by Capt Hedge</p>	<p>A letter was addressed to Mr John Blackmore, Governor of the fort and island of St Helena, and sent by His Majesty’s ship <i>Phoenix</i>, commanded by Captain Tho[...]</p> <p>It was stated that the ship had been dispatched from Swally Marine as well furnished as possible with stores and provisions. It was requested that, if any further supplies were needed, the governor should provide what might be required. Any such supplies were to be acknowledged by the captain, and payment for them was to be made by bills drawn upon the writers, which would be honoured to the East India Company. The letter concluded with a request that the captain be treated with kindness and assistance.</p> <p>The letter was dated at Swally Marine on 6 January 1687 and signed by Chit[...], Liwrn, Barr Harris, John Gladman and James King. It was noted as a true copy examined by Bra[...].</p> <p>A further note recorded that this copy had been brought from England by Captain Harding of the <i>Loyall Merchant</i> on 29 December 1687, and that it had not been retained there by Captain Hedge.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The reference to “His Majesty’s ship” indicated that the vessel <i>Phoenix</i> was in royal service, distinct from those directly belonging to the East India Company.</p> <p>The use of “bills upon us” referred to written orders for payment, allowing goods supplied at St Helena to be charged and later settled through Company accounts.</p> <p>The term “well furnished” indicated that the ship had been equipped with necessary supplies, though further assistance might still be required upon arrival.</p> <p>The note regarding the <i>Loyall Merchant</i> showed how copies of correspondence were carried between England and the island, preserving records of earlier instructions.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the request to provide additional supplies reflects the uncertainty of long voyages, where ships often required replenishment even when initially well stocked.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the use of bills for payment demonstrates the reliance on credit systems</p>

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			<p>within the Company's network, allowing transactions to be settled across great distances.</p> <p>The mention that the copy had not been retained by Captain Hedge may suggest the importance of ensuring that such instructions were properly recorded and preserved at St Helena.</p>
165	159	<p>To the Rt^h Hon^{ble} the Gov^{or} & Council of St Helena Fort St Georges the 1st of Feb^{ry} 1687</p> <p>These are only to acquaint you, y^t we have shipped on board the George Jos: & [?][...], upon each ship Ten Chests w^{ch} they are to deliver unto you upon their arrivall at St Helena & these being in all 20 Chests we desire you to accept them Compts for them at 10 pagodas each the pagoda being to be paid at 9½ not else, We remaine Your Affectionate friends = William Gifford [...] Tho: L[...] John Peck John May Tho: Tavell Matt: Higgins Jo: Cheney Vera Copia [...]</p> <p>To the Rt^h Hon^{ble} the Gov^{or} & Port and Island of St Helena &c Council This comes to accompany this Ship Lent unto us on board her Capt: Edw: E[...] since our last to you of the 14th past month it hath pleased God to arrive with us from [?] & [?] Higg[...] that we have sent this Ship we send of China Goods with pepper plenty which we have recommended to you to dispose thereof & hope some of them will come safe to your hands which is all at present from Your very affectionate friends Wm Gifford Cha: Zinzan Geo: Harris Jn^o Gladman James King Bombay the 18th Jan^{ry} 1686/7 Vera Copia [...]</p> <p>This Tea was brought from Eng^d by Capt: Harding of the Loyall Merchant Dec^e 29th 1687 it being not [...] by G[...] Hedges</p>	<p>A letter was sent from Fort St George, dated 1 February 1687, addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena.</p> <p>It was reported that 10 chests had been shipped aboard each of the ships <i>George</i> and <i>Jos: [?][...]</i>, making a total of 20 chests, which were to be delivered upon arrival at St Helena. The recipients were requested to accept these goods and to account for them at a rate of 10 pagodas per chest, with each pagoda to be reckoned at 9½. The letter concluded with expressions of goodwill and was signed by William Gifford, [...] Yale, Thomas L[...], John Peck, John May, Thomas Tavell, Matthew Higgins and Joseph Cheney. It was noted as a true copy.</p> <p>A further letter, addressed to the Governor and Council of the port and island of St Helena, accompanied a ship sent from Bombay. It was reported that since a previous letter dated 14 of the preceding month, the vessel had arrived safely with goods from [...] and [...] Higg[...]. It was stated that China goods and a quantity of pepper had been sent, with a request that these should be disposed of as appropriate, and with the hope that they would arrive safely. This letter was signed by William Gifford, Charles Zinzan, George Harris, John Gladman and James King, and dated at Bombay on 18 January 1687. It was also recorded as a true copy.</p> <p>A further note recorded that tea had been brought from England by Captain Harding of the <i>Loyall Merchant</i> on 29 December 1687, with part of the text remaining unreadable.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The term "pagoda" referred to a gold coin used in South India, commonly employed in East India Company trade and accounting.</p> <p>The instruction to account for goods at a fixed rate showed that the value of shipments was formally recorded for financial settlement.</p> <p>The reference to "China goods" indicated imported commodities such as tea, textiles or porcelain, which formed part of the Company's trade.</p> <p>The repeated notation "Vera Copia" indicated that these were certified copies of original letters, preserved for record.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the shipment of goods to St Helena reflects its role as a distribution and provisioning point within the Company's network.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the fixed valuation in pagodas was intended to standardise accounting across different regions, where multiple currencies were in use.</p> <p>The mention of tea being brought from England suggests the circulation of goods not only from Asia but also through return voyages, highlighting the interconnected nature of the trade routes.</p>
166	160	<p>To the Rt^h Wor^{ld} S^r Jn^o Blackmore K^t Governor of the Island St Helena Rt Wor^{ld} S^r</p> <p>This serves to accomp^e our Hon^{le} Comp^{te} Ship Ulster Capt Nath: Warren Com^d who we desire you will accomodate w^t Victualls he shall want for his Ship suitable to y^e Hon^{le} Comp^{te} orders, We heartily Salute you & rest Your very affect^d friends</p>	<p>A letter was addressed to Sir John Blackmore, Governor of the island of St Helena, concerning the arrival of the Honourable Company's ship <i>Ulster</i>, commanded by Captain Nathaniel Warren.</p> <p>It was requested that the governor should provide the ship with such victuals as were required, in accordance with the orders of the Honourable Company. The letter conveyed respectful greetings and goodwill.</p> <p>The letter was dated at Bombay on 8 May 1687 and was signed by John Child, Charles Zinzan, John</p>

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		<p>Bombay y^e 8th of May 1687 Jn^o Child Cha: Zinzan Jn^o Gladman James King Jn^o Wyborne Vera Copia Bra[...]</p>	<p>Gladman, James King and John Wyborne. It was noted as a true copy examined by Bra[...].</p> <p>Interpretations The term “accommodate with victuals” referred to the provision of food and supplies needed to sustain the ship and its crew during their stay or onward voyage. The designation “Honourable Company’s ship” indicated that the vessel was owned or operated under the authority of the East India Company. The use of formal address such as “Rt Wor^{ld} S^r” reflected the social rank and status of the governor within the Company’s hierarchy. The notation “Vera Copia” indicated that the document was a certified copy of the original correspondence.</p> <p>Speculations Perhaps the request for provisions reflects the routine reliance of Company ships upon St Helena as a key resupply point during long voyages. It is probably the case that such letters accompanied ships regularly to ensure that local authorities were prepared to support them without delay. The consistent tone of respect and cooperation suggests an established administrative network linking Bombay and St Helena in the Company’s operations.</p>
167	161	<p>Our Govern^{or} and Council of St Helena London the 3^d Aug^t 1687 The Letters Wee have of yours to answere are so numerous yt it would be tedious to recount them severally, but we shall reply to every materiall Paragraph Wee find in any of them And in the first place Wee require our people to keep the Churches and Pagods that belong properly unto you & the Inhabitants for their Blacks and to read their own accounts & maintenance of them where they are allowed till accounts sett apart 2 Cap^t Gregory Field is a mere useless Burden to us therefore wee doe hereby dismiss him from our service & all salary or Benefitt whatsoever from the date of this letter, giving him leave to come home at his owne charge, so we shall admit him into our Almshouses here which he formerly petitioned for 3 Mr Nathaniell Cox Weare satisfied hath mispent his owne time & our money & therefore Wee doe discharge him likewise from our Employment, salary due or any other pretence by our service and leave him to his liberty to come home or provide himselfe abroad if he thinkes fitt not in a proper country for Sugars Cane where he may employ his talent and his stock in making Sugars for himselfe if he think fitt If you had him in possession you should have detained his person till he had paid our Duties and not parted with him so tamely which you frequently are so loath to doe again in the like cases, and if he should dye shall satisfy our Debts out of his salary as for the number such Madagascar Interlopers that escape his hands after he hath the command or one shore</p>	<p>A letter was sent from London, dated 3 August 1687, addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena.</p> <p>It was stated that many letters had been received from the island, too numerous to recount individually, and that replies would instead be given to each material point raised within them.</p> <p>Attention was first directed to the management of religious buildings. It was required that churches and pagodas belonging to the Company and the inhabitants should be properly maintained, particularly for the use of slaves, and that those responsible should manage their own accounts and upkeep where provision had been made.</p> <p>Captain Gregory Field was described as having become a burden, and he was therefore dismissed from the Company’s service, with all salary and benefits to cease from the date of the letter. He was granted permission to return to England at his own expense, and it was noted that he might be admitted into the almshouses there, as he had previously requested.</p> <p>Mr Nathaniel Cox was likewise judged to have wasted both his own time and the Company’s money, and he was dismissed from employment, forfeiting any claim to salary or benefit. He was left free to return to England or to seek opportunities elsewhere, with particular mention that he might pursue the cultivation of sugar cane in a suitable location. It was further remarked that, had he been in the possession of the authorities at St Helena, he ought to have been detained until Company debts had been settled, and that greater firmness was expected in similar cases in future. In the event of his death, it was directed that any outstanding debts should be satisfied from what remained due to him.</p> <p>Reference was made to interlopers from Madagascar who had escaped after coming ashore, and it was ordered that such matters should be handled with stricter control. It was emphasised that Company orders were not to be disregarded, and that inhabitants were not to be permitted to disobey authority. The Governor and Council were instructed to make clear that the Company exercised sovereign power over the island, both legislative and executive, under the authority of the Crown, and that both inhabitants and soldiers might be governed under martial law whenever necessary, in a manner comparable to Dutch colonial practice in India.</p>

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		<p>You must not hereafter dispense with our order nor suffer the Inhabitants to disobey yours, but make it your business to undeceive those ignorant Inhabitants by convincing them that the truth is that We are entrusted by his Ma^y with the exercise of sovereign power in that Island as well Legislative as Executive, and that we will govern them as well as our Soldiers by martial law as often as we or you shall find it necessary and as the Dutch do their Colonies in India</p> <p>5 We approve of your care for our Blacks and would have you procure to sell 50 more as may be spared from our necessary</p> <p>6 The fee all our Duties and allow our passengers or Boats come in by stealth and without discharge you have ordered all our Ships to receive their cattle immediately from the company while you have any of ours fit for their service, and none from the Inhabitants but where you have not sufficient</p>	<p>Approval was expressed for the care taken over the Company's slaves, and it was directed that 50 more should be procured for sale where this could be done without affecting essential needs.</p> <p>Further instructions were given concerning the regulation of ships and trade. It was noted that passengers and boats had sometimes arrived secretly and without proper clearance, and measures were to be taken to prevent this. It was also directed that Company ships should take cattle from Company stock where available, and not from inhabitants except where Company supplies were insufficient.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The reference to "pagodas" indicated non-Christian places of worship, reflecting the diverse religious presence associated with Company activity.</p> <p>The term "almshouses" referred to charitable institutions providing accommodation for those unable to support themselves.</p> <p>The mention of "interlopers" referred to unauthorised traders or persons acting outside Company control, often considered a threat to its monopoly.</p> <p>The assertion of "sovereign power" indicated that the Company exercised both governing authority and legal control over the island, under royal charter.</p> <p>The comparison with Dutch colonies reflected contemporary models of strict colonial governance in the East Indies.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the dismissals of Company servants reflect efforts to enforce accountability and reduce inefficiency within a distant administration.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the emphasis on sovereign authority and martial law was intended to strengthen control following instances of disorder or resistance among inhabitants.</p> <p>The concern over interlopers and unregulated arrivals suggests that the Company was seeking to protect its commercial monopoly and maintain tighter oversight of movement and trade on the island.</p>
168	162	<p>[...] ships with which is the Dutch way as the Cape, and necessary to be observed & imitated by all wise Govern^{ors} but We intend to do it with that moderation as to make it rather a benefit than a hindrance to the Planters, Vizt you shall never from the Planters in Inhabitants give European Commodities at any time above the rate of 15 p^{ct} profit or as near that as the [?] you can reasonably judge for freight alone, and you shall deliver our Sacks to the Commanders in Truck for sugar or other Commodities of India or Bills of Exchange upon us at the same rates of 15 p^{ct} for 300 wt which sugar Arrack or other Commodities of India is received into our Stores you may sell again to the Planters or Inhabitants when they have occasion for it by retail at the reasonable profit of 20 p^{ct} above the reasonable gain upon such trading Commodities, we no man in so wise can think hard or oppressive and for men distracted and ungovernable the only remedy is law and correction which you have now power to provide and inflict at discretion, and which We require you to take care orders We gave you by S^r Tho: Grantham [?] since his</p>	<p>Further directions were given concerning trade, authority and financial management on the island.</p> <p>It was stated that the regulation of trade with ships should follow the Dutch example, as practised at the Cape, and that this method was considered necessary and suitable for adoption. However, it was emphasised that such regulation should be carried out with moderation so that it benefited rather than burdened the planters. It was directed that European commodities should not be sold to planters or inhabitants at a profit exceeding 15 per cent, or as close to that rate as could reasonably be judged after accounting for freight.</p> <p>It was further directed that Company goods were to be supplied to ship commanders in exchange for sugar, arrack or other commodities from India, or for bills of exchange, also calculated at a rate of 15 per cent for 300 weight. These goods, once received into the Company's stores, might then be sold to planters or inhabitants by retail at a profit not exceeding 20 per cent above the original cost. It was stated that such terms could not reasonably be considered oppressive, and that those who resisted regulation were to be corrected by law, which authority the Governor and Council were required to exercise when necessary.</p> <p>Reference was made to previous orders sent by Sir Thomas Grantham, which were expected to be fully obeyed, except in relation to a disputed half-rate charge imposed upon planters.</p> <p>It was also directed that the King's flag should always be displayed, and that all ships entering the road should show proper respect.</p> <p>Concern was expressed that the expense of maintaining the government had become excessive,</p>

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		<p>entirely obeyed except the half rate of [?] laid upon the Planters</p> <p>7 You must alwaies wear the Kings flag and for [?] respect to be paid by all ships that come into your road Our Governm^t expense of sending we think is too much by halfe notwithstanding the apology in your letter of the first of May 1686 Wee think our Honour consists in saving the Company's money, and to [?] the observation yours in that the best you expence [?] very [?] him experience of Salted [?] Ships may some time be necessary in point of expedition, but for our Ships alone they make used formerly is foolish, for probably and is for that [?] provision come in this manner to us without any benefit to his masters (which is certainly more to be provided then ours) but rather to [?] in case of [?]</p> <p>9 Our Govern^t is very much to blame in not doing his duty in keeping Mr Munday from running so much into a debt which he might have prevented by your orders & [?] him as the case stands We require you to seize all Mr Munday's Cattle and sequester them and his Plantation into the Companies hands, and if you should reply to us that he hath made over his plantations and his Cattle to Mr Filson or his Son in law We must answer you in that maxime of the law Nullum tempus [...]</p>	<p>despite explanations given in a letter dated 1 May 1686. It was stated that the honour of the Company depended upon careful management of its finances, and that unnecessary expenditure should be avoided. The use of certain ships was criticised as wasteful, particularly where provisions might be obtained without benefit to the Company, and greater attention to economy was required.</p> <p>The Governor was criticised for failing to prevent Mr Munday from falling heavily into debt. It was directed that all of Mr Munday's cattle and plantation should be seized and placed under the control of the Company. It was further stated that, even if he had transferred his property to Mr Filson or his son-in-law, this should not prevent action being taken, as the principle expressed by the phrase "Nullum tempus [...]" was invoked to assert the Company's continuing right.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The reference to "15 per cent" and "20 per cent" profits showed that trade was to be regulated within fixed margins, balancing Company profit with the interests of inhabitants.</p> <p>The term "arrack" referred to a distilled alcoholic spirit commonly traded in the East Indies.</p> <p>The mention of "300 weight" indicated a standard measure used in bulk trade, reflecting the scale of commercial transactions.</p> <p>The instruction to display the King's flag signified allegiance to royal authority and required recognition from visiting ships.</p> <p>The phrase "Nullum tempus [...]" referred to a legal principle meaning that no lapse of time could bar the enforcement of certain rights, particularly those of the Crown or its agents.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the adoption of Dutch trading practices reflects an effort to emulate a system considered efficient and profitable in comparable colonial settings.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the strict limits on profit were intended to prevent exploitation of planters while still securing revenue for the Company.</p> <p>The criticism of expenditure suggests concern that the island's administration had become financially inefficient, prompting closer oversight from London.</p> <p>The action against Mr Munday indicates a determination to enforce financial discipline and recover debts, even where attempts had been made to transfer property to avoid liability.</p>
169	163	<p>[...] Regi aut Ecclesiae & We are in this Island his Maj[est]ies gracious permission, so long as his Maj[est]ies pleases in loco Regis & therefore all private designations Bargains Sales, or what ever else shall Smell hath none of that kind to others since he hath into Bombay are of no force or Validity by this must alwaies have the Preference in India, as which justly hath here w^{ch} you must ever observe as funding rule in this Island</p> <p>We require for the future that all Goods be first brought ashore or any other things rec^d from our Command^{rs} in their Stores or otherwise be delivered into our Storekeeper, & that he be our generall accomptant</p> <p>& keep all the acc^t of our Island what soever although our goods keep the head duty of landing acc^t in money or by weight or value, We do also to our storekeeper to keep generall account of all goods rec^d into one Book, & we do require our Island storekeeper to keep his distinct acc^t of all past Expences, a particular acc^t of the charges of the Garrison, as a particular acc^t of Plantation Expences that we may see at</p>	<p>Further instructions were given concerning authority, trade and accounting on the island.</p> <p>It was declared that, under the King's permission, the Company exercised authority on the island in the place of the Crown, and that no private agreements, bargains or sales made by individuals after their arrival elsewhere were to be considered valid where they conflicted with the Company's rights. It was emphasised that the Company's interests must always take precedence, and that this principle was to be observed as a fundamental rule in the governance of the island.</p> <p>It was required that all goods and other items received from Company commanders should first be brought ashore and delivered into the custody of the storekeeper. The storekeeper was to act as the general accountant for the island and to maintain all accounts relating to it.</p> <p>It was further directed that all goods received were to be recorded, whether accounted for in money, weight or value, and that a general account of all such goods should be kept in a single book. In addition, the storekeeper was to maintain separate and distinct accounts of all past expenses, including a particular account of the charges of the garrison and another of the expenses of the plantations, so that the sources of expenditure might be clearly understood.</p>

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		<p>one view what it is that eats out the Comp^t Income in all the Charge that happens to the Island howsoever you can contrive it we would have a distinct acc^t kept of all the Charge and expence of our cattle w^{ch} is so great that Generall care would have alwaies fairly kept in order Legers, as our Storekeeper charge himself with all Goods or money received, so we would have him give us credit for all Sugars & Arrack rec^d from our ships or Commanders at the price he takes it to make up the acc^t of fort expence Debts for all Goods Delivered to be spent in the Garrison all Cattle killed for the use of the fort, fish like acc^t we expect he should keep for all Cattle bought or sold or rec^d on any acc^t of the Company, & we order we require you Comanders of the Companys being resided we will be [...]</p>	<p>Special attention was to be given to the costs associated with cattle, which were noted as being considerable, and a clear and orderly system of accounting was to be maintained for these as well. Ledgers were to be properly kept, with the storekeeper charging himself with all goods and money received, and giving credit for all sugar and arrack received from ships or commanders at the prices at which they were entered.</p> <p>It was also directed that accounts should be kept of all goods issued for the use of the garrison, all cattle slaughtered for the fort, and all fish or other provisions used. Similarly, full accounts were to be maintained of all cattle bought, sold or otherwise received on the Company's account.</p> <p>These measures were required in order to ensure a clear and complete view of all income and expenditure connected with the island.</p>
170	164	<p>[...] obeyed by him & all others w^{ch} eat our bread. 11 He shall make y^e Handers pay severely for y^e two Souldiers brought away. You may build 20 [?] or Huts more for Souldiers. 12 Deliver all y^e empty Casks & Iron Hoops you have to you & one Chest of Mollars to Cap^t Harding taking his bill of lading for y^e same consigned to himself free for y^e Comp^t acc^t. 13 You did very well in y^e assistance you gave y^e Rebells w^{ch} then at us you sent y^e Ship out & back were prudent. 14 We can yet observe nothing in yours to us of any effect y^e usage of powder demanded or received by you for y^e use of ships we have referred at our Island w^{ch} you mean by y^e neglect we understand not, being resolved yt all ships of any nation in amity w^t his Maj^{ties} shall pay y^e same Duty at St Helena as y^e Comp^t own ships pay that no more & paying it we would have you treat them w^t all friendship & humanity. 15 We confirme all our orders sent you by Sr Tho: Grantham ships & subsequent conveyances requiring you to have one Book or list w^{ch} we have since amended & entered in a Book to be alwaies lying on your Councill table or at hand & to be read by any of the Councill or made publick to all y^e inhabitants of y^e Island such our Orders being to you as all y^e Inhabitants of y^e Island during his Maj^{ties} pleasure as good Law as Magna Charta is to England & he y^e thinks it to be otherwise doth discover his own ignorance and all foreigners plantations being indissolubly subject to his Maj^{ties} absolute power w^{ch} whoever doubts may easily be satisfied by looking into our Statute books where he will soon observe those English Acts of Parliament extend no further y^e bounds of Kingdom of England Dominion of Wales & towne of Berwick upon Tweed neither is y^e municipall or Common Law of England of any further Extent. 16 We have no account yet of y^e land leather you sent to Barbadoes what more you make of send home by some of our own ships agreeing y^t price [...]</p>	<p>Further instructions were given concerning discipline, supplies, relations with ships and the authority of Company orders.</p> <p>It was directed that all persons in the Company's service should obey the established rules, and that those who lived at the Company's expense were to be strictly governed by them. Particular reference was made to individuals described as "Handers", who were to be punished severely for having taken away two soldiers.</p> <p>Permission was given for the construction of 20 additional huts or similar buildings for the accommodation of soldiers.</p> <p>It was also ordered that all empty casks and iron hoops in possession should be delivered, together with one chest of molasses, to Captain Harding. A bill of lading was to be taken for these items, consigned to him but carried free on the Company's account.</p> <p>Approval was expressed for assistance previously given to rebels, noting that the dispatch and return of a ship in that matter had been carried out with prudence.</p> <p>It was further stated that no clear account had yet been received concerning the use of powder supplied for ships. It was resolved that all ships belonging to nations in amity with the King were to pay the same duties at St Helena as the Company's own ships, and that, upon payment of such duties, they were to be treated with fairness and civility.</p> <p>All prior orders sent by Sir Thomas Grantham and by subsequent communications were confirmed. It was required that these orders be entered into a book kept at the council table, available for inspection by members of the Council and for public knowledge among the inhabitants. These orders were declared to have the force of law on the island during the King's pleasure, comparable in authority to Magna Carta within England, and it was asserted that any person who questioned this showed ignorance. It was further explained that English statute and common law did not extend beyond England, Wales and Berwick upon Tweed, and that colonial possessions remained subject to the absolute authority of the Crown.</p> <p>Lastly, it was noted that no account had yet been received concerning leather sent to Barbados, and it was directed that any further such goods should be sent home by Company ships, with the price to be agreed accordingly.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The term "bill of lading" referred to a formal document acknowledging the receipt and shipment of goods, used as proof of carriage and ownership.</p> <p>The reference to "duties" indicated charges or fees imposed on ships for supplies or services received at the island.</p>

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			<p>The mention of “Magna Carta” served as a comparison to emphasise the binding authority of Company orders within the colony.</p> <p>The distinction between English law and colonial authority reflected the legal framework under which overseas territories were governed.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the insistence on equal duties for all ships reflects an attempt to regulate trade fairly while maintaining the Company’s control over revenue.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the emphasis on the authority of Company orders was intended to prevent challenges from inhabitants who might have sought to rely on English legal protections.</p> <p>The concern over missing accounts and unreported goods suggests ongoing difficulties in maintaining accurate records across distant trading networks.</p>
171	165	<p>[...] all [...] pound according to y^e rate we have sent you under [...] to our Commanders for y^e other purposes supposing some of y^e are to give it as a present if it will be for their service, which we are not willing should be in Charterparty, so yt we may know how to adjust their respects to us, & those who are most forward or backward to Comply w^t reasonable Orders of ours may take notice of it accordingly when they come here 17 We would have Cap^t Harding our Gen^{eral} Bookkeeper & Storekeeper send us no acc^ts but w^{ch} he first have [...] & yt our Gov^t should signe to & [...] to us for [...] & peruse yt acc^t & if he has any Exception yt he would have him write us apart thereof 18 It is very strange yt you should write to us about some pt you have such plenty of to sell to the [...] but we shall speak to our Com^t and desire it know you stand best in your more of yt matter in an after paragraph 19 We give you but a mere hint that a Boye or a [...] of Experience armed w^t the Kings Commission [...] as well as w^t swords & Muskets we should wonder yt such at y^e first paragraph in one of your Letters wherein he longed for y^e Recovery hands or such not have [...] better market if you see any such Persons yet remaining or any Rabbett transported to the Companys works without order we have appointed we would have you in our Island as well as here or as any of a Merchant daily practises being y^e [...] found some enclosed places yt Companys Sheep milke or [...] have made fine to y^e Company at a Range or Composition at y^e discretion of our Gov^t to y^e Banners by reason of y^e Wildness of y^e cattle you cannot preserve y^e Companys Compound as it would otherwise require leaving y^e market [...] which you were young where you might in such case you may [...] some of y^e Souldiers to shoot them [...] sufficient appointed by our Gov^t [...] sales of yt giving a 4th part of y^e value to y^e Souldier for a reward & returning an other 4th part to y^e Company for y^e expenses & giving y^e remaining moiety to y^e publick 20 We think in all future Charterpartyes oblige our Com^t to send all goods to your their Officers sent at St Helena to our Market on a Competent penalty 21 The Dutch at y^e Cape say you may understand from four ships yt have touched there have more money for Licencing one Tavern or Publick house</p>	<p>Further directions were given concerning trade, accounting and the management of resources on the island.</p> <p>It was stated that certain goods were to be valued and supplied to Company commanders for particular purposes, with an acknowledgement that some might be given as presents where this would serve Company interests. It was explained that such transactions were not to be included within charterparty agreements, so that the Company might better assess the conduct of commanders, noting who complied readily with its orders and who did not.</p> <p>It was required that Captain Harding, acting as general bookkeeper and storekeeper, should not send any accounts unless they had first been examined and approved by the Governor, whose signature was to accompany them. Where the Governor had objections, he was to report these separately.</p> <p>Concern was expressed that goods described as being in plentiful supply on the island had nevertheless been the subject of correspondence, and it was indicated that this matter would be addressed further with Company commanders.</p> <p>A suggestion was made that even a young or inexperienced person, if properly authorised under the King’s commission and supported by force, might be able to manage certain matters more effectively. It was further observed that, where individuals remained on the island without proper authority, or had been transported to Company works without order, stricter oversight was required.</p> <p>Attention was drawn to the management of Company livestock. It was noted that, owing to the wildness of cattle, they could not always be properly contained. In such cases, it was permitted that selected soldiers might be appointed to kill them where necessary. The value obtained from such actions was to be divided, with one quarter given to the soldier as a reward, one quarter returned to the Company to offset expenses and the remaining half applied to public use.</p> <p>It was also directed that, in future charterparty agreements, Company commanders should be required to bring all goods intended for St Helena to the Company’s market, under a suitable penalty for failure to comply.</p> <p>Finally, reference was made to practices observed at the Dutch settlement at the Cape, where it was reported that considerable revenue was obtained from licensing taverns or public houses, suggesting that similar measures might be considered.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The reference to “charterparty” indicated formal contracts governing the use and obligations of ships engaged in Company service.</p> <p>The term “general bookkeeper” reflected the role of maintaining comprehensive financial records for the island.</p>

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			<p>The division of proceeds from cattle showed a structured system for distributing value between individuals, the Company and public purposes.</p> <p>The mention of licensing taverns indicated a regulated approach to commercial activity, generating revenue through controlled permissions.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the exclusion of certain transactions from charterparty agreements reflects an effort to retain flexibility in dealing with commanders and to monitor their conduct more closely.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the emphasis on reviewed and signed accounts was intended to improve financial oversight and prevent irregularities in distant administration.</p> <p>The reference to Dutch practices at the Cape suggests that the Company was observing and adapting methods used by rival powers to increase revenue and strengthen control.</p>
172	166	<p>[...] of y^e retailing of Liquors, yt we have got all y^e Revenue of St Helena etc w^{ch} you may particularly understand as we have from Capt. Dutton & Todd of have refused to put in force for effectual and the force we do enjoine you for y^e future to suffer no Persons whatsoever to retail any Liquors or tobacco w^{ch} paying y^e Company any rent or annuall Quarterage we you find it hard, which there is none of y^e Compa neither to use yt occupation without paying y^e Dutch Company 400 £ p annu</p> <p>22 Cap^t Harding's Dissent entered to yt little or no good is in most cases enough and it had been more pro per to have exprest briefly y^e reasons of his Dissent</p> <p>23 Upon perusal of your Council Book beginning at June 1686 we approve of y^e manner of your [...] but think very meanly of you for y^e ma [...] of your sentence & wonder yt in the Case you so easily punish weaker as to let those Blacks [...] w^{ch} whipping w^{ch} an English man would have been condemned to dye although a Jury especially since all y^e for was present who know y^e [...] could not keep y^e people from theft through yt Barbadoes of [...] not punish their thefts Blacks w^{ch} greater severity or those [...] with you yt stops but you [...] we find you take thefts often from these offences far [...] which extremely slight you should require have expell'd [...] or eight times [...] keeping [...] in prison to have Imprisonment</p> <p>24 Your Banishment of Thomas Espings is likewise but a silly piece of pageantry in stead of a punishment if you are ashamed or [...] good should be guilty of so great a [...] you fellow would be worth killing or believe if yt fellow had com mitted no fault deserving of death or Imprison ment you would have thanked y^e God for giving him such an opportunity to satisfie his humour by changing places the said Dutch never banish Whites nor out of India send some such to our poor Europeans rather reward y^e punishment if you had been minded to save this poor slave you should have kept him with an Iron collar about his neck or chained him or confined him to hard Imprisonment or labour till you had an</p>	<p>Further directions were given concerning the regulation of trade, discipline and the administration of justice on the island.</p> <p>It was stated that the retailing of liquor and tobacco was to be strictly controlled, and that no person was to engage in such trade without paying rent or an annual fee to the Company. It was observed that the Dutch derived considerable revenue from similar licensing, and it was therefore required that such measures be enforced more effectively in future.</p> <p>Reference was made to Captain Harding's recorded dissent, and it was remarked that such dissent would have been better expressed briefly and with clear reasons.</p> <p>Upon reviewing the Council Book from June 1686 onwards, approval was given to the general manner in which business had been conducted. However, strong criticism was expressed regarding the handling of punishments. It was observed that offences committed by slaves had been treated with undue leniency, particularly in cases of theft, where whipping had been used instead of more severe punishment. It was suggested that such offences had not been sufficiently deterred, and that repeated wrongdoing had been allowed without proper escalation of penalties, including imprisonment or expulsion.</p> <p>The banishment of Thomas Espings was criticised as ineffective, being described as a measure lacking real consequence. It was argued that, where serious offences had been committed, stronger punishments such as execution, imprisonment or forced labour should have been applied. It was further suggested that, if the intention had been to spare the individual, more restrictive measures could have been imposed, such as confinement, the use of restraints or compulsory labour, rather than removal from the island.</p> <p>Comparison was made with Dutch practice, noting that they did not banish Europeans from their settlements in India, but instead applied punishment within their own jurisdictions.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The term "quarterage" referred to a periodic payment or fee required for the right to carry on a particular trade, such as selling liquor.</p> <p>The reference to a "Council Book" indicated the official record of proceedings and decisions taken by the Governor and Council.</p> <p>The criticism of "banishment" reflected a view that removal from the island did not constitute a sufficiently severe or effective punishment in a controlled colonial setting.</p> <p>The mention of "whipping" indicated a common form of corporal punishment used for disciplinary offences.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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			<p>Perhaps the emphasis on licensing the sale of liquor and tobacco reflects an effort to increase Company revenue while maintaining control over trade.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the criticism of lenient punishments was intended to strengthen discipline and deter repeated offences, particularly in a small and closely managed community.</p> <p>The comparison with Dutch methods suggests that the Company was consciously evaluating and adapting practices observed in rival colonial administrations to improve its own governance.</p>
173	167	<p>[...] opportunity to banish him to y^e West coast of Sumatra or some place where he might make a fortune trading in India and be add[ed] w^t a number of English on this Rich for proper people fit to this Kingdome are obliged to have in yt particular, and therefore we forbid you to send poor people over to work y^e produce of your Island with such as come banish'd as sending a Delinquent home to his own Country</p> <p>25 Upon perusal of y^e Council Book beginning yt 2d July 1686 we observe you took upon you an arbitrary power of over your servants, took liberty of changing those yt is with some (innocent) when in honesty he would or have you take them off especially when it is no reall service to us which you do not so much as pretend in y^e Council and since you have left it to us to impose the Kings rent upon y^e Island you have a Listener presently in Chappell Valley, we do assure you at two Docks or harbour and warn you to settle into some regular Rentsall and revenues accordingly</p> <p>26 We think you have made encroachments in this fashion to be levied by Poll upon all y^e owners of Blacks, so that y^e other Owners of White shall be excused for the same offence which is a good Law and which we do therefore hereby confirm for standing Law in that Island, but you must take care that you have not power to give, release or remit of y^e Companys money authority to this purpose nor Claim by</p> <p>27 The Defamation of Knipely Esteban is a mean Crime and therefore besides satisfaction to be paid you ought upon Conviction to impose a fine to y^e Company The Law you should have done upon confession of y^e battery & wounding which you found not to be so but only Defamation according to y^e Companys orders</p> <p>28 This course that you give us upon Cattle is insufficient method as all[...]</p>	<p>Further instructions and criticisms were set out concerning punishment, labour, taxation and legal practice on the island.</p> <p>It was stated that, where offenders were to be removed, they might instead have been sent to places such as the west coast of Sumatra, where they could have engaged in trade and potentially improved their condition, rather than being returned to their own country. It was expressly forbidden to send poor people away from the island to work its produce in such a manner, or to treat banishment simply as a means of removing offenders back to England.</p> <p>Upon reviewing the Council Book beginning 2 July 1686, it was observed that arbitrary authority had been exercised over servants, including the reassignment or removal of individuals without sufficient justification or clear benefit to the Company. It was noted that such actions had not been properly explained in the Council's records. It was further directed that, since responsibility for imposing the King's rent had been left to the island authorities, a more regular system of rents and revenues should be established and properly maintained.</p> <p>It was observed that a tax had been levied upon the owners of slaves, while owners of white servants had been exempted for similar circumstances. This arrangement was approved and confirmed as standing law for the island. However, it was emphasised that the Governor and Council did not have authority to remit or release Company funds without proper approval.</p> <p>The offence of defamation, in the case of Knipely Esteban, was described as a minor crime. It was stated that, in addition to any satisfaction paid to the injured party, a fine should have been imposed payable to the Company. It was also noted that, although an accusation of battery and wounding had been made, the matter had been found to amount only to defamation, and should have been treated accordingly under Company orders.</p> <p>Finally, it was observed that the methods being used in relation to cattle management were insufficient, though the passage ended before further detail was provided.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The reference to banishment to places such as Sumatra reflected the use of Company settlements elsewhere as alternative destinations for offenders, where they might still be of economic use.</p> <p>The "King's rent" referred to revenue owed under the authority granted by the Crown, forming part of the island's financial obligations.</p> <p>The distinction between slaves and white servants in taxation showed differing legal and economic treatment within the colonial system.</p> <p>The term "defamation" referred to damage to a person's reputation, treated as a lesser offence than physical assault.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Perhaps the suggestion to send offenders to other Company settlements reflects an effort to retain their economic value rather than simply expelling them.</p> <p>It is probably the case that the emphasis on regular rents and revenues indicates concern over inconsistent or poorly managed financial systems on the island.</p>

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			<p>The approval of taxation on slave owners alone may suggest a recognition of their greater economic capacity, or an attempt to regulate the use of slave labour more directly.</p> <p>The criticism of insufficient cattle management implies ongoing difficulties in controlling livestock, which may have had wider implications for food supply and economic stability.</p>
174	168	<p>[...] account of our Revenues, but in the accounts of the expence of our store, now ordered, we would have your Cattle and all other things expended at ye fort brought to that account in money in price.</p> <p>29 We will allow no Victualls for ye future to any Artificers working at ye fort nor to the Gunner his Mate nor the Sergeants. The Armourers on the Drummers those allowances might be reasonable formerly before we had Baracks or Houses in ye fort but now are not to be used, being once you & Councill may make a ration in ye fort to furnish ye Officers and Soldiers with what is needfull at reasonable rates on their laying money in guard may be admitted to have his Diet whilst he is upon ye guard. The wages we give our officers and soldiers at St Helena is as good as we give at any other places within our Service and provisions are as cheap and cheaper there then in many other places and therefore we see no cause why we should give more wages or allowances there then we do in any other and greater Garrisons.</p> <p>30 In ye Room of Cap^t Hand and Mr Cox displaced from our Councill and service we appoint Mr Rich^d Ruling to be one of ye of our Councill and Ensign at ye Salary of 30 pounds p Annum from ye arrivall of this Letter & Mr Williams Assistant to our generall Book keeper and Storekeeper untill we shall send over two writers more and one accomptant generall capable. Mr Ruling</p> <p>31 Mr Bra^bown we cannot yet provide for, we intend this Ship goes to one of our settled factories in India but we shall take care of him by ye next ships more in ye mean time desire he would continue diligently to assist here our Government in writing work which shall be no hindrance to him in point of time for what he loses there in a good air and shall be recompensed to him a second time in India.</p> <p>32 Its now high time for us to come to resolution what to be done with ye Estates of ye Rebels that were executed now remaining in the hand of their Widdowes, in ye valuation thereof and proceeds</p>	<p>Directions were issued concerning the treatment of financial records. Although revenues had already been entered, it was required that the expenses of the Company's store should now include cattle and all other goods consumed at the fort, and that these should be recorded in monetary value at their assessed price.</p> <p>A clear order was given that no victuals should in future be issued to artificers working at the fort, nor to the gunner, his mate, or the sergeants. The allowances previously granted to armourers and drummers were acknowledged as having perhaps been reasonable before barracks or housing had been established within the fort. However, as such accommodation was now in place, these provisions were to cease. It was instead directed that a rationing system should be organised within the fort, by which officers and soldiers could be supplied with necessary provisions at reasonable rates. Guards who deposited money were to be permitted to receive food while on duty. It was further stated that the wages paid to officers and soldiers at St Helena were as good as those given elsewhere within the Company's service, and that provisions on the island were as cheap, or cheaper, than in many other locations. No justification was therefore recognised for granting higher wages or allowances than those provided in other, even larger, garrisons.</p> <p>Following the removal of Captain Hand and Mr Cox from the Council and the Company's service, Mr Richard Ruling was appointed as a member of the Council and as an ensign, with a salary of £30 per annum from the date of the letter's arrival. Mr Williams was appointed as assistant to the general bookkeeper and storekeeper, to serve until two additional writers and a capable accountant general should be sent.</p> <p>Regarding Mr Bra^bown, it was stated that no immediate provision could yet be made for him. An intention was expressed to send him by the present ship to one of the Company's established factories in India, although it was also stated that further arrangements would be made for him by subsequent ships. In the meantime, a request was made that he should continue diligently assisting the government at St Helena with clerical work. Assurance was given that this interim duty would not disadvantage him in terms of time, as the healthier climate was considered beneficial, and it was stated that he would be compensated again when employed in India.</p> <p>Attention was then turned to the estates of rebels who had been executed. It was observed that their property remained in the possession of their widows, and that a resolution was now required concerning the valuation of these estates and the handling of their proceeds.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Artificers" referred to skilled craftsmen employed in military or construction work, including trades such as carpentry, masonry, or engineering, who were engaged in maintaining or building fortifications.</p> <p>"Victuals" denoted food issued under official authority, particularly within military or naval systems, where such provisions formed part of regulated subsistence rather than informal supply.</p> <p>"Laying money in guard" probably described a system in which soldiers or guards paid in advance to receive rations while on duty, indicating a controlled</p>

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			<p>arrangement where provisions were not freely issued but purchased.</p> <p>“Diet whilst he is upon ye guard” indicated the allocation of food specifically during periods of guard duty, linking subsistence directly to active service rather than general entitlement.</p> <p>“Writers” were junior clerical servants employed by the East India Company, responsible for copying documents, maintaining records, and assisting in administrative duties, often forming the lowest rank in the Company’s civil service hierarchy.</p> <p>“Accomptant generall” referred to a senior official responsible for overseeing financial records, auditing accounts, and ensuring the accuracy of all monetary transactions within the Company’s administration.</p> <p>“Factories in India” described established Company trading settlements, which functioned as administrative and commercial centres rather than manufacturing sites, and were integral to the Company’s operations in the East Indies.</p> <p>“Estates of ye Rebels” referred to the property and assets belonging to individuals who had been executed for rebellion, which were subject to confiscation, valuation, and redistribution under Company authority.</p> <p>“Valuation thereof and proceeds” denoted the formal assessment of the monetary worth of confiscated property and the subsequent handling or distribution of the funds realised from its sale or management.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The restructuring of provisioning arrangements was perhaps intended to reduce Company expenditure while imposing greater financial discipline on the garrison, reflecting broader administrative reforms.</p> <p>The appointment of Mr Richard Ruling and Mr Williams suggests that the removal of Captain Hand and Mr Cox created both military and administrative gaps, which were addressed by promoting individuals already connected to the Company’s service.</p> <p>The temporary retention of Mr Bra[b]own in clerical duties at St Helena may indicate a shortage of trained administrative personnel on the island, requiring flexible use of available staff until reinforcements arrived.</p> <p>The reference to sending Mr Bra[b]own to a factory in India suggests that service at St Helena was regarded as a transitional posting within a wider imperial career structure.</p> <p>The consideration of the estates of executed rebels was perhaps connected to the enforcement of authority following unrest, with the redistribution or confiscation of property serving both as punishment and as a means of reinforcing Company control.</p>
175	169	<p>you have used more Moderation then they would have shewed you if they had prevailed but since exemplary Justice hath been done upon those some wee doe likewise encl[i]ne to mercy, so far as we may not incurre the dangers of that excellent Adage too much pitty spoiles a City (that is a Gov[...]) therefore we doe hereby give you orders and Authori[t]y [...] Executed Rebels all yt personall Estate belonging to their late Husbands and Fathers, but forbid mu[...][...] you have too many free Holders already upon that Island to maintaine any good Government such [...] Sequester into ye Comp[an]y hand and their successors [...] for ever all ye houses and Lands belonging to ye sd [...] Executed persons requiring you to be Leases of ye same [...] Lands to such persons as will give most for them for 21 yeares and that those severall plantations [...] at ye yearly rent they will yeild be entred into ye Register of ye Comp[an]y yearly & Chief rents and [...] forfeited to ye Comp[an]y and their successors and</p>	<p>Instructions were issued in response to the recent rebellion and its suppression. It was stated that, although greater severity might have been shown had the rebels prevailed, exemplary justice had already been carried out upon some of those involved. A degree of mercy was therefore considered appropriate, though it was emphasised that this must not go so far as to endanger proper government, in accordance with the principle that excessive leniency could weaken authority.</p> <p>Authority was granted to the widows and children of those executed for rebellion to retain all personal property that had belonged to their husbands and fathers. However, it was ordered that their real property should not remain in private hands. Concern was expressed that there were already too many freeholders on the island to maintain effective governance. It was therefore directed that all houses and lands belonging to those executed should be sequestered into the hands of the Company and its successors.</p> <p>Further instructions required that these lands should be leased out for terms of 21 years to those</p>

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		<p>yt [...] thereof from time to time be added brought to ye Compl[an]y credit and we hope yt industrious tenants to [...] plantations may grow well afford to pay ye Compl[an]y fair shillings p acre rents of all ye Land besides ye Chief rent of twelve pence p acre which [...] whole is worth ye Cable Duty and other Duties paid paid by ye rest of ye planters/ 23 In coming to ye more men Condemned and reprieved at present under ye sentence of Death and concerning their Estates reall and personall their wives and their Children we shall determine nothing now positively, but hope that to ye next ship we now intend shall follow this and stop at ye Island to proceed from thence [...] for St George for in ye generall we may assure those condemned persons we have thoughts of mercy and kindnes towards them and that some of them shall suffer death for example one of them I shall [...] soberly and obediently hereafter to which purpose we have thought by ye next ships that his Maj[es]tie live to send to each of them pardon for their lives under our Common Seale or rather it</p>	<p>willing to offer the highest rents. Each plantation was to be recorded in the Company's register, with its yearly rent and chief rent clearly entered. Any failure to meet these obligations would result in forfeiture to the Company and its successors. The income derived from these estates was to be credited to the Company on an ongoing basis. Confidence was expressed that industrious tenants would be able to cultivate the plantations successfully and to pay fair rents, estimated at several shillings per acre in addition to a chief rent of 12d per acre. It was observed that, taken together, these payments would be equivalent to the cable duty and other charges borne by the rest of the planters.</p> <p>Attention was then directed to those individuals who had been condemned to death but reprieved. No final determination was made at that time regarding their real and personal estates, nor concerning their wives and children. It was stated that a further decision would be communicated by the next ship intended to follow, which was expected to call at the island before proceeding onwards. In general terms, it was indicated that some measure of mercy and leniency was under consideration for these condemned persons, although it was also made clear that some might still be executed as examples to others. A condition was expressed that any who were spared should conduct themselves soberly and obediently in future.</p> <p>It was further proposed that, by a subsequent ship, pardons for their lives might be sent under the Company's common seal, provided that His Majesty continued to live.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Sequester into the Company hand" referred to the legal confiscation of property, by which ownership of land and buildings was transferred from private individuals to the East India Company, placing it under corporate control.</p> <p>"Freeholders" denoted individuals who held land in their own right rather than by lease, a status which could limit the Company's direct authority over land use and local governance.</p> <p>"Chief rent" was a fixed annual payment due from a tenant to a superior landlord, in this case the Company, forming part of a layered system of land tenure inherited from English legal practice.</p> <p>"Cable duty" referred to a local tax or levy imposed on shipping or trade, possibly associated with anchorage or maritime services, and used here as a benchmark for comparing the value of land rents.</p> <p>"Common seal" indicated the official seal of the East India Company, used to authenticate formal legal instruments such as pardons, thereby giving them binding authority.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The decision to allow widows and children to retain personal property while confiscating land was perhaps intended to balance deterrence with compassion, ensuring that rebellion was punished without entirely dispossessing families.</p> <p>The emphasis on reducing the number of freeholders suggests a concern that independent landowners might resist Company authority, making leased tenure a more controllable system.</p> <p>The structured leasing of confiscated estates may have been designed to increase revenue while also encouraging agricultural productivity under more reliable and accountable tenants.</p> <p>The cautious approach towards those reprieved indicates that the Company sought to retain flexibility, using the possibility of pardon or execution as a means of maintaining discipline and reinforcing obedience among the population.</p>
176	170	[...] without charge and his M[...] seale of England and their persons and such of their wives	Further provision was described for those who had been condemned and later spared. It was indicated that

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		<p>and Children, we desire to remove not from you we intend to transport to Fort St George where yt men and youth shall have [...] pay of [...] upon their first arrivall there and may live happily and thrive upon any trade better then ever they could hope to doe at St Helena in such a remote place as they kept, Fort St George being yt certainly yt civillest Colony the most thriving populous pleasant healthfull place of any in India where Europeans doe or have dwelt, we have supplied you have more particularly understand by delivery of all persons com[m]ing from thence.</p> <p>34 The allowance that goes now over was yt not by our order to have yt same allowance yt former had before, we revoke this order & that since we have forbid yt act of y^e formerly allowed his practice you must allow him so many two pences in furtherance</p> <p>35 Mr Ruling we do appoint to be our attorney Generall upon that Island whose Office must be employed upon any person owing money to y^e Company or committing any Misdemeanor before our Councill there and we do joyne Ca[...][...] him the Execution of Office to follow yt orders of our Gov^{or} and Councill which bring us to Mr Beach case whose Husband is greatly in our debt that we cannot allow 36 [...][...] will make us satisfaction and therefore we require you forthwith to seize upon all houses Lands and Plantations and all yt said formerly belong to her Husband over great Debts and sequester the same to ye Company's use, all which we believe will more then his debt to ye Company which might be an excuse why you so gently dealt and countenanced yt last Rebellion notwithstanding we give you leave to be mercifull and leave to her widowe and children their ready money and all other moveables.</p> <p>37 The houses Lands and plantations we would have you not to sell but to lett by Lease for years to Mr Cox or who ever shall underbidd him upon yt most and best rent to be paid quarterly.</p> <p>38 The like we say to yt Company's plantations and yt unnecessary remainder of them stock, if our Gov^{or} and councill should find it most for our advantage to lett yt out by Lease.</p>	<p>pardons for their lives might be granted without charge under His Majesty's seal of England. Arrangements were outlined for the removal of certain individuals, together with some of their wives and children, from St Helena. It was intended that they should be transported to Fort St George, where the men and youths would receive pay upon their arrival and would have the opportunity to live more successfully through trade than had been possible on St Helena. That settlement was described as the most civil, prosperous, populous, pleasant, and healthful European colony in India. It was noted that further details would be understood through those arriving from that place.</p> <p>A previous allowance that had been sent out without proper authority was revoked. Since the earlier practice to which it related had now been forbidden, it was directed that a reduced payment, expressed in small coin, should instead be granted in support of the individual concerned.</p> <p>Mr Richard Ruling was appointed as attorney general on the island. His office was to be employed in pursuing any person indebted to the Company or guilty of misdemeanour before the Governor and Council. It was directed that, in executing this office, he should act in accordance with the orders of the Governor and Council.</p> <p>The case of Mr Beach's widow was then addressed. It was stated that her husband had been heavily indebted to the Company and had not made satisfaction. Instructions were given that all houses, lands, and plantations formerly belonging to him should be seized and sequestered for the Company's use. It was considered that these assets would more than cover the debt owed. A suggestion was made that the leniency previously shown in relation to the recent rebellion may have been influenced by these circumstances. Nevertheless, permission was granted for mercy to be shown, allowing the widow and her children to retain their ready money and all other movable goods.</p> <p>It was ordered that the houses, lands, and plantations so recovered should not be sold but instead let on lease for a term of years. Mr Cox, or any other person willing to offer a higher rent, was to be granted such leases, with rents to be paid quarterly.</p> <p>A similar approach was recommended for the Company's own plantations and for any surplus stock considered unnecessary. If judged advantageous by the Governor and Council, these assets were likewise to be leased out rather than retained under direct management.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"His Majesty's seal of England" referred to the formal royal authority under which pardons could be issued, giving them full legal validity and demonstrating that clemency had official sanction at the highest level.</p> <p>"Two pences" indicated a small monetary allowance, suggesting a modest supplementary payment rather than a full wage or ration, and reflecting a controlled approach to expenditure.</p> <p>"Attorney general" denoted the principal legal officer on the island, responsible for representing the Company in legal matters, including the recovery of debts and the prosecution of offences.</p> <p>"Sequester" described the legal act of confiscating property and placing it under the control of the Company, typically in response to debt or misconduct.</p> <p>"Ready money" referred to cash or immediately available funds, as distinct from property or goods, and was often treated differently in legal settlements.</p> <p>"Moveables" encompassed personal property that could be physically transferred, such as furniture, livestock, or goods, as opposed to fixed assets like land and buildings.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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			<p>The removal of pardoned individuals to Fort St George was perhaps intended to reduce the risk of renewed unrest on St Helena while offering them a controlled opportunity for reintegration within the Company's wider territories.</p> <p>The emphasis on Fort St George as a prosperous and healthy settlement may have been designed to encourage acceptance of relocation and to present it as a favourable alternative rather than a punishment.</p> <p>The appointment of Mr Richard Ruling as attorney general suggests a strengthening of legal administration on the island, possibly in response to recent disorder and the need for more rigorous enforcement of Company authority.</p> <p>The seizure of Mr Beach's estate indicates that financial accountability was closely tied to political loyalty, and that indebtedness to the Company could result in severe consequences, particularly in times of instability.</p> <p>The preference for leasing rather than selling land reflects a strategy to maintain long term control over property while still generating regular income, thereby reinforcing the Company's economic and administrative dominance.</p>
177	171	<p>[...] and can find a tenant answer for it that will be to pay yt rent well, but in case there shall be a widdow never to suffer any Tenant to come into a [...] should desire to take widdow & plantation or she may absolutely enjoyne but leave to yt serious considerac^t [...] this liberty that in case of apparent want of Tenants for yt forfeited houses & plantations you may if you think it expedient for this one time make the same Tenants out of our Souldiers who enjoyning them not withstanding to do their duty at yt fort for yt pay untill we shall send you a farther recruit of Souldiers, w^{ch} we intend to do this Winter by ye next ships The Harvest time here being no proportion for yt sending of them 39 That stock of money or Cash standing as not Orders to receive from you shall lye by in yt Store Keepers hands, not to be broken upon, but in yt case of some exigency of a rebellion or or an invasion as yt Romans formerly after they had been so frequently invaded by yt Gauls kept alwayes a sacred treasury which was not to be touched upon any emergency but an Invasion of yt [...].</p> <p>40 You will see by ye bill of loading and invoice enclosed that we have send you a supply of such proper goods as it may be needfull for ye Island, the brandy being in double cask freight and leakages likewise considered we cannot sell under six shillings p Gallon & every householder a Do[...]: p Gallon in that Island</p> <p>41 The Sugar is so very good that we cannot take less then nine pence per pound for it being ye best sort of white Drawn and two shillings p pound tobacco w^{ch} ye poorest nature can afford for it w^{ch} best sweet scented Virginia yt people of ye best quality smoke heeves and by retail will bring the same rate of two shillings p pound in yt shop</p>	<p>Further instructions were issued regarding the letting of confiscated houses and plantations. It was directed that, where suitable tenants could be found who would reliably pay the agreed rents, such leases should proceed. However, particular care was to be taken in cases involving widows. It was ordered that no tenant should be imposed upon a widow against her wishes, and that she might either retain possession herself or agree voluntarily to arrangements involving a tenant. This matter was left to careful consideration in each case.</p> <p>Provision was also made for situations where tenants could not readily be found for forfeited houses and plantations. In such circumstances, authority was granted, for this occasion only, to assign these properties to soldiers as tenants, on the condition that they continued to perform their duties at the fort and received their regular pay. This arrangement was to remain in place until further reinforcements of soldiers could be sent, which were intended to be dispatched during the winter by the next ships, as the current harvest season was considered unsuitable for their transport.</p> <p>Instructions were then given concerning a reserve of money held on the island. Any cash remaining in the storekeeper's hands for which no immediate orders of expenditure had been issued was to be kept untouched. It was to be reserved only for extreme emergencies, such as rebellion or invasion. This policy was compared to the practice of the Romans, who, after repeated invasions by the Gauls, had maintained a sacred treasury that was not to be used except in the event of a serious external threat.</p> <p>Attention was next drawn to supplies sent to the island, as detailed in the enclosed bill of lading and invoice. It was stated that appropriate goods had been dispatched for the island's needs. The price of brandy was fixed at no less than 6s per gallon, taking into account the cost of double casking, freight, and losses through leakage. Each householder was to be limited in the quantity they might purchase.</p> <p>The quality of the sugar was described as very good, being of the finest white drawn sort, and it was ordered that it should not be sold for less than 9d per pound. Tobacco was likewise addressed, being described as the best sweet scented Virginia tobacco, suitable even for persons of the highest quality. It was stated that such tobacco could not be afforded at less than 2s per pound, and that this price would also be maintained in retail sales within the shops.</p>

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			<p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Double cask” referred to the practice of placing one cask within another or reinforcing a cask for transport, a method used to reduce leakage and spoilage during long sea voyages.</p> <p>“White drawn” described a refined grade of sugar that had undergone processing to remove impurities, producing a lighter and more desirable product compared to raw or brown sugar.</p> <p>“Bill of loading” referred to a document listing the goods shipped aboard a vessel, detailing their quantity, type, and destination, and serving as an official record for trade and accounting purposes.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The protection afforded to widows in decisions about tenancy was perhaps intended to maintain social stability on the island, preventing resentment that might arise from forced displacement.</p> <p>The temporary use of soldiers as tenants suggests a pragmatic approach to maintaining agricultural productivity, ensuring that land did not remain idle despite shortages of civilian tenants.</p> <p>The maintenance of a reserved cash fund indicates a cautious financial policy, reflecting awareness of the island’s vulnerability to sudden crises such as rebellion or external attack.</p> <p>The fixed pricing of imported goods such as brandy, sugar, and tobacco was probably intended to regulate the local market, prevent profiteering, and ensure a controlled distribution of essential and desirable commodities.</p>
178	172	<p>in England though we had it cheaper then any Retailer buy it, taking so great a quantity of it as five Tuns together, of Alderman Jefferyes who is and adventurer with us./</p> <p>42 All ye small things and Haberdashery Ware you will find to be exceeding good in their kind and must sell them at no less than Twenty p Cent above the Invoice price, neither would we have you put ym at any higher rate because since we have by this Letter totally forbid ye trade of Cattle with our Shipping, we would afford ye Planters better pennyworths of wt they have occasion for, than any they have usually bought aboard our ships because they shall have not just a cause to complain and if they complain without a cause We will punish their Insolencies with ye greater severity./</p> <p>43 Our purpose is to serve ye Island so reasonably with all necessaries, that it were in their power it shall not be worth their while to go on board our ships to buy any thing from thence, and for that cause we give you leave at your discretion to abate wt you think fitt for our own Deal or any other thing lying by you, yt ye poorer (not planters) I think to be especially deare./</p> <p>44 And although we have limited and qualiff[ie]d ye ye planters trading in beef, to the uncertain adva[ntage] (whatever yt may think for it) yet we leave them to ye freedom of trading with our Commanders in Boats shore goods or other small things in our market places, but not on board our ships./</p> <p>If you say you wants shipping to banish offenders to Borneo or Adapen who have deserved death or exile let the truth you must keep such offenders in prison till you have one of our ships with you for some say of St George and send ye prisoners by that ship to our generall or president just an act of their Crimes, and your sentence upon them I shall serve yt Companys or 11 yeares in any place of India where ye generall or president shall think to send him.</p>	<p>A comparison was made regarding the cost of tobacco, it having been noted that in England it had been obtained more cheaply than any retailer could purchase it, due to the Company’s acquisition of a large quantity, amounting to five tuns, from Alderman Jefferyes, who was identified as an adventurer associated with the Company.</p> <p>It was stated that small goods and haberdashery wares sent to the island were of very good quality. Instructions were given that these items should be sold at no less than 20 per cent above the invoice price, but that no higher rate should be imposed. This pricing policy was linked to a broader directive that the trade in cattle with Company shipping had been entirely forbidden. It was intended that the planters should be supplied with better value goods from the Company’s store than those they had previously purchased aboard ships. It was further declared that no just cause for complaint should arise, and that any complaints made without proper grounds would be punished with severity.</p> <p>The intention was expressed that the island should be so reasonably supplied with all necessary goods that it would not be worthwhile for inhabitants to purchase items directly from ships. To support this aim, authority was granted to reduce prices at discretion for certain goods held in store, particularly where this might benefit poorer inhabitants who were not planters.</p> <p>Although restrictions had been placed upon the planters’ trade in beef, leaving them with only an uncertain advantage, they were still permitted to trade freely with the commanders of ships in certain limited ways. This included the exchange of goods brought ashore by boat or sold in the market places, but explicitly excluded any trading conducted aboard the ships themselves.</p> <p>In matters of punishment and exile, it was stated that, where offenders had committed crimes deserving death or banishment, they should be detained in prison until a Company ship became available. Once such a vessel arrived, particularly one bound for Fort St George, the prisoners were to be sent under custody to the Governor or President there. A full account of their</p>

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			<p>crimes, together with the sentence imposed upon them, was to accompany each prisoner. It was indicated that such individuals might then be required to serve the Company for a term of eleven years in any part of India as determined by the Governor or President.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Adventurer” referred to an investor in the East India Company, who contributed capital to its ventures and shared in the profits of its trade, rather than indicating personal risk taking in a modern sense.</p> <p>“Tuns” denoted large casks used for measuring bulk liquids such as wine or spirits, with one tun representing a substantial volume, thereby indicating the scale of the Company’s purchase.</p> <p>“Haberdashery ware” described small manufactured goods, such as clothing accessories, sewing items, and other everyday commodities, typically sold in bulk for retail distribution.</p> <p>“Invoice price” referred to the recorded cost of goods as listed in the shipping or trade documents, forming the basis upon which resale prices were calculated.</p> <p>“Twenty per cent above the invoice price” indicated a fixed profit margin imposed by the Company, reflecting a controlled pricing strategy rather than a fluctuating market rate.</p> <p>“General or President” referred to the senior Company official governing a major settlement or presidency in India, who held authority over legal, administrative, and military matters within that region.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The emphasis on controlled pricing and the prohibition of trade aboard ships suggests an effort to centralise commerce through the Company’s own stores, thereby limiting private trading opportunities and increasing official revenue.</p> <p>The restriction on cattle trading with ships may have been intended to prevent depletion of local resources or to eliminate informal markets that undermined Company control.</p> <p>The allowance for reduced prices for poorer inhabitants indicates a recognition of economic inequality on the island and a desire to maintain social stability by ensuring access to essential goods.</p> <p>The requirement to transport serious offenders to India rather than executing or exiling them locally suggests a preference for retaining labour within the Company’s wider system, while also removing potentially disruptive individuals from the island.</p>
179	173	<p>[...] yt he shall be for ever Banish’d from St Helena Your Souldiers keep constantly in Barracks and suffer none of yt under great penalties to lye one night or Day constantly on Shoare in ye Plantations nor any where there is a great confluence of people & drinking to be preparing in yt Fort, it will be very carefull to appeare suffi[c]ient in victualls for well for all kind of provisions whether may sell at prices if you see cause build a convenient Store house for Cattle or fort, for in whatsoever you ap[re]h[e]nd yt Beneficall Office may may not be sold at reasonable rates to ye Company or you may likewise improve increase your Rents Whereas we have said before we will hereafter allow no Dyet as usuall formerly to be given to the Souldiers on shore we design keeping them in the Fort by which means so possible we may at least for a time ye expence of provisions & detention to retard some [...] if the officers think fit as well as Armourers with a little money in lieu of beef but as few as possible be care.</p>	<p>Further directions were given concerning punishment, discipline, provisioning, and trade. It was ordered that any offender so sentenced should be banished for ever from St Helena. Strict discipline was required among the soldiers, who were to be kept constantly in barracks. It was directed that none of them should be permitted, under severe penalties, to remain on shore overnight or during the day among the plantations or in places where large gatherings and drinking occurred. Attention was also drawn to the importance of maintaining sufficient victuals within the fort, and it was suggested that a suitable storehouse for cattle or provisions should be constructed if considered necessary. Where opportunities arose, it was indicated that beneficial arrangements might be made to improve the Company’s position, including increasing rents where appropriate.</p> <p>Reference was made to earlier instructions that no regular diet should be issued to soldiers on shore as had formerly been the practice. The intention was to keep them within the fort, thereby reducing the expense of provisions and limiting disorder. It was suggested that, if thought appropriate by the officers, certain individuals such as armourers might receive small</p>

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		<p>46 Your Souldiers must buy ye beef of ye Company allow instead of one of it and we it must you hereby use of our victualls to ye Souldiers out they have allowance for at 20 [...] wt which price ye quantity [...] will be a considerable profit to ye Island and we would thus doing the expence of your fort or ordinary regularly be lessened, ye Souldiers will gain considerably and may afford to give ye Company better rent for their habitations as you shall order them or spare him of those slaughter houses on ye convenient already erected for yt purpose./</p> <p>47 That ye your present Planters and some of new wee judge are willing to accomodate them w^{ch} small things in exchange as we can afford we have sent you ten Hogsheads of ye best Virginia leaf Tobacco which may sell out to any of our Souldiers or Seamen yt arrive that sort for 6 d p pound w^{ch} are to be in possession of and design before mentioned of making all things so cheap in ye Island that no seamen shall rather desire or have any occasion to buy any of you than to get them./</p> <p>48 In farther pursuance of which design we intend by our next ships to send you a good quantity of sugars which you may retaile as you please at 8 d p pound currency money of St Helena in like specie Dollars or any else at w^{ch} rate we time set them of.</p> <p>A our pitch or tar is mostly of uncertain vent or only necessary for our shipping who will ne[...]</p>	<p>monetary allowances in place of beef, though such cases were to be kept to a minimum.</p> <p>It was further directed that soldiers should purchase their beef from the Company rather than receive it as an allowance. Provisions were to be supplied at set prices, from which a reasonable profit would accrue to the island. By these measures, it was expected that the ordinary expenses of the fort would be reduced. At the same time, soldiers were anticipated to benefit financially and thereby be able to pay improved rents for their lodgings, as ordered, or to make use of slaughterhouses already established for that purpose.</p> <p>Consideration was given to the needs of both existing and newly arrived planters. It was stated that small goods might be supplied to them in exchange under favourable terms. A shipment of ten hogsheads of the best Virginia leaf tobacco had been sent, to be sold to soldiers or seamen arriving on the island at a rate of 6d per pound. This formed part of the broader intention to make goods sufficiently cheap on the island that seamen would have no incentive to purchase supplies elsewhere.</p> <p>In continuation of this policy, it was stated that further shipments of sugar would be sent by the next ships. This sugar was to be retailed at 8d per pound in the currency of St Helena, whether in dollars or other accepted forms. These measures were intended to reinforce the policy of regulating prices and ensuring adequate supply.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Banish’d from St Helena” referred to the formal expulsion of an individual from the island, preventing their return and removing them from the Company’s jurisdiction there.</p> <p>“Barracks” denoted communal military accommodation within the fort, intended to centralise control over soldiers and reduce disorder associated with dispersed lodging.</p> <p>“Victualls” referred to food supplies issued or sold under official authority, forming part of a regulated provisioning system within the garrison.</p> <p>“Hogsheads” were large casks used for storing and transporting bulk goods such as tobacco, indicating a substantial quantity in the shipment described.</p> <p>“Currency money of St Helena” referred to the locally accepted forms of payment on the island, including specie such as Spanish dollars, which circulated alongside other monetary units in Company settlements.</p> <p>“Slaughter houses” were designated facilities for the butchering of livestock, maintained under Company oversight to regulate meat supply and hygiene.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The strict requirement to keep soldiers within barracks suggests an effort to reduce disorder and limit interaction with the civilian population, which may have been associated with previous unrest.</p> <p>The shift from issuing provisions to requiring soldiers to purchase them indicates a move towards a more controlled and revenue generating system of supply.</p> <p>The emphasis on making goods inexpensive and widely available reflects a deliberate attempt to discourage private trade and ensure that all commerce passed through Company controlled channels.</p> <p>The continued supply of tobacco and sugar at regulated prices may have been intended not only to stabilise the local economy but also to maintain morale among soldiers and seamen by ensuring access to desirable commodities.</p>
180	174	[...] but in cases of necessity & moreover we would of those Commodities no sell least at a Cent above ye Invoice price	Directions were issued concerning the handling and sale of pitch and tar. These commodities were not to be sold except in cases of necessity, and even then at no

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		<p>and though be upon special care to keep our pitch in settle Tarpaulins w^{ch} you have for ye purpose of brick or stone or ye ground or best place in your Island which you may best of your care for yt use & such receiving Iron from Ships otherwise we shall suffer in great loss by ye leaking down and in yt hot Country so much more it would be grievous for sale of it/ 50 We have had great complaints of wt faults you have committing all sellable Commodities and giving way to ye Banishers at pleasure and taking abuse we hope of our Goods & Cash & Robbery we have no greater inconvenience to ye Goods would be cut off and do expect our orders be better observed for future Notwithstanding some persons you have sent before you have suffered to make too free a use of yt regular allowances of his continuance in your Service./ 51 We hope yt settling up such a stable market will not be a great ease to our Souldiers as aforesaid but give also a great accommodation to out Inhabitants of Cheaper vittyle and therefore by yt means may have where every day at a most reasonable rate to buy any quantity of fresh beef little or much which in time may be preserved at a certain moderate rate or otherwise being at ye trouble of killing more of their own we can conclude not worth it in respect yt small Yeild from their Cattle or such improvement gets yt may be sold profitably. 52 We must further enjoyn yt you take great care of ye Slaves yt is usually brought to you in any ways of Trade and yt you dispose of them as may be for ye best advantage of ye Company in regard to ye maintenance & victualling and their transportation as occasion of put upon Board of Ships to serve upon their voyage and other use. 53 Upon hearing of one who have lost by our Fleet on one we have sent yt necessary to take care of ye Prisoners & Slaves &c you must take care yt none be transported to the Islands of ye Portuguez without consent of ye Company nor to sell them to any such Persons to make any contracts contrary to ye Companys rules and their maintenance during yt Voyage./ 54 If any of ye Souldiers as of ye rest of planters of 15 or 17 yeares of age are willing to serve ye Company as Seamen you may entertain them for Souldiers or Seamen as you see cause to send for such as service ye Company shall think fit to employ on their voyages upon ye Ships and at such wages as are agreed upon for such Service./</p>	<p>less than 1 per cent above the invoice price. Careful storage was required, and they were to be kept in secure coverings or suitable structures, in the most appropriate location on the island. Similar care was to be taken when receiving iron from ships, as improper handling in the heat would lead to leakage and deterioration, resulting in loss and difficulty in sale.</p> <p>Serious complaints were recorded regarding mismanagement. Faults were identified in the handling of saleable goods, the improper liberty granted to persons under sentence of banishment, and the misuse of the Company's goods and cash, in some cases amounting to robbery. It was required that all orders should be strictly observed in future. It was also noted that certain individuals previously sent had been allowed to make excessive use of regular allowances during their service.</p> <p>Confidence was expressed that the establishment of a stable and regulated market would benefit both soldiers and inhabitants. It was expected that fresh beef would be available daily at reasonable prices, in quantities as required. Over time, such supply was considered capable of being maintained at a steady rate. This arrangement was regarded as preferable to inhabitants slaughtering their own cattle, as the limited return and labour involved would not justify it when compared with purchasing meat.</p> <p>Further orders required that careful management should be exercised over slaves acquired through trade. They were to be disposed of in a manner that best served the Company's interests, taking into account their maintenance, victualling, and transport. Where appropriate, they might be placed aboard ships to serve during voyages or for other purposes.</p> <p>It was also directed that no slaves or prisoners should be transported to Portuguese islands without the Company's consent, nor sold or contracted to any such persons contrary to Company rules. Their maintenance during voyages was likewise to be properly overseen.</p> <p>Provision was made for the employment of younger individuals. If any soldiers or the sons of planters, aged between 15 and 17 years, were willing to serve the Company, they might be accepted either as soldiers or seamen, according to need. Such individuals could be sent aboard ships for service on voyages, at agreed wages.</p> <p>Interpretations "Banishers" referred to individuals who had been sentenced to banishment, whose conduct and movement remained subject to Company control despite their sentence.</p> <p>Speculations The emphasis on stricter control over goods, money, and sentenced individuals suggests that earlier governance on the island had been considered too lenient or poorly enforced, prompting corrective measures.</p> <p>The structured supply of provisions and discouragement of private slaughter may have been intended to centralise economic activity and ensure a more predictable revenue stream for the Company.</p> <p>The detailed instructions concerning the handling and movement of slaves indicate ongoing concern about unauthorised trade and the need to retain full control over labour resources within the Company's system.</p> <p>The encouragement of young men to enter Company service may reflect a need to sustain manpower for both military and maritime functions across the Company's territories.</p>
181	175	[...] only such as you shall sentence to yt kind of banishment fit for seamen offenders	Further direction was given regarding the use of banishment. It was stated that only such individuals as were judged suitable for that form of punishment,

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		<p>We have read over y^e severall letters you to Capt [...] and he explained to him all things concerning our Company we may [...] of meaning and yt he may [...] justifie while he those we have appointed him 3 of our to take place next after Deputy Gov^t Harding whom we require constantly to attend our Council or concerning your proceedings of Company matters and yt he may [...] you confidence or safety matters Harding we do in our letters chiefly blame him for not regulating y^e management affairs of yt place too much indulging to y^e seamen people who have always proved as unruly as they have been [...] to be governed but by severe Laws or strict execution of Justice upon any of y^e Commanders or other persons or others are willing to come to y^e settlement to live there as free men you may give them leave to take their passage on this ship, Solonoveridge settlement yt Companys Island can keep if people be provided there far better health have by their letters now ordered y^e Governor & Council to divide to sett out to each family 40 acres of free land and on such terms of land in St Helena as under laying all y^e men yt so give we have ye allowed pay of stock every during their stay there on y^e it must provide although should send a weekly of seamen yearly yt factory all y^e English shall have their team therefore here to fortify 56 We send you enclosed copy of these orders added to our Letter requiring you not to faile to give us notice of such our Commanders as do not observe it as well as others yt take no notice of our Letters to be in those particulars and we are not interested in y^e same that we [...] such persons with more severe examples whereof you know [...] as we expect we are not bound to do it by Charterparty therefore we shall immediately give them of Labours and we require our Gov^t upon no pretence whatsoever to give licence hereafter for any to go aboard our ships but to such as you give leave to return for England paying their own passage which we would not have you deny to any except to soldiers whose time of service is not yet expired or to persons condemned for State Rebellion 57 Our generall charges of Housekeeping w^{ch} is taken out of our stores is very high to be eased of yt charge we would willingly have a proposition from you to get money to allow to y^e Gov^t Deputy Gov^t or other Officers whomever think are sufficient to live of and Councill w^t assistance of those 3 as we would have always there as factor or 2 Writers as we think to send you from hence by this ship or therefore might [...] thoughts of one of these as we have already dismissed the said or Capt Streets from being [...]</p>	<p>particularly seafaring offenders, should be sentenced to it.</p> <p>Reference was made to several letters that had been sent to a captain, in which matters concerning the Company had been explained. It was indicated that clarification had been provided so that the Company's intentions might be properly understood and justified. A further appointment was noted, whereby an individual was placed among the Company's officers, ranking immediately after Deputy Governor Harding. It was required that this person should attend the Council regularly in matters relating to Company business and proceedings.</p> <p>Deputy Governor Harding was criticised for failing to regulate the management of affairs on the island. Particular fault was found in his excessive indulgence towards seamen, who were described as consistently unruly and difficult to govern except through strict laws and firm enforcement of justice. It was implied that better discipline should be maintained in future, both among seamen and other inhabitants.</p> <p>Provision was made for persons willing to settle on the island as free men. Such individuals might be granted passage and permitted to reside there, with encouragement given to the establishment of a stable and healthy settlement. Instructions were noted that the Governor and Council had been ordered to divide and assign to each family 40 acres of free land, under specified terms. Additional support in stock and maintenance during their stay was to be provided, and it was suggested that regular recruitment or reinforcement from seamen or other sources might be required to sustain the settlement and its defences.</p> <p>Copies of these orders were enclosed, and it was required that notice should be given of any commanders or other persons who failed to observe them or neglected the Company's instructions. It was stated that such neglect would not be tolerated, and that more severe examples of punishment might be made where necessary. It was also emphasised that the Company was not bound by charterparty obligations in certain respects and would act accordingly.</p> <p>Strict regulation was imposed regarding access to Company ships. The Governor was instructed not to grant permission for any person to go aboard ships except those authorised to return to England at their own expense. This permission was not to be extended to soldiers whose term of service had not expired, nor to persons condemned for rebellion.</p> <p>Attention was drawn to the high cost of maintaining the household expenses of the settlement, which were drawn from the Company's stores. A proposal was requested for reducing this burden, possibly by establishing a system of monetary allowances for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and other officers sufficient for their maintenance. It was suggested that the Council should be supported by a limited number of officials, including factors and writers, some of whom were to be sent by the present ship. Reference was also made to the dismissal of Captain Street from his former position.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Charterparty" referred to a formal contract governing the hire and use of ships, outlining obligations between the Company and shipowners or commanders.</p> <p>"Factor" denoted a Company agent responsible for trade and commercial management at a settlement, often holding significant administrative authority.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The criticism of Deputy Governor Harding suggests that the Company perceived a breakdown in discipline on the island, particularly among seamen, and sought to reassert stricter control.</p>

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			<p>The allocation of 40 acres of land to each family indicates an effort to encourage stable settlement and agricultural development, possibly to reduce reliance on imported provisions.</p> <p>The restriction on access to ships reflects concern over desertion, unauthorised trade, or disorderly conduct associated with contact between inhabitants and crews.</p> <p>The request for proposals to reduce household expenses suggests that the cost of maintaining officials had become a significant concern, prompting consideration of more sustainable financial arrangements.</p>
182	176	<p>[...] of our Council or from our service or from all salary besides [...] of your Table lodging in our housing & otherwise [...] we would hardly have dismissed Mr Ga[...] from our service [...] & Military or Civill and your Council their Concurrence of Commission Officers [...] their Com[...] Cap^t or Mr Darby Davenant [...] information of Mr Kelling Ensign who now came home with yt help & y^e Bottle we return you from those in his Maj^y guard and a little practice a sufficient man [...] still under goeing a ration at our Garrison and Mr Cook think fit to continue upon the Island and to take them or others our plantations with such Blacks as you think fit to leave servants upon such terms as you shall think fit for our advantage and that they may subsist with good Husbandry and diligence and produce Commodities in time fit for Europe sales as well as for use for eating w^{ch} place 58 For our new established Council consisting of us and 3 persons as aforesaid may determine if you think fit notwithstanding any thing in our former Letters we desire you that young people growing up in yt Island may be settled that have land and employment Twenty small parcels of land of 10 or 20 acres to each man and his wife or to certain more obliging them to enclose an house & stable or thereabouts by their respective means who are labourers for an Orchard and planting it with Orange trees Lemons Limes and such employment and to keep them always resident on yt Island until more come We see you should give them more land and to plant some Fruits or as possibly you with regard you have agreed with Cap^t [...] we shall give quick some others of Madagascar Blacks that we give Licence unto you to send you each ship in their returns from Barbadoes with 50 Blacks which as they arrive we will order them to our Planters and Servants at such or others more certainly informed by Copies of their respective [...] parties which we shall send you by y^e next Conveyance and which we shall send you by y^e next Conveyance which you shall set by Lease only or as parcels yt shall [...] 59 In a former said because we will consider again of it before we give away to y^e parties any more without land and you have lost y^e condemned Plantations Mr Beake Smoult and one owner with our own without more addition from either - such as Compleat Rentals and our Rents and all other settled Revenue and if there</p>	<p>Instructions were continued concerning the regulation of offices and allowances within the island's administration. It was indicated that certain persons had been removed from the Council, from the Company's service, or from salaried positions, and that allowances relating to table, lodging, and housing were to be reconsidered. It was suggested that some dismissals had been made reluctantly, though considered necessary for the proper ordering of both civil and military affairs, with the concurrence of Council and commissioned officers. Reference was made to information provided by Ensign Kelling, recently returned to England, whose observations, together with practical experience, were regarded as sufficient to guide improvements.</p> <p>Consideration was given to the employment of individuals remaining on the island, including Mr Cook. It was proposed that such persons might be settled upon plantations, together with such slaves as might be assigned to them, under terms judged advantageous to the Company. Through diligence and good husbandry, it was expected that these plantations might in time produce commodities suitable both for local consumption and for export to Europe.</p> <p>Provision was then described for the reorganisation of the Council, consisting of the Governor and three appointed members, who were to determine matters as required. Particular emphasis was placed upon the settlement of younger inhabitants on the island. It was directed that parcels of land, ranging from 10 acres to 20 acres, should be assigned to individuals and their wives, with conditions attached requiring them to enclose the land and construct a house and stable at their own expense. They were also to cultivate orchards, planting orange trees, lemons, limes, and similar produce, and were to remain resident on the island. It was suggested that, where appropriate, additional land might be granted to encourage such cultivation.</p> <p>Reference was made to arrangements concerning the supply of slaves, particularly from Madagascar. Permission was granted for ships returning from Barbados to bring up to 50 slaves per voyage. Upon arrival, these individuals were to be distributed among planters and servants under terms to be set out in formal agreements, copies of which would be forwarded by the next conveyance. These lands and associated holdings were to be granted only by lease, or divided into parcels as considered appropriate.</p> <p>It was further recalled that, in an earlier instruction, consideration had been reserved regarding the granting of additional lands. It was now observed that losses had already been sustained through the confiscation of plantations belonging to condemned individuals, including those of Mr Beake and Smoult, together with other properties. In light of this, it was directed that no further land should be given away without careful review. All lands, rents, and other established revenues were to be maintained as part of the Company's complete rental system. Any land added to houses within the town in future was to remain in the Company's possession, with the sole exception of the parsonage.</p>

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		<p>be any land given away or added to houses in the Town in any future at all we require you to reserve the same to y^e Companies hands except y^e parsonage to whom</p>	<p>Interpretations “Parsonage” referred to the residence and associated land assigned to a clergyman, which was traditionally exempted from certain forms of rent or commercial control.</p> <p>Speculations The restructuring of offices and dismissal of certain individuals suggests ongoing efforts to correct perceived inefficiencies or misconduct within the island’s administration.</p> <p>The encouragement of plantation settlement among younger inhabitants indicates a long term strategy to stabilise the population and expand agricultural production, reducing reliance on imports.</p> <p>The organised importation and distribution of slaves reflects a deliberate policy to secure labour for plantation development, tied closely to the Company’s economic objectives.</p> <p>The restriction on granting land and the insistence on leasing arrangements suggest a desire to retain centralised control over property and revenue, limiting the growth of independent landholding on the island.</p>
183	177	<p>[...] it is annexed, will consent to give us good quantities Rent free, land being able to grow to a great value in those places, when the Island comes to be better improved as we be in time. Not withstanding all the Instructions in [...] and with the slow steps that have been made therein, instead of seeing things has been amended it, towards such have now grown worse by furnishing all people with what they desire to keep a stock [...] The harder we intend to send over. We appoint to be Assistant to our Gov^r in and about the [...] to our Deputy Gov^r and store Keeper if there be occasion of [...] by such directions you shall think fitt and to advance increase of stock or abatement of our present charge [...] John Blackmore, we appoint Cap^t Robert [...] to be our Gov^r; and in case of Cap^t H^r Roberts sudden death or absence we appoint Ensign Rich^d Kelling to be our Gov^r; and in regard we have displ[...] from our Councill Cap^t Aylmer and Mr Cook as some said offences to prevent them their further use of their respective stations and in their stead Officers John Spencer and others that were subsisting as by Virtue of his Majesty’s Order to give in time assistance to our Sd Gov^r and Standing Councill as a necessary We have not also at this present nominated affairs to your Guidance and protection to y^e same [...] We remain By these we apprehend [...] I over very loving friends [...] you shall best be advised if these [...] to such as planted however we shall [...] you frame for a long time [...] Ben [...] [...] you may stay John Moore [...] otherwise Mathew Mounterney If will come by first Wm Cooke Ben [...] [...] [...] Barbour John Moore Mathew Mounterney Nathaniel Jench John Goodes Hen: Tonkinson</p>	<p>Further directions were given concerning land tenure and improvement. It was indicated that, although certain lands had been annexed and might be capable of producing significant value as the island became better improved over time, progress had been slow. Instead of improvement, it was observed that conditions had in some respects worsened, as people had been supplied too freely with goods, enabling them to maintain private stock without sufficient restraint.</p> <p>Additional administrative arrangements were outlined. An assistant was to be appointed to support the Governor in matters relating to management and to aid the Deputy Governor and storekeeper when required. This role was intended to contribute to the increase of stock and the reduction of the Company’s current expenses, under such directions as might be judged appropriate.</p> <p>Changes in governance were then specified. Captain Robert [...] was appointed as Governor in place of John Blackmore. In the event of Captain Roberts’s sudden death or absence, Ensign Richard Kelling was appointed to assume the governorship. It was noted that Captain Aylmer and Mr Cook had been removed from the Council for certain offences, in order to prevent their continued exercise of authority in their former positions. In their place, other officers, including John Spencer, were to assist the Governor and the standing Council, in accordance with His Majesty’s orders, so that the administration might continue to function effectively.</p> <p>It was further indicated that not all positions had yet been filled, and that some matters were left to the guidance and protection of the existing authority on the island. The letter then moved towards its conclusion, expressing continued regard, and was followed by a list of names, including William Cooke, John Moore, Mathew Mounterney, Nathaniel Jench, John Goodes, Henry Tonkinson, Henry Gully, Francis Edwards, Thomas Eldrick, Francis Gosfright, James Bobrigh, and George Child junior, among others.</p> <p>Interpretations No terms within this passage were considered sufficiently obscure or specialised to require further explanation.</p> <p>Speculations The criticism of slow improvement and excessive provisioning suggests that the Company believed earlier policies had encouraged inefficiency or lack of discipline among inhabitants.</p> <p>The appointment of an assistant to support senior officials indicates an attempt to strengthen</p>

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		<p>Hen: Gully Fra: Edwards Tho: Eldrick Fra: Gosfricht James Bobrigh Geo: Child jun:</p>	<p>administrative oversight and improve financial management.</p> <p>The replacement of key figures within the Council reflects a continued effort to address misconduct or perceived failures in governance, reinforcing central authority.</p> <p>The inclusion of multiple names at the close of the document may represent signatories or individuals associated with the Company's decision making, indicating collective responsibility for the orders issued.</p>
184	178	<p>Our Governor & Councill London ye 10th August 1686 of St Helena There being two Chest of Dollars in y^e Custody now with you by Cap^t Knox; We do hereby order and require you to deliver unto Cap^t John Harding Commander of y^e Ship <i>Ale</i>[...] one of y^e sd Chest of Dollars, to be by him made use of for our service & charge the same to our account; for which you shall be having Warr^t the other Chest of Dollars you would have continued with you for y^e purposes in our Generall [...] comes to you by this Ship, we are Your very loving friends Tho: Rawlinson George Bow[n] Joseph Hern Ja: Child Gov^r Nathaniel Mounte[...] Nathaniel Jench John Moore Jo: Child Tho: Cooke John Goodere Ri: Hutchinson W^m MocEdwards Tho: Frederick</p>	<p>A letter dated 10 August 1686 was sent from London by the East India Company to the Governor and Council of St Helena. It was recorded that two chests of dollars were then held in their custody, having been delivered by Captain Knox. Instructions were given that one of these chests should be handed over to Captain John Harding, commander of the ship <i>Ale</i>[...], for use in the Company's service. The amount was to be charged to the Company's account, and the Governor and Council were authorised to treat this instruction as sufficient warrant for the transfer.</p> <p>It was further directed that the remaining chest of dollars should be retained on the island for the Company's general purposes, pending further instructions. The letter concluded with expressions of regard and was signed by several Company officials, including Thomas Rawlinson, George Bow[n], Joseph Hern, James Child as Governor, Nathaniel Mounte[...], Nathaniel Jench, John Moore, John Child, Thomas Cooke, John Goodere, Richard Hutchinson, William MocEdwards, and Thomas Frederick.</p> <p>Speculations The transfer of one chest of dollars to Captain John Harding suggests that ready cash was required for operational expenses connected with the ship's voyage or the Company's wider activities.</p> <p>The retention of the second chest on St Helena indicates the island's continued role as a financial and logistical support point within the Company's network.</p>
185	179	<p>Our Gov^r & councill of St Helena wth Coll: John Blackmore Cap^t Robert Holden Cap^t John Harding Ensign Rich^d Keling London August the 21th 1687 We have wrote you largely by y^e conveyance but having since rec^d your letters, and other advice by y^e George & Josiah & Rainbow we have found it necessary to make an other addition to our letters designed for our chief use at S^t Helena a copy of an additional letter to Bencoolen w^{ch} is also enclosed by y^e order you may observe its encouragements have to reestablish our place in general confusion & for some particular bearing we hope there readily certainly as it stands affording much encouragement even of planting & [...] bringing thereby a great further joy & hope of happy success [...] shall compel no body to go thither but such free tender as are mentioned in our former letters but we have abundantly more caution by all means possible to preserve places & encourage people to go thither but we doubt we have now got ourselves therefore if it be of high concern [...] it may prove advantageous to advance y^e place and be made better it may in time grow to be a great place [...] if S^t Helena [...] [...] We remain</p>	<p>A letter dated 21 August 1687 was sent from London by the East India Company to the Governor and Council of St Helena, addressed to Colonel John Blackmore, Captain Robert Holden, Captain John Harding, and Ensign Richard Keling. It was stated that extensive instructions had already been sent by a previous conveyance, but that, upon receipt of further letters and intelligence brought by the ships <i>George</i>, <i>Josiah</i>, and <i>Rainbow</i>, it had been considered necessary to issue an additional communication.</p> <p>Reference was made to an enclosed copy of a supplementary letter addressed to Bencoolen. It was directed that the Governor and Council should observe the encouragements contained within it, which were intended to assist in re-establishing that settlement following a period of general disorder. It was suggested that these measures might also have particular relevance to St Helena, offering encouragement for planting and development, and giving rise to expectations of improved success and prosperity.</p> <p>It was stated that no persons were to be compelled to go to that settlement, but that only free volunteers, as previously described in earlier instructions, should be encouraged to undertake the journey. At the same time, strong emphasis was placed upon the need to preserve the settlement and to promote its advancement by all possible means. Although some uncertainty was expressed regarding the current situation, it was indicated that the undertaking was of significant importance, and that, if properly supported, it might in time develop into a place of considerable value and advantage.</p> <p>The letter concluded with expressions of regard and was signed by Company officials, including James</p>

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>Ja: Edwards Govr [...] Ja: Child John B [...] Ja: Blake Tho: Rawlinson R Hutchinson Edw: Jos Brown George Bow[n]</p>	<p>Edwards as Governor, James Child, John B[...], James Blake, Thomas Rawlinson, Richard Hutchinson, Edward Jos Brown, and George Bow[n].</p> <p>Speculations The additional instructions following receipt of new intelligence suggest that conditions in the Company's settlements were changing rapidly, requiring frequent updates to policy and direction. The emphasis on voluntary migration indicates sensitivity to the risks or hardships associated with relocation, while still seeking to encourage expansion. The reference to disorder at Bencoolen suggests that the Company was attempting to stabilise and rebuild key settlements, possibly in response to earlier administrative or environmental difficulties. The repeated encouragement of planting and development implies that long term economic sustainability was a central concern, both for St Helena and for other Company territories.</p>
186	180	<p>Our Chief & Council of Bencoolen London ye 31th August 1687 Since our former letter by this ship we have receiv'd y^{or} by y^e Rainbow Cap^t Pool by whose conveyance our Servants Mr Sam: Tho: Lucas a man of great experience in y^e woods having been a Surgeon, Surveyor & Engineer, & y^e government and a man of great parts, tho he has since heard of disorder & furthering all this history whereof you have understood from himself; & we would have you if he be still there, to doe him full right, & so far as in your lies, procure right to be done him by all others, and in y^e mean time until you can obtain from Cap^t [...] or his successor not his due to him but have all convenient necessaries on y^e Comp^t account, it being very pity that a man of his parts & education should suffer so much in a place where his own Countrymen have means to assist & relieve him The said Mr Lucas in his large letter hath wrote some particulars concerning Bencoolen, transcripts whereof you have in a paper apart with his packet We y^{or} selves & Mr Lucas write together, and y^{or} speedy dispatch of y^e Rainbow, give us some encouragement to reinforce that place & supply you with necessaries we can of a sudden; & therefore we have ordered our Govr, and Council of St Helena to send you two tun of brandy to add y^e Chirurgions means he can procure of provisions, two puncheon of Biscuit, Ten Tun of Chalk to burn into Lyme, with y^e Black, y^e said send you how how to doe, & have been employed in y^e same work at St Helena; as also ten Cow & two Bull, Six Sows & on board Six tuns she Goats & two he Goats, & if y^{or} good fortune to preserve & encrease y^e Cattle we now send you and to get any hands over you for further continuance, but that you may find or make this place hereafter more healthfull than it hath been and if you find it soe we would have you by all means to proceed to y^e strengthening of it We have to you before in our former letter signified an increase of two Dollars in y^e soldiers pay at Bencoolen & Indrapoota one Indian p^t moneth</p>	<p>A letter dated 31 August 1687 was sent from London by the East India Company to the Chief and Council at Bencoolen. It was stated that, since a previous letter had been dispatched by the same ship, further correspondence had been received from Bencoolen via the <i>Rainbow</i>, commanded by Captain Pool. By that conveyance, their servant Mr Samuel Thomas Lucas had also been sent. He was described as a man of considerable experience in woodland matters, having served as a surgeon, surveyor, and engineer, and as possessing notable ability. It was acknowledged that he had encountered disorder and difficulties, the details of which were said to be known from his own account. Instructions were given that, if Mr Lucas remained at Bencoolen, he should be treated justly, and that all possible efforts should be made to ensure that others also dealt fairly with him. In the meantime, until his proper entitlements could be obtained from Captain [...] or his successor, it was directed that he should be provided with all necessary provisions at the Company's expense. It was emphasised that it would be improper for a man of his qualifications and education to suffer hardship in a place where assistance from his countrymen was available. Reference was made to a detailed letter written by Mr Lucas, containing particular observations concerning Bencoolen. Copies of these extracts were said to have been provided separately. It was noted that both the Company and Mr Lucas had written on these matters, and that the prompt dispatch of the <i>Rainbow</i> had given encouragement that the settlement might be reinforced and supplied with necessary provisions without delay. Orders had therefore been given to the Governor and Council of St Helena to send supplies to Bencoolen. These included two tuns of brandy, two puncheons of biscuit, and ten tuns of chalk intended to be burned into lime, with instructions for the process provided by individuals experienced in such work at St Helena. Livestock was also to be sent, consisting of ten cows, two bulls, six sows, and six tuns of she goats together with two he goats. It was expressed that, if the cattle could be preserved and increased, and if sufficient labour could be obtained, the settlement might become more sustainable. Hope was expressed that the place might in time be rendered more healthy than it had previously been, and that, if such improvement were achieved, efforts should be continued to strengthen and develop the settlement. It was further recalled that, in an earlier letter, an increase in soldiers' pay at Bencoolen and Indrapoota had been authorised, amounting to an additional two dollars per month for each soldier.</p> <p>Interpretations</p>

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			<p>“Puncheon” referred to a large cask used for storing provisions such as biscuit, indicating bulk supply intended for sustained use.</p> <p>“Chalk to burn into lime” referred to the process of producing lime for construction, an essential material for building durable structures in tropical settlements.</p> <p>“Indrapoota” referred to a related Company station in the region, indicating that administrative and military measures were coordinated across multiple settlements.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The detailed instructions regarding Mr Lucas suggest that his expertise was highly valued, and that his mistreatment may have risked undermining important technical or administrative work at Bencoolen.</p> <p>The substantial shipment of livestock and materials indicates an effort to establish a more self sufficient and permanent settlement, reducing reliance on external supply.</p> <p>The emphasis on improving health conditions suggests that disease or environmental challenges had previously hindered the settlement’s development.</p> <p>The increase in soldiers’ pay may have been intended to improve morale and retention in what was perhaps considered a difficult or undesirable posting.</p>
187	181	<p>In or, Council would have you understand us rightly if we encrease Dollars pr mo more then we continually pay at Fort St George much liberality we doe afford to our servants in y^e Bay of Sumatra, upon y^e account of y^e dearness of provisions in that place nevertheless, albeit we hope in time they may come to be cheaper there than they are now at Fort St George if you can find y^e means of living healthfully wth stock we have now sent you There is St Helena one M^r Cox a skillfull surgeon plantation for wth experience we find it altogether improper, & therefore have discharged him & permitted to imbarque himself on this ship for Bencoolen if he thinks fitt, not a promise of allowing him 70 l p^a ann & to make him manager of factory before our next he arrive wth you; his employment to begin from his arrivall at Bencoolen, & accordingly you are to receive him We have desired Cap^t Harding who is an ingenious man & whom we think we have obliged so far as y^e will be reason for on his returne) to assist you all y^e possible in his power to make that place more defensible & to erect dry & convenient lodgings for your soldiers & those must lye wet in y^e next inter monsoone for your blacks as y^e Dutch at Batavia if you think fit to keep them serviceable and in health Some of your blacks y^t speak English in name of soldiers you may arm & make them keep guard to ease your soldiers but trust them not too much with them arms & exercise a severe care to keep them English soldiers in an especiall manner not to give any of these soldiers any direct or money by weekly allowances, but by a steward one dram at a time two or three times as you think fitt in each day for they are to allow out of their pay (since we have so greatly encreased their wages) as they are for all others clothes and provisions w^{ch} you shall spare them Cap^t Harding if he think fitt he may return to Bencoolen to fill up his ship with pepper w^{ch} he is to buy on y^e acc^t of y^e ships stock and therewith he return to Bayon as Cap^t Pool did, we would have you assist him not in your acc^t without prejudice to y^e Company he will leave you some</p>	<p>A letter was issued explaining the Company’s position regarding wages and provisioning at Bencoolen. It was stated that, although the soldiers’ pay in dollars per month had been increased beyond the level given at Fort St George, this was not to be misunderstood. Such additional allowance was described as an act of liberality, granted in consideration of the high cost of provisions in the Bay of Sumatra. It was nevertheless expressed that, with the livestock and supplies recently sent, it was hoped that provisions might in time become cheaper there than at Fort St George, provided that a healthy mode of living could be established.</p> <p>Reference was made to Mr Cox, described as a skilled surgeon who had been residing at St Helena. It was noted that his employment in plantation work had proved unsuitable, and he had therefore been discharged. Permission had been granted for him to embark for Bencoolen on the present ship, if he chose to do so. Upon his arrival, he was to be received into service with a salary of £70 per annum, and he was to act as manager of the factory until the arrival of further Company servants.</p> <p>Captain Harding was commended as a capable and resourceful individual, and it was stated that he had been requested to assist as far as possible in strengthening the settlement. Particular emphasis was placed upon making the place more defensible and constructing dry and suitable lodgings for the soldiers, who otherwise would be exposed to wet conditions during the inter-monsoon period. Similar provision was advised for the slaves, following the example of the Dutch at Batavia, in order to maintain their health and usefulness.</p> <p>It was directed that certain slaves who could speak English might be armed and employed in guard duties, thereby relieving the soldiers. However, caution was urged that they should not be trusted excessively with arms, and strict discipline was to be maintained. Special care was required to ensure that English soldiers did not distribute drink or money to them improperly. It was ordered that no direct or regular allowances of drink or money should be given, but that any issue of spirits should be controlled by a steward and dispensed in small quantities at intervals during the day. It was further noted that, since soldiers’ wages had been increased, they were expected to pay for their own clothing and provisions from their pay.</p> <p>It was stated that Captain Harding might, if he judged it appropriate, return to Bencoolen to load his</p>

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		<p>that are willing for soldiers & we hope a Chirurgion if we have time to get one before his ship departs and we hope we may bring you some or one more of one kind or other in his returne from England</p>	<p>ship with pepper, which was to be purchased on account of the ship's stock. After completing this, he was to proceed to Bayon in the same manner as Captain Pool had done. Assistance was to be given to him in this matter, provided that it did not prejudice the Company's interests. It was expected that he would leave behind some men willing to serve as soldiers, and possibly a surgeon if one could be obtained before his departure. It was further hoped that additional personnel might be sent from England on his return voyage.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>"Inter-monsoon" referred to the transitional period between monsoon seasons, often marked by heavy rainfall and damp conditions, which posed particular challenges for housing and health in tropical settlements.</p> <p>"Factory" denoted a Company trading establishment, where commercial, administrative, and logistical activities were conducted under appointed management.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The explanation regarding increased wages suggests concern that servants might misinterpret higher pay as a permanent entitlement rather than a temporary adjustment to local conditions.</p> <p>The reassignment of Mr Cox indicates that skilled individuals were expected to be used in roles suited to their expertise, particularly in settlements requiring technical and medical knowledge.</p> <p>The emphasis on building proper accommodation reflects ongoing difficulties with climate and disease, which may have affected the effectiveness of both soldiers and labourers.</p> <p>The controlled use of armed slaves in guard roles suggests a pragmatic response to manpower shortages, balanced by caution over the risks of granting them too much authority.</p> <p>The encouragement of pepper trade through Captain Harding's voyage indicates the continuing importance of commercial activity in sustaining the Company's operations at Bencoolen.</p>
188	182	<p>w^{ch} may be of good use to you (and we have ordered him further to carry to you somewhat Deals & some nails of w^{ch} we cannot give you a certain rate because we know not what can be spared at St Helena; but you will have y^e certainty thereof in a breife wth a bill of loading from y^e Sd of that place)</p> <p>The Drayman carried an Engine for distilling of water, and if it arrives with you, we would have you keep constantly at work hoping y^e common water being now that skill may ease all wth dry wells of y^e place that heterogeneous concurrence it may be very serviceable helping greatly to the supply of fresh distilled water may be the better for y^e garrison or vessels, and in time prove very usefull, and it fitted upon y^e high & dry soil or ground have no means unskilled to preserve it for y^e health of people there belonging more to those at Bombay & other warm or unhealthy places, & that St Helena but more fit than most healthfull places; it may be our fortune next find y^e place to thrive, and if once it prove so you have a charge to strengthen it accordingly. Despair of y^e success attempt to extirpate us is groundless, the being in danger fear of their fleets for our concern is founded on good reason & experienced, & if we have reason we shall</p>	<p>Further provision was described concerning supplies and technical improvements for Bencoolen. It was noted that Captain Harding had been ordered to carry timber deals and nails, though no fixed valuation could be given, as the quantities available at St Helena were uncertain. A brief account and bill of lading from that island would provide the necessary detail.</p> <p>An engine for distilling water had also been sent by the ship <i>Drayman</i>. If it arrived safely, it was directed that it should be kept in constant use. This apparatus was expected to improve the supply of fresh water, particularly in a place affected by dry wells and mixed or unsuitable water sources. It was considered that distilled water might greatly benefit both the garrison and visiting ships, and in time prove of considerable utility. It was further advised that the engine should be placed on high and dry ground, and carefully maintained, as it was thought likely to contribute to the health of those residing there, especially in climates regarded as less healthy than St Helena.</p> <p>Confidence was expressed that, if the settlement could be made to thrive, it should then be strengthened accordingly. Any suggestion that the Company's position might be undermined or extinguished was dismissed as unfounded. It was acknowledged that concern regarding hostile fleets had some basis in experience, yet it was asserted that the Company remained in a strong condition and capable of acting both defensively and offensively if required. It was further stated that recent years had been particularly favourable for the Company's affairs.</p>

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		<p>continue in use and use them on their own side will be good as to come, for we may be as usefull as well as offensive to them if know not what we do again which we offer as y^e Comp^t were never in so good years as present We have advised from Bencoolen & Sumatra, and hope it may make y^e natives as well as people more fit for regular engagements with our orders as Council see cause which we conceive it may be as early to follow their procedure concerning him by making remedy but this seems to be a great obstruction to our settling y^e place Officers & men continually going away, w^{ch} we cannot prevent, till we set we shall have means to hinder it, & to take care to have you constantly supplied with such work, and necessaries as they shall have, and will prove very beneficial, the daily providing w^{ch} will prove more advantageous then having your people forced for want of such necessaries to spend their time idle</p> <p>We have appointed Cap^t John Harding to be of Council with you during his stay at Bencoolen, both giving out & securing store houses he will give you his best assistance in strengthening y^e place forming it to be more healthy & to dispose of things to good order, and prevent disorders or offences that would arise from idleness, and especially to prevent y^e disorders of our soldiers, who for want of good order & employment have been much given to ill courses</p> <p>At St Helena to go with him over our own servants factory having some more of them to be seeing a matter of great concern we hope a great success in y^e business by y^e supply before mentioned & to send Mr Thomas Lucas we intend only necessary provisions to be afforded for his maintenance of himself & ships comp^t not exceed</p>	<p>Advice received from Bencoolen and Sumatra was noted, and it was hoped that both the native inhabitants and Company servants might become more suited to regular discipline and engagement under Company authority. However, a significant obstacle to the settlement's stability was identified in the frequent departure of officers and men. It was acknowledged that this could not yet be fully prevented, though efforts were to be made to supply the settlement consistently with work and necessary provisions. By ensuring regular employment and access to essential goods, it was expected that idleness would be reduced and conditions improved.</p> <p>Captain John Harding was appointed to serve on the Council at Bencoolen during his stay. He was to assist in managing and securing storehouses, strengthening the settlement, improving its health conditions, and maintaining good order. Particular emphasis was placed on preventing disorder among soldiers, who, through lack of employment and discipline, had been prone to misconduct.</p> <p>It was also noted that additional Company servants were being sent from St Helena to support the factory at Bencoolen, as this was regarded as a matter of considerable importance. Confidence was expressed that the previously mentioned supplies would contribute to the success of these efforts. With regard to Mr Thomas Lucas, it was directed that only necessary provisions should be allowed for his maintenance and that of his ship's company, within reasonable limits.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The emphasis on the water distillation engine suggests that access to clean water had been a serious difficulty at Bencoolen, affecting both health and sustainability.</p> <p>The repeated concern over disorder and idleness among soldiers indicates that discipline had been a persistent problem, requiring structural solutions such as regular employment and improved living conditions.</p> <p>The acknowledgement of external threats alongside confidence in the Company's strength suggests an awareness of geopolitical risks, balanced by a belief in the Company's growing capability.</p> <p>The effort to stabilise personnel by providing work and supplies reflects a broader strategy to reduce desertion and improve retention within the settlement.</p>
189	183	<p>[...] sum of 50 [...] shall be placed to y^e acc^t of y^e owners of y^e ship <i>Herbert Ifeemagn</i> [...] Hen: Johnson Geo: Field jun: R: Hutchinson Wm: Yorswright Geo: Brown Wm Sedgwicke Your loving friends Jos: Child Gov^r Jn^o Gurner Edw: Beverend John Moore Cha: Smyth Edw: des Bouverie John Goodere Tho: Cooke</p>	<p>A concluding direction was given concerning financial accounting. It was ordered that a sum of 50 [...] should be placed to the account of the owners of the ship <i>Herbert Ifeemagn</i>, indicating that this amount was to be credited to them in relation to the Company's dealings with that vessel.</p> <p>The letter then proceeded to its close, bearing the signatures of several Company officials, including Henry Johnson, George Field junior, Richard Hutchinson, William Yorswright, George Brown, William Sedgwicke, Joseph Child as Governor, John Gurner, Edward Beverend, John Moore, Charles Smyth, Edward des Bouverie, John Goodere, and Thomas Cooke.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The crediting of a sum to the owners of the ship suggests that financial adjustments were routinely made to account for services rendered or expenses incurred in the Company's maritime operations.</p>
190	184	<p>Our Gov^t & Council of St Helena. Since our last by this ship, we understand by discourse wth Cap^t Heath that there are already good Goats at Bencoolen & therefore you need send none of them but in leiw thereof send them two tuns of salted Beef of y^e best you can kill, & wth Cap^t Harding's advice be</p>	<p>A letter dated 5 September 1687 was sent from the East India House in London to the Governor and Council of St Helena. It was stated that, since their last communication by the same ship, further information had been obtained through discussion with Captain Heath. From this, it was understood that there were already sufficient goats at Bencoolen, and therefore none were to be sent from St Helena. In place of them,</p>

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		<p>very care- full to save it well, we have desired Capt Harding to take him for that purpose, & two hogsheads of bay salt wth y^e salt of y^e Island, we hope may save y^e meat better if it were all done wth Island salt, send likewise Barley & seed of yams Potatoes, Limes or anything else y^t you thinke may grow them at Bencoolen, w^{ch} place (notwithstanding our former thoughts thereof) has now the best commendation for what situation & place we have knowne in India, w^{ch} gives us encouragement & preservation of it being of weighty concernm^t to y^e Nation if it can be defended, & of w^{ch} we doe not doubt of our people once learne y^e way of living healthfully upon it, & we hope we are now in y^e right road to obtaine being satisfied it is high land 20 foot above y^e surface of y^e River, w^{ch} is a thin we never understood from any person before we received Mr Lucas his letter, notwithstanding we have discoursed so many people that came from thence before, & their care for not have you would give them of any sort, & y^e other are we shall give in their stead (Alimony,) so we commend you to God & rest St Inda house 5th Sept^r 1687 Your very loving Friend Jos^a Child Gov^r</p>	<p>it was ordered that two tuns of salted beef of the best quality should be prepared and dispatched. Particular care was required in its curing and preservation, and Captain Harding's advice was to be followed closely in this matter.</p> <p>It was further directed that two hogsheads of bay salt should be sent, to be used together with the island's own salt, as this combination was considered more effective for preserving the meat than the use of local salt alone. Additional supplies were to include barley, seed of yams, potatoes, limes, and any other plants or provisions that might successfully grow at Bencoolen.</p> <p>A revised assessment of Bencoolen was then expressed. Although earlier opinions had been less favourable, it was now described as possessing one of the best situations of any place known in India. This new understanding was said to provide encouragement for its preservation, which was considered a matter of importance to the nation, provided that the settlement could be defended. Confidence was expressed that, once the inhabitants had learned how to live healthfully in that environment, the settlement might succeed. It was further noted that the land was elevated approximately 20 foot above the surface of the river, a fact not previously understood until the receipt of Mr Lucas's letter, despite earlier accounts from other individuals.</p> <p>The letter concluded with expressions of regard and was signed by Sir Josiah Child as Governor.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The replacement of goats with salted beef suggests a practical adjustment based on updated intelligence, indicating flexible planning in response to local conditions.</p> <p>The emphasis on proper curing of meat reflects concern over supply preservation during long voyages and in tropical climates.</p> <p>The improved opinion of Bencoolen, based on more accurate geographical information, suggests that earlier misunderstandings may have hindered its development.</p> <p>The repeated focus on health and environment indicates that disease and living conditions were central challenges in establishing a successful settlement.</p>
191	185	<p>Our Gov^r & Council of St Helena. London 9th Sept^r 1687 Since our former by this ship we have seen a letter from M^r Joseph Islington, wherein he desires an Employment in our service in India, we if we had received his letter sooner we should have given him the proofes of being a good servant at Bencoolen in y^e room of M^r Ford because we judge M^r Islington better fitting to command & exercise soldiers but if M^r Ford decline y^t Employment we would have you propose to M^r Joseph Islington & give him what further Encouragement at Bencoolen to admit him of y^e Quality. Cap^t Harding has staid here longer y^e we did expect & will be dispatched in time to secure his China Voyage & therefore we desire you to give him all y^e Assistance possible you can to make a speedy dispatch of his affairs & particularly what you may give him in Cattle & Boats you can procure at present for all which send immediately an acc^t of them to him or otherwise pay him what you can, one or fifty or 200 ton of stones if being of use are esteemed best as inferred by building or fortifying unto you, we are thoroughly encouraged by y^e acc^t Cap^t Jno others now come from Bencoolen give us of y^e good inclination of y^e place especially of y^e land</p>	<p>A letter dated 9 September 1687 was sent from London to the Governor and Council of St Helena. It was stated that, since the previous communication by the same ship, a letter had been received from Mr Joseph Islington, in which he sought employment in the Company's service in India. It was observed that, had his request been received earlier, he might have been appointed at Bencoolen in place of Mr Ford, as he was considered more suitable for commanding and exercising soldiers. It was therefore directed that, if Mr Ford declined that position, Mr Islington should be approached and offered the employment, with such additional encouragement as might be necessary to secure his acceptance.</p> <p>It was further noted that Captain Harding had remained in England longer than expected, but would be dispatched in time to proceed on his voyage to China. Instructions were given that he should receive all possible assistance in expediting his affairs. In particular, support was to be provided in supplying cattle and boats where available. A full account of any such assistance was to be sent to him without delay, or payment made in lieu where necessary. It was also indicated that quantities of stone, whether 1 ton, 50 tons, or 200 tons, might be supplied if considered useful for building or fortifying purposes.</p> <p>Encouragement was expressed based on recent reports received from Captain John [...] and others returning from Bencoolen, which described favourable conditions, especially the suitability of the land for</p>

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		<p>for Cattle it is most material for you to send as many others as you can because by discourse you find Mr Heath we understand & Chief thereof Mr Bloom Sowa & Brown hath ranged so largely up y^e coast in so time without being at Bencoolen giving y^e appearance much of it what you find of y^e land to be so good & we have sent all sorts of your Labourers & Boats y^t they have variety of hands.</p> <p>If any of y^e Masters of y^t married men shall desire to go thither not exceeding 3 families at a time you may give them leave to go thither & we shall give them passage for themselves & families but have you send aboard Families as aforesaid not to fill up and be better settled & your Port compleatly strengthened to prevent any ill Danger & so to keep y^e better service shall be encouraged by this means to bring y^e Duty of others also which we do hereby limit you as y^e number of families sent you to not exceeding means to be brought from y^e fort, and also give you you by this ship for sending some persons or others but we now only send one family as intended by this letter.</p>	<p>cattle. It was therefore considered of great importance that as many cattle as possible should be sent from St Helena. Observations from Mr Heath and others, including Mr Bloom, Sowa, and Brown, were mentioned, noting that they had travelled extensively along the coast without previously visiting Bencoolen, and had only recently provided clearer accounts of its advantages. It was also noted that labourers and boats had been sent, ensuring that sufficient manpower was available for development.</p> <p>Provision was made for the movement of families to Bencoolen. If any married men wished to relocate, permission might be granted for up to three families at a time. Passage was to be provided for them and their families, though care was to be taken not to depopulate St Helena or weaken its defences. It was therefore directed that the number of families sent should be limited, so that the island remained sufficiently inhabited and secure. It was stated that, by this ship, only one family had been sent, in accordance with this policy.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The preference for Mr Islington over Mr Ford suggests that military leadership was being prioritised at Bencoolen, possibly in response to concerns about discipline or defence.</p> <p>The emphasis on assisting Captain Harding indicates the importance of maintaining efficient maritime operations, particularly for voyages connected with trade to China.</p> <p>The focus on cattle and favourable land conditions reflects a growing confidence in Bencoolen's agricultural potential and its capacity for self sufficiency.</p> <p>The careful limitation on the movement of families suggests concern that St Helena should not be weakened by excessive migration, indicating its continued strategic importance.</p>
192	186	<p>This is all at present but we comēnd you to y^e guidance of y^e Almighty & Remyne Your loving Friends For a [...] Gov^r Berkeley Wrothe John More George Browne Henry Torkington Wm Sedgwicke Cha: Mounteny Edw: des Bouverie Nath: Eyre Joseph Heme Cha: Frederich Phil: Godwright John Goodere R: Hutchinson Tho: Cooke</p>	<p>A concluding statement was issued in which it was declared that no further instructions were to be given at that time. The Governor and Council of St Helena were commended to the guidance of the Almighty, and the letter was brought to a close with expressions of regard.</p> <p>The document was then signed by several Company officials, including Berkeley Wrothe, John More, George Browne, Henry Torkington, William Sedgwicke, Charles Mounteny, Edward des Bouverie, Nathaniel Eyre, Joseph Heme, Charles Frederich, Philip Godwright, John Goodere, Richard Hutchinson, and Thomas Cooke.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The formal closing reflects standard practice in Company correspondence, combining administrative finality with conventional expressions of goodwill and authority.</p>
193	187	<p>Our Govern^{or} & Council at St Helena London y^e 23 Sept^r 1687 Application having bin made unto us by Mr W^m Wren Hunt heretofore an Inhabitant with you & employed as Surgeon of one said Island, that his two Children Edward & Martha Hunt be sent home to him by the first shipping opportunity to y^e first Shipping & withall representing that he left a considerable stock of Book and M^d Drop Cattle in y^e hands of Mr Simcock, Mr Bowe, & Mr Draper to be called to an acc^t in trust for himself and children praying also that y^e</p>	<p>A letter dated 23 September 1687 was sent from London to the Governor and Council of St Helena. It was recorded that an application had been made by Mr William Wren Hunt, formerly an inhabitant of the island and employed there as a surgeon. He had requested that his two children, Edward Hunt and Martha Hunt, should be sent to him in England at the first available shipping opportunity.</p> <p>It was further represented that Mr Hunt had left a considerable stock, including books and cattle, in the hands of Mr Simcock, Mr Bowe, and Mr Draper, to be held in trust for himself and his children. A request was made that these assets should be called to account, and that whatever remained due from the cattle, or from their assessed value, should be remitted to him in England.</p> <p>Instructions were therefore given that justice should be done in this matter. It was directed that the</p>

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		<p>Cattle Mr W^m Hunt left in their hands may be called to an acc^t & y^t what remains due from Cattle & from y^e value may be remitted him home, We recommend it to you to cause right to be done him, And y^t so much the remaining of y^e money may be raised in the first place as to satisfie the y^e money to be reserved & y^t for y^e Childrens transportation (for remitting Mr Hunt to England. We remain Your loving friends Signed by order of y^e Govern^{or} and Comp^a Ro Blackburne Secr^t True Copia Simon [...] Clerk</p>	<p>accounts relating to these goods and cattle should be examined, and that sufficient money should first be raised to cover the cost of transporting the children. Any remaining balance was then to be reserved and remitted to Mr Hunt in England.</p> <p>The letter concluded with expressions of regard and was signed by order of the Governor and Company by Robert Blackburne as Secretary, and certified as a true copy by Simon [...] as Clerk.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The request suggests that Company servants who had left the island could still rely on its administration to manage their property and family affairs, indicating an ongoing relationship between former employees and the Company.</p> <p>The instruction to prioritise the children's passage costs implies a concern for their welfare, ensuring that family reunification was addressed before financial settlement.</p> <p>The involvement of multiple individuals holding Mr Hunt's assets in trust may indicate the informal or distributed nature of property management within the island's community.</p>
194	188	<p>London the 10 September 1687 Invoice of Bullion & Merchandize laden by y^e Gov^r & Comp^a of Merch's of London trading into y^e East Indies in & upon y^e good ship Loyall Merch^t burthen Tonn or thereabouts whereof goeth Commander Capt John Harding bound by y^e Almighty's permission for y^e Island St Helena consigned to y^e Gov^r & Council there resident for acc^t of y^e General Joint stock y^e Particulars are as followeth viz [...] Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>	<p>A document dated 10 September 1687 was issued in London as an invoice of bullion and merchandise shipped by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. The goods were described as having been laden aboard the ship <i>Loyall Merch^t</i>, of approximately [...] tons burthen, under the command of Captain John Harding. The voyage was intended, by the permission of the Almighty, for the island of St Helena.</p> <p>The cargo was consigned to the Governor and Council residing at St Helena, and was to be held on account of the General Joint Stock of the Company. It was stated that the particulars of the goods shipped would follow in detail, forming a full account of the bullion and merchandise included in the consignment.</p> <p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The formal structure of the invoice indicates the importance of precise accounting in the Company's operations, ensuring that all goods shipped under the joint stock were carefully recorded and attributed.</p> <p>The reference to bullion alongside merchandise suggests that both currency and trade goods were being transported together, reflecting the dual need for liquidity and supply within the Company's settlements.</p> <p>The consignment to the Governor and Council at St Helena highlights the island's role as a key receiving and distribution point within the Company's wider trading network.</p> <p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>
195	189	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
196	190	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
197	191	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
198	192	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
199	193	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
200	194	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
201	195	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
202	196	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
203	197	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
204	198	<p>Laden by y^e Grace of God by y^e Lords Com^r of y^e E I Co^{mp} of London trading into y^e East Indies in & upon y^e Good Ship Loyall Merch^t Burthen 445 Tons or thereabouts whereof goeth Comander Capt Jno Harding bound by y^e Almighty's permission for y^e Island of St Helena & consigned to y^e Gov^r & Council there resident for acc^t of y^e General Joint Stock y^e Particulars are as followeth viz [...]</p>	<p>A document dated 10 September 1687 was issued as a bill of lading for goods shipped by the East India Company of London. It was recorded that, by the authority of the Company and under divine providence, merchandise had been laden aboard the ship <i>Loyall Merch^t</i>, of about 445 tons burthen, commanded by Captain John Harding. The vessel was bound for the island of St Helena, where the cargo was consigned to the Governor and Council, to be held on account of the General Joint Stock.</p>

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		<p>All Merchantable goods well Conditioned & are in like manner to be delivered at Danger of y^e Seas excepted unto them Gov^r & Councill resident at y^e Island of St Helena free of freight & of y^e due performance hereof</p> <p>Capt Jno Harding having firm'd unto 3 Bills of Ladeing of y^e Tenours Date y^e one being Accompanying which signed by y^e Gov^r send y^e said Ship unto her afores^d port in England</p> <p>Signed in y^e presence of Sam^u Waters Christopher Dodsworth</p> <p>Except against y^e said Drawer Deale 30 hhds of Suger thereof being no receipt for y^e underwritten contents unknown Jno Harding</p> <p>The contents of this Bill of Ladeing were rec^d by us to consignment of y^e within mentioned goods whereof Punceons of Brandy were about 8 but leaked or other goods broken y^e other goods within 20 or 3 Inche[s] full all other things very well conditioned Jno Blackmore Tho Holden Rich Keeling</p>	<p>The goods were described as merchantable and in good condition, and were to be delivered to the Governor and Council at St Helena, subject to the usual risks of the sea. It was specified that the cargo was to be delivered free of freight charges. Captain John Harding had signed three bills of lading of the same tenor and date, one of which accompanied the shipment, and the ship was to proceed to the designated port in England following completion of its voyage.</p> <p>The document included a qualification noting an exception concerning 30 hogsheads of sugar, for which no receipt had been provided, and the contents were therefore stated to be unknown. This exception was acknowledged by Captain John Harding.</p> <p>Upon receipt of the cargo at St Helena, it was recorded by the Governor and Council that the goods had been delivered into their charge. It was noted that approximately eight puncheons of brandy had suffered leakage or damage, and that some other goods had been broken. Apart from these issues, the remaining goods were reported to have arrived in good condition, being filled to within about two or three inches of capacity.</p> <p>The receipt was signed by John Blackmore, Thomas Holden, and Richard Keeling.</p> <p>Interpretations “Bills of lading” referred to formal shipping documents issued by the master of a vessel, acknowledging receipt of goods and setting out the terms under which they were to be transported and delivered.</p> <p>Speculations The exception noted for the hogsheads of sugar suggests either incomplete documentation at the point of loading or uncertainty regarding their exact contents or condition.</p> <p>The recorded leakage of brandy and minor breakage of goods reflects the practical difficulties of long sea voyages, where damage to cargo was common despite precautions.</p> <p>The confirmation that most goods arrived in good condition indicates that, overall, the voyage had been conducted successfully and the cargo preserved to a satisfactory standard.</p>
205	199	<p>To M^r John Blackmore Esq^r Govern^r of the Fort and Island St Helena</p> <p>These come by the Hon^{ble} Comp^{as} Shipp Success Cap^t William Legors Commander we recommend him to your kind usage and reception during his stay with you not doubting your wonted respect to him and all others of our nation -</p> <p>shipping referring you for account in those parts to the boxo in regard want time to write therefore we now salute</p> <p>& take leave and rest Bombay Castle January ye 9th 1687 [...] John Wyborne James King Gineu[s]</p> <p>To the Rt Wor^{ble} Govern^r & Councill at St Helena Fort St George the 17th Feb^{ry} 1687</p> <p>According to our Rt Hon^{ble} masters we have sent you by this Ship Beaufort Cap^t John Nicholson Commander ten slaves with their cloaths & necessaries which we shall Continue to supply you with as often as procurable pray credit the Hon^{ble} Comp^{as} for their Cost and Charge</p>	<p>A letter dated 9 January 1687 was sent from Bombay Castle to Mr John Blackmore, Governor of the Fort and Island of St Helena. It was stated that the letter was conveyed by the Company's ship <i>Suarez</i>, commanded by Captain William Legors. He was recommended to the Governor's kind reception and assistance during his stay, with confidence expressed that the usual respect would be shown to him and to others of the Company's nation and shipping. It was noted that, due to lack of time, a full account could not be written, and reference was instead made to accompanying materials. The letter concluded with expressions of regard and was signed by John Wyborne, James King, and Gineu[s].</p> <p>A further letter dated 17 February 1687 was sent from Fort St George to the Governor and Council at St Helena. It was stated that, in accordance with instructions from their superiors, ten slaves had been sent aboard the ship <i>Beaufort</i>, commanded by Captain John Nicholson. These individuals were supplied with clothing and necessary provisions. It was indicated that such supplies would continue to be sent whenever they could be obtained.</p> <p>Instructions were given that the cost and charge of these slaves, amounting to 1,000 pagodas, should be credited to the account of the Honourable Company, as the same amount would be charged accordingly in their own accounts. The letter concluded with expressions of respect and service, and was signed by John Gale, John Grey, Biscoe, John Littelton, Abrahamam, Thomas Warrel, Nathaniel Higginson, and William Frazer.</p>

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		<p>amounting to Pag^d 1000 as we shall accordingly charge them Ac^t N^o Which with our respects is what offers from Your affectionate friends to serve you John Gale John Grey Biscoe John Littelton Abrahaman Tho: Warrel Nat Higginson Will Frazer</p>	<p>Speculations The recommendation of Captain Legors suggests the importance placed on cooperation and mutual support among Company commanders and officials across different settlements. The shipment of slaves from Fort St George indicates an organised system of labour distribution within the Company's network, aimed at supporting the workforce needs of St Helena. The stated intention to continue such shipments implies an ongoing demand for labour on the island, possibly connected to plantation work or construction. The formal accounting of 1,000 pagodas reflects the structured financial practices of the Company, ensuring that all such transfers were recorded and balanced across different administrative centres.</p>
206	200	<p>Shipped by the Grace of God in good order and well conditioned by the Hon^{ble} English East India Comp^a in and upon the good ship Beaufort whereof is Master under God for this present voyage Cap^t John Nicholson and now riding at Anchor in the Road of Madras and by Gods grace bound for St Helena to say four men slaves being marked & numbered as in the margin and are to be delivered in the like good order well conditioned at the aforesaid Port of St Helena (the danger of the seas only excepted) unto the Governor & Council there or to their assigns he or they paying freight for the said goods with primage & average accustomed In Witness whereof the Master or purser of the said shipp hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading all of this tenor and date the one of which three Bills being accomplished the other two to stand void And so God send the good ship to her desired Port in safety Amen Dated in Fort St George the 6th day of May Receipt against Mortality John Nicholson Island St Helena July the 2^d 1680 Rec^d of Cap^t John Nicholson four negro men slaves being what is said to be remaining of the within Bill of Lading of the slaves put on board the shipp Beaufort by the Hon^{ble} the President & Council of Fort St Georges consigned for the said Island St Helena as appears Jn^o Blackmore Rob^t Holden Rich Keeling</p>	<p>A bill of lading dated 6 May 1687 was issued at Fort St George, recording that four male slaves had been shipped by the East India Company aboard the ship <i>Beaufort</i>, commanded by Captain John Nicholson. The vessel was then riding at anchor in the road of Madras and was bound for St Helena. The slaves were described as marked and numbered, and were to be delivered at St Helena in the same good order and condition, with the usual exception for the dangers of the sea. It was specified that freight, together with customary charges of primage and average, was to be paid upon delivery. The document noted that three bills of lading of the same tenor and date had been signed, with the understanding that once one had been fulfilled, the others would become void. The usual formal conclusion was included, expressing the hope for the ship's safe arrival. A receipt dated 2 July 1687 was then recorded at St Helena. It was stated that four male slaves had been received from Captain John Nicholson, being those remaining from the number originally shipped under the bill of lading issued by the President and Council of Fort St George. These individuals were acknowledged as having been consigned to St Helena in accordance with the terms of that document. The receipt was signed by John Blackmore, Robert Holden, and Richard Keeling. Interpretations "Primage and average" referred to customary shipping charges, the former being a small gratuity or fee paid to the ship's master, and the latter relating to shared costs or losses incurred during a voyage. Speculations The reference to "mortality" suggests that not all individuals originally shipped survived the voyage, reflecting the harsh conditions and risks associated with maritime transport at the time. The formal structure of multiple bills of lading indicates standard commercial practice, ensuring legal clarity and accountability in the transfer of goods and persons. The recording of receipt by named officials demonstrates the administrative procedures in place to track and confirm deliveries within the Company's system.</p>
207	201	<p>[...] This serves to accompany [...] Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a ship The Tonqueen Merch^t Cap^t Robt Knox Com^{dr} who we desire you will accommodate wth such he shall want for his shipp suitable to the Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a orders giving him as quick dispatch as possible you can affording you to the Com^{dr} for occurances in those pts we heartily Salute you and rest Bombay Castle March the 28th 1689</p>	<p>A letter dated 28 March 1689 was sent from Bombay Castle to John Blackmore, Governor of St Helena. It was stated that the letter accompanied the Company's ship <i>Tonqueen Merch^t</i>, commanded by Captain Robert Knox. Instructions were given that he should be accommodated with whatever was necessary for his ship, in accordance with the Company's orders, and that he should be dispatched as quickly as possible. Reference was made to his authority to report occurrences in those parts, and the letter concluded with expressions of regard.</p>

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		<p>To the Rt Worshipfull Jn^o Blackmore Esq^r Gov^r of ye Island St Helena p Tonqueen [...] Jn^o Blackmore Esq^r Gov^r of St Helena [...] [...] who we desire you will supply wth what may want for ye forwarding her to ye Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a you will here by his Comānd Cap^t W^m Willo[...] now ye Generall has bin at [...] trading for peace wth ye Magells & [...] present there is a cessation of armes between us & them and a [...] since ye Sloop coming down is arrived at Surat soe yt we are like to have peace on honble & advantageous terms suitable to ye Demand on this side India our freinds on ye other coast have sent up to ye Magells Court for a Phirmaun w^{ch} we wish may be acceptable to ye Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a but its what we know not ways till of, we heartily wish you well & Rest Bombay June ye 9th 1688 Yo^r very loving friends Jno Child J Gyborne J Michell James King R^t Gyffon [...]</p>	<p>A further communication, also addressed to John Blackmore as Governor of St Helena, repeated the request that the commander should be supplied with whatever was required to forward the ship in the Company's service. It was noted that Captain William Willo[...] had been engaged in negotiations for peace with the "Magells," and that at present a cessation of arms existed between the parties. News had been received that a vessel arriving at Surat had confirmed these developments, giving expectation that peace might soon be concluded on honourable and advantageous terms, suitable to the Company's interests on that side of India.</p> <p>It was also stated that the Company's representatives on another coast had sent to the court of the "Magells" to obtain a firman, or official grant, though it was not yet known whether this would prove acceptable to the Company. The letter concluded with expressions of goodwill and was dated 9 June 1688 at Bombay, signed by John Child, J Gyborne, J Michell, James King, and R^t Gyffon.</p> <p>Interpretations "Magells" probably referred to the Mughal authorities, indicating the ruling power with whom the Company was negotiating for peace and trading privileges. "Phirmaun" referred to a formal decree or grant issued by a sovereign authority, in this case likely the Mughal court, conferring rights or privileges such as permission to trade.</p> <p>Speculations The emphasis on accommodating Company ships suggests the importance of St Helena as a provisioning and logistical support point within the Company's maritime network. The reference to peace negotiations indicates a period of conflict or tension with regional powers, which the Company sought to resolve in order to secure its trading operations. The expectation of a firman suggests that formal recognition and protection from local rulers were essential to the Company's continued success in the region.</p>
208	202	<p>To the Rt Worshipfull Gov^r & Councill att St Helena [...] The Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a ord^{ing} [...] to supply you wth no flour by each ship yt goes home for England in Obedience thereunto we now send an ship Bengall Merch^t on slaune [...] & Charga- [...] boing being 120 wth leave to order ye Hon^{ble} Comp^a for as you shall Indost them of any ships bound hither touching wth you have Acquaint yo^r wth what you have Occasion for & we can supply you wth of roovs planks foods grain Arrack & it shall be forth you by all oportunities which wth respects is what presents from Rt Worships Your affectionate frds [...] John Littelton [...] W^m Worrell Will Fraser W^m Ewkely [...] Received by us in good order and well Conditioned by the Hon^{ble} the President & Council in and upon a good Ship called the Bengall Merch^t whereof is Master under God for this present voyage Cap^t [...]</p>	<p>A letter addressed to the Governor and Council at St Helena stated that, in accordance with orders from the East India Company, no flour was to be supplied by ships returning to England. In obedience to these instructions, goods were instead sent aboard the ship <i>Bengall Merch^t</i>, though parts of the details concerning the cargo were not fully preserved. It was indicated that the Governor and Council should inform the Company of their needs when ships bound for their port were encountered, so that suitable provisions might be supplied. It was further stated that materials such as timber, planks, grain, and arrack could be provided and would be sent whenever opportunities arose. The letter concluded with expressions of regard and was signed by several Company servants, including John Littelton, William Worrell, William Fraser, and William Ewkely.</p> <p>A bill of lading was also recorded for goods shipped by the President and Council at Fort St George aboard the ship <i>Bengall Merch^t</i>, then at anchor in the road of Madras and bound for St Helena. The cargo was described as being in good order and condition, and was to be delivered at St Helena to the Governor and Council or their assigns, subject only to the dangers of the sea. Freight was to be paid together with customary charges. It was noted that two bills of lading of the same tenor and date had been issued, with the condition that once one was fulfilled, the other would become void. The document concluded with the usual formal expression for the safe arrival of the vessel, and was dated at Fort St George and signed by William Reeve.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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		<p>[...] now Riding at Anchor in ye Road of Madrass and by Gods grace bound for St Helena to say Ton Mala places And are to be delivered in good order & well conditioned at ye afores^d Port of St Helena the danger of the Seas only Excepted unto ye Governor & Council there or to their Assignes he or they paying freight for ye sd goods to Primag[...] and Averag accustomed In Witness whereof I the Master or Purser of ye sd ship hath [...]</p> <p>to two Bills of Lading all of this tenor and date the one of w^{ch} two Bills being accomplished the other two to stand void And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in safety Amen Dated in Fort St George [...]</p> <p>W^m Reeve</p>	<p>The prohibition on sending flour by ships returning to England suggests an attempt to regulate supply routes, possibly to prioritise local provisioning or to avoid unnecessary transport of perishable goods.</p> <p>The emphasis on alternative supplies such as timber and grain indicates a practical focus on materials essential for construction, maintenance, and sustenance at St Helena.</p> <p>The instruction to communicate needs via passing ships reflects the flexible and opportunistic nature of supply within the Company's maritime network.</p>
209	203	<p>[...] St Helena Rec[e] of Cap^t W^m [...] Comand of y^e good Ship Bengall Merch^t Eight Malo slaves being as is said the total remaining alive of the twenty mentioned in the w^{ch} Bill of Lading to be put on board y^e said ship by the Hon^{ble} President & Council of Fort St George Consigned for the s^d Island of St Helena Wee say Rec^d this Day of Aprill 1689</p> <p>Jⁿ Blackmore Rob^t Holden [...]</p> <p>To John Blackmore Esq^r Gov^r of the Port & Island St Helena [...]</p> <p>[...] by y^e Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a ship Nathaniel [...]</p> <p>March [...] whom we recomend to yo^r kind usage & receipting during his stay in [...] begging yo^r assistance in wth necessary refreshm^t he have occasion for & speedy dispatching him towards y^e Rt Hon^{ble} Masters of Generall at present Imbarqued on board y^e Royall James & Mary wth severall other small ships & sailed for Surat Dnino Month, where we have hith Safe Arrived We</p> <p>hope in a short time to heare of an Hon^{ble} & firme peace wth y^e Mogulls, the business is sole intent & purpose referring yo^r to y^e bearer for further occurrences in those parts, in regard want time to insist thereon, wth kind salutations take leave & Rest</p> <p>Bombay Castle Octo 20th 1689 Yo^r very loving friends [...]</p> <p>R^t Worp Fort St George today 10th Feb^r 1690 This brings yo^r troublesome of passage for my family I have passage for England whom I hope to follow suddenly to pay my thanks for yo^r civilityes to me, w^{ch} promis my selfe from yo^r good report of yo^r courteous behaviour to all yt visit you happy comfortable & free from epidemical give me leave to add what is good not naturally produce in this place most of Canary w^{ch} I beg of yo^r acceptance and if you will favour me I shall drink one bottle of it wth my wife in memory of</p> <p>R^t Worp</p>	<p>A receipt dated April 1689 at St Helena recorded that eight male slaves had been received from Captain William [...], commander of the ship <i>Bengall Merob^t</i>. These individuals were stated to be the total number remaining alive from the twenty originally listed in the bill of lading issued by the President and Council of Fort St George. They had been consigned to St Helena, and their receipt was acknowledged by John Blackmore and Robert Holden.</p> <p>A further letter addressed to John Blackmore as Governor of St Helena was sent from Bombay Castle on 20 October 1689. It was conveyed by the Company's ship <i>Nathaniel</i> and requested that the commander should be treated with kindness and provided with necessary refreshment during his stay. Assistance was also requested to ensure his prompt dispatch onwards. It was reported that the Company's General was then embarked aboard the <i>Royall James & Mary</i> together with several smaller vessels and had sailed for Surat, where safe arrival had been achieved. It was expressed that there was hope of soon concluding an honourable and firm peace with the Mughal authorities, and further details were referred to the bearer of the letter due to lack of time for writing. The letter concluded with expressions of regard.</p> <p>A separate communication dated 10 February 1690 from Fort St George referred to arrangements for passage to England for the writer's family, with the expectation that the writer would soon follow. Gratitude was expressed for the courteous treatment previously received, and good wishes were conveyed for the continued health and comfort of those at St Helena. A gift of Canary wine, described as not naturally produced in that place, was offered for acceptance, with a request that it be remembered in a shared toast.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The significant reduction in the number of slaves surviving the voyage suggests the severe conditions and high mortality associated with maritime transport at the time.</p> <p>The continued references to peace with the Mughal authorities indicate that political stability in the region remained uncertain but was a matter of ongoing negotiation.</p> <p>The personal tone of the final letter, including the offer of wine, reflects the existence of social bonds and informal exchanges alongside official Company correspondence.</p>

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		Yo ^r most faithfull Serv ^t [...]	
210	204	<p>Our Governour and Council at St Helena London y^e 5th of Aprill 1689 [...] Wee are now to give answer to yours of y^e 4th of May 2^d July 31 October 26 November and first of December last which we shall do in order, Your care in dispatching Cap^t Harding and the sense you had of y^e publick concernment therein deserves commendation [...] wee freely forgive them that were condemned we full forgive give all their to us except of their Royall P[ar]ty and that we should condemne likewise if it were safe to continue executions in such an Island as that is which had made such a hostile attempt upon y^e Government we have no malice against any mans person but we must in prudence & for the good of posterity secure that Island which hath cost the Comp^a so much money for the benefit of our Successors Cap^t [...] had been useful to us, the Ballance of his Acct must have exceeded our charges a great deale of money even to some thousands of pounds in the long time it did subsist [...] you may make up the acct with her as well as you can & give what you can fairly of her by consent & give her a full discharge which shall be finall to acquit her of all further demands from us We approve of the order you made for Copper Bars to pass curr^t in halfe payment for our stores &c and by y^e invoice of this shipp you will see what care we have taken to help supply you with what you write for You must be very constant & carefull in getting in our debts & collecting our Revenues in which we principally rely upon our Governour's diligence [...] We have ordered our Book keeper to take notice of the mistakes you mention in the Invoices of Pitch and Tar We thinke not fitt to make any more alterations in our Charter nor in obliging the Commanders to take more provisions on board & stores there than you have done, because we would [...]</p>	<p>A letter dated 5 April 1689 was sent from London to the Governor and Council of St Helena. It was stated that replies were being made to several of their earlier letters, dated 4 May, 2 July, 31 October, 26 November, and 1 December of the previous year, and that these matters would be addressed in order.</p> <p>Commendation was given for the care taken in dispatching Captain Harding, and for the attention shown to the public interest in that matter. It was further declared that those previously condemned had been fully forgiven, and that all claims upon them were remitted, except in relation to those connected with the royal party. It was stated that further executions would not be continued, not out of personal malice, but from prudence, and with regard to the future security of the island. Emphasis was placed upon the need to protect the settlement, which had been established at considerable expense to the Company for the benefit of its successors.</p> <p>Reference was made to the account of Captain [...], it being noted that, had he continued in service, the balance of his account would have exceeded the Company's charges by a considerable sum, amounting to several thousands of pounds over time.</p> <p>Instructions were given that an account should be settled with a woman concerned, as fairly as possible and with her consent, and that she should be granted a full discharge, which would release her from any further claims by the Company.</p> <p>Approval was expressed for the order that copper bars should pass as current payment for half the value of goods taken from the Company's stores. It was also noted that, from the invoice of the present ship, evidence would be seen of the care taken to supply the island with the requested provisions.</p> <p>It was directed that particular diligence should be exercised in collecting debts and revenues, with reliance placed chiefly upon the Governor's efforts in this regard. Attention was also drawn to reported errors in the invoices for pitch and tar, and it was stated that the Company's bookkeeper had been instructed to take notice of these mistakes.</p> <p>It was further declared that no additional alterations would be made to the Company's charter, nor would commanders be required to take on more provisions or stores than had already been established, as the existing arrangements were considered sufficient.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The decision to grant general forgiveness, while retaining exceptions for certain political affiliations suggests a careful balance between reconciliation and the maintenance of authority following unrest.</p> <p>The emphasis on securing the island for future benefit reflects the long term strategic importance of St Helena within the Company's operations.</p> <p>The approval of copper bars as partial currency indicates a pragmatic response to shortages of coin, allowing trade and supply to continue under constrained conditions.</p> <p>The insistence on improved debt collection highlights ongoing concerns about financial discipline and the effective management of Company resources.</p>
211	205	<p>not to frequently altering ye government or generall rules of our Island, but keep things in the old wee have now settled them Cap^t Knox being not arrived we can give you no opinion of the Consultation Books you sent, nor of ye acceptable Ballance of the Island concerning them, we find prudent men yt</p>	<p>Further instructions were given that the government and general rules of the island were not to be frequently altered, but instead maintained as already established.</p> <p>It was stated that, as Captain Knox had not yet arrived, no opinion could be given on the Consultation Books that had been sent, nor on the stated balance of the island's affairs. It was observed that experienced individuals differed greatly in their views on the island's</p>

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		<p>know that place differ so very much in their opinions some think if you guard ye Hills well, there is no danger of the valleys, others thinke the Island will not be secure except the valleys be fortified as hath bin formerly suggested consider both well & doe what ever tends to the great safety by degrees as you can Wee send you no Deale boards because we have taken effect- uall course yt you shall be well supplied wth Timber boards & plank of all sorts from the Mauritius, & we have ordered 30 Bundles of boards to be put on board this ship & sent to you if they can be procured for money at the Maderas they being exceeding deare here at present by reason of a generall Inter- ruption of a trade now wth France & Spaine who are now there God make you perfectly freed from any thought of difference wth the Dutch, yet it would concern you to be equally vigilant & upon your guard to prevent any surprise from the French This ship from your place is bound for Bombay, w^{ch} is now in a flourishing condition, being made ye residence of the Gov^r & Councell of India: the seat and Center of ye English Dominion in those parts of the world: The Magazine of our trade, ye Store and lading place of all English returning ships, as Batavia is of ye Dutch, you would therefore now people it with English Inhabitants by all convenient opportunitys & because we know ye Island abounds with young people w^{ch} growing up cann hardly find room to subsist within yo^r narrow limits we doe therefore hereby give Licence to all young people of either sex exceeding fourteen yeares of age with ye consent of their Parents to take their passage on this ship then bound for Bombay paying the usuall fare each for sea provisions & their respective passages w^{ch} for their sakes we have obliged Cap^t Browne to accept of, for ye ease of such as desire to transport themselves as aforesaid & for their further encouragement we have ordered yt they shall upon arriving at Bombay shall be immediately upon their arrival entered into ye Company's Pay as souldiers & there is no</p>	<p>defence. Some considered that, if the hills were properly guarded, the valleys would remain secure, while others believed that the valleys themselves must also be fortified, as had previously been suggested. It was therefore directed that both opinions should be carefully considered, and that whatever measures best ensured the island's safety should be implemented gradually, as circumstances allowed.</p> <p>It was explained that no deal boards had been sent, as arrangements had been made for the island to be supplied with timber, boards, and planks from Mauritius. It was further noted that 30 bundles of boards had been ordered to be placed aboard the present ship, if they could be obtained at Madeira, although they were currently very expensive there due to a general interruption of trade with France and Spain.</p> <p>It was expressed that no immediate concern need be held regarding conflict with the Dutch, but it was nevertheless advised that vigilance should be maintained, particularly against the possibility of surprise from the French.</p> <p>Information was then given regarding Bombay, to which the present ship was bound. It was described as being in a flourishing condition, having become the residence of the Governor and Council of India, and the principal centre of English authority in those regions. It was also identified as the main hub for trade and the loading of ships returning to England, in a manner comparable to Batavia for the Dutch.</p> <p>In light of this, encouragement was given for the settlement of Bombay with English inhabitants. It was noted that St Helena contained many young people who could not easily find means of subsistence within the limited space of the island. Permission was therefore granted for all individuals above 14 years of age, with the consent of their parents, to take passage on the present ship bound for Bombay, upon payment of the usual fare for provisions and transport. It was further stated that arrangements had been made with Captain Browne to accept such passengers. For additional encouragement, it was ordered that, upon arrival at Bombay, they should be entered immediately into the Company's pay as soldiers.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The insistence on maintaining established rules suggests concern that frequent changes in governance had previously led to instability or confusion.</p> <p>The differing opinions on fortification indicate uncertainty about the most effective defensive strategy, reflecting the island's strategic importance and vulnerability.</p> <p>The emphasis on Bombay as a growing centre of power highlights a shift in the Company's priorities towards larger and more commercially significant settlements.</p> <p>The encouragement of migration from St Helena to Bombay suggests an attempt to redistribute population in a way that supported the Company's expanding interests elsewhere.</p>
212	206	<p>doubt but the young women may some get husbands there where there is a great want of English women, which being known here, some of that sex are so desirous to goe from hence for husbands that they pay us twelve pounds each for permission besides eight pounds to ye ship for their passage we do not much rely upon this</p>	<p>Further encouragement was given for migration from St Helena to Bombay. It was observed that young women might find husbands there, as there was said to be a great shortage of English women. It was noted that some women had already shown such eagerness to relocate for this purpose that they had paid £12 each for permission, in addition to £8 for their passage. However, it was stated that little reliance was placed upon this as a regular means of increasing migration, as</p>

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		<p>proposed supplement, because we know not how it may hit the humour of those ignorant people, who may not understand their advantage by it We likewise order that if any of the condemned men, whom we have before pardoned, & their wives & children of what age soever they be, shall desire to remove to Bombay, that they shall not only have their passage on the termes aforesaid, but that the men & their sons above fourteen years of age at their leaving the Island, shall upon their arrival at Bombay be entered into ye Comp^t's pay as soldiers, & such of the condemned men as shall be willing to transport themselves & familys to Bombay, & pay for their owne passage as afores^d you may respectively to each of them pay the full value of their goods lands and plantations as they were formerly rated & appraised, or they shall in your judgement be worth to the Comp^t because if such persons leave the Island & behave themselves again to ill service in another place we would have them remove with contented minds & for their advantage We have borne with some impatience Cap^t Holden's exceeding rashness to our Gov^r; some times without reason, but seldom managed with discretion, & some times without any colour of reason, but now we have rec^d from M^r Barabome & others such credible informa-tions from all people coming from the Island such lamentable complaints of his enhancing the price of many commodities so unconscio-nably upon the Inhabitants & all to his owne private benefitt without any manner of advantage to ye Comp^t yt we can endure it no longer; & therefore we do hereby dismiss him our service, & by our Commission that goeth herewith have appointed Cap^t Tashua Johnson to be our Lieutenant of that fort Comp^t in his stead and M^r Rich^d Keling to be store keeper. Another exception we have to Cap^t Holden is his impertinent capriciousness in questioning our authority or rather the Kings whether we could by his late Maj^{ty}'s Commission governe that Island by martiall law in times of peace his reading of law Bookes had informed him yt could not be done in England legally without consent of Parliament & that is a true notion in our Law; but he forgets to distinguish of places & that neither our common law nor statute law or Acts of Parliament extend any further then to England Wales & Berwick upon Tweed In all other places & plantations his Maj^{ty}'s Charter gives a law to his power despotical, if he hath not bound it by some</p>	<p>it was uncertain how far such individuals would recognise the advantages offered.</p> <p>It was also ordered that any of the men who had previously been condemned but later pardoned, together with their wives and children of any age, might be permitted to remove to Bombay. They were to be granted passage on the same terms as others, and upon arrival, the men and their sons above 14 years of age were to be entered into the Company's pay as soldiers. Those willing to transport themselves and their families, and to pay their own passage, were to receive from the Company the full value of their goods, lands, and plantations, according to prior valuations or as judged appropriate. This measure was intended to ensure that such persons departed with satisfaction and advantage, so that they would not carry discontent into their new situation.</p> <p>Serious complaints were then addressed concerning Captain Holden. It was stated that his conduct towards the Governor had often been rash, lacking discretion, and at times without justification. More significantly, credible reports had been received from Mr Barabome and others, supported by numerous accounts from those arriving from the island, alleging that he had raised the prices of many commodities excessively for his own private benefit, without any advantage to the Company. It was therefore declared that his conduct could no longer be tolerated, and he was dismissed from the Company's service.</p> <p>In his place, Captain Tashua Johnson was appointed as Lieutenant of the fort and Company forces, and Mr Richard Keling was appointed as storekeeper. Further criticism of Captain Holden was made regarding his questioning of the Company's authority, and by extension the King's authority, to govern the island under martial law in times of peace. It was acknowledged that his understanding of English law, that such authority could not be exercised within England without Parliament's consent, was correct. However, it was stated that he had failed to recognise the distinction between England and overseas territories. It was emphasised that English common law and statute law extended only to England, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, and that in other places and plantations, the King's charter granted broader powers of governance, unless specifically limited.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The encouragement of migration, particularly of young women, suggests an effort to stabilise and expand the population at Bombay, reflecting its growing importance within the Company's system.</p> <p>The provision of compensation to pardoned individuals indicates a deliberate attempt to prevent unrest by ensuring that those relocated did not feel unjustly deprived.</p> <p>The dismissal of Captain Holden highlights tensions within the island's administration, particularly concerning economic practices and the abuse of authority.</p> <p>The discussion of legal authority suggests that questions of governance and jurisdiction in overseas territories were contested, requiring clarification to maintain control.</p>

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213	207	<p>Charter of his owne to ye first planters or adventurers, as in ye plantations of ye Massachusetts or Boston in new England and that of Piscataqua or Plimouth in new England: he was formerly in the right as to the obedience due from the Inhabitants of St Helena to ye Comp^t under his Maj^{ty}'s Letters Patents of that Island, which might make him thinke too well of his owne understanding.</p> <p>14</p> <p>As soone as you receive this put M^r Keeling wth such assistance as you thinke he may need in to possession of our Stores by Inventory, & make up all acc^s wth Cap^t Holden abating only so much as in your Consciences you may thinke he hath Injured us of by selling our goods for more then he hath brought to the credit of our accounts: In the conclusion of wth acc^t make him all reasonable allowances for all wast leakage decaying of goods, or any thing else yt you cann thinke he may fairly pretend to: for we know in some things he hath served us well, & we have no animosity ag^t him: altho we are bound in to our Trust to see ye Adventurers righted by any that we heare or know hath done them Injury</p> <p>15</p> <p>Our God is to superintend our store keeper & all mens offices and Employ^t, & not to suffer any store keeper or surveyor of our Plantations or any other officer under him w^{soever} to defraud us as Cap^t did, nor to idle away their time or neglect their Duty or to conceit yt they have any charge or trust powre or authority from us, independent of or from our Gov^r: altho for convenience sake we may distinguish their particular charges & Employ^t as we did in Cap^t Holden's case & do thinke it convenient yet that M^r Keelings peculiar business should be ye same as Cap^t Holden's was except yt of customer or Collector & we hope our Gov^r will be so generous & just as to maintaine the wages & not put us to no more charge but rather to less charges then were in Cap^t Holden's tyme since we have given him this ease</p> <p>16</p> <p>After divers attempts to make some profitable productions upon that Island which in some measure recompence ye prodigious charge we have laid out upon it our incessant thoughts & study have at length fixt upon the planting of Vines and the making of wine & Brandy, which as men of what quality soever that live upon ye Island that</p>	<p>Further justification was given regarding the Company's authority over St Helena. It was explained that, unlike certain plantations in New England such as Massachusetts, Boston, Piscataqua, or Plymouth, where particular charters had granted powers to settlers, the governance of St Helena rested upon His Majesty's Letters Patent granted to the Company. It was acknowledged that Captain Holden had correctly understood the limits of English law within England, but it was stated that he had erred in applying that reasoning to overseas territories, where the Company exercised authority under royal grant. It was suggested that this misunderstanding may have led him to place undue confidence in his own judgement.</p> <p>Instructions were then given that, upon receipt of the letter, Mr Richard Keling should be placed in possession of the Company's stores, with such assistance as required, and that a full inventory should be taken. All accounts with Captain Holden were to be settled, with deductions made only for such amounts as might reasonably be judged to represent losses caused by his overcharging for goods beyond what had been credited to the Company. At the same time, fair allowances were to be granted to him for wastage, leakage, decay of goods, or any other just claims. It was emphasised that, although faults had been identified, he had also rendered useful service, and no personal animosity was held against him, though the Company remained obliged to protect the interests of its investors.</p> <p>It was further directed that the Governor should exercise close supervision over the storekeeper and all other officers, ensuring that none should defraud the Company, neglect their duties, or assume authority independent of the Governor. While specific roles and responsibilities might be assigned for convenience, all authority was to remain subordinate to the Governor. It was stated that Mr Keling's duties should largely correspond to those formerly held by Captain Holden, except for the role of customer or collector. It was also expressed that the Governor should maintain proper wages while seeking to reduce overall expenses compared with those incurred during Captain Holden's tenure.</p> <p>Attention was then turned to the long standing difficulty of making the island economically productive. It was observed that, despite many attempts, little success had been achieved in generating profitable outputs to offset the considerable expense incurred by the Company. It was stated that, after sustained consideration, attention had now been directed towards the cultivation of vines and the production of wine and brandy, which were believed to offer a promising means of improving the island's economic return.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The detailed clarification of legal authority suggests that disputes over governance had become significant, requiring explicit reaffirmation of the Company's powers under royal charter.</p> <p>The careful handling of Captain Holden's dismissal indicates an attempt to balance accountability with fairness, avoiding unnecessary conflict while addressing misconduct.</p> <p>The emphasis on stricter oversight of officers reflects ongoing concerns about inefficiency, corruption, or lack of discipline within the island's administration.</p> <p>The focus on viticulture suggests a strategic shift towards identifying a sustainable and profitable agricultural product suited to the island's conditions.</p>
214	208	That we have conversed w th you unanimously agree to be	It was stated that, upon consultation, the cultivation of vines and the production of wine and

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		<p>a feasible attempt: But it is never to be effected by other than persons bred up in ye Science, that know how to cultivate and dress Vines perfectly well & how to make Wine & Brandy, & therefore we have agreed wth Cap^t Bomier upon termes contained in his Instructions, of which we send you a Copy herewith. He is an honest man & lived formerly in great plenty upon his owne Land in France, where he made two or three hundred hogsheads of Wine & Brandy p[er] Annum, But being a Protestant was driven from all he had in France by that violent persecution, which hath caused us to make ye Conditions of his entertainm^t the more favourable as to his owne person, all the Vinerons that goe wth him are likewise French protestants; but we must tell you, the French are excellent Serv^{ts} if you keep them under & set them sharply to their Duty, But are apt to grow insolent, and negligent if they be not held to their worke as they are in France, & if you give them ear they will never leave craving and asking, against which troublesome humour you must arme your selves invincibly if you expect to have any quietnes wth them.</p> <p>57 If you find M^r Bomier hath more then he can imploy or some such as are useless in his workes you may take them downe in your Garrison at the Fort & we thinke it is convenient yt our Gov^r & when he cannot yt Cap^t Poole should often goe up to our Plantation, to see how our affaires are carryed on there, & never neglect it as a thing out of their charge, as was done when M^r Cox was there, always remembering yt there is nothing or person of the Comp^t or in ye Island, but what are subject to the care cheque & controul of our Gov^r & Councell & to be regulated & ordered by them.</p> <p>58 M^r Bomier as you will see our Instructions is for his great reputation to have place at our Councell, when he is at the fort, & to have the appellation of Cap^t, And we pray yt he may have a Seat he speakes little English yet, but we hope he may become more in his passage, & that by the time he comes to St Helena his Son may be perfect in our Language.</p>	<p>brandy had been agreed to be a feasible undertaking for the island. However, it was emphasised that such an enterprise could only succeed if carried out by persons properly trained in that art. For this reason, an agreement had been made with Captain Bomier under terms set out in his instructions, a copy of which was enclosed. He was described as an honest man who had formerly lived in considerable prosperity in France, where he had produced between 200 and 300 hogsheads of wine and brandy each year. It was further noted that, as a Protestant, he had been driven from his possessions during the persecutions in France, and that this circumstance had led to more favourable terms being granted to him.</p> <p>It was stated that the vine dressers accompanying him were likewise French Protestants. It was observed that such workers could be highly effective if kept under strict discipline and required to perform their duties diligently, but that they might otherwise become negligent or demanding. It was therefore directed that firm control should be maintained over them, and that excessive demands should not be entertained, in order to preserve order and efficiency.</p> <p>Provision was made for the management of these workers. If Captain Bomier were found to have more men than he could employ, or if any proved unsuitable, they might be assigned to the garrison at the fort. It was further directed that the Governor, or in his absence Captain Poole, should regularly visit the plantation to oversee operations and ensure that the work was properly conducted. It was emphasised that this responsibility should not be neglected, as had previously occurred during Mr Cox's tenure. It was reiterated that all persons and affairs on the island were subject to the authority and supervision of the Governor and Council.</p> <p>It was also directed that Captain Bomier should, for the sake of his reputation, be given a place at the Council when present at the fort, and be addressed by that title. It was noted that he spoke little English at present, though it was expected that his proficiency would improve during the voyage, and that his son might become fully fluent by the time of their arrival at St Helena.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The recruitment of experienced French Protestant vine growers reflects a deliberate effort to introduce specialised knowledge to the island, suggesting that earlier attempts at agricultural production had lacked the necessary expertise.</p> <p>The reference to religious persecution indicates the wider European context influencing the movement of skilled individuals, which the Company sought to exploit for its own advantage.</p> <p>The emphasis on strict discipline suggests concern that cultural differences or unfamiliar working conditions might otherwise lead to disorder or inefficiency.</p> <p>The requirement for regular oversight by the Governor indicates that previous failures in plantation management had been attributed, at least in part, to insufficient supervision.</p>
215	209	<p>[...] Martha Bo[]ton is very importunate & Complains of Severall things taken from her at St Helena: Since her husbands death shee will write the particulars to her attorney there, with whom we would have you make up the acc^t for all things taken from her the deceas[ed] Cattle &</p>	<p>A complaint was reported from Martha Bo[]ton, who was described as pressing her case strongly and alleging that several items had been taken from her at St Helena following her husband's death. It was stated that she would set out the particulars in a letter to her attorney on the island. Instructions were given that her account should be settled with that attorney, including all cattle and movable goods belonging to her late</p>

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		<p>moveables, & pay the balance in our Cash or to her Attorney as shee shall direct by her owne letter & advise us what the balance of her acc^t amounts to, & it shall be paid her here as soone as we receive your answer in the mean time we have bin very charitable to her having given her twelve pounds for her passage hither & ten pounds to put her selfe in a way of livelihood, her Petition we send inclosed, and would have you give us a true acc^t of the [...] matter of fact with your opinion thereon by the next</p> <p>20 The increase of our heard of Game goats is a matter yt we must continue to recommend to yo^u care, & which we believe wth yo^u prudent managem^t may come in a little time to turne us to a good acc^t by the sale of them to our shippes, yo^u haveing now removed Cap^t Holden may reasonably promise our selves that whilst our Gov^r lives we shall heare no more complaints of the Exactions upon ye Inhabitants by our Store keeper, nor by the trading of any of our Councell wth the Comp^t Stock, nor yet wth their owne to such exorbitant profitt as amounts to an oppression of the Inhabitants, but that the Truck wth our ships shall be carryed on for the benefit of ye Comp^t especially & upon such moderate gains as may be no burthen to ye people, but we have found by Experience it is an easier thing to change men y^e manners, but now you know our [...] and the trust we repose in you, we promise our selves some tolerable reformation, and bettering of our Interest, because we believe our Gov^r is conscientious, having now to controle him & cannot thinke himselfe so farr from the time of his great acc^t & Cap^t Johnson by his Officiall assistance for ye Comp^t benefit & the observance of all their ord^s may reasonably promise himselfe to be established in the succession & M^r Keelinge we are sure will not cann doe nothing against yo^u joint Inclinations C B [Jire``</p>	<p>husband that had been taken. Any balance found due was to be paid either in the Company's cash or to her attorney, according to her directions. A full report of the matter, including the balance of her account and an account of the facts with an opinion upon them, was to be sent by the next opportunity. It was also noted that assistance had already been given to her, including £12 for her passage and £10 to support her in establishing a livelihood.</p> <p>Attention was then directed to the increase of the Company's herd of game goats, which was strongly recommended as a matter of ongoing care. It was suggested that, with prudent management, this resource might soon become profitable through sales to passing ships.</p> <p>Reference was made to the removal of Captain Holden, and it was expressed that, during the Governor's tenure, no further complaints were expected regarding excessive charges imposed upon inhabitants by the storekeeper, nor concerning improper trading by members of the Council using Company stock or their own goods for excessive profit. It was directed that trade with ships should be conducted primarily for the benefit of the Company, and at moderate gains that would not burden the inhabitants.</p> <p>It was observed that experience had shown it to be easier to change individuals than to reform their habits. Nevertheless, confidence was expressed that improvement might now be achieved, based on the trust placed in the Governor's conduct and sense of responsibility. It was suggested that, with proper oversight, and with the assistance of Captain Johnson in his official role and Mr Keeling in his duties, better order might be maintained and the Company's interests more effectively secured.</p> <p>Speculations The handling of Martha Bo[]ton's complaint suggests that disputes over property and inheritance were common and required formal intervention by the Company's administration.</p> <p>The emphasis on regulating trade and preventing excessive profit indicates prior abuses that had affected the inhabitants and undermined confidence in the administration.</p> <p>The encouragement to expand goat herds reflects an ongoing effort to develop reliable and profitable resources for the island's economy.</p> <p>The confidence placed in the Governor and his officers suggests that reform was expected to come through stronger oversight and improved discipline within the island's administration.</p>
216	210	<p>M^r Keeling must not write after Cap^t Holdens irregular copy in sending us acc^t or Bills upon us under his owne hand singly, but all our acc^t must be duely adjusted and audited in Councell & attested by our Gov^r</p> <p>22 We send you wth this 2 Proclamations of our gracious King & Queen William & Mary w^{ch} you are to publish wth all due solem[n]ity, as hath been performed here in all Cities & Market Townes of the Kingdome</p> <p>23 For the future to prevent any enhancing the prices of the Comp^t goods upon the planters or others above the Comp^t rates let M^r Keeling not only enter what money he delivers any planter upon acc^t but let him enter in a Waste booke or day</p>	<p>Instructions were given concerning the proper handling of accounts. It was directed that Mr Richard Keeling should not follow the irregular practice previously used by Captain Holden of sending accounts or bills under his own hand alone. Instead, all accounts were to be fully examined, adjusted, and audited in Council, and formally attested by the Governor.</p> <p>It was further ordered that two proclamations issued by King William and Queen Mary should be published on the island with full ceremony, in the same manner as had been carried out in cities and market towns throughout the kingdom.</p> <p>Measures were prescribed to prevent any increase in the prices of Company goods beyond the established rates. Mr Keeling was required not only to record all sums of money issued to planters on account, but also to keep a waste book or day book detailing the specific goods sold for each charge made. He was to be provided with whatever assistance was necessary to maintain accurate records.</p>

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		<p>booke the particulars of ye goods sold for every sune he charges upon any man acc^t & let him have what help you shall find he may need</p> <p>24</p> <p>A few dayes since came a person to us wth a Bill for two years Salary to be paid our Gov^t w^{ch} we should instantly have paid but yt we found the party was a person whose name was put in the blanks by M^r Goffe & he was a mere stranger to you and as much a stranger to us, so that the mony might have been in danger of loosing, & therefore we told the party that the sd two years salary should be immediately made good to you upon yo^u acc^t and Interest accompted to him from this month so our Gov^t may order the paym^t of principall & Interest to whom he will and it shall be immediately pd according to his ord^r but M^r Goffe we feare is not responsible, w^{ch} we should not intimate, but for our Gov^ts benefit</p> <p>25</p> <p>We have had a Complaint made to us by an Inhabitant of the Island who came home Comer of the Beauford that prices are sett by our Councell upon the Inhabitants provisions w^{ch} we never directed neither will allow of any stinted price to be sett on any of the planters provisions, but leave them to their owne liberty to sell at what rates they can, except Beefe w^{ch} we formerly regulated</p> <p>26</p> <p>You may ship upon this ship one half or 2/3 of all our Tobacco under in your Stores consigning it to our Gov^t & Councell of Bombay and invoicing the Cut and dryed at 2 s^d</p> <p>If you meet wth Tob^e Chaquelaine in any of our returning ships you may entertain him on his good behaviour at the salary of [...]</p>	<p>Reference was made to a bill presented for two years' salary due to the Governor. It was stated that payment had been withheld because the claimant was a stranger whose name had been inserted by Mr Goffe, raising concern that the money might be lost. It was therefore decided that the amount would instead be credited to the Governor's account, with interest calculated from the present time. The Governor was authorised to direct payment of both principal and interest to any person he chose, and this would then be paid accordingly. Doubt was expressed regarding Mr Goffe's reliability, and this warning was given for the Governor's benefit.</p> <p>A complaint was noted from an inhabitant who had returned on the ship <i>Beaufort</i>, alleging that the Council had set fixed prices on provisions. It was stated that no such authority had been granted, and that no fixed prices were to be imposed on planters' goods, except for beef, which had previously been regulated. Planters were to be left free to sell their provisions at whatever rates they could obtain.</p> <p>Instructions were also given regarding the shipment of tobacco. It was directed that one half, or two thirds, of the tobacco held in store should be sent on the present ship to the Governor and Council at Bombay. This tobacco was to be invoiced as cut and dried at 2s per pound. It was further stated that, if Tob^e Chaquelaine were encountered on any returning ships, he might be taken into service, provided his conduct was satisfactory, at a salary to be determined.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The insistence on formal auditing of accounts reflects ongoing concerns about irregular financial practices and the need for stricter administrative oversight.</p> <p>The ceremonial publication of royal proclamations suggests the importance of maintaining visible loyalty and authority within the island's governance.</p> <p>The requirement for detailed record keeping indicates an effort to prevent abuse in the sale of Company goods and to ensure transparency in transactions.</p> <p>The refusal to fix prices on provisions, except for beef, suggests an attempt to balance regulation with market freedom, possibly in response to complaints from inhabitants.</p> <p>The caution regarding Mr Goffe implies that financial dealings involving intermediaries were considered a potential source of risk or fraud.</p>
217	211	<p>of 50 ^l p Annum & his diet at the Comp's Table</p> <p>28</p> <p>We have in our former generall Lres to you, as also in our Instructions to ye Comd of our returning ships that should Touch at our Island St Helena appointed them to stay there a certain time in Expectation of yo^u or the Admirall or some others of our ships to accompany them in their passage for England, but such is ye present Condition and state of affaires of England, upon the late Revolution w^{ch} reference to other Nations that we now judge it advisable & accord- ingly doe injoin & direct that all Com^{ds} yt shall hence- forth arrive wth you from India doe loose no time after they are refreshed in staying for any other ships but to make the best of their way for our Channell, & by no means upon any pretence whatsoever they goe for any part of Ireland, that Kingdom being now in extrem and hostility ag^t their prnt Maj^t King William &</p>	<p>A salary was specified for Tob^e Chaquelaine, who, if employed, was to receive £50 per annum together with his diet at the Company's table.</p> <p>Further instructions were then given concerning the movements of the Company's ships. It was recalled that, in earlier general letters and instructions, commanders of returning ships had been directed to remain at St Helena for a set period while awaiting the arrival of other Company vessels, so that they might sail together for England. However, it was now stated that, owing to the present condition of affairs in England following the recent Revolution and its effects upon relations with other nations, this policy was to be altered.</p> <p>It was therefore ordered that all commanders arriving from India at St Helena should not delay unnecessarily after taking on refreshments, but should proceed without waiting for other ships and make the best of their way towards the English Channel. It was expressly forbidden that any ship should, under any pretext, proceed to any part of Ireland, as that kingdom was then in a state of hostility against King William and Queen Mary. The Governor and Council were required to give clear notice of these instructions to all commanders.</p>

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		<p>Queen Mary, whereof you are to give [...] particular notice and directions to our Comd accordingly So comending you and our affaires to yo^a Guidance & protection of ye Almighty We remaine Your Loveing Friends</p> <p>Benj Bathurst Gov^r Jos^a Child Dep^y Tho: Rawlinson Chandos Fran: Gosfright John Gower Tho: Cooke Jos^a Child jun^r Tho: Boone Rob^t Marshall W^m Pedgricke</p>	<p>The letter concluded by commending the Governor, Council, and the Company's affairs to divine guidance, and was signed by Benjamin Bathurst as Governor, Josiah Child as Deputy, Thomas Rawlinson, Chandos, Francis Gosfright, John Gower, Thomas Cooke, Josiah Child junior, Thomas Boone, Robert Marshall, and William Pedgricke.</p> <p>Speculations The change in naval instructions reflects the impact of the political upheaval following the Glorious Revolution, which altered strategic considerations for maritime travel.</p> <p>The prohibition on sailing to Ireland indicates the seriousness of conflict there and the perceived danger to Company ships.</p> <p>The removal of the requirement for ships to sail in convoy suggests a shift towards speed and flexibility, possibly due to changing risks at sea.</p> <p>The provision of a fixed salary and maintenance for Tob^e Chaquelaine indicates the continued need to recruit and retain specialised individuals within the Company's service.</p>
218	212	<p>London the 12 Aprill 1689 Invoice of Goods & Merchandize laden by the Govern^{or} & Comp^o of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies, in & upon ye good ship called the Benjamin wth then 450 Tunns or thereabouts whereof goeth Comd Capt Leonard Browne, bound by ye Almightys [...] for the Island of St Helena and goes consigned to yo^a Gover^{or} & Councill there resident, factors of the Gen^{eral} joint stock ye particulars are as followeth Viz^t Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>	<p>A document dated 12 April 1689 was issued in London as an invoice of goods and merchandise shipped by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. It was recorded that the cargo had been laden aboard the ship <i>Benjamin</i>, of about 450 tons burthen, under the command of Captain Leonard Browne. The vessel was bound, by the permission of the Almighty, for the island of St Helena.</p> <p>The goods were consigned to the Governor and Council at St Helena, acting as factors for the General Joint Stock of the Company. It was stated that the particulars of the cargo would be set out in detail in the sections that followed, forming a complete account of the merchandise included in the shipment.</p> <p>Speculations The formal structure of the invoice reflects the Company's established system of recording shipments, ensuring that all goods were properly accounted for within the joint stock.</p> <p>The designation of the Governor and Council as factors indicates their role not only in governance but also in the management and distribution of Company goods on the island.</p> <p>The inclusion of both tonnage and command details suggests the importance placed on identifying responsibility for the transport and delivery of cargo.</p> <p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>
219	213	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
220	214	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
221	215	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
222	216	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
223	217	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
224	218	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea	Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea
225	219	<p>Laden by the Grace of God by the Gov^r & Comp^o of merch^s of London trading into the East Indies in & upon the good ship called the Benjamin burthen 468 Tonns or thereabouts whereof goeth Comd Cap^t Leonard Browne by the Almighty's permission bound for the Island of St Helena and goods consigned to the Gov^r & Councill there resident, That is to say Flonon one hundred & twenty [...] no 1 to 120 wt five hundred & six hundred wt & twenty three pounds. Bisketts fourth Puncheons no 1 to 40 wt one hundred & seven hundred three quarters and seventeen pounds. Paper Two chest of one box no E A B C mix serges Two bales no 1.2. q^t fifty p^d Tobacco pipes foure hhds no R L M 68 q^t ninety Eight Groces</p>	<p>A cargo manifest was recorded for goods laden by the East India Company, described as "the Gov^r & Comp^o of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," aboard the ship <i>Benjamin</i>, stated to be of about 468 tons burthen. Command of the vessel was held by Captain Leonard Browne, and the voyage was undertaken, by permission, to the island of St Helena. The cargo was consigned to the Governor and Council resident there.</p> <p>The goods were itemised in detail. Flonon was listed in a quantity of 120 units, numbered 1 to 120, with a recorded weight of five hundred [...] weight and twenty three pounds. Biscuit, packed in fourth puncheons numbered 1 to 40, was recorded with a weight of one hundred and seven hundredweight, three quarters and seventeen pounds. Paper was entered as two chests and one box marked E A B C. Mixed serges were listed as two bales, numbered 1 and 2, containing</p>

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>Oar staves Sixteen bundles q^t four hundred staves Fustians Two bales no 1.2. q^t one hundred two Hats w^h bands Two bales A B q^t one hundred fourscore six Fuzee Gunns Three Chests D E q^t one hundred & 20 Swords Two Chests F G q^t one hundred & twenty Red Coats w^h breeches and stockings Two Chests no H I q^t 120 Suits. Beechen Oars Twelve q^t one hundred & eighty [...] one new Copper still 7 wt Two hundred one qⁿ and Eleven pounds severall sorts of Coopers tools in one [...] no 8. One bottom Joynter one side Joynter no 88. Cordage Three Coiles no 1.2.3. q^t seven hundred three quarters and six pounds. Iron Cuttins or slips four Chests no P Q R S strong waters of severall sorts fourteen chests 1 to 14 q^t one hundred ninety Eight whole Caskes Fine spirits Nine p^t no 15 to 23 q^t Nine hundred Ninety six Gallons. Sovaqu[es] one bale q^t one & twenty p^d Bellows one bale q^t one hundred twenty five p^d Stocking ninety six paire. Buttons Eighty Groces Knives fifty nine & on chest in box no 9 One yarde of Sixteen foot Long five foot broad & two foote Inches deepe Twenty foure small Broad Glasses in box no 9 Two pewter dishes belonging to y^e Cooke.</p>	<p>fifty pieces. Tobacco pipes were recorded as four hogsheads marked R L M 68, containing ninety eight gross.</p> <p>Oar staves were entered as sixteen bundles containing four hundred staves. Fustians were listed as two bales, numbered 1 and 2, containing one hundred and two units. Hats with bands were recorded as two bales marked A and B, containing one hundred and eighty six. Three chests marked D and E contained one hundred and twenty fuzee guns. Two chests marked F and G contained one hundred and twenty swords. Two chests marked H and I contained 120 suits consisting of red coats with breeches and stockings.</p> <p>Beechen oars were listed as twelve bundles containing one hundred and eighty. A new copper still was recorded with a weight of two hundredweight, one quarter and eleven pounds. Several sorts of cooper's tools were contained in one [...] marked number 8. One bottom jointer and one side jointer were recorded under number 88. Cordage was listed as three coils, numbered 1, 2 and 3, with a weight of seven hundredweight, three quarters and six pounds. Iron cuttings or slips were recorded in four chests marked P Q R S.</p> <p>Strong waters of several sorts were listed as fourteen chests, numbered 1 to 14, containing one hundred and ninety eight whole casks. Fine spirits were recorded as nine parts, numbered 15 to 23, containing nine hundred and ninety six gallons. Sovaques were listed as one bale containing twenty one pounds. Bellows were recorded as one bale containing one hundred and twenty five pounds. Stockings were listed as ninety six pairs. Buttons were recorded as eighty gross. Knives were listed as fifty nine, together with one chest in a box marked number 9.</p> <p>One yard measuring sixteen feet long, five feet broad and two feet inches deep was included. Twenty four small broad glasses were recorded in a box marked number 9. Two pewter dishes belonging to the cook were also included among the goods.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Flonon” was probably a form of woollen cloth, perhaps a variant spelling or phonetic rendering of “flannel,” commonly shipped as part of Company cargo for trade or provisioning.</p> <p>“Fourth puncheons” referred to a specific size of cask or container used for storing provisions such as biscuit. The designation indicated a fractional capacity of a standard puncheon, reflecting established maritime measures for bulk goods.</p> <p>The unit “gross” used for tobacco pipes and buttons represented a count of 144 items, a standard commercial quantity in early modern trade.</p> <p>“Fuzee guns” referred to lighter flintlock firearms, often issued to officers or used in naval and colonial settings, distinct from heavier muskets.</p> <p>“Sovaques” was an obscure term, probably referring to a coarse textile or utilitarian fabric, possibly of Asian origin, included among trade goods or supplies.</p> <p>“Iron cuttings or slips” referred to scrap or shaped pieces of iron, perhaps intended for use in repairs, blacksmithing or construction on the island.</p> <p>The “yard” described as a large wooden structure of specified dimensions was probably a container, frame or trough used for storage, processing or shipboard utility, rather than a measuring unit in this instance.</p> <p>“Broad glasses” referred to mirrors or flat panes of glass, often shipped as finished goods for domestic or administrative use in Company settlements.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The mixture of military supplies, including firearms, swords and uniform suits, together with provisions and trade goods, suggested that the shipment was intended both to sustain the garrison at St Helena and to maintain its defensive readiness.</p>

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			<p>The inclusion of cooper's tools, iron materials and a copper still perhaps indicated an intention to support local production and repair capabilities on the island, reducing dependence on external resupply.</p> <p>The large quantities of spirits and strong waters were probably intended for controlled distribution, either for naval use, trade or regulated consumption within the settlement, reflecting their importance in maritime provisioning.</p>
226	220	<p>All Merchantable and well conditioned and are in like manner to be delivered the danger of y^e seas Excepted unto the Gov^r & Councill afores^d free of freight and for the true performance thereof I William Blundell have firm'd unto three bills of Ladeing of this tenour and Date the one being accomplished the other to be voyed And so God send the s^d ship unto her port afores^d in safety Amen Dated in London the 12 Aprill 1689 [...] except against these 4 ps of primage no 17. 21. 22. 23. there being no receipt from ye boatswaine Inside and Contents unknown to W^m Blundell Signed in the presence of Christo: Dodsworth Tho: Beech Vera Copia p me John Sermone Finchall August 16th 1689 [...] Enclosed you have p Invoice & bill of lading for twenty pipes and twenty tuns of brandy w^{ch} by order of the Rt [...] the Gov^r & deputy of the East India Comp^y now have laden on board the benj^a Cap^t Leo: Browne Com^{de} Consigned to yo^u selfe by above p. ord. to y^e intent You most humble servant Rich^d Butler Matthew Manton Vera Copia p me John Sermone</p>	<p>A bill of lading was recorded confirming that all goods described were merchantable, in good condition and to be delivered in the same state to the Governor and Council of St Helena, the dangers of the sea excepted. Delivery was to be made free of freight charges. For the assurance of this agreement, William Blundell was noted to have signed three bills of lading of the same tenor and date, with the provision that once one had been fulfilled, the others would be rendered void. A formal expression of hope was included that the ship might arrive safely at its intended port. The document was dated in London on 12 April 1689.</p> <p>An exception was noted regarding four pieces of primage, identified as numbers 17, 21, 22 and 23, for which no receipt had been obtained from the boatswain. It was further stated that the interior and contents of the cargo were unknown to William Blundell. The document was signed in the presence of Christo: Dodsworth and Tho: Beech. A certified copy was made by John Sermone and dated at Finchall on 16 August 1689.</p> <p>An accompanying letter was also recorded, in which an invoice and bill of lading were enclosed for twenty pipes and twenty tuns of brandy. These goods had been loaded aboard the ship <i>Benjamin</i>, under the command of Captain Leonard Browne, by order of the Right [...] and the Governor and Deputy of the East India Company. The consignment was directed to the recipient for their use according to those orders. The letter concluded with the names Rich^d Butler and Matthew Manton, and a certified copy was again noted as made by John Sermone.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Bill of lading” referred to a formal legal document issued by a ship’s master or agent, acknowledging receipt of cargo and setting out the terms of its transport and delivery.</p> <p>“Primage” denoted a customary gratuity or small additional payment made to the ship’s master or crew, often calculated as a percentage of the cargo’s value and recorded separately from the main freight.</p> <p>The phrase “danger of the seas excepted” was a standard legal clause indicating that the carrier would not be held liable for loss or damage arising from maritime hazards beyond human control.</p> <p>The statement that contents were “unknown” to William Blundell reflected a common mercantile practice whereby the issuer of the bill of lading did not guarantee the precise contents of sealed packages, relying instead on declarations made by shippers.</p> <p>A “pipe” and a “tun” were large cask measures used for liquids such as brandy, with a tun representing a substantial volume and a pipe a smaller but still considerable quantity, both standardised units in maritime trade.</p> <p>“Vera Copia p me” indicated that the document was a true copy certified by the named individual, in this case John Sermone, ensuring its validity for administrative or legal use.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The presence of multiple signed bills of lading, with only one to remain valid upon completion, was probably intended to safeguard against loss or dispute during the voyage, ensuring that proof of contract could still be produced if one document were misplaced.</p>

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			<p>The noted absence of receipts from the boatswain for specific items perhaps suggested either a lapse in shipboard record keeping or uncertainty over the handling of those goods at the point of loading.</p> <p>The shipment of substantial quantities of brandy, measured in both pipes and tuns, was probably intended for regulated distribution within the settlement, either for consumption, trade or official use, reflecting its importance as both a commodity and a provision.</p>
227	221	<p>[...] of Madera augth 16th 1689 Invoice of thirty pipes of Botany laden by Rich^d Butler and Matthew Matson by vertue of a letter of credit from Mr John Stone of London merch^t on board the Benj^a Cap^t Leo: Browne Com^d for acc^t of y^e East India Comp^a of England and consigned to y^e Gov^t & Councell of y^e Comp^a in the Island of St Helena marked as per margent. Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>	<p>An invoice was recorded at [...] of Madera dated 16 August 1689, detailing the shipment of thirty pipes of botany. These goods were laden by Richard Butler and Matthew Matson by virtue of a letter of credit issued by Mr John Stone of London, merchant. The cargo was placed aboard the ship <i>Benjamin</i>, commanded by Captain Leonard Browne, on account of the East India Company of England. The consignment was directed to the Governor and Council of the Company in the island of St Helena, and was marked in accordance with the marginal notation.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>“Pipes” referred to large casks used for transporting liquids, particularly wine or spirits, representing a substantial standardised volume in maritime trade.</p> <p>“Botany” was probably a phonetic or variant spelling of “Bastardy” or another type of wine associated with Madeira, indicating a specific grade or variety of fortified wine commonly exported from that region.</p> <p>A “letter of credit” was a financial instrument issued by a merchant or banker, guaranteeing payment for goods and enabling transactions over long distances without the immediate transfer of cash.</p> <p>“Marked as per margent” indicated that identifying marks or symbols were applied to the casks, with corresponding details recorded in the margin of the document to ensure proper identification upon delivery.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The use of a letter of credit issued by a London merchant perhaps reflected the established financial networks supporting East India Company trade, allowing goods to be procured abroad on the Company’s account without direct payment at the point of purchase.</p> <p>The shipment of wine from Madeira in significant quantities was probably intended for both official consumption and controlled distribution within the settlement at St Helena, where such imported goods held both practical and social value.</p> <p>Report: Invoice for Goods Received by Sea</p>
228	222	<p>Shi[p]ed by the grace of God in good order and well cond[it]ion[e]d by Rich^d Butler & Mathew Mattson by virtue of a lett[e]r of credit from Mr John Stone of London in and upon the good ship called the Benj^a whereof is master under God for this present voyage Capt Leo Browne and now riding at Anchor in the Road of Funchall and by Gods Grace bound for St Helena to say Twenty pipes & Twenty tuns of brandy for acc^t of y^e East India Comp^a of England being marked and numb[e]r[e]d as in the margent and are to be deliv[e]r[e]d in the like good order and well conditioned at the afores^d port of St Helena (the danger of Seas only excepted) unto the Gov^t & Council of ye Comp^a in St Helena or to their assignes he or they paying freight</p>	<p>A bill of lading dated 18 August 1689 at Funchal in the Isle of Madeira recorded that goods had been shipped “by the grace of God” in good order and condition by Richard Butler and Matthew Mattson. This shipment had been undertaken by virtue of a letter of credit issued by Mr John Stone of London. The goods had been loaded onto the <i>Benjamin</i>, of which Captain Leo Browne was master for the present voyage, the vessel then lying at anchor in the road of Funchal and bound, by God’s grace, for St Helena.</p> <p>The cargo was specified as twenty pipes and twenty tuns of brandy, shipped for account of the East India Company of England. These goods had been marked and numbered as indicated in the margin. Delivery was to be made in the same good order and condition at the port of St Helena, with the sole exception of dangers arising from the seas. The consignment was directed to the Governor and Council of the Company at St Helena, or to their assigns, on condition that freight for the goods would be paid according to agreement, together with primage and average as customary.</p> <p>It was attested that the master or purser of the ship had affirmed four bills of lading of identical tenor and</p>

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		<p>for the said goods according to agreem^t with primage & avarage accust^m[e]d In witness whereof the master or purser of the said ship hath affirmed to foure bill of lading all of this tenor & date; the one of which foure bill being accomplished, the other three to stand voyd. And so God send the good ship to her desired port in safety Amen Dated in funchall Isle of Madera aug^t the 18th 1689 Leo Browne Vera Copia p me John Sermon</p>	<p>date, with the provision that upon the completion of one, the remaining three would become void. A concluding invocation expressed the hope that the ship would arrive safely at its intended port. The document was signed by Leo Browne, and a certified copy was attested by John Sermon.</p> <p>Interpretations The term “average” referred to a maritime commercial principle under which losses or expenses incurred for the common safety of ship and cargo were shared proportionately among all interested parties. Its inclusion alongside freight and primage indicates that the consignee was liable for customary charges associated with maritime transport.</p> <p>The phrase “road of Funchal” denoted an open anchorage rather than a fully enclosed harbour, where ships lay at anchor while loading or awaiting favourable conditions. This reflects standard maritime practice at Madeira in the seventeenth century.</p> <p>The reference to “assigns” indicated that the goods could be received not only by the Governor and Council but also by any authorised agents or representatives acting on their behalf, demonstrating the transferable nature of such consignments.</p> <p>The repeated invocation of divine protection, such as “by the grace of God” and the concluding prayer for safe arrival, reflected customary formulae in early modern maritime documents, expressing both piety and the inherent risks of long-distance sea voyages.</p> <p>Speculations The detailed specification of freight, primage, and average perhaps indicates that this consignment was handled under formal commercial terms rather than purely as a Company-controlled supply, suggesting an overlap between private contracting and official provisioning.</p> <p>The duplication of multiple bills of lading and the involvement of a purser in their affirmation may point to the need for careful documentation across different parties, including merchants, Company officials, and ship officers, to prevent disputes over delivery and payment in distant ports such as St Helena.</p>
229	223	<p>Our Governour & Councell of St Helena London the 17th may 1689 We have rec^d an ord, from his maj^{ty} under his signet manual, of w^{ch} Inclosed we send you a true copy you will see it is not dated for in regard the proclamation is not yet out for declaring the warre against France, We have not yet gott ye Broad seale affixed to it though his maj^{ty} hath signed a warrant to [...] and lik[e] the Comissioners of the Broad Seale to passe the same & we are of opinion it better to have it passe ye Seale and take its date after the said Proclamation for the Gen^t warr is out, which is dayly expected & therefore since we may not have another opportunity to write to you very suddenly we have thought good to communicate ye same unto you, & to lett you know that a proclamation was yesterday issued out, w^{ch} you will herewith receive, prohibiting the importation of all French goods from after ye 10th of this instant &c^a so plainly intimating the sudden irruption of a warre betwixt us & France It will therefore greatly concerne you to be very cautious how you admitt any French ships into your</p>	<p>A letter dated 17 May 1689 in London was addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena. It was stated that an order had been received from His Majesty under his signet manual, and that a true copy of this order had been enclosed. It was noted that the order bore no date, as the proclamation formally declaring war against France had not yet been issued. For that reason, the Great Seal had not yet been affixed, although His Majesty had already signed a warrant directing that the Commissioners of the Great Seal should pass the same. An opinion was expressed that it would be preferable for the order to pass under the Seal and to take its date after the proclamation of the general war had been made public, which was expected daily.</p> <p>As it was considered that no immediate further opportunity might arise to write, the contents of the order were communicated without delay. Notice was given that a proclamation had been issued on the previous day, a copy of which was enclosed, prohibiting the importation of all French goods from after 10 May 1689. This measure was described as clearly indicating the imminent outbreak of war between England and France.</p> <p>In consequence of this situation, it was directed that great caution should be exercised in admitting any French ships into the port of St Helena. The Governor and Council were instructed to remain vigilant and to employ all possible precautions to secure the island against any attempts by the French nation. It was further ordered that any provisions required for the defence of the island were to be obtained from Captain Browne, who had been instructed to supply them in</p>

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		<p>port and to stand upon your guard using all possible caution for securing ye Island from all attempts of ye French nation What provisions you shall have occasion to make use of for defence of our said Island Capt Browne hath ord^d to deliver you with such proportionable if required out of the store he has on board designed for Bombay for w^{ch} you are to cause a receipt to be given him our remaine Your loving Friends Benj: Bathurst Gov^r Jos: Child Dep^y Nat^t Edwards Natha: Tench Tho: Frederick W^m Pedaricke Jos: Child jun^r [...] Gt: Morrow Geo: Boone Vera Copia John Sermon Edw^d des Bouverie Nath: Mounteney John Goddard</p>	<p>reasonable proportion from the stores carried on board his ship, originally intended for Bombay. Receipts were to be issued to him for any such supplies. The letter concluded with assurances of goodwill from the signatories, including Benjamin Bathurst, Governor, Joseph Child, Deputy, Nathaniel Edwards, Nathaniel Tench, Thomas Frederick, William Pedaricke, Joseph Child Junior, Gt: Morrow, George Boone, Edward des Bouverie, Nathaniel Mounteney, and John Goddard. A certified copy was attested by John Sermon. Interpretations The “signet manual” referred to the personal signature of the monarch, which authorised official documents before they were formally sealed. Its use here indicates that the royal order had direct authority, even prior to the attachment of the Great Seal. The “Great Seal” was the principal seal of the Crown, used to give formal legal validity to important state documents. The delay in affixing it reflects the procedural requirement that such documents should align with formally declared policy, in this case the proclamation of war. The prohibition on importing French goods formed part of early wartime economic measures, intended to restrict trade with the enemy and weaken their commercial interests. Speculations The urgency expressed in forwarding the undated royal order perhaps reflected concern that St Helena, as a remote but strategically positioned island, might be vulnerable to sudden attack or interference by French forces once war was formally declared. The instruction to draw upon supplies intended for Bombay suggests that the East India Company prioritised the immediate defence of St Helena over other logistical commitments, indicating the island’s importance as a key staging point in the Company’s maritime network.</p>
230	224	<p>Our Governour and Councill of St Helena London the 18 of may 1689 We have rec^d [...] his maj^{ty} letters under y^e great seale of England by vertue whereof we herewith send you the copp^y By vertue whereof we doe hereby authorize you to surprize and take by force of Armes any French ships or goods that shall come into any part of the Island St Helena & upon such seizure you are to take the goods on shoare that shall be found on any of the French ships & make a true Inventory thereof & keep them in a safe custody untill you have an oppottunity of sending the same home [...] or our returning ships, lading some part thereof on one & some on another All the packets & bills of lading and other papers found on board you are carefully to transmit with the said ship unto the Gen^l President and Councill of India at Bombay there to be made use of for proceeding ag^t the same in our Court of Admiralty You first takeing true copys thereof to be Examined and attested by your selves & sent us by the first opportunity And if Capt Browne should happen to surprize any French ship outward bound in his way to St Helena, or meet with any during his stay at y^e Island he is to take the said ships and goods along with him to Bombay in order to their Adjudication in our admiralty Court there as lawfull prize, we remaine Your loving Friends</p>	<p>A letter dated 18 May 1689 in London was addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena. It was reported that His Majesty’s letters under the Great Seal of England had been received, and that a copy had been enclosed. By virtue of this authority, permission was granted for the seizure and capture, by force of arms, of any French ships or goods that might come into any part of the Island of St Helena. Upon any such seizure, it was directed that all goods found on board French ships were to be taken ashore, a true inventory made of them, and that they were to be kept in safe custody until an opportunity arose to send them back to England. This was to be done either by the Company’s returning ships, or by distributing portions of the cargo across several vessels. All packets, bills of lading, and other papers found on board were to be carefully transmitted with the captured ship to the General President and Council of India at Bombay, so that proceedings might be carried out against them in the Company’s Court of Admiralty. Before dispatch, true copies of these documents were to be taken, examined, attested by the Governor and Council, and sent to London at the earliest opportunity. It was further instructed that if Captain Browne should capture any French ship outward bound during his voyage to St Helena, or encounter any while stationed at the island, he was to take both ships and goods with him to Bombay. There, they were to be adjudicated in the Admiralty Court as lawful prize. The letter concluded with assurances of goodwill from the signatories, including Benjamin Bathurst, Governor, Joseph Child, Deputy, Edward des Bouverie, [...] Moore, William Pedricke, Thomas Frederick, Edwards, Francis Gyblen, Richard Haines, Nathaniel Tench, Thomas Cooke, John Cooke, William Ma[...],</p>

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>Benj: Bathurst Gov^r Jos: Child Dep^y [...] Edw^d des Bouverie [...] Moore W^m Pedricke Tho: Frederick Edwards Fra: Gyblen Vera Copia Jo Sermon Rich^d Haines Natha: Tench Tho: Cooke John Cooke W^m Ma[...] Joseph Hern</p>	<p>and Joseph Hern. A certified copy was attested by John Sermon.</p> <p>Interpretations The term “Great Seal of England” referred to the official seal that conferred full legal authority upon royal documents. Its use in this context confirmed that the powers granted to seize French ships and goods were formally sanctioned at the highest level of government.</p> <p>The phrase “lawful prize” denoted property captured during wartime at sea which, upon adjudication by an Admiralty Court, was declared legally forfeited from its original owners and could be claimed by the captors or their sponsors.</p> <p>The “Court of Admiralty” was a specialised legal body responsible for maritime matters, including the adjudication of captured ships and cargo. Its involvement ensured that seizures were processed according to recognised legal procedures rather than treated as acts of piracy.</p> <p>Speculations The detailed procedures for inventory, documentation, and transmission of papers perhaps indicate a concern to ensure that all captures were legally defensible, thereby preventing disputes over ownership or accusations of unlawful seizure.</p> <p>The instruction to send captured vessels to Bombay for adjudication suggests that the East India Company relied on its established judicial and administrative infrastructure in India to manage wartime prizes, reflecting the growing importance of Bombay as a regional centre of authority.</p>
231	225	<p>[...] Blackmore March 20 Feb^r 1688 I have rec^d all y^{or} l[...][...] since Capt H[...][...] being at the Island Except those by Capt Knox who I heare is lost. In the business of Mr Sproull I must plainly tell you I thinke y^{or} excuse of not understa[...] [...] for that affaire need not the tenth p[...] of the shill in acc^t which you have received in other matters Capt Gordon had my fau^{or} for some [...] thrift & pts I saw in him but as soone as the effects of his avarice were manifest to me you see I have not spared him, That which made me y^e [...] disbelieve any ill report of him which Capt John Browne wrote to me wherein he did highly accuse him for his saying the Islands were [...] their subjects which was so his truth & not all inconsistent w^h their allegiance first and always due to y^e Kings maj^{ty} which is the instant stile of y^e Dutch East India Comp^s They in all their Acts and Publique Edicts call the Inhabitants of Batavia & all other their Colonies their subjects w^{ch} doth not take of or lessen their owne or those inhabitants to their proper Sovereigne the States Generall or provinciale and I have frequently without offence when I have had the honour to discourse w^h y^e last two Kings themselves called the Inhabitants of St Helena Bombay & Fort of St Geo &c^a y^e Comp^s subjects and his maj^{ty} I shall not enter into any of y^{or} [...] discourse concerning honesty at the top as well as the bottom & other such Rich carrying expressions for w^{ch} you often desire my Excuse upon the Infirmitie of y^{or} temper & I shall pass them by upon that acc^t because I thinke you are honest at the bottom & if I had not thought so allwayes I would not have taken</p>	<p>A letter dated 20 February 1688 was written to [...] Blackmore. It was reported that all letters sent by the recipient since Captain H[...] had been at the island had been received, except for those carried by Captain Knox, who was reported to have been lost.</p> <p>Reference was made to a matter concerning Mr Sproull, in which dissatisfaction was expressed regarding the explanation that had been offered. It was stated that the excuse of not understanding the affair was not accepted, as the matter had not required even a small fraction of the attention that had been devoted to other accounts, for which payments had been received.</p> <p>Captain Gordon was described as having initially been regarded favourably due to certain qualities of thrift and ability that had been observed in him. However, once the effects of his avarice had become evident, no leniency had been shown towards him. It was further explained that earlier disbelief in accusations against him had arisen from a report written by Captain John Browne, in which Gordon had been strongly criticised for asserting that the islands were his subjects. This statement had later been reconsidered and judged not to be inconsistent with the allegiance that was properly owed to the King.</p> <p>A comparison was drawn with the style used by the Dutch East India Company, which in its official acts and public edicts referred to the inhabitants of Batavia and its other colonies as its subjects. It was argued that such terminology did not diminish the loyalty of those inhabitants to their sovereign authority, namely the States General or provincial governments. It was further noted that similar expressions had been used in discourse with the last two Kings, in which the inhabitants of St Helena, Bombay, and Fort St George had been described as the Company’s subjects without giving offence to His Majesty.</p> <p>The writer declined to engage further with remarks made by the recipient concerning honesty “at the top as well as the bottom,” and other expressions of a similar tone. These were described as forceful or overly pointed remarks, for which the recipient had often sought excuse on account of temperament. It was stated that these remarks would be overlooked on that basis, as the</p>

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			<p>recipient was still believed to possess honesty in substance, and that such a belief had long been held.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The reference to Captain Knox being “lost” indicated the presumed loss of a ship at sea, a common occurrence in seventeenth-century maritime communication, which often resulted in the disappearance of both vessel and correspondence.</p> <p>The discussion of “subjects” in relation to Company territories reflected a legal and political ambiguity in early colonial governance, where corporate authority coexisted with royal sovereignty. The distinction being made emphasised that Company administration did not replace allegiance to the Crown.</p> <p>The mention of Batavia and the Dutch East India Company illustrated contemporary awareness of comparative colonial practices, with the English Company drawing parallels to justify its own terminology and authority structures.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The criticism directed at Captain Gordon perhaps indicates internal disputes over governance, authority, or financial conduct within Company territories, where personal behaviour could have direct administrative consequences.</p> <p>The emphasis on acceptable language regarding “subjects” suggests sensitivity to issues of sovereignty and political legitimacy, particularly at a time when Company officials operated within a framework that required careful balance between corporate autonomy and royal authority.</p>
232	226	<p>So much paines reasonable use of the Comp^a Injunctions I have as little an opinion of Sherwin honesty as you have & I thinke my selfe as able to see into him as you are it haveing been more my businesse & I may say my duty in the place I am to pry into mens dispositions & secret & sinister menactions But if Sherwin had been worse then he is he was fit enough to carry a message or an argument by w^{ch} he would neither gaine nor lose in repeating it right or wrong Pray tell Mr Symes I have rec^d his lre & writ him well but I understand he is apt to be overtaken with drinke & if he cannot refraine that it will be his inevitable ruine whereever he is You must be very nimble in securing our stores before Capt Gordon know of his removall to w^{ch} purpose it may be best for you to send for Capt Johnson privately before you open the Gen^l Pacett & to sett a guard upon our stores that nothing goe in or out untill you have caused a particular acc^t to be taken of all mone and goods &c^a & for this End our Gen^l Pacett shall be directed to your selfe or in case of your death w^{ch} God prevent to Capt Joshua Johnson I remember you was some years past very uneasy with Mr Beale & I believe y^e Comp^a lost much by him we removed him as now we doe Capt Gordon & now you are at full ease with both &c^a I assure you the Comp^a will hope to find the benefit by its change which I shall be very glad to see being sincerely true to their Interest & [...] affection & Serv^t Vera Copia John Sermon</p>	<p>A continuation of the letter addressed matters concerning Company administration and personal conduct. It was stated that proper and reasonable use ought to have been made of the Company’s injunctions. An unfavourable opinion of Sherwin’s honesty was expressed, matching that of the recipient, and it was asserted that the writer was equally capable of judging his character, this having formed part of his duty in office, which required close observation of men’s dispositions and their secret or improper actions. Nevertheless, it was observed that even if Sherwin had been worse than he was, he had been sufficiently suitable to carry a message or argument, as he would neither gain nor lose by repeating it accurately or otherwise.</p> <p>Instructions were given that Mr Symes should be informed that his letter had been received and that a reply had been sent. Concern was expressed that he was prone to excessive drinking, and it was warned that unless restraint were exercised, such behaviour would inevitably lead to his ruin wherever he might be.</p> <p>Directions were then issued that swift action should be taken to secure the Company’s stores before Captain Gordon became aware of his removal from office. It was advised that Captain Johnson should be summoned privately before the general packet was opened, and that a guard should be placed over the stores to prevent any goods or money from being removed or added. A full and particular account of all money and goods was to be taken. To support this measure, it was stated that the general packet would be directed to the recipient, or, in the event of his death, to Captain Joshua Johnson.</p> <p>A previous difficulty involving Mr Beale was recalled, during which the recipient had been troubled by his conduct, and it was suggested that the Company had suffered losses as a result. It was noted that Beale had been removed in the same manner as Captain Gordon had now been, and that the recipient was now free from difficulties with both. Confidence was expressed that the Company would benefit from this change, and satisfaction was conveyed at the prospect of such improvement, grounded in a sincere</p>

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			<p>commitment to the Company's interests. The letter concluded with an expression of continued service and was certified as a true copy by John Sermon.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The term "Company's injunctions" referred to formal orders or directives issued by the East India Company to regulate conduct and administration within its territories. Their "reasonable use" implies that such rules were expected to be applied with judgement rather than rigidly.</p> <p>The phrase "general packet" denoted an official bundle of correspondence or orders sent collectively to a Company settlement. Control over its opening was significant, as it often contained instructions affecting governance and personnel.</p> <p>The act of placing a guard on the Company's stores reflects the importance of securing inventory during transitions of authority, particularly where misconduct or misappropriation was suspected.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The urgency in securing the stores before Captain Gordon became aware of his removal perhaps indicates concern that he might attempt to conceal irregularities or remove Company property, suggesting prior suspicion of financial or administrative misconduct.</p> <p>The warning regarding Mr Symes's drinking habits suggests that personal behaviour was closely linked to professional reliability within Company service, and that such concerns could influence appointments or reputations across its network.</p>
233	227	<p>To the Rt Wor^{sh}: Sr John Blackmore Gov^r of y^e Island St Helena &c^s and Council Capt W^m Deacon Comand^r of y^e John & Mary is ye bearer of these he is now under cov^en^t with y^e Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a hath behaved himselfe extreemly well here & hath offered us many conveniencys for y^e Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a service, we therefore desire that you would be kind to him all in your uses with a due respect to our Master and he complains to us of y^{or} taking from him 30..7..6 being for vict^{uall} water - - 10..2..6 Anchorage - - 00..5..0 for an able Seame - 20..0..0 30..7..6 when his touching wth you on his last homeward bound voyage was meerly because of our Packet to y^e Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a & our store for you that went by him, he haveing touched at the Cape & supplied himselfe there wth wood & water, & had bin from thence but 18 days when he fell in at y^{or} Road so yt as farr as we can see, he hath bin hardly dealt wth all we beg you will consider ye matter & pay all back ag^t him if you see nothing to y^e contrary but if you cannot doe that pray write to y^e Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a concerning it & send their hon^{ble} a copy of this enclosed from your selues begg of you to be very kind to Capt Deacon & his ship wth a due respect to y^e Rt Hon^{ble} Comp^a & by order for y^e present affaire in these pts you will in all probability have it much sooner then this ship can arrive wth you we therefore at present heartily wish you well liveth Warwick Frigatt in S[...][...] the 17th [...] 1688 Vera Copia John Sermon Yo^{ur} very loving friend & humble Serv^t Jos Child John [...]man</p>	<p>A letter addressed to Sir John Blackmore, Governor of the Island of St Helena, and to the Council, concerned Captain William Deacon, commander of the <i>John and Mary</i>, who was described as the bearer of the communication. It was stated that Captain Deacon was under covenant with the Right Honourable East India Company and had behaved extremely well in England, offering many conveniences in service to the Company. A request was made that he should be treated kindly in all respects, with proper regard to the Company's authority.</p> <p>A complaint raised by Captain Deacon was reported, concerning a sum of £30 7s 6d that had been taken from him. This amount was itemised as £10 2s 6d for victualling and water, £0 5s 0d for anchorage, and £20 0s 0d for an able seaman. It was explained that his previous arrival at St Helena, during his last homeward-bound voyage, had been solely for the purpose of delivering a Company packet and stores intended for the island. It was further noted that he had already touched at the Cape, where he had supplied himself with wood and water, and that only 18 days had elapsed from that point before he reached the road at St Helena. On this basis, it was stated that he appeared to have been treated harshly.</p> <p>A request was therefore made that the matter should be reconsidered and that the full amount should be repaid to Captain Deacon if no contrary justification could be found. If repayment could not be made, it was directed that the matter should be referred to the East India Company, with a copy of the enclosed document to be sent along with an explanation from the Governor and Council.</p> <p>Further emphasis was placed on the expectation that Captain Deacon and his ship should be treated with kindness and with due respect to the Company. It was noted that, by order, further instructions relating to this matter would probably reach St Helena before the arrival of the <i>John and Mary</i>. The letter concluded with expressions of goodwill and was dated aboard the <i>Warwick</i> frigate on 17 [...] 1688. It was certified as a true copy by John Sermon and signed by Joseph Child and John [...]man.</p>

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<u>238</u>	232	<p>EAP 1364 St Helena</p> <p>Document Name and Date</p> <p>St helena - letters from England 1683-1689</p> <p>Dimensions</p> <p>(h) 38cm x (w) 26cm x (d) 5.5 cm</p> <p>No. written pages:</p> <p>223</p> <p>No. blank pages:</p> <p>12</p> <p>Spine and cover</p> <p>good condition</p> <p>Inside pages</p> <p>good condition</p> <p>foxing present</p> <p>Additional comments</p> <p>Time taken to photograph (hours)</p> <p>8 hours</p>	