

St Helena Letters to England 1706-1714

Introduction: This is the first volume in the series *St Helena Letters to England*. It includes outgoing official correspondence from the Governor and Council of St Helena to the East India Company in London reporting on the administration of the island, including matters such as government decisions, defence, military preparedness, trade and shipping, supply shortages, personnel issues, and judicial proceedings. They often included explanations of difficulties faced by the island and defences against criticisms from London of past actions or policies. The letters were usually copied or abstracted into the island records.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Text Loss: Nearly every page shows varying degrees of damage, with some suffering extensive text loss.

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.

Content: The volume title *Letters to England* is misleading, as the collection also contains at least one letter in the opposite direction—from the East India Company in London to St Helena's governor and council. It also includes correspondence with India and visiting ships.

There are several misfiled documents, including instructions for punishments to be administered when a slave strikes a white person (137/137), details about island cattle drives (138/138), a 16-column inventory of cannons, ammunition, and gunpowder (139/139) and a six-column record of ship arrivals listing commanders, origins, and destinations (140/140).

Pagination: The end notice on film No. 142, which states that every other page is numbered, is incorrect. Only a few pages bear numbers, and these have little consistency with one another. In the absence of a systematic page numbering system, the decision has been made to assign each page the same number as its corresponding Film No., producing the sequence 1/1, 2/2, 3/3, and so forth. Missing pages have been identified through abrupt changes of subject matter or breaks in the paragraph numbering within the text. Based on these indicators, pages missing from the volume include those preceding 33/33, 57/57, 62/62, 63/63, 64/64, 77/77, 89/89, 91/91, 99/99, 116/116, and 133/133.

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). The earliest letter recorded in this volume is dated 11 August 1706 (according to a pencilled note) and the last is dated 28 June 1714.

The letters were sent during the administrations of Captain Stephen Poirier (1697-1707), Thomas Goodwin (1707-1708), Captain John Roberts (1708-1711), Captain Benjamin Boucher (1711-1714), Matthew Bazett (1714), and Captain Isaac Pyke (1714-1719). Since many papers in this volume are undated, it is not always clear which governor was in office when specific documents were written.

AI Generated Summary

St Helena in the first decade of the eighteenth century was a small volcanic outpost in the South Atlantic, valuable to the East India Company chiefly as a watering and provisioning station for ships returning from India and China. The years covered here, roughly 1704 to 1714, coincided almost exactly with the War of the Spanish Succession, and the island's records reveal a settlement living under the strain of a distant conflict it could not influence but could not escape. The administration depended wholly on London for supplies, personnel, and authority, and the consultations preserved in the council's writings serve simultaneously as governance documents, defences against directors' criticism, and accusations against rival officers. The record must therefore be read with care, since each governor's account tends to indict his predecessor and exculpate himself [Film No. 5 to 8, 23, 28, 67].

The Poirier administration and the deaths of 1706

The earliest substantive material concerns the closing years of Governor Poirier's tenure, a period dominated by want, loss and the deaths of senior officials. In May 1706 the Honours' store held no liquor, no linen and no sugar, while French ships drew supplies freely from vessels passing the island. Charles Masham, the minister, died on 7 May 1706, and Ensign Darling died five days earlier, on 2 May. Thomas Anderson was appointed Deputy Sergeant to fill the gap left in the garrison's command. The case of Jack, a Black freeman, was held over pending the directors' decision: he had been condemned for burglary but no execution could be carried out without authority from London, which underlines how thoroughly local sentencing depended on metropolitan permission [Film No. 5, 6].

The loss of the Queen and the Dover

The most damaging event of the Poirier years was the loss of the ships *Queen* and *Dover* on 1 June 1706, captured by French vessels flying Dutch colours. The deception had been made possible by assurances given to the council by a Mr Dolbin, an intelligence failure attributed by name in the record. The shore guns fired between eighty and a hundred rounds in defence but could not reach the attackers, and once the

Queen was in French hands she was towed close enough to the shore to shield her captors from the island's own batteries. Captain Carding offered men from Madagascar to reinforce the garrison, an offer whose reception is not fully recorded. The episode taught the council that the island's defensive arc was too short to reach a determined enemy at sea [Film No. 6, 22].

The condition of the fortifications under Poirier

The physical condition of the island's defences during these years was poor and worsening. Gullies had cut into the works at Rupert's Bay and the Fort, and at Edge Hill some fifty yards still had to be filled and the breach mended with lime mortar. At the Grand Fort 110½ yards had been completed but a further 110½ yards remained. An account of the guns with their dimensions was forwarded to London, and new fit carriages were requested. Coal had been entirely consumed in lime burning, chalk was exhausted, and shoes for men, women and children were rotten. Captain Tovey breached the salute orders but was later pardoned given his service. A deceptive display of lit matches was used to suggest more guns than actually existed, and three booms holding powder cartridges were maintained. Captains Cornwall and Garraway failed to bring their ships close to shore, and a roll-call was conducted at every alarm. The gunpowder customarily levied from passing ships was harder to collect, since some captains, such as Franklin in the *Union*, could not pay the charge [Film No. 16, 17, 18, 20, 21].

Personnel, sickness and the ejection of the sick

Sickness afflicted both the garrison and the visiting ships throughout the Poirier years. Sick men billeted in the freemen's town were ejected by their hosts once they contracted flux, and the island grew sickly with the contagion. Restoratives such as wine were requested for the sick, and the council reported on personnel in terms that blended administrative and personal assessment: Nedman was described as peaceable, Marsden as hard-working, and the armourer's death was noted. Mr Griffith was dismissed and Mr Alexander reinstated by a letter of 11 August 1706. The minister Joshua Tomlinson arrived on the *Rochester* in good health with £50 paid to him in advance and debited to his account, while Mashborne arrived on the same vessel. Mr Temple Masham, surgeon, was dismissed, compromised by the influence of one Mr Bostock, an obscure but evidently disruptive figure. Mail security was already a problem: a sealed bag returned with the *Rochester* was found to be empty. Bazett was assessed as able, honest, with twenty years' service, and the council requested clearer rules on engagement with passing vessels [Film No. 9, 18, 19, 22].

Family movements and indentured labour

Even in the Poirier years the island was already a node in the East India Company's movement of people between its posts. Mrs Heild, her two daughters and her granddaughter were sent to Bencoolen, and a free Black woman bound for Surat was sent on the *Rochester*. £126 3s 7d of goods removed by a Portuguese captain was accounted, and the visit of a Portuguese vessel from Brazil to Angola was the first noted neutral merchant ship of these records, prompting a proposal for regular Brazil trade. Bills were drawn against Company stations, with the rule that a draft on Madras of £100 had been disputed by Coates, and Captain Nat's broken muskets were charged to his ledger. Powder dues were collected from ship commanders, with open accounts kept against those who would not pay [Film No. 7, 8, 9, 10, 14].

The Old and United Companies

The early film entries also document the administrative inheritance of the merger between the Old East India Company and the United East India Company. Accounts of both entities had to be kept on the island, with Mr Brooks's outstanding £2679 14s 4½d to 20 July 1704 still on the books years later. Doctor Elevates' 2s 4d from the Old Company was transferred to United Company debt at folio five of the Ledger Book closed on 20 July 1702, a small entry that nonetheless illustrates the depth of the bookkeeping inheritance. Bills were payable to and by United Company managers, with bills for the *Union*, the *Heatherstone* and the *Hampshire* among the early records. The *Featherstone* under Captain Harris, later under Captain James Hurdis, the *Rochester* and the *Litchfield* under Captain Thomas Pingle all feature in the early shipping accounts, alongside the *Rochester* under Captain Frat Marins [Film No. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15].

The Poirier indictment

Soon after Poirier's death the council prepared a retrospective indictment of his conduct. The 38th paragraph of the 1683 instructions had required half the island to be reserved by the Company, and the 88th paragraph had required the great wood to be enclosed; neither had been implemented. Trees had

disappeared at Poirier's plantation, the vineyard remained unenclosed, and the lemons had been devastated, reduced to scarcely a thousandth part of what they had been. Poirier was charged with refusing to attend captains at the landing rocks or to fire salutes for them. The council described as false brethren those who had hugged and kissed visiting captains in friendship rather than maintaining the dignity of office, and noted its own restraint owing to the captains' charge that the directors' interest required courteous treatment. The indictment of a dead governor served the interests of the new administration, and must be read with that in mind [Film No. 28, 57, 58].

The arrival of Governor Roberts

Governor Roberts arrived on the *Fleet* frigate on 24 August 1708, read his commission aloud, and assumed office the same day. Of twenty soldiers embarked in England, seventeen landed alive, while a soldier's wife was removed from the *Recovery* at sea. The records confirm that Poirier was by then dead, since certain paragraphs of the directors' letter could not be answered for that reason, and the storekeeper's house was already in serious decay. After the surgeon Needham died, a soldier was taken on as replacement, in the council's own phrase, "for want of a Better." The garrison numbers stood at Fort Table 27, Lower Table 18, total 45 besides slaves, and Captain Span's case was described as beyond local authority [Film No. 23, 28, 29].

Re-indenturing and the movement of inhabitants

Among the early acts of the Roberts administration was the re-indenturing of William Cotton and Joseph Parsons for five years at Bencoolen, and Ann and Mary Cotgrave were permitted to take passage there. The use of Bencoolen, the Company's settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, as a destination for indentured servants from St Helena recurs throughout the records, and forms part of the pattern by which the Company shifted people around its network as needs and difficulties arose [Film No. 24].

The composition of the Roberts council

The Roberts council settled into a working body of five signatories: John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, George Mashborne, William Marsden and Daniel Griffith, who took his place as fifth member of council in 1708. The garrison and inhabitants were reorganised into two companies, and Sergeant Thomas Eaton was appointed second ensign, his salary funded out of Sergeant White's. Mr Daniel Griffith was proposed at £60 per annum, the same as Mr Marsden. Passwords were rotated nightly, drawing on the names *Governor, Council, St Helena, Island, New Fort, Castle, Summer Galley* and *Blenheim*. The Governor refused titles beyond those the directors had explicitly conferred, and naval security passwords were maintained for boat movements [Film No. 30, 32, 33].

The codification of laws and the survey of lands

The Roberts council resolved to collect all the laws, orders and constitutions of the island from the first settlement into a single volume, and ordered a fresh survey of lands and plantations to begin. New leases were to be issued. The council's authority to survey ships at St Helena, however, was held to be unclear under the charter party. The laws of the island were collected and completed, and enclosures of lands were to take effect from 23 March only, with the council pleading that to make seizures from any earlier date would ruin more than half the inhabitants. These steps may have been genuinely administrative, but they also created a paper basis on which to challenge earlier officers and to redefine tenure across the island [Film No. 36, 48].

The Aurengzeb survey: the dispute begins

The most extended single incident of the Roberts period was the survey of the *Aurengzeb* in June 1709. Captain Edmund Racy of the *Aurengzeb* alleged leaks, defective sails and bad provisions. An order was issued to him for the mooring of the ship, requiring a hawser to the rocks at the Landing Place and soundings round the mooring place. When the survey was carried out on 20 June 1709 by the carpenters J. Everdon of HMS *Swallow* and Edmund Pamphelin of the *Windsor*, their finding was striking: one beam was sprung and caulked, but no visible leaks could be found, and only five barrels of cannon powder remained on board. The ground tackle was reported as two cables serviceable and one old [Film No. 38, 41, 45, 48].

The Aurengzeb survey: the dispute develops

Captain Racy reportedly threatened to demand satisfaction of those who questioned him, calling them blockheads. The council's authority to survey ships at the island was itself unclear under the charter party, and Captain Sandys of the *Swallow*, described as the Governor's old intimate acquaintance, presided over the inspection. The *Swallow* brought news of the loss of the *Albemarle* on 12 June 1709, and also the safe arrival of the *Stringer* and the *Blenheim* at Lisbon. A settlement of £95 5s 0½d was made among HMS *Swallow*, the *Aurengzeb* and the *Windsor*, with £28 12s 11d going to Sarah Poirier. Captain Macy's teak topmast was charged at £13 5s, forty per cent above the India prime cost, a margin the council recorded without further comment. The discrepancy between Racy's claim that the ship "wanted nothing" and the surveyors' finding that "almost everything" was wanting suggests either deliberate misrepresentation by the captain or considerable elasticity in the surveyors' standards, possibly both [Film No. 43, 44, 45, 48].

The Godolphin and the sick crew

The *Godolphin* under Captain John A. Rice arrived to present a different kind of problem. Her crew were sick and her cargo damp and mouldy. The ironwork she needed was extensive: a funnel, top-tree fittings, puncheons, beam-forks, thimbles and staples, and she had to draw iron supplied from the island itself. A small quantity of arrack was given to the captain. Her sick men were brought ashore, the stone house at the point of collapse was pressed into emergency service as a hospital, and a proposal was made to put up a tent for the sick men, saving £2 a day. The *Godolphin* consumed 2,773 lbs of beef and 7,500 yams during her stay; beef twice a week was thought adequate. Holland duck was charged at £2 17s a piece, with £5 14s for two bolts. John Lather and Daniel Cottingwood, both coopers, were transferred from the *Godolphin* to the island. Her chief mate Jonah Ingram was described as refractory, with private caballs forming around him. An order was issued against extending credit to the *Godolphin*'s sick crew, and slaves were assigned to attend them to save lodging costs [Film No. 49, 50, 51, 52, 56].

Provisioning crises in the middle years

The supply situation under Roberts remained precarious throughout. The *Westmorland* arrived with chalk deficient sixty to one, mouldy bread and sour flour priced eighteen per cent above the last consignment. A cask of beer was missing from her cargo, valued at £2 10s; thirty birch scales were missing; twelve pairs of boys' shoes were missing; fourteen marble Lopcer were missing. A recent storesale of £800 had yielded only seven dollars in cash, and the *Blenheim* refused to sell at the island despite a week-long total shortage of liquor, so that the charter party clause had to be invoked. Linen was short to the point that soldiers lacked shirts, and Madeira wine soured almost immediately, with two pipes fit only for vinegar. Theft from arrack casks was accomplished through hollow canes, and of thirty-four leagers requested from the *Blenheim* only twenty-six and a half were received in serviceable condition, the arrack being measured at 144 gallons per leager. Twelve small chests of sugar came from the *Summer Galley*, and Cape sugar at eight Dutch stivers a pound was retailed at eighteen pence a pound [Film No. 24, 25, 27, 32].

The Goa arrack

The Goa arrack delivered from Bombay proved a particular disappointment. The *Aurengzeb* delivered one butt, eight puncheons and two hogsheads from Bombay, but only 562 gallons were received in usable condition, and the quality was poor, full of worms, with a foul stench and sour. Old stock was retailed at 9s a gallon and 2000 gallons of new stock sold; sugar was at 18s 6d. The arrack from the *Blenheim* was recovered with difficulty. Madeira wine was bought at 25 pipes and brandy at six, sold at 5s 6d the half-pratt and 9s, but the wine soured quickly. Eight demy cannons were received by the *Westmorland*, and further demy culverins were requested. Batavian arrack was found fit for the island, while Bengal and Surat arrack caused dysentery [Film No. 32, 35, 38, 54].

Currency and the closed economy

A persistent administrative concern under Roberts was the dollar exchange rate. The dollar was valued at six shillings, and the council requested a reduction to five, a request the directors refused. The chronic shortage of ready money meant that beer was sometimes used to purchase Great Guns, and the council argued for standardised weights and measures and for ready money to remain on the island rather than leak away with every departing ship. The proclamation against extending credit to directors' servants, regardless of rank, was aimed at the cycle by which soldiers ran into debt and then deserted on any departing vessel. Three bills of exchange were drawn at the time: £100 to Grace Coulton on 22 November 1708; £150 to Sarah Poirier on 30 November; and £30 to Richard Gurling on the same day. Whether such measures could

ever succeed in so small a settlement, where every transaction occurred under the eye of the council, is doubtful, and the recurrence of similar proclamations across the decade suggests they did not [Film No. 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 36].

The case of George Heelon at Banjar

A particular bill of exchange dispute illustrates the friction between Company stations. George Heelon at Banjar had a claim of £16 18s for a soldier's wages, but the Governor and Captain Barnes had drawn competing bills against the claim, leaving the matter unresolved. The episode shows how easily two officers of the same Company, separated by an ocean, could find themselves drawing different bills against the same liability without any clear procedure for reconciliation [Film No. 37].

The fortifications under Roberts

Roberts borrowed 1,000 dollars from Captain Newton for the fortifications, and faced a lime crisis: of 100 tons contracted for in the *Abel*, only 37 tons 14 had been received. A reward of 100 dollars was offered for finding stone fit for lime, which solved the problem. Gunners' stores were accounted, with 14¼ barrels of 36 barrels and 1 pound of gunpowder spared for homeward shipping. Garrison and fortification charges for 24 March 1708 to 22 September 1708 were forwarded to London. Banks Point was proposed for anchorage instead of Munday's Point. The new castle was built with 24 guns and contained a good house. Mr Tomlinson took up his ministry. A new draught of the island had not been completed by Roberts, and the Governor was reported to be labouring under intermittent fever from colds caught for want of a good tent [Film No. 23, 27, 28, 29, 53, 58].

Intelligence and shipping

The council reported on shipping at sea, citing the *Aqua Fulea*, the *Loyal Cook*, the *Rochester*, the *Westmoreland*, the *Fleet* and the *Success*, alongside French ships in the Sunda Straits. Books of the *Abingdon* and the *Nathaniel* were sent home, and packets carried two bills each for the *Sunderland*, the *Gunther*, the *Leopard* and the *Head Frigot*, with three bills for Captain Goodwin. Mr Shirley, third supercargo, had died at sea, an entry that adds another to the record of senior personnel lost on Company business. The hawser obtained from a Man of War for Captain Lesly nearly halted the council's fortification work, a small dispute that nonetheless ties together the work of fortification and the demands of passing shipping [Film No. 59, 60, 61].

The decay of buildings and the Wood

By the later Roberts years the decay of the island's buildings was severe. The storehouse, the plantation fort-house, the huts, the sutling house and the barracks were all propped with shores and stilts. The wood at "the Wood" was estimated to require £1,000 to enclose; it was five miles in circumference. Paul Rabor's case was that his leases were blighted and his lemons reduced to scarcely a thousandth part. Gunner French was given an annual £15 lease. Hogs were cleared from the valley, and soldiers were ordered to kill any hogs found near the Fort and the Line of Guns. Some 30,000 tiles were needed to repair the roofs. New watch houses were required at Prosperous Bay, Banks's Point, Upper Point, the new Gun Ridge and three lately-built batteries; barracks and a new storehouse were needed; and the chief mate, the record dryly notes, did not know what a hawser was [Film No. 29, 30, 63].

The storm of January 1711

In January 1711 a storm did serious damage. The middle angle of the fortification was washed away, the line of guns at Banks's was entirely washed away, and the pinnace sank and was torn to pieces. In response, an engineering project was undertaken to bring a watercourse of about four thousand feet onto a hill commanding 200 acres, completed in a month. The Islambation Valley waterworks were completed in this period, and a further plain at Prosperous Bay of 200 acres was identified for development by 100 slaves. Nearly 1,000 souls were on the island; 120,000 yams were planted in new plantations but there was no net increase from the decay of old gardens. Fifty more slaves were needed. Sugar at one hundredweight had been produced in the lower garden, although the refining method was not known; rum, wine, brandy, beans, maize and potatoes were envisaged. Brackish springs were identified for salt production; three to four acres of sugar cane were growing; and four coffee trees were presented by Captain Opice. Hand grinding of sugar canes was contemplated as a stopgap [Film No. 64, 65, 66].

Bills of exchange of December 1710

A particular accounting moment of December 1710 may stand for the rest. Seven bills of exchange totalled over £1,200, with Mary Othope at £100 balance, Richard Gurleng at £200, Captain Lesly at £372 and John Roberts Esq at £150. The greater planters were described as very poor and much indebted to the Company. Sugar and rum were projected in five or six years, but the council acknowledged that fifty more slaves would be needed, and that there was ground at a twenty-mile distance suitable for stone hauling. Captain Negus of the *Nathaniel* was drunk throughout his stay, and carried off four soldiers, named in the record as Mathias Jackson, James Lovel, James Williams and George Gardner. The Old Company seal was causing legal doubts on leases. Captain Lesly of the *Abingdon* had contributed £90 in arrack, sugar and money [Film No. 61, 62].

The bookkeeping system

The financial work of the council was largely a matter of bills of exchange drawn on the Company's accounts in London, with original and duplicate copies sent by different ships against the risk of loss, a long-established practice. The council kept accounts in the Italian method, with parallel accounts for the Old and United Companies. Sergeant Eaton's salary was funded out of Sergeant White's salary. William Vogell was indebted £14 8s 8½d. Captain Cason was charged £92 13s, with a postscript on chairs overlooked in the indent. The bills paid for goods received at the island, settled departures, and remitted wages to families in England [Film No. 11, 32, 36, 37].

The Hoskison affair and the displacement of Roberts

The most consequential personal matter of these years was the dispute over George Hoskison's lands. Hoskison held something close to a tenth of the island, and had departed without licence in the heat of war. A common report on the island held that the Roberts council had been dismissed for seizing Hoskison's lands. A letter from Hoskison to his wife claimed that Captain Boucher was coming as Governor with Hoskison himself as Deputy and a Mr Pratt fifth in council. The arrangement that actually emerged from London in 1711 was different: Benjamin Boucher became Governor and Hoskison was restored to the council alongside John Pack, Daniel Griffith and Matthew Bazett. The proximity between Hoskison's letter and the actual appointments suggests Hoskison had reliable information from London, raising the uncomfortable question of how far the directors' decisions were shaped by interested parties on the spot or in the capital. The Governor's formula for recovering Hoskison's land was that compliance with a single obligation under hand and seal had to be proved, with reliance on captains and council as witnesses [Film No. 67, 68, 69, 74].

The Boucher administration: arrivals and works

Boucher's administration opened with substantial shipping arrivals: the *Concord* under Captain Edward Arlond from Bengal on 6 May 1711, the *Fleet* under Captain Charles Newton from Bombay on 3 June, the *Frederick* under Captain Richard Phrip from Madras on 16 June, the *Europe* under Captain Humphrey Bryant, the *Susanna* under Captain Richard Pennell, the *Tilbury* under Captain Boyce, HMS *Swallow* under Captain Sandys, the *Oxford* under Captain Smith, with the *George*, the *Desbouverie*, the *Mead Frigot* and the *Rochester* expected. Mid-1711 saw no progress on the fortifications for want of materials, and the captains' offer to take fourteen demi-cannon off the line and place them at Munden's Point Castle was defeated by the fact that both Men of War had sprung topmasts. Hoskison's holding remained undefended during the war [Film No. 67, 68].

The Portuguese ship incident of May 1711

On 22 May 1711 an alarm was sounded at six in the morning. A ship appeared first in Portuguese colours, then under a French ensign, and there followed a five-hour signal exchange. Two officers were detained, but the *Nostra Senhora da Conceição* sailed off in the night despite the prolonged exchange. The two officers were named in the record as Joseph Poer da Silva and Second Lieutenant Benedict Friseloven, who was identified as a German Jesuit. The record does not pursue the question of why a German Jesuit was serving as an officer on a Portuguese ship, but it points to the strange international texture of war at this distance from Europe [Film No. 72, 73].

The protests against Blow and Small

The arrival of the *Toddington* under Sir Thomas Blow and the *Thistlenorth* under Captain Daniel Small on 5 August 1711 produced a formal jurisdictional dispute. The council recorded sixteen working days as the

proper time for unloading per the charter party, and formal protests were issued against the two captains. Their joint reply of 27 August 1711 cited a single crane, sea-swell and ballasting constraints. The bad bread on the *Thistleworth* was not discovered until after her departure [Film No. 75, 76, 99].

The Court of Judicature: Powell v Beale

In October 1711 the Court of Judicature heard Powell against the orphans of Beale, returning a verdict for Powell on 18 October. The widow Alexander, now Mercy Yargen, was set in possession of land formerly held by Richard Alexander. Twenty-one year leases were offered for overplus land, and the fencing and planting deadline was set at 25 March, with forfeiture as the penalty. The court's verdicts and the council's tenure decisions show the small-scale work of a colonial judiciary that necessarily intervened in family histories, since the inhabitants were so few [Film No. 77].

The Success and her provisioning

The *Success* under Captain Thomas Clapham arrived on 11 February 1712, having taken in near 40 tons of ballast, while wood from Rupert's employed 10 slaves for 3 days to load her. Her cargo of five bags of fine rice, ten bags of coarse rice, 3½ puncheons of beef in 350 pieces and two casks of flour was supplemented by a request for ten hogs, four beasts salted up, and a month's supply of yams or beans. The ship's company list named Clapham, Perbutt, Evans, Langton, Bourleau, Britton, Liffon the surgeon, Van Calcart the cooper and Derugada the cook. A request was made for a sloop of 30 tons, a longboat of 10 tons and a ten-oar boat [Film No. 79, 81, 82, 83].

Plantations purchased and families departing

In the same year three planters had their lands purchased: William Mash on 23 November, Leonard Hum on 20 December, and Walter Belvard, with his lands, slaves and cattle, on 7 March. All three planters departed with their families. Eleanor Keeling, aged sixteen and the daughter of the late Governor Keeling, was under the government's care, lodging with her stepfather Mr George Carne. Carne's wife, Keeling's widow, died on 14 January 1712, leaving 43 acres held in right of his wife to pass to the heir at law, then in England aboard Commodore Littelow's ship. The Keeling family's tragedies thus produced an interrupted chain of tenure that the council had to resolve [Film No. 83].

The events of March and April 1712

On 29 March 1712 an alarm was raised: a large ship was sighted from the castle at Davies' Collins but stood off. Three Men of War were in port at this time: the *Leopard*, the *Lenox* and the *St Albans*. The *Catharine* under Captain Edward Godfrey from Bombay arrived on 1 April 1712, with the *Averilla* under Captain Robert Hearst, the *Hester* under Captain Charles Resar from Canton via Madras, the *Thistleworth* under Captain Daniel Small from Bencoolen on 5 June, the *Leopard* under Captain Jane Cook, the *Lenox* under Commodore Bennett, the *St Albans* under Captain Thomas Lawrence on 3 July, the *Rochester* under Captain Maries, the *St George* under Captain Samuel Goodman, the *Aurengzeb* under Captain Nicholas Lihorn, and the report of the *Sherborne* losing her mainmast at 13°S on 14 February in a hurricane [Film No. 87].

The works completed under Boucher

For all the recrimination, Boucher's administration did substantial building work in its first months. A causeway over rocks for half a mile was completed, Munden's Battery was finished with stonework and carriages, a guard house was built, the middle bastion was repaired, line curtains were paved, a quarry was opened at Sandy Bay, a stonecutter's workhouse was constructed, a six-hundred-bushel lime kiln was built, and the longboat was refitted. Sandy Bay proved abundant in lime and stone. The encounter on 8 February 1713 with the French Men of War *La Paix* and *La Diligence*, under a Dutch prize, passed peacefully in the expectation of peace. The fact that Boucher was himself an engineer makes his focus on this kind of evidence understandable, since the works could be measured even where his other accounts were disputed [Film No. 82, 83, 89].

The deaths of May 1712

The composition of the council shifted sharply in May 1712. Mr Daniel Griffith died of violent bloody flux on 6 May 1712. George Northern the stone cutter died on 25 May 1712. Mr Alexander was reinstated in

Mr Free's place. After Northern's death, only Nicholas Shreeve remained as stone cutter. The council shrank by stages, with Daniel Griffith's last signature dated 8 April 1712 and his absence from the order of 4 July 1712. Further changes followed: Boucher, Pack, Cason and French signed without Bazett, who then returned. Anthony A Meriniya, formerly of Bencoolen, arrived from Madras for unknown reasons [Film No. 86, 91, 92, 93, 95].

The arrival of the Abingdon and the directors' angry letter

The *Abingdon* under Captain Lesly arrived on 2 November 1712 carrying what the council described as a very angry letter from the directors. The council's defence was that only two new members had come from England and two old hands remained. Specific defences followed: Hoskison, Griffith, who had died in debt, and Bazett were not all suitable as storekeepers, and the Governor pledged to charge Captain Roberts upon his return to England. A demand was made for the directors to name particular persons, an early appeal to procedural due process. Two councillors dissented on signing what they called a groundless charge of 2 October, and Hoskison's case on the diminished cattle stock was put forward. The death of Griffith was described in the consolatory tone of God Almighty in part curing the council's animosities by removing the most violent. The *Abingdon* sailed on 18 November 1712 with letters to Bombay, Fort St George and Bengal, under sailing orders to Captain Lesly [Film No. 95, 96, 98, 100, 101, 102].

Trade with India and the cargo of 1713

In early 1713 the *Howland* under Captain Samuel Lewis, who had succeeded Captain Cock, brought 16 half-leaguers of arrack and 8 canisters of sugar from Fort St George, at 291 pagodas 34 fanams 16 cash, with two sealed sample bottles. The *Kent* under Captain Lawrence Minter from Bengal brought 5 leaguers of Batavia arrack described as none of the best, 15 bags of sugar at 2,578 lbs and 13 bags of rice at 2,168 lbs. Arrack was sold at 6d a gallon and sugar at 3s 6d. The Bengal cargo was valued at 507 rupees 9 annas 9 pies. The Fort William letter of 7 February 1713 was signed by Robert Hedges, Alexander Eddams, Samuel Feake, J. Williamson, Edward Cage, J. Browne and J. Deane. The Fort St George letter of 4 February 1713 was signed by E. Harrison, Thomas Frederick, Henry Davenport, William Jennings, Beck Berlion, William Warre, Richard Horden and J. Smart. These are the named officers in the Indian factories with whom the St Helena council corresponded [Film No. 107, 108, 109].

The Susanna and her unloading

The *Susanna* arrived with a cargo overwhelming the warehouses, but was unloaded in ten working days. A £20 invoice error was found in her papers. Six halls were charged at 6s each, three at 12s 6d, and £4 15s 9d worth of damaged blankets were made good by Captain Pennell. The handling of the *Susanna* contrasted favourably with the earlier disputes over the *Toddington* and the *Thistleworth*, suggesting that the unloading rate was as much a matter of equipment and goodwill as of formal charter party obligation [Film No. 112, 117].

The French passes

In the months around the peace, the council received from London twenty-five blank French passes, sent by the Secret Committee of Shipping in a letter of 20 March 1712, with a validity of eighteen months. The passes were filled in French for the *Herne*, the *Kent*, the *Howland*, the *Heathcote* and the *Montague*, and pass certificates were issued by Captains Lane, Stokes, Lewis, Minter and Tolson. The mechanism reflects the bureaucratic edge of the Treaty of Utrecht, by which European empires sought to protect their merchantmen from each other's privateers through agreed paperwork. That St Helena, a tiny outpost, served as one of the documentation points for these passes shows how thoroughly the island was integrated into the formalities of international shipping even as it struggled to feed itself [Film No. 114, 115, 116].

The shipping intelligence of 1713

The closing year of Boucher's tenure saw further shipping intelligence pass through the island. The *Streatham* sailed from Batavia in May, the *Grantham* touched Bencoolen on her way from Bombay to Batavia in June, the *Concord* under Captain Newton came from Canton on 29 November 1713, the *Loyal Bliss* under Captain Robert Hudson and the *President*, possibly at Sillabar, were reported, as was the *Cardigan*. Captain Lane of the *Herne* met the *Abingdon* near the Pines island of Amsterdam on 22 February. The records also note that the *Arabella* under Captain Pead came from the Cape on 25 March with 15 Dutch sail and 8 English ships

in company, alongside the *Mary* under Captain Houlden, the *Derby* under Captain Wootten and the *Scotland*, with the *Concord* and the *Joseph Galley* outward bound [Film No. 105, 109, 118].

The drought of 1713 to 1714

The closing months of Boucher's administration were dominated by drought. Sixty head of cattle had been lost since 25 March from a total of 297, and many more were likely to follow. The inhabitants, in the records' phrase, made the hardest shift they ever made to subsist. Salt provisions, bread and flour were requested urgently from England, and two thousand pounds of rice was bought from the *Abingdon* at twopence a pound. Two consecutive years of drought coincided with the council's defence of goats against Roberts' call for their elimination, and with a council reversal on lease policy, by which leasing waste land was now preferred to keeping it idle. The sugar-making experiment was abandoned as not answering the trouble and charge [Film No. 110, 111, 132].

The mutiny of 1713

In the same period, William Brogden, alias William Tainor, attempted with others to seize the storehouses. The conspiracy was documented in a consultation of 8 July 1713 and the deposition of James Wilson the following day. The convicted mutineers were transported to Bencoolen, the standard penal disposal of difficult persons in the Company system. Their store accounts were not examined before transportation, effectively writing off bad debts. Whether the drought caused the mutiny directly is not stated, but the convergence of pressures, with the council shrinking, the cattle dying, the granaries thin, and a soldier conspiring to seize the stores, gives an impression of a settlement under severe strain [Film No. 132].

Boucher's defence of his record

Boucher's letters home increasingly turn on personal vindication. He offered to be charged 2s per hundredweight for every hundredweight under twenty-five shillings, in answer to Captain Godfrey's claim of 20s per hundredweight against the Governor's claim of 25s. He answered four formal interrogatories on oath before Almighty God to Mr Bazett, and threatened to bring Bazett on a chargeable voyage to England to defend his accusations. He defended his charitable disposal of plantations, denied taking slaves from plantations to buildings, and offered to be inspected on plantation and yam accounts. The cattle stock was reported as not equal to what it had been when Mr Mashborne left, with the explanation that none had been kept in excess, and a full stop had been placed on buying more plantations. Mr Pack's London bond and security from financial guarantors were cited in defence. Each of these defences responds to a charge from London [Film No. 113, 120, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127].

Mr Free, Mr Bagley and the personal stories

Several personal stories run through the records of these years. Mr Free was described as an incorrigible sot who attempted suicide twice, lost the use of his reason, and was called a brute. The charge against Francis Alexander, accused of vile practices regarding Mercy's petition, was suspended; Mr Griffith had been directed by John Pill to draw up the charge before his death. Mercy herself had multiple marriages: she was widow of Richard Alexander, then Mrs Priget, and possibly later Mrs Torey, having married Bagley's widow's second husband Torey, a schoolmaster. Captain Boucher offered Thomas Bagley any unoccupied Company land, but the offer came to nothing as Bagley failed to fence. These domestic histories appear in the records because they affected tenure, but they also illuminate the dense web of remarriage and inheritance in so small a community [Film No. 103].

The final shipping of bills

The bills of exchange forwarded by the various fleets of the period mark out the financial work of the administration. In the fleet of 1711, fourteen bills totalled over £2,000, including Captain Arlond, Joshua Thomlinson, Captain Boys at £258 1s 4d, William Barchlet the surgeon, Greentree, Clavering, Trainer, Bryant, Mashborne at £276, Charles Stewart at £310 and Captain Charles Smith, with bills for the *Tilbury*, the *Swallow* and the *Oxford* drawn on the Victualling Office. Bills to Captain John Roberts of £130, to Mr Marsden of £40, to Charles Stewart of £136 13s 3d, and to Captain John Bernard of £202 8s 2d with a further £42 6s 9d on Mr Richard Mead, settled the former Governor's departure. The surgeons William Barchlet and Henry Trainer operated their own commercial accounts. In 1712 the *St George* and the

Aurengzeb brought two leagers of Batavia arrack each with 15 bags of sugar and rice, but nearly half a leager was spoiled. Sixteen bills of 1712 totalled over £1,500, including Frank Cook at £190 plus £241, Charles Steward at £150, Joshua Thomlinson at £200 and Anthony Coleon at £200. Captain Goodwin's bills, Captain Lihorn's at £52 11s, the *Leopard* at £48 on the Commissioners of Victualling, and the *Sheffield* at £12 16s formed a further set, with bills payable by John Browne and Thomas Heath, by John Browne and Roger Briddell, and by Richard Holland [Film No. 70, 78, 87, 91, 92].

The final indents and bills

Eleven bills of 1714 included Mr Thomlinson at £310, Mrs Sarah Pack at £48 15s 5d, Gabriel Poach at £136, Steward at £219, Captain Lane at £498 11s and Captain Streaks at £250. A further eleven bills of substantial sums included Boucher at £528, Doveton at £26, Hague at £81 16s, the widow of Lewis Pouries at £16 7s 8d, Johnson at £109 7s plus £200, Pugs at £132 13s, Steward at £118 6s, Powell at £140, Wyatts at £16 and Jenkins at £405. Boucher's final personal bills came to £29 17s 2¼d for himself, Steward at £87 and £63, and Thomlinson at £150. The Mrs Pack who departed with her family was the widow of the deceased storekeeper; Antipas Sovey departed with his wife and child, the latter rather a burden in the records' phrase; Samuel Gates, a soldier, was given leave only on hopes of approaching peace. The shipping of bills marked the closing of accounts for several departing families at once [Film No. 91, 92, 113, 114, 130, 133].

The indent of necessities

In 1713 an indent of necessities was sent home that recorded with precision the material shortages of the settlement. Window glass was required at 6,000 panes of 8 by 6 inches, 4,000 of 10 by 8½, and 2,000 of 12 by 8. Six large looking glasses were requested, alongside one dozen drinking glasses and convex lamps modelled on London streets. Case knives and forks were needed; two chamber clocks and one fort clock; 10,000 deals, 2 dozen cane chairs, 20,000 thirty-penny nails, locks, 200 pairs of H hinges, and 24 baulks of 24 feet. Drinking glasses, looking glasses and a clock had been mentioned earlier. Paper had been sent by the *Abingdon* but no pens or ink had been forwarded, an oversight that limited the use of the paper [Film No. 99, 106].

The indent of guns and carriages

A parallel indent recorded the ordnance the settlement needed. Demy cannon at 58 cwt 4 lbs, demy culverins at 24 cwt 3 qtr 12 lbs and at 26 cwt 1 qtr 24 lbs, sakers at 18 cwt 1 qtr, and minions at 10 cwt 3 qtr 20 lbs were specified, with eight demy cannon and their field carriages requested for a new West Battery. The indent was repeated, with Matthew Bazett offering a separate statement on the Italian book-keeping. The gunner's stores expended for the three years past were sent for inspection. The level of detail suggests a council very anxious to evidence both its needs and its prudence [Film No. 104, 105, 110].

The later works at Munden's, the Line and Sandy Bay

Boucher's later works completed Munden's Battery with eight guns mounted, rebuilt the line bastion with lime, installed powder lockers between the guns, dismantled twelve old useless guns and mounted twelve new, built two ramparts, raised a back wall of new storehouse 140 feet long, installed new guns at the Gun Ridge houses, built a new lookout house at Prosperous Bay, and at Sandy Bay built a lime kiln of 10,000 bushels capacity, a workhouse and a tanner's house. The further works in the closing months show that even as the council shrank and the drought deepened, the building programme continued [Film No. 130].

The gunner's accounts of 1709 to 1711

The gunner's accounts preserved among the later items record routine in some detail. For the year March 1709 to 25 March 1710, certified by John French on 22 April 1710, 744 guns were fired using 393 lbs of powder. Firings were tracked by type: culverin, demi-culverin, saker, minion and falcon, with a standard pattern of five minions plus three falcons. Two hundred shot was fired away in one row. The gunner's stores for the year April 1710 to March 1711 recorded the firings for Queen Anne's Coronation Day on 23 April, the Powder Treason on 5 November, the Queen's Birthday on 6 February and her Proclamation Day on 8 March. The petty stores included 91 lbs of match, 67 swords, 111 flints and 15 lbs of musket balls, alongside numerous other small items. The routine of the island's gunnery thus marked the calendar of the metropolitan power that owned it, with steady consumption of powder for ceremonial purposes alone [Film No. 139, 140].

The slave code of 1714

The most explicit single document of the period bearing on race is the slave code recorded in the later films. It prescribed death for any slave who struck a white person with a weapon, twenty-one lashes for slight insolent language and forty-two for greater insolence. A complaint procedure was set out for slaves whose masters refused to punish at the proper level, allowing recourse to the Governor. A particular clause withdrew protection from any white who demeaned himself by associating with Blacks as equals, which acknowledges, by implication, that such association occurred. The code is not a record of social reality but of the legal architecture the authorities sought to impose, and its very specificity, with two graduated lash counts and a hierarchy of insolence, indicates that the everyday business of master and slave was less regulated than the council might have wished [Film No. 137].

The administration of Black children

A passage in the later records states that Black children could be let out by the year until they came of age, though for no more than three years at a time. A separate book was maintained by the overseer of Blacks at the plantation houses, with the council insisting there was no clandestine practice. The phrasing reveals that doubts about clandestine practice were live concerns. The Boucher administration further recorded that on hopes of peace, planters' Blacks had been dismissed from the fortifications, with the intention of employing four at most besides indebted soldiers. A list of the Company's negroes with ages and employments, and an account of the stock and produce on plantations, was appended [Film No. 129, 130, 131].

Liquor licences and the regulation of retail

Liquor licences were let at £10 per annum after an auction failed to attract a higher bid, and instructions on retailing strong liquors were issued. Goa arrack was retailed at 5s, while arrack bought at 5s or 6s was retailed at 12s or 14s, and arrack invoiced at 12s was retailed at only 7s because of its poor quality. The people were compelled to take Goa arrack alongside Batavia. The lime sold at 18s a bushel at the Sandy Bay kiln and at 2s 6d at the fort, while stone was sold at half the predecessor's prices. Madeira wine cost five shillings a gallon. These details give a granular view of the small market economy under the council's control [Film No. 119, 120, 121, 129].

The drift ways of 1714

A last set of items concerns the agreement of drift ways across the island in 1714, by three district committees of substantial landholders. The first ran from Beals Ridge eastward to the Graves, the second from the Graves through Sandy Bay to Horse Ridge, and the third from Beals Hill westward to Man and Horse Point. The agreements ran between named neighbours: John Coalson and Jonathan Doveton; Marsh's Parsram's Old Plantation; Gunner French through Robin Wells's land; Samuel Des Fountaines and William Coles from Rhoads Old House to Main Ridge; Matthew Bazett to Woodly Ridge; Robert Bell through Purling's pasture to Paine's land, formerly Hedger's; and Bazett with Henry Coales through Coales's house to the Gull. Further named parties included John Welches, Thomas Harper, Richard Swallow, Thomas Coales, James Greentree, Edward Bagley and John Nichells. These quiet local arrangements, in which neighbours agreed how cattle could be driven across each other's holdings, contrast with the larger recriminations of the official correspondence. They show that beneath the upheavals of governance, the everyday economic life of the planters continued to require, and to produce, the small accommodations on which any settled community depends [Film No. 138].

Religion, marriages and education

Religious provision on the island depended on a single minister at a time. The death of Charles Masham on 7 May 1706 left a gap that was filled by Joshua Tomlinson, who arrived on the *Rochester* and to whom £50 was paid in advance. The minister preached in the country, and the council records permitted one or two bottles only when he preached. The chaplain's certificate concerning the church register, and the integrated ecclesiastical record-keeping, kept marriages, baptisms and burials in the official packet. A list of marriages, baptisms and burials to 21 March 1714 was forwarded with the final packets. A blank marriage licence template from 1708 records the joint authority of the Governor and the chaplain, with the canonical formula that no cause appeared why matrimony should not proceed, addressed to Mr Joshua Thomlinson as Minister and Chaplain. Boucher complained that immorality and profanity found countenance from

England, a phrase that lays the blame for the island's morals on metropolitan indulgence. Paper and stationery were short, and none was to be spared to the inhabitants for the use of their children and youth in learning to write, a glimpse of an informal schooling tradition pressed by the same supply crises as the garrison. The schoolmaster Torey is named in the records as the second husband of Bagley's widow [Film No. 5, 18, 22, 29, 80, 82, 103, 127, 131, 136].

The departure of Boucher and the closing of the period

Boucher took passage on the *Recovery* on 28 June 1714 in poor health, after a final letter co-signed by himself and Bazett. He had asked, in earlier correspondence, to be sent home by the next summer shipping, and to be allowed to travel by an outward-bound ship via the Cape. The *Abingdon* under Captain William Jordan had sailed on 31 March 1714, the *Windsor* under Captain Zackery Tovey from China on 3 April, and the *Reefield* under Captain Robert Dingley from Bombay on 7 April. The final letter was co-signed by Boucher and Bazett, after Bazett had refused to sign the letter of 31 March 1714. The *King William* under Captain Nehemiah Winder and the *Stretham* also feature in the closing records. The mutineers had been transported, the council had shrunk to two, and a new structure of council seems to have been awaited. The record stops without recording what came next [Film No. 109, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134].

A final critical note

The official record of St Helena in these years is a partisan source. Each council writes to defend itself, and each administration's account of its predecessor must be discounted for the political pressures under which it was produced. The repeated indictments of Poirier come from men who had taken his place, and the indictments of Roberts come from men appointed to replace him. The mutiny is described from the council's side, the suicide attempts of Mr Free are recorded in terms that imply moral failure on his part, and the slave code prescribes punishments without recording any of the offences that prompted it. The supply crises, the building works, the bills of exchange, the ship arrivals and the deaths are recorded with reasonable fidelity, because they could be checked. The judgements are not, and should not be taken at the same value. What emerges, when due allowance is made, is a picture of a small island in a long war, with a poor harvest in the closing years, a council that could not hold itself together, and a labour force of enslaved people, hired workers and indebted soldiers performing the work on which the whole arrangement depended. The records preserve, in spite of themselves, a great deal that their writers did not intend to disclose [Film No. 5, 57, 100, 103, 110, 137].

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
1	1	EAP 1364 St Helena St Helena letters to England 1706 - 1714 Shelley 18 Feb 2022	
2	2	Book cover	
3	3	Letters to England 1706 to 1714 This Book found was much torn & defective Reid-Rainier - 1880 & now rebound	
4	4	Blank page	
5	5	To His Honour. 11 August 1706 The queen and the Dover, did Arrive w.e as There of Aprill Last, Being uncapable to keep Company w.th the Dutch fleet or Else we Should have been Deprived of their Sight, having endeavor'd w.th others of your Hon.rs Ships) to meet at y.e Cape w.th the Dutch fleet and go home a Long [calls] them Seven are gone, which we pray god may arrive Safe at home, But by that means we are deprived of Bengale Comoditys which are So absolutely Necessary, having no Linnen [Cloth] which no Sugar [crack] Nor any other Sort of Liquor in your Hon.r Store Every Drop Being gone Ever Since y.e 3.d of may by which y.e Hon.rs may [Ridge] what quantity of Liquors is Spent here yearly, Besides what the French Gets themselves out of Ships.	11 August 1706 To His Honour The ships <i>Queen</i> and <i>Dover</i> dropped anchor in late April 1706. Both struggled to keep up with the Dutch fleet and were almost lost from view altogether. An attempt was made, alongside others of the Honours' vessels, to gather at the Cape and travel home in convoy with the Dutch. Seven ships were now bound for England, and divine protection was prayed for on their behalf. Through this misfortune the island was deprived of Bengal goods, which were sorely needed. No linen [cloth] remained, no sugar [...] and not a drop of liquor was held in the Honours' store; the stock ran out on 3 May 1706. From these figures the Honours were given a measure of the yearly consumption of liquor on the island, beyond what the French drew for themselves out of passing vessels.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		2 We are very much concern'd at y.e Said news they brought us of y.e founder of the Gloucester, Cap.t Phillip Brown Commander Doubting Not the [will both] to [the] and owners of her Suffers as great Loss by it, he was a very [well] Gen.tle. In the mean while they Brought us the joyfull News of y.e [safe Arrivall] of all your Hon.r Last Summer Fleet and we hope these three Ships Departed from us the [20] of November Last are happily arrived. 3 Our minister M.r Charles Masham Died, the [7] of may Last, we Send y.e Hon.r a Coppy of his affairs here we question not but your Hon.r will allow him his [amount] Gratuity But before we pay any thing of his Debts here we humbly Desire y.e Hon.r [advise] to know how the said M.r [Mshams] affairs Stands [to] you in England in the mean while we humbly pray your Hon.r to Send us another But one of [An] [plary] Life who for his main Respect the Glory of god to promot withall a good Example is a very [Eflacious] means to promot the Same on this place and [Gov.] W.th Submission your Hon.r are very Apt to Entertain any on y.e Least [Recom] mendaion, this place will afford to a good and Sober minister [New] too [three] Bounds a year. 4 We have wrot Several times to your Hon.r to know your [Clearne] how to Deale to one Jack a free black who is Condemned for Burglary and other Crimes h[eld] Live here till as a freeman till the Decision of his fate [is] your Hon.r 5 Cap.t Goodwin Sends you his Ledger for the year 1704 and we Send all things [We] that Could be get ready Concerning this Island, what hath been done by your Former Clerk M.r Alexander Since his Return into your Hon.r [former] [against] [...] which [the present] by his Insufferable [regard], hath left So backward, the Said M.r Alexander hath behaved him [destroying] well and if he Continues [so as] we have no reason to think otherwise [the] your Hon.r will Encourage him. We have had Last months great [Alendo] and [open] as hath [been] Seen [since] y.e Hon.r hath been [Embarked] in this [place] [...] [as] Margin Notes: when Ships Queen & Dove arrived is the Advice of those many Ships went by the Island & Come for want of Indian Goods Ex. Lamenting y.e Loss of y.e Ship. Gloucester and [worse] for y.e Loss of [y.e] Scots [Arrivale of] An [Aid] when Dock Masham [and his story] of this [parts] and Desire of [one other] Minister A desire to know how to Deale w.th [Price] Backs [By] Brook [other things] to [refer] and to come to [...]	Sad news was also brought of the foundering of the <i>Gloucester</i>, with Phillip Brown as commander. Heavy loss was suffered by the [shippers] and the owners; the captain was a worthy gentleman. Welcome report came at the same time that the fleet which the Honours sent the previous summer reached home safely. Hopes were held that the three vessels which sailed from St Helena on 20 November 1705 arrived likewise without mishap. The minister, Mr Charles Masham, died on 7 May 1706. A copy of the state of his affairs on the island was sent. The Honours' gratuity was expected to be paid without question. Before any of his local debts were settled, however, direction was sought from the Honours as to the standing of his accounts in England. In the meantime, the Honours were humbly asked to send another minister - one of exemplary life. A clergyman whose chief regard was for the glory of God served as a [...] means of promoting the same on the island. With submission, candidates were often engaged by the Honours upon the slightest recommendation. The post on St Helena was capable of supporting a sober and able minister at [...] pounds a year. The Honours were written to several times for direction concerning one Jack, a Black freeman, condemned for burglary and other offences. He was kept on the island as a freeman pending the Honours' decision on his fate. Captain Goodwin's accounts for 1704 were forwarded, together with everything else made ready about the island. Work left undone by the former clerk Mr Alexander since his return [...] was set far back through his [insufferable conduct]. Mr Alexander conducted himself well in the period since, and if such conduct continued, encouragement was expected from the Honours. The previous month brought severe storms. The following margin notes accompanied the letter: The arrival of <i>Queen</i> and <i>Dove</i>, with notice that many ships passed by the island and called for want of Indian goods. Lament for the loss of the <i>Gloucester</i> and for the loss of the [Scots arrival]. The death of Mr Masham and the request for a successor. A desire for direction on how to deal with [Black freemen]. [Other matters referred]. Interpretations The island's wholesale dependency on East India Company shipping is shown clearly. With Bengal goods absent and Company directions awaited on every difficult question, the council operated as an outpost wholly tethered to London for both supplies and authority. The minister's death required Company input not only on a successor but on the settlement of his estate, indicating that ecclesiastical and administrative affairs were not separated; both fell under the directors' purview. The case of Jack illustrates the limits of local judicial authority. A condemned Black freeman was held in suspension on the island because the council was unable to act on his sentence without London's sanction. Speculations The specific date of liquor exhaustion (3 May 1706) and the side reference to French ships drawing from local stocks point to an argument for a larger consumption allowance, or perhaps a defence against scrutiny of local handling of stores. The unusually firm language about an exemplary life indicates prior dissatisfaction with appointments made on slight recommendation. The council pressed for stricter selection criteria after earlier disappointments. The deliberate suspension of Jack's case looks like calculated avoidance. A local sentencing risked an awkward precedent for handling convicted Black

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
			freemen in a colony with a substantial slave population alongside free Black residents.
6	6	[...] Confusion on Ruports Fortificacons and at the Fort Likewise alth.o we [...] all the means advised us by Several hands to the End to prevent it, It is [...] be repaired again apoon as possible Can be and we shall make use of that [Sid...] [...] Experience to find new means to Let the Gulleys come to [...] main Channell. p.7. We have lost our Ensign Darling, who died the to May Last, he was an Extra- ordinary good man We have given his place to the [Dep] [Ser.t] whose Name is [Thomas] [Anderson] a man Experienced in [Warr] affairs, Therewith the Answer we [...] [Ser.t] waite for from your Hon.r Concerning the Clerk who Claims the place of Ensigne with Serve as well for him as for M.r Darling in Case he had Lived. 8. We come now to a very Sorrowfull parragraph, Since the matter is to give [Notice] to your Hon.r of the Loss of the aforesaid two Shippis viz. The Queen and y.e Dover. The first of June last we had a double Alarm about Seven of y.e Clock in y.e morning [at] ten two Large Ships arrived under Dutch Colours, But we were Extremely Surprised to See the Queen fire at them, Being assailed by the Said Ships and in [less] than 5 minutes time, [left] her Cables [boarded] her and Drove her away with [Dutch] Ships with Colours (had not M.r Dolbin assured us there was no French Ships in [the area] and [...] for Certaine there were [Dutch] Ships Could absolutely for this Island we Could [...] Not be altogether So Secure) As soon as the Governor received the Queen gave them [...] ordered the Line of Guns to be fired at them, as fast as could be Capt. Goodwin did the Same at Ruports But too soon out of reach of our Guns and all this while the Action was aided under the [...] Dutch Colours they [fired a thousand] as 80 or 100 Shott without any Dammage and then [Hoisted] [French] [Colours] But a [few] they come in possession of the Queens [Governess] they acted More Like [Pirates] than men of Warre, the Dover who had her [torts] to y.e [West] of our road [struck] her Colours Immediately So received no Damage, that we [knew] of Alth.o we did what we could to Sink her but by an oversight were both Anchored too far from our Guns, We cant truly utter our Sorrow for that unhappy Miscarriage, But [...] [...] that it is absolutely Impossible to Save y.e [Island] [...] from an Enemy, Unless you order your Ships to Send their Boats ashore at [Bantam], which [...] the [Ground] tried when [...] his Common place to force them, but received from y.e [...] [...] but rough and good Cannons and to Desire the men of Warr to do y.e [...] [...] we have rec. your Hon.rs orders on that Acct. We do Send a [Boat] [...] [...] to the [forward] to meet the Ships, and to get what [Intelligenc] we [can from] [...] [...] But withall Speaking of many Dangerous Consequences, That means may [...] [...] Cause the [...] be taken, if so, then we may Conclude they are an Enemy. These poor Unfortunate of [...] Garrison and Cornwalls on the whole behave [...] themselves as Long as they were with them very finely, and in respect of their [...] Bravery Deserved a Better fortune. Capt Carding told the Governor he was [...] [...] your Hon.r would give him any [Encouragement], he would Undertake to [...] [get] [...] [...] from Madagascar for your Service here, W.th Submission we take him [...] [...] a [fifteen] for [...] voyage, he hath been Employed About [...] Margin Notes: [...] hath [...] Damage to Ruports [...] fortification [...] [...] Darling [...] [...] of [...] his [...] [...] his [...] [giving] [...] [Given] [...] Ships [...] two and [...] and [...] own [...] to her [...] this [...] [...] this [...] [...] [parties] Ships need to be ordered to the [...] [...] on to [...] to	Damage was sustained at the fortifications at Rupert's [Bay] and at the Fort alike, despite all measures recommended by various parties to prevent it. Repairs were to be carried out as quickly as possible, and that [...] experience was to be turned to finding new means of directing the gullies into the main channel. 7. Ensign Darling, an extraordinarily capable man, died on [2] May 1706. His post was given to the Deputy Sergeant, [Thomas] [Anderson], a man experienced in military affairs. The reply still awaited from the Honours concerning the clerk who claimed the Ensign's position applied equally to Anderson as to Mr Darling. 8. The loss of both ships, the <i>Queen</i> and the <i>Dover</i>, was now to be reported - a sorrowful matter. On 1 June 1706, around seven o'clock in the morning, a double alarm was raised. Two large vessels arrived flying a Dutch ensign. On the strength of assurances given by Mr Dolbin that no French vessels were in the area and that the arrivals were certainly Dutch ships bound for the island, no unusual precautions were taken. Great surprise followed when the <i>Queen</i> was seen to open fire on the newcomers, as she was already under attack from those same ships. Within five minutes her cables were cut, she was boarded and driven off in company with the [Dutch] vessels, their ensign still flying. On receiving [word], the Governor ordered the shore guns to be fired at the attackers as fast as possible. Captain Goodwin did the same at Rupert's [Bay]. Both efforts came too late; the enemy was by then beyond range. Throughout the engagement the attackers fought beneath a Dutch flag, firing some 80 to 100 shots without inflicting damage on the island. A French ensign was then raised. On taking possession of the <i>Queen's</i> [...], they conducted themselves more like pirates than men-of-war. The <i>Dover</i>, which lay to the west of the road, lowered her flag immediately and received no damage as far as was known. Every effort was made to sink her, but by oversight both vessels were anchored well out of range of the shore guns. No words could fully express the sorrow at this calamitous failure. Yet [...] it was absolutely impossible to protect the island from an enemy unless the Honours ordered their ships to send boats ashore at [Bantam]. That approach was attempted at [...] in order to force [an entry], but [rough conditions] and good cannon were met. A request was also made that the men-of-war undertake the same [...]. The Honours' orders on that account were already to hand. A boat was sent [...] ahead to meet the ships and gather what intelligence was possible. Given the many dangerous consequences, [...] means [...] if those vessels proved to be an enemy. The garrison and [Cornwall's men] conducted themselves well throughout, and in recognition of their [...] bravery deserved a better outcome. Captain Carding informed the Governor of his readiness to [...] from Madagascar for service on the island, provided the Honours offered encouragement. With submission, he was proposed [...] for the voyage, having been previously employed [...]. The following margin notes accompanied the letter: [...] damage to Rupert's [...] fortification [...]. Ensign Darling [...]. [...] ships [...] [two] [...]. Ships to be ordered to [...]. Interpretations The loss of both ships traces entirely to an intelligence failure. Complete trust was placed in Mr

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			Dolbin's assurance about Dutch shipping, no independent watch was mounted and the garrison was caught wholly unprepared for a carefully planned attack under false colours. The same pattern of dependence on others' assessment - visible in the earlier reliance on Dutch convoy arrangements that had already left the island without Bengal goods - was here turned to devastating effect. The simultaneous appointment of the Deputy Sergeant to fill the Ensign's vacancy, while a rival claimant's case remained before London, shows the council again acting on local necessity while formally reserving final authority for the Honours. The parallel with the suspension of Jack's case in the earlier passage is exact. The admission that both ships were anchored beyond reach of the shore guns reveals a structural flaw in the island's defences: the anchorage and the batteries were not positioned to support each other, and neither the Governor nor Captain Goodwin could bring effective fire to bear before the attack was complete. Speculations The careful identification of Mr Dolbin as the source of the assurance reads as a pre-emptive defence. By placing responsibility on a named individual, the council deflected the censure it was to face from London over the loss of two Company ships. Captain Carding's offer to bring men from Madagascar, conditional on Company encouragement, suggests the garrison was already understrength before the attack. The loss of the ships made the position acute, and Madagascar - already a recognised source of recruits and labour in the Indian Ocean - was the nearest practical solution. The French attack, conducted under Dutch colours and timed within weeks of the <i>Queen</i> and <i>Dover's</i> arrival, suggests the enemy commanders had prior knowledge of the island's shipping arrangements. The same Dutch convoy that had earlier deprived the island of Bengal goods now provided the cover for the capture of both ships.
7	7	To His Honour. St Helena Nov. y. 20. 1706 Our Last by the Burlington was dated the 6 of Sept. Last and therein was a Coppy of ours dated y.e 12 of Aug. Ser. by the Oxford which we pray the Almighty all may arrive Safe in English Harbours. Now Since the Departure of these before mentioned Ships, Came in a Small Portugues Ship from Brazell bound to Angola the 7 of Sept. Last and Departed [from] [thence] for the Said place y.e 26 of y.e Same month, The Cap.t of her is Left here in order to recover his health, Being very Much Indisposed. 2. The 22 of ditto arrived the Indian frig.o Cap.t Robert Hill Commander, and Doth Depart this day with the Ships hereunder mentioned. 3. The 19 of the Last month Came in the [Abinton] Cap.t [Jn.o] [Lefley] Commander [...] the 17 Ditto Came in the Caesar Cap.t [Jn.o] Clark Commander, The 16 Ditto Came in [the] Westmorland Cap.t Sam.l Roberts Commander and all do Depart this day, God [pre]serve Almighty preserve them From our Enemies hands, They Expected the Union here, which they Lost at the Maruches, In Expectation She would Sayle a week after them But probably She has Called in at the Cape of Good Hope, we are very Sorry She is Not yet arrived, That She might go home in their Company. 4. As it is a new thing on this Island to have Portugese Ships to Come here on the [account] as this Came We humbly desire y.e Hon.r to [direct] us how to deale w.th them for the future, being Loth to [do] any thing Contrary to y.e own Concerns they have had Goods out of y.e Stores to the ballue of 126 3 7, we have taken [Rum] [...] and Sugar of him at a reasonable rate for the paym.t thereof, as does appear by the Enclosed Acco.t	To His Honour, St Helena, 20 November 1706 The previous letter was sent by the <i>Burlington</i>, dated 6 September 1706. It contained a copy of an earlier letter dated 12 August, forwarded by the <i>Oxford</i>. Prayers were offered that both vessels would reach English harbours in safety. Since the departure of these ships, a Portuguese vessel from Brazil bound for Angola arrived on 7 September. She sailed again for Angola on 26 September. The captain remained on the island to recover his health, being severely ill. 2: The frigate <i>Indian</i>, Captain Robert Hill in command, arrived on 22 September. She departs today in company with the vessels listed below. 3: The <i>Abington</i>, under the command of Captain [John] [Lefley], arrived on 19 September. The <i>Caesar</i>, Captain [John] Clark commanding, arrived on 17 September. The <i>Westmorland</i>, Captain Samuel Roberts in command, arrived on 16 September. All depart today. God was prayed to protect them from the enemy. The <i>Union</i> was expected, having [been lost] at the Marouches. Hopes were held that she would sail a week after them, but she probably called in at the Cape of Good Hope. Regret was expressed that she had not yet come in, as she might have travelled home in their company. 4: The arrival of a Portuguese ship on [...] business was without precedent on the island. Direction was humbly sought from the Honours on how to proceed with such vessels in future, the council being reluctant to act contrary to the Company's interests. The Portuguese captain had removed goods from the stores to the value of £126 3 shillings and 7 pence. Rum [...]

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		Sent to your Hon.r which will afford you [...] Considerable Advance. The Cap.t hath made a proposall to us Concern ing their way of trading here from Brazele, Which W.th Submission we think well would prove very Advantagious to Gov.r Affairs money and goods being Brought Neither on unreasonable and [with]out your Hon.rs Running any Risque from the Danger of the [...] way which Seems to us [a great] Advantage But being [...] [Concern] [...] it to parts, we most [...] Instructions on Margin Notes: [come] [...] [...] [...] [...] [Portugese] [...] [boy] [...] to [...] [...] to [...] [...] [Portuge] [...] [...] [...]	and sugar were acquired from him at a fair rate in settlement. The enclosed statement of accounts, sent to the Honours, was to demonstrate a considerable profit. The captain proposed an arrangement regarding trade from Brazil. With submission, this arrangement seemed it would prove highly advantageous to the Governor's affairs - money and goods arriving at reasonable terms and without the Honours bearing any risk from the [...] of the voyage, which seemed a considerable benefit. Margin notes accompanied the letter: [...] arrival of [ships] [...]. [Portuguese ...] [...]. Interpretations The Portuguese vessel's arrival marks the first recorded visit of a neutral merchant ship, indicating St Helena was becoming known as a port of call. The council's immediate request for guidance reveals that the Company's intended monopoly was not absolute in practice, and that circumstances - particularly the recent loss of the <i>Queen</i> and <i>Dover</i> to French privateers - had made alternative sources of supply relevant to survival. The careful accounting for the Portuguese transaction (£126 3 shillings and 7 pence in removed goods, rum and sugar purchased in settlement) shows the council understood that commercial relationships required documentary proof of profit. This practice appears consistent throughout these letters and reflects how the council justified expenditures and gains to London. The proposal for regular trade from Brazil was framed not as a departure from Company monopoly but as serving the Governor's "affairs" without risk to the Honours. This careful language reveals how the council negotiated between strict monopoly enforcement and the practical necessities of survival on an isolated island. Speculations The Portuguese ship's arrival shortly after the <i>Queen</i> and <i>Dover</i> were captured by French privateers may suggest that intelligence about St Helena's vulnerability and supply needs had spread through maritime networks. The offer of trade may have been prompted by knowledge that the island was desperate for supplies and temporarily short of regular Company shipping. Captain Hill's departure with multiple East Indiamen - the <i>Abington</i>, <i>Caesar</i> and <i>Westmorland</i> - represented substantial outbound traffic. The loss of the <i>Union</i> at the Marouches had already weakened the convoy, and the council may have recognised that dispersing such forces raised the risk of further attacks, particularly given the French activity so recently demonstrated off the island. The council's request for explicit instructions on Portuguese trade suggests they recognised this might become a regular occurrence. If supply voyages from Brazil were feasible, it implied that Company monopoly enforcement was ineffective at such distance. By seeking advance approval from London, the council protected itself from future censure while securing sanction for arrangements that might otherwise appear to breach the monopoly.
8	8	To the Honour. The Govern.r & Coun.[cil] We have both yours dated the [4th] of Feb.y 1705 and the By reading the Rest we Cannot but admire to See what Little [Care] us and our Letter and Acco.t we have given You of [our] Contract is [...] Coates, because he told you fair Stories according to his own [Belief from] fore it must [be so] tis true Cap.t Dennis by his Contract here was to Carry him further because he knew nothing of being bound to [the] Coast, But was then to make a new Contract if we [bent the] [either] was positively bound [therefore] to repair the [other] by the first op[portunity] But as you Say you Liked the Sport, So permitted him to Stay [...]	To the Honourable the Governor and Council Both of the recipients' letters dated 4 February 1705 reached the writers. Considerable surprise was felt over the remainder of those contents, since so little weight was given to the writers' own correspondence and to the account already supplied about the contract [...] Coates. Pleasing accounts were related by him to fit his own [belief], and the matter was [therefore] taken as settled. Under his agreement made here, Captain Dennis was bound to convey him onward, since nothing was known of any tie to that coast; but afterwards a fresh bargain was to be drawn up if [...] either side was firmly committed, and the [other] party was to be put right at the earliest opening. Since the

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		2. About the Bill of Exchange he told you also a [propos]ite he had [...] or four dayes to Consider whether he would take them for [two] or one, having no other way to pay him which he Accepted of, [as] [is] thanked, We cant but admire at what you Say that you believed [...] Selves thought the Same, We must Confess You have Incomparable [ways] to know our thoughts better than our Selves, We Know better than to Impose any thing on the Comp.y Settle.m.ts In India, So there's no [place] to Misinterpret our Conduct to Such an End and we have Never [been] heard of any Precid.t That a bill of Exchange drawn on a Comp.y at Constantinople to paid at Vienna [answered] by any other [Correspo...] without particular orders for doing the Same, And Consequently we Cannot but Conclude [that] there's Some Self [Joking] [...] in paying the Said Bill of [Exchange] at [Maderas], and Do Suppose they [Cann't] [well] So Just as to take it So. 3. We have rec.d from Cap.t Robert [Commander] of y.e [Virginia] [...] This person you Sent [us] we might very well [be] [without] [...] Rogue on this Small Island, and we are [un]willing [So] to receive any without Direct orders from [us] Thus we Declare	affair was apparently found agreeable by the recipients, leave was given for him to stay [...]. 2: On the matter of the exchange bill, a similar line was offered by him [...]. He was given [...] or four days to determine whether the bills were to be taken for [two] months or one, since no other channel of settlement lay open, and the offer was accepted with thanks. Astonishment was felt at the claim that the writers themselves were judged to share the same view. The recipients were apparently possessed of unmatched skill in reading the writers' minds better than the writers themselves. Better sense was held by the writers than to lay any charge on the Company's Indian establishments, and no opening was thus left for any wrong reading of their actions toward such an end. No precedent was ever heard of whereby a draft drawn on the Company's house at Constantinople and falling due at Vienna was honoured by another [correspondent] without specific instructions for that purpose. The conclusion was accordingly drawn that some [private dealing] [...] lay behind the discharge of the bill at Madeira, and in fairness the parties involved had no proper means to settle it on such terms. 3: A despatch was received from Captain Robert, who [commanded] the <i>Virginia</i> [...]. The person sent over by the recipients was one the writers had no need of. [...] another rascal on this little isle, and no such figure was to be received without express instructions from [the writers]. So much was hereby declared. Interpretations The letter showed the strain between distant East India Company outposts: a smaller settlement pushed back against any treatment that left its decisions open to reinterpretation by another council without consultation. Any outside claim to read the writers' intentions better than the writers themselves was sharply rejected. The handling of bills of exchange illustrated the formal limits placed on Company financial instruments. A draft drawn at one Company station and falling due at another was to be honoured only on express written orders before any third-party correspondent stepped in. Any departure from that rule was treated by the writers as evidence of private gain. The refusal to accept the unwanted figure sent aboard the <i>Virginia</i> revealed the right claimed by the writers to block personnel transfers. A small settlement guarded itself against use as a place where larger Company stations sent off undesirable persons. Speculations Some private profit-sharing arrangement between the Madeira correspondent and one of the recipients was probably suspected by the writers, since no written authority was ever issued for such a payment route, and the transaction was therefore read as collusive rather than procedural. The persuasive account offered by Captain Coates was apparently taken in by the recipients out of amusement rather than close examination, and Captain Dennis was thus released from his original obligation to convey the man onward. The unwanted figure placed aboard the <i>Virginia</i> was perhaps a troublemaker whom the recipients hoped to be rid of by depositing him on the little isle, and a formal refusal of any such transfer without direct orders was now entered on record to discourage further attempts.
2	9	The 12 of June arrived here the Bengalls Cap. Henry [...]le Commander 16 [following] Arrived the Mary a time Cap. David [Gare] Commander, who [be] 18 the Arrivale Stocks, we desired them to [Endeav] more into the Shore as they could to prevent the like misfortune (if an attempt Should be made) as much as lies in our Power which they have done.	On 12 June the <i>Bengalls</i> came to anchor at this island, with Captain Henry [...]le in command. On 16 [...] the <i>Mary</i> arrived, Captain David [Gare] in command, [...] 18 [the arrival stocks]. Both masters were asked to bring their vessels in as close to the beach as lay within their power, in order to head off any

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		The Govern.r and Coun.t of Madrass did write to us by the queen. That they have [paid] unto one Thomas Coates formerly a free planter of this place and bound from hence according to your Hon.r orders and his Contract [with] us to Bencoolon a bill of Exchange this we gave him for y.e Sume of one Hundred pounds To Ballance his Acco.t in y.e Hon.r Store Books, and was accordingly Drawn on you. Therefore we are not a little astonished [you] That a [found] So August as that is, at Madrass, would be guilty of paying a bill which of this was not Drawn on them and we cant Conclude But there's Somewhat [itself] in this opinion or Else they will put themselves on doing the Same very often. As Suppose a freeman [times] tells us he designs to go home and on that Acct. we give him [Incase your Hon.r be [Consequence] Indebted to him) a bill on you, and Suppose a Ship is in the road Bound for y.e Indies [any] [mis]take the Said freeman instead of going home agree to go to India and then repair to [Cound] at Madrass for the paym.t of the Said Bill we See no reason why they ought to pay any bill that is Not Drawn upon them. We did inform them, that freeman was Bound to Bencoolon and [Circum]stances [then] [...] of Mishaps belonging to his voyage, they chid Ignore nothing of it, But if they give [Ear] to that [Say] Strange Stories a free man will tell them rather than our own writing, with [...] Can help it. 13 Our armourours died the [14] of the Last month, which puts us in great [want] of another many [Indies] as well we do [want] today a [building] for them, as an Hospittals because those that [quarters] at the Freeman towns them out as soon as [...] they are taken with the flux and being Down at y.e [effort] [their] [...] their meat nor Clean and Convenient Lodging. 14 Being the will of god this poor Island grows very Sickly, In case [words...] no Store Ships for our [Refreshm.t] Viz: Wine and other [Comforts] for the [sickly] [Comodity denied] and Garrison we shall Lye under great Discomforts. 15 Docter [Nedman] dos continue to be very Submissive [and] obedient [...] [M.d Mshm] a peaceable Conversation he goes up in y.e Country now very [Rightly] In [this] [...] [who] Cant hardly be Said neither of his profession. 16 We cant Say but M.r Marsden is a Laborious man and [fit] for [...] M.r Marasdon mightly Desire to be Sent to India, thinking that if he Continues [he] use to [ga]-of this time here, it would be prejudicial to his Advancement, he has Gone to India, In case we would allow him Liberty [now] [days] the Contract he hath made to your Hon.r Therefore [read] [By] home [&] again in order to have Leav from you But the Governor has prevailed on him telling him [...] od to Send over Such [persons] here for [prohibita] Margin Notes: [And] [...] [...] for the [...] [...] [...] desire for [...] [...] [...] [...] for [...] [...] [M.d] Mshm [...] [...] a Characters [...]	recurrence of the recent misfortune in the event of a fresh attempt. This was carried out. A letter was received from the Governor and his council at Madras, conveyed by the <i>Queen</i>. They reported that a sum was paid to Thomas Coates, formerly a settler of this island, who was despatched from here under the Honourable Company's orders and his own engagement for Bencoolen. A draft for one hundred pounds was issued to him by this council, to settle his account in the Company ledgers, and was made payable in London. Great surprise was felt that an establishment as august as Madras was willing to honour a draft not addressed to them. Some defect in their reasoning was suspected, or else such payments were to be repeated by them on a regular basis. Take the case of a freeman who gave notice of an intention to return home, and was therefore granted (in any instance where the Honourable Company stood indebted to him) a draft on London. Take then a vessel lying offshore and headed for the East Indies. That same freeman, in place of returning home, agreed to ship for India and called at Madras for payment of his draft. No fair ground was seen why any bill not directed at them was to be honoured by them. Madras was advised that this freeman was sent to Bencoolen, with the circumstances [...] of his voyage clearly stated. No regard was paid to this. If reliance was to be placed on the strange tales told by a freeman in preference to written notice from this council, no remedy was to be had from here. 13: The armoured died on the 14th of the previous month, which left this place in pressing need of a replacement. A further armoured was needed, together with a building serving as both quarters and an infirmary. Sick men billeted in the freedmen's town were thrown out as soon as they were taken with the flux. In their illness [...] they were left without suitable food or any clean and convenient resting place. 14: By the will of God, this poor island grew very sickly. If no store vessels were sent with restoratives for the garrison - wine and other comforts for those who suffered - severe hardship was to be borne. 15: Doctor [Nedman] continued submissive and obedient [...]. His manner was peaceable. He went up into the country quite [...]. [...] of his calling was scarcely shown. 16: Mr Marsden was a hard-working man and fit for [...]. Mr Marsden strongly desired to be sent to India, in the belief that further time spent here was to harm his advancement. He was ready to leave for India, were liberty granted him notwithstanding the engagement he made to the Honourable Company. Application was therefore [...] home, again, to have leave from the directors. The Governor, however, prevailed upon him, telling him [...] to send over such persons here for [...]. Margin notes: [And] [...] [...] for the [...] [...] [...] desire for [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] for [...] [...] [M.d] Mshm [...] [...] a Characters [...] Interpretations The dispute over the Coates draft reveals how each Company station was expected to honour only those bills drawn on itself, with the network of credit between St Helena, Madras and London depending on strict adherence to that principle. The St Helena council's alarm shows that any deviation by a senior factory threatened to unravel the chain of accountability between outposts. The combined demand for an armoured's quarters and a hospital under one roof reveals the cramped material base of St Helena's garrison. Skilled trade, civil welfare and rudimentary medicine were to be accommodated within a single modest building, since the freedmen refused to keep infectious soldiers in their houses.

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			The detailed personnel reporting on Nedman's manner, Marsden's ambition and the dead armourer illustrates how consultations operated as governance documents, with the Governor and council relaying character assessments and staffing problems directly to the directors in London. Speculations The hypothetical sketch of a freeman pretending to sail home and instead taking ship for India is too specific to be theoretical. It suggests the council had recently witnessed or strongly suspected this exact manoeuvre, with the Coates payment supplying alarming confirmation. The detail that sick men were ejected from civilian lodgings the moment they fell to the flux suggests the islanders refused contagious tenants on practical grounds, leaving the Company no option but to invest in a dedicated infirmary or watch the garrison decay. Marsden's insistence on transfer to India, even at the price of breaking his engagement, hints that promotion within Company service was tightly bound to placement at the larger Indian factories. St Helena was treated by ambitious officers as a station that risked stalling their careers.
10	10	and then prefer them to India of which he Seems to be he is at age [...] to mind his Advancement. In y.e mean while [...] to before your Hon.r That you Likewise have need of Diligent [from] here 7 We cant but Recommend to your Hon.r the peaceable and [Quiet] of your Cap.ts Chief mates and other Gen.tl.m.n aboard in this fleet, as those two unhappy Ships taken by the French and these three here at time (July 22.) Even M.r Dowell [purfer], (who proved Last voyage very Unruly Carried himself very Civilly and Gently and So has all the Rest that [has] Since. If your Hon.r dont think fitt to pay our Bill of Exchange Drawn on you for goods Bought for your Islands advantage, and Chiefly for your Gov.[ernm.t] as dos appear by Cap.tn Budge's Letter a Copy whereof is Sent unto you, what [the] we do, having neither money nor goods in your Hon.r Stores and In Case our Bill be returned hether must your [Estate] pay it, or our Selves. In this Case the [profit] Occurring out of those goods, as dos appear by the Ledger book must be our [Interest] and all Charges besides. M.r Goodwin humbly requests your Hon.r to allow him Board Wages Instead of his dyet at your Table as you usually do all married men in most part of India [...] Being of Little or no Bene[fit]sill to him as tis now. The Oxford man of Warr and Eight Marchmen viz Tho.s Eaton [J.n.ah] [When] [Kern] [Michtlersels] Gummurs [Struthum] [Wintworth] and [fleet] [frig.o] [...] were here from the Cape on Monday the 5 Just and Departs this day the Date of our Letter. 21. By the Enclosed Acco.t of Ships peticular Acco.ts you will See which of the Commanders paid freely their duty of powder, and which would Not, by their [Acco.t] Being open Cap.t [Nat] had two [Sarken] very abusive and So Turbulent that there was [hid] of your Musquets broken to Quell them we have Charged them there for his Acco.t which is open hereto. [Comes] also one bill of Exchange Drawn to Cap.t [Este] payable to your Hon.r for 15[£] Sterling one by Cap.t [M.Blov] for 24: 8: 7 and one from Cap.t Stevens for 7[£] and as for Cap.t [Plant] his hath Signed his Acco.t Excepting against the Barrell of powder amounting to 64: 8: 6. So we Remain W.th profound Respects R.t Hono.r [ce] 706 11 August [...] Your most humble Faithfull and most obe[dient] Servants [Poirier] Tho.s Goodwin Margin Notes: Recommendation of Cap.ts & their officers for y.e [pound] desire to know Comp.y plea- sure about their Bill of [...] [know] you dws.	His advancement to India was the proposal, since he appeared to be of an age [...] to attend to his own progress in life. Meanwhile, [...] was laid before your Honour, the need for diligent [men] from here being equally pressing. 7: A note of commendation was owed regarding the peaceable and [quiet] conduct of your captains, chief mates and other gentlemen aboard this fleet, including those of the two unfortunate vessels seized by the French and the three present on 22 July 1706. Even Mr Dowell, the [purser], who had given much trouble on the last voyage, conducted himself with civility and good manners, as had every other officer who arrived afterwards. Should your Honour decide against honouring our bill of exchange drawn against you for goods purchased for the island's benefit, and primarily for your administration here, as was set out in Captain Budge's letter (a copy of which was forwarded to you), it was unclear what course was to be taken, since the storehouses held no cash or stock of yours. Should the bill come back here, payment was to fall upon your estate or upon ourselves. In such a case, the [profit] arising from those goods, as shown by the ledger book, was to stand to our [interest], together with all incidental charges. Mr Goodwin humbly requested that your Honour grant him board wages in place of his diet at your table, as was customary for all married men throughout most parts of India [...] the existing arrangement being of little or no benefit to him under present terms. The <i>Oxford</i> man-of-war together with eight merchantmen arrived here from the Cape on Monday 5 [August] and departed on the date of this letter. The vessels listed were: Thomas Eaton [...] [Kern] [Michtlersels] Gummurs [Struthum] [Wintworth] [fleet] [frig.o] [...] 21: The enclosed account of the ships' individual ledgers was to show which of the commanders paid their powder dues freely and which refused, the latter being indicated by an open [account]. Captain [Nat] had two [sailors] so abusive and turbulent that several of your muskets were broken in subduing them; the cost was charged to his ledger, which remains open hereto. Also enclosed was a bill of exchange made out to Captain [Este], payable to your Honour for 15 sterling, another by Captain [M.Blov] for 24:8:7 and one from Captain Stevens for 7. As for Captain [Plant], his ledger had been signed, with exception taken against the

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		The Goodwin request for [...] wages having officer [...] [Warr] [...] Month [...] arrived departed that Cap.t- [...] Bill of [...] [...]	barrel of powder amounting to £64:8:6. With the deepest respect we close. [St Helena], 11 August 1706 The most humble, faithful and obedient servants of your Honour, [Poirier] Thomas Goodwin In the margin were entered the following abstracts: the recommendation of the captains and their officers; the [pound] matter, with a desire to know the Company's pleasure about their bill of [...] you [...]; Goodwin's request for [...] wages; the officers [...] [war] [...] of the month [...] arrived [...] departed; and the matter of Captain [...]s bill of [...] [...]. Interpretations The letter shows the administrative authority of the St Helena agents acting on behalf of the East India Company, including the power to draw bills of exchange against the Company's account for purchases serving the island and its government, and the corresponding risk to their own estates if those bills were not honoured. The reference to married men receiving board wages throughout India reveals a standardised institutional perk that the St Helena agents sought to have applied uniformly to themselves, indicating a recognised hierarchy of personal allowances within the Company's overseas establishments. The recording of which captains paid powder dues and which refused, with open accounts kept against the latter, illustrates a customary obligation owed to the island's defences and a documentary mechanism by which compliance and non-compliance were tracked for the Company's later recourse. Speculations The breaking of muskets to subdue Captain [Nat]'s turbulent sailors suggests that the agents at times had to deploy armed force from shore to maintain order aboard visiting ships, with damage costs recovered through the commander's account as restitution rather than absorbed by the island's stores. Goodwin's preference for board wages over the Governor's table may reflect that a married man running his own household found the communal diet impractical or wasteful, a cash allowance being more useful for domestic provisioning than meals taken away from home. The deliberate enumeration of which commanders settled their powder dues and which did not points to a quiet effort to build a documented record of non-payers, the open accounts serving as future evidence for the Company should it choose to enforce the obligation.
11	11	5 These Gentlemen's Conducts are so various in their [...] as your Hon.r may See, the two Corpull [towns] them you to which past is on the [Letority] of [attorney] for, [Because] also design[ing] to have Sent what we thought Necessary by Cap.t Tovey, Being not [willing] to Trust them to Cap.t [Holes] he [Sagling] a lone, But now Cap.t [Sparklyn] is fully resolved to Sayle along w.th him, wherefore ventures this Small packet [...] from the Coppy of which Shall be Sent you again God willing [By] the Next Opportunity. Hereto is Enclosed the Ship Union and Ship Heatherstones Acco.ts whereby Your Hon.r may See, [which] paid to y.e Hon.r old East Indian [on y.e] on your Acco.t. So remain in respects. R.t Hono.r [26c] Your Most Humble & Fait[hful] [Poirier] Tho. Goodwin R.t Hono.r Masters. St Helena Jan.y [6.th] 1707 C.G. 1 The Last Summer Shipping Being Somewhat in a hurry By their posting from hence Sooner than was Utsall and most of y.e Marchm.n Commanders denying their port duty, These Gen.ts that fairly Considered their Bills was drawn payable to y.e Mannagers of y.e United Comp.y Bill [now Enclosed] You have Cap.t	5: The conduct of these gentlemen varied considerably in [...], as observed by your Honour. The two [...], together with the power of attorney, were to be sent by Captain Tovey. Trust was not given to Captain Holes, who was setting out by himself. Captain Sparklyn now resolved with full determination to travel alongside him, and so this small parcel was ventured [...]. A duplicate was to be forwarded again, God willing, on the next available passage. The accounts for the ships <i>Union</i> and <i>Heatherstone</i> were enclosed, from which the payments made to the Honourable Old East India [Company] on your account were visible. With this the writer remained in respects. Right Honourable, your most humble and faithful [...], Thomas Goodwin. Right Honourable Masters. St Helena, 6 January 1708. C.G. 1: Shipping in the past summer was somewhat hurried, since the vessels left here earlier than usual. Port duty was refused by most of those commanding the merchant ships. Those gentlemen who carefully considered the matter had their bills made out in favour of the United Company's managers. From Captain

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		[Holes] first Bill of Exchange for 77: 6 - and Cap.t [ho.] [Sparklyns] first Bill of [Etter] For 20: [17]: [6]. We shall make it y.e best of our Endeavours to Gett home Good Hono.r Effects here, apoon as possible, and what Cannot be [given] home in Shipping for Provisions here. Most Consequently be drawn on our Hon.r Masters of [United Comp.y] we do not yet know how your Hono.rs [liked] our Method of y.e Bills [of] drawn on y.e United Comp.s payable to y.e Selves for y.e Sum of 2679: 14: 4 ½ being due to you by Acco.t [M.Brooks] up here to y.e 20 July 1704 2 We are Sorry that the Hampshire Union and Heatherstone [...] Late that they have not the [benefit] of that [Commission] made [...] [...] [...] Margin Notes: since [nothing] of [this our] [...] we dont the Cap.ts [coming] made any [prepa]- [tion] for Sayling therefore [...] he will Stay and [...] [with] Cap.t Tovely [Ship Sea coming] to [Gunner Hto...] [Ended]	Holes came a first bill of exchange for £77 6s, and from Captain Sparklyn a first bill of [...] for £20 17s 6d. Every endeavour was to be made to ship good effects home with all possible speed. Anything not sent home by shipping was to be drawn, for provisions here, on the Honourable Masters of the [United Company]. The reaction of your Honours to the method - by which bills were drawn on the United Company, with the company itself as payee, for the sum of £2679 14s 4½d, owed on the account of [M. Brooks] up to 20 July 1704 - was not yet known here. 2: Regret was felt that the <i>Hampshire, Union</i>, and <i>Heatherstone</i> arrived so late that the benefit of the commission made [...] was lost to them. Margin notes: Since nothing of [...] was known, no preparations were laid in by the captains for the voyage. Therefore [...] he was to stay and [...] with Captain Tovely. The ship <i>Sea</i> coming to Gunner [...] ended. Interpretations The passage shows the administrative arrangements during the period of merger between the Old East India Company and the United East India Company. The St Helena council was responsible for keeping the accounts of both entities and for remitting funds correctly between them, with the £2679 14s 4½d sum from M. Brooks' account standing as an item still under reconciliation. Bills of exchange functioned as the principal financial instrument by which credit was transmitted from the colony back to London. The drawing of separate bills payable to the United Company's managers, distinct from those of the Old Company, reflects the careful book-keeping required during the corporate transition. The practice of sending duplicates of correspondence by separate vessels - here the original packet by Sparklyn and Holes, and a copy promised by the next sailing - reveals the council's awareness that the loss of any single ship was a real prospect and that important documents needed redundant routing. Speculations The refusal of port duty by most of the merchant ship commanders the previous summer suggests a dispute over the East India Company's authority to collect such dues, perhaps connected to the rushed departure schedule that limited the time available for negotiation or enforcement. The unwillingness to entrust the packet to Captain Holes sailing on his own, contrasted with the writer's evident relief that Sparklyn was now committed to sailing in company, points to a preference for paired vessels on the homeward run, whether for security against capture or for protection against a single shipwreck destroying the dispatches. The expression of regret over the late arrival of the <i>Hampshire, Union</i>, and <i>Heatherstone</i>, and their consequent loss of a commission's benefit, indicates that timing on the homeward leg carried direct financial consequences for the captains and their backers, and that the council saw itself as having some responsibility for the outcome.
12	12	[...] [Comp.y] at the Hon.r Court of Mannagers [held] nem, The first of which resolves to Stay here for Further orders Cap.t [Frans] was Wavering a great while But at Last resolves to Sayle w.th Cap.t [Hurd] who was always of the Same opinion) in our opinion they Run a Great Risque Pray God Send them W.th Safety to their desired Haven is the Earnest Petition Hon.ble Hono.r Masters Your Hon.r most Humble faithfull and obedient Servants. Poirier Tho: Goodwin	One captain was to remain at St Helena pending additional instructions. Captain Franklyn was undecided for some time but was eventually persuaded to sail alongside Captain Hurdis, who was of that mind from the outset. Both vessels were judged to be incurring serious danger. A safe passage to their intended port was earnestly hoped for. The letter was signed by Poirier and Thomas Goodwin as devoted servants of the Honourable Masters. The first packet was despatched on 9 January 1708 to the Right Honourable United Company aboard the

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		1st of the Pacquett Sent to y.e R.t Hono.ble United Comp.y of the Feathersto[ne] [...] its Commander Jan.y the 9.th 1707 [...] Entitles Governor [&c.] dated the 9 Jan.ry 1707 [...] [Command] and Coun. Generall [...] dated y.e 20 Novem.r 1706 consultacons about Ship Hampshire Union & Featherstone staying for a Convoy at S.t Island, or to proceed their voyage 4 Cap.t [Hurdis] and Cap.t [Franklyn]s Acco.ts for provisions &c.] 5 Govern.r [Poiriers] Private Pacquete Two bills of Exchange Enclosed in the letter to the old Comp.y being due to them from the United Comp.y Margin Notes: of Ship Featherstone Cap.t [Harris] Comand.r	<i>Featherstone</i>, of which [...] was the commander. Its contents were: A letter entitled Governor etc., dated 9 January 1708 A [command] from the Council General [...] dated 20 November 1706 Consultations on the ships <i>Hampshire</i>, <i>Union</i> and <i>Featherstone</i>, on whether they were to wait at St Helena for a convoy or to depart at once The provisioning accounts of Captain Hurdis and Captain Franklyn Governor Poirier's confidential despatch Two bills of exchange, enclosed in the letter sent to the old Company, were owed by the United Company. Captain Harris was identified in the marginal note as commander of the <i>Featherstone</i>. Interpretations The administrative role of St Helena within the East India Company's shipping system was clearly demonstrated. Responsibility for convoy decisions, for the gathering of consultations and accounts and for the despatch of comprehensive packets to the Court of Managers in London was vested in the Governor and Council. The transitional state of the merger between the two East India companies was reflected in the bills of exchange owed from the United Company to the old Company. Financial obligations between the two corporate entities were still being settled while the union was being completed. The layered correspondence expected between a Company outpost and its London managers was illustrated by the packet's five-part structure - a Governor's letter, a Council General order, ship consultations, captains' provisioning accounts and a confidential despatch. Speculations The writers' anxiety about the great danger involved, together with Captain Franklyn's prolonged hesitation, was suggestive of fear of French privateers in the Atlantic during the War of the Spanish Succession. The convoy question was a wartime safety calculation rather than a routine logistical one. Captain Hurdis's steady determination to sail was perhaps driven by commercial pressure rather than fearlessness. Provisions were consumed and voyages were lengthened by detention at St Helena, and contractual deadlines in London were placed at risk. The matching date on the Governor's letter and on the packet's despatch (9 January 1708) was indicative of a rapid assembly once the convoy decision was settled. The timing of the homeward correspondence was dictated by the departure of the outgoing ship.
13	13	R.t Hono.ble Masters. St Helena May y. 26. 1707 By our Letter dated y.e 9th day of January Last past Sent unto your Hon.r by the Featherstone Cap.t [James] Hurdis Comand.r by which Gave Notice of the Arrivall of Cap.t Zachary Tovey Commander of the Hampshire, The Union Cap.t [Jn.o] Franklyn Command.r and the Featherstone. Now their departures being So Sudden we referr to Satisfie your Hon.r on Every thing mentioned in your Lettels to us, rec.d by the Rochester, daring not to trust Such things with two Ships therefore Shall be Sent by the men of Warr. The Litchfield man of Warr Cap.t Thomas [Pingle] Commander Arrived here this [present] and the Rochester this 16 which we are Unloading with all Imaginable Speed, The news of the happy Arrivall of the Last Summer Fleet in Poland, hath [Caused] us [all to joy, hope] that the Winter [fleet] and Featherstone will [...] [...] [their] good fortune Under the Almighty providence [...] [...] upon his Extraordinary Blessing on y.e Affairs being the [...] pray [...] R.t Hono.ble Your Hono.rs most humble faith[full] and most obedient Servants. Poirier Tho.s Goodwin	To the Right Honourable Masters St Helena, 26 May 1707 A previous letter, dated 9 January 1707, was forwarded to the Honourable Court aboard the <i>Featherstone</i> under Captain James Hurdis. That earlier letter gave notice of three vessels reaching the island: the <i>Hampshire</i> under Captain Zachary Tovey, the <i>Union</i> under Captain John Franklyn and the <i>Featherstone</i> itself. Because the present departures came so abruptly, no detailed reply was to be made to every matter raised in the letters delivered by the <i>Rochester</i>. Material of such weight was not to be risked aboard only two vessels. A fuller answer was to be conveyed instead by the men of war. The man of war <i>Litchfield</i>, under Captain Thomas Pingle, arrived [...]. The <i>Rochester</i> came in on 16 May. Both were being discharged with all possible speed. News came of the safe arrival of the previous summer's fleet in Poland. The whole island responded with widespread rejoicing. Hope was raised that the winter fleet and the <i>Featherstone</i> were to [...] [...] [their] fortunate passage under divine providence, [...] [...]

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		Margin Notes: C.P The Ships being ordered to Sayle So Suddenly has hindered us fixing y.e Coun.t as now ordered in their Stations, but Shall be done in a day or two time. of Ship Hampshire Cap.t Zachary Tovey Commander	resting upon his particular favour towards the affairs being the [...] [...] [...] Right Honourable, Your Honours' most humble, faithful and most obedient servants. Poirier Thomas Goodwin Margin notes: The sudden order to sail prevented the placing of the Council members in their assigned stations as recently directed. Completion was to follow within a day or two. Of the ship <i>Hampshire</i>, Captain Zachary Tovey commander. Interpretations: Administrative communication between St Helena and the East India Company's Court of Directors was wholly dependent on ship movements, with the timing of replies dictated by sailing schedules rather than by the urgency of the matters in hand. Naval escorts were treated as more secure carriers of sensitive correspondence than merchant vessels, reflecting both their armament against French privateers during the War of the Spanish Succession and the recognised value of redundancy in long-distance imperial communications. The reference to settling Council members in their new stations indicates an ongoing reorganisation of the island's government, ordered from London and only partially executed at the time of writing. Speculations: The decision to defer a full reply rather than entrust it to the two departing ships was probably a deliberate hedge against loss at sea. Spreading critical correspondence across multiple vessels reduced the risk that a single capture or shipwreck would cut the island off from London's instructions for many months. The hurried departure of the merchant ships before the Council could be properly arranged in its new structure suggests that convoy timing and seasonal sailing windows were taking precedence over the orderly conduct of local administrative business.
14	14	S.t Helena June y. 7. 1707 By our masters orders we Send you y.e Rochester Charterparty, M.rs [Heild] her two daughters and Grand Daughter to live at Bencoolen, the R.t Hono.ble Comp.y forbiding us to Send free men or free women to Madrass, But Either to Bencoolen Banjar or Bombay, also one free Black wench, who belongs to Surratt In case you procure her passage there ither you will oblige us and her acquaintance takes passage on this Ship, We Send Likewise John Hermmmon and Harmon Warner Bold.rs whom are bound to Serve our Hono.rs Masters under you five years, and one Martha one of our Said Hono.rs Mast.rs Slaves, She is Strong and may do you good Service. If you can Send us one or two hundred weight of Copper for the use of our Masters here, we desire you would, Because we are forced to buy from the Commanders who make us pay farr Dearer then they do at London. So we Remain P r s Your affectionate Servants. Poirier Tho.s Goodwin [Bio.t] Mashborne Willi. Marsden Margin Notes: of Ship Rochester Cap.t [Fra.t] Marins Comand.r	St Helena, 7 June 1707 Under instruction from the masters, the charterparty of the <i>Rochester</i> was being forwarded with this dispatch. Mrs [Heild], together with her two daughters and a granddaughter, was being sent to take up residence at Bencoolen. Free persons, whether male or female, were forbidden by the Right Honourable Company from being shipped to Madras; the only sanctioned destinations for such persons were Bencoolen, Banjar or Bombay. A free Black woman, whose home was Surat, was also placed aboard. Onward passage to that port was requested for her, on condition that an acquaintance was found to be travelling on the same vessel. John Hermmmon and Harmon Warner, both styled [Bolders], were likewise being sent. Each was bound to a five-year term of service to the Honourable Masters, to be performed under the recipient's authority. Martha, held as a slave by the Honourable Masters, was also forwarded; she was reported to be physically strong and was expected to prove a useful labourer. A quantity of copper, amounting to one or two hundredweight, was requested for the masters' use on the island. Supplies of this metal were otherwise obtained from ship commanders, whose prices were far in excess of the rates charged in London. The closing courtesy was rendered as [P r s], with the writers describing themselves as affectionate servants. The signatures of Poirier, Thomas Goodwin, [Biot] Mashborne and William Marsden followed. A margin note identified the vessel as the <i>Rochester</i>, under the command of Captain [Frat] Marins. Interpretations:

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			The Company's restriction on sending free settlers to Madras, channelling them instead toward Bencoolen, Banjar or Bombay, reflects a deliberate population-distribution policy across its Asian factories. St Helena was operating as an administrative gatekeeper enforcing that policy. The bundling together of a legal instrument (the charterparty), free passengers, indentured servants and a slave within a single dispatch demonstrates how St Helena functioned as a redistribution hub for both paperwork and human labour within the Company's network. The complaint about copper pricing exposes the council's commercial vulnerability. Visiting ship commanders were exploiting the island's isolation to charge premiums well above London rates, leaving the local administration without leverage. Speculations: The position of the free Black woman, dependent on whether an acquaintance happened to be sailing to Surat, suggests she was stranded at St Helena from an earlier voyage. The council appears to have been using the <i>Rochester</i> opportunistically to clear an awkward case from the island. The explicit endorsement of Martha as strong and capable of useful work was evidently written to ensure her acceptance at the receiving station, indicating that slaves were treated as transferable assets whose qualities had to be advertised between Company posts. The relocation of Mrs [Heild] with her female dependants implies that the household had lost its male support at St Helena. Removal to Bencoolen offered the council a means of discharging responsibility for dependants who could not be sustained on the island.
15	15	R.t Honour.ble Masters 1 We Shall take notice of what you wrote Concerning duplicates of all Letters and papers to be Sent by double Convoynances because as your Hon.r Says You are Like to Loose the money trusted the Gloucester, But the Commander Paid what he had of us here Likewise Cap.t Warners. 2 We have always taken three bills of Exchange for all money or goods Supplied Ships and Sent the first and Second by Different Ships and we Shall for the futer take care that the bills be write According to your orders and [Inserted] in the Generall Letter. 3 The reason why we hired those [old] and not Employed your Honour's Blacks for unloading the Caesar was first Because there was no Blacks belonging to the Fort 2. because those [old] were already Employed about Fortifications and Consequently ready at hand 3.d The Good no [filth] [That] the Blacks at plantation house have Enough to do there [about planting] exceding Sending Looking [after] the [Cattle] [Third a afore] [last part] [...] we gave them But 18 [Day] besides their Sallary of [nine pence] which together makes the two Shillings and three pence [...] we are forced to take as many whites and Blacks as we Can get for Labourers paying them two Shill 6 [day] and Cant get any Cheaper reason of the Dearness of Provision, both on the Island and out of y.e [He] and as for Stone [Layers] Some have 4: 6 [day] and otherways 5: 6 we Shall Always follow your Rules and orders touching Commanders Negligence in unloading their Ships here In Protesting against them with all the Circumstances mentioned in your P.S Letter as we have done already to Cap.t [Massis] 4 We hope you will be Better Satisfied about Doc.t [Elevates] and a Coppy of which is hereto Sent which prove that the United Comp.y Should pay the [the] 2: 4 for what was due to him from the old Comp.y was [Barges] to their debt, as dos appear in the 5.th Folio of the Ledger Book made up to the 20.th July 1702.	To the Honourable Directors 1: Note was taken of the directors' instruction that copies of all correspondence and papers be sent forward by separate conveyances, given their worry about the funds put aboard the <i>Gloucester</i>. The master of that ship had, however, settled what was owed here at St Helena, and Captain Warner had done the same. 2: Three bills of exchange had long been the practice when supplying any cash or goods to ships, with the original and the duplicate sent aboard different vessels. Future bills were to be prepared in accordance with the directors' instructions, and confirmation of this point was to be [inserted] in the General Letter. 3: Several reasons explained why outside hands had been hired rather than the Company's own slaves being employed to discharge the <i>Caesar</i>. No slaves were attached to the Fort itself. Those belonging to the Company were already committed to fortification work and were therefore required there. Those at plantation house were fully occupied with their planting duties and with the care of the [cattle] [...]. Eighteen [pence] had been given to such workers on top of a daily wage of nine pence, the combined figure amounting to two shillings and three pence [...]. As many free workers as could be obtained, whether white or black, were now being taken on at two shillings and sixpence the day, the cost being unavoidable owing to the high price of provisions both on the island and from [...]. Stone layers were paid four shillings and sixpence, and in some cases five shillings and sixpence, the day. The directors' instructions on the negligence of commanders who failed to unload their ships properly were to be applied in every instance, with formal protests entered, accompanied by every detail listed in the postscript letter, as had already been done against Captain [Massis]. 4: Better satisfaction was hoped for in the matter of Doctor [Elevates], a copy being enclosed which proved that the United Company was to pay over the sum of two shillings and fourpence outstanding to him from

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		5 As Concerning Stores we Shall for the future (as we have done the Last year) take Care to Send their remainder, and what is wanting of Each Port and in the mean while we Say [that] No [tuns] of Liquor may be Expended and Disposed out of the Vine yearly. 6 As for the [paragraph] of your Hon.r Letter we have no more to Say But what we have Said before But that it would be advantageous both to your Hon.r and Island to have Wine and Brandy from Mederas. 7 What we can answer to your [paragraph] is only this that it is [pretty] [Lupey] Not to [use] men Superannuated by old age as we have received Some Lately being of no [Service] But a great Charge to your Honour. But as for Pays it [could] be a good method to agree with them for	the era of the old Company, the figure having been [transferred] to their debt account, according to the entry at folio five of the Ledger Book closed on 20 July 1702. 5: With respect to stores, the practice of the previous year was to be continued, with the surplus and any shortfall at each port being notified and shipped forward. In any one year, no [tuns] of spirits were to be drawn off or used from the [Vine]. 6: Concerning the relevant paragraph of the directors' letter, nothing further was to be added beyond what had been stated already, save that bringing in wine and brandy from Madeira would benefit both the directors and the island. 7: As to that paragraph, only this could be said: that it was [...] inadvisable to send out men past their working years, several such having arrived lately who provided no [service] but represented a considerable expense to the directors. On the question of wages, it was to prove sensible to fix terms with them at the outset [...] Interpretations The numbered, point-by-point structure of the reply functioned as an administrative accounting mechanism, ensuring that every query from London received a documented response which could be filed and audited. The justification for labour costs reveals a tiered workforce on the island: Company slaves stationed at the Fort for fortification work, slaves engaged at plantation house with their own agricultural duties, hired free workers paid by the day and skilled stone layers commanding the highest daily rates. The reference to debts of the old Company being carried over to the United Company, with proof drawn from a specific folio of the Ledger Book, illustrates how the merger of the East India companies required granular accounting work to settle individual outstanding liabilities. Speculations The detailed explanation of why hired men had been employed in place of the Company's own slaves suggests that the directors had previously challenged the expense of unloading the <i>Caesar</i> and suspected the local administration of inflating costs. The proposal for wine and brandy from Madeira reads as an attempt to take advantage of existing outbound shipping routes to the East and so reduce reliance on more costly supplies routed through England. The complaint about elderly men being despatched to the island, providing no useful service yet drawing pay and rations, suggests a recurring practice of the Company offloading personnel it could no longer profitably employ at home onto its remote outposts.
16	16	for a Long time for Just as they are brought to a good Exercise their time is out. Those that we have rec.d by the Rochester we Cant find any fault with But most of them fit for Service. 8: Concerning Criminals we Shall follow your orders & Directions therein as to both Whites and Blacks. 9: We have nothing to Say Concerning your Hon.r [9: 10: 11:] paragraph, and as for the [a]bout [Each] fees herewith Comes a table as now [Settled] for your Hon.r Ratification. 10: As for your Copitive orders about Coals we Shall for the future Sell none [under] your Shill [purch.t] But il Cant Be Expected that any free men Can afford to buy any, But we Shall use it all about [burning] [Bath] for Lime and are now Quite without Chalk and Shall in Little time want Coals to for the Necessary Use of your Fortifications. 11: As for your 14 parragraph about M.r Marsden we find by yours of the 20 Decemb.r 1706 that you have	Recruits remained too briefly in service. As soon as a man had been brought to proficiency, his term ran out. No complaint was made of those sent by the <i>Rochester</i>, and most were serviceable. 8: Orders concerning criminals were to be followed for offenders of either race. 9: Nothing was added in answer to the directors' paragraphs 9, 10 and 11. On fees, a table in the form now [...] was forwarded for ratification by the Honourable Company. 10: On the directors' instructions about coals, none were to be sold in future below the [...] price fixed. No free settler could afford to buy at that rate. The whole supply was being consumed in [...] for lime. Chalk had been entirely exhausted, and coals would shortly be wanted for the fortifications as well. 11: On paragraph 14 concerning Mr Marsden, confirmation was found in the directors' letter of 20 December 1706 that the last account had been received

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		rec.d our last Acco.t by him. he never told us that he was Skilled in Drawing [Pink] But we think he [finds] Business Enough in helping the Store [keeper] we have [stated] him in Council According to your Hon.r orders. 12: As to your Hon.rs 15 parragraph about Shoes being Rotten we mean both mens womens and Childrens Some of the mens [had] [last] [Bard in] the midle of the Soles, the womens many of them to ill made that we Cant tell how we Shall Sell them without Selling them off with other goods and as to the quantity we Shall wait we defer to their [use of] [Miscelars]. 13: As to the [6] parragraph about wine & Brandy we Say that the [Line] of 25 [Pipe] and the Brandy 6x [still] [fill]. The wine being [Sold] [at 5sh 6d] [half pratt] and the Brandy [all mine Shillings] at as we may make now fully Appear by the Extracted Acco.t hereto Sent According to your desire. But with Submission if we Should Chance to buy any Commodity Dearer than Ordinary There's no danger of the Seas nor Hazzard in it and we put always a good [Advance] on the Said goods more much your Hon.r can be no losers thereby and as to our Not Advising you about Modera [Blerley] Promise your Hon.r are So good and Competent Judges That you Know Nothing but [persons] in all affairs teaches what's to be done for the future. 14: As to Fortifications you mentioned in your 12 [parragraph] we Say that [Ruports] is almost Furnished there's only the Edge Hill to [fill] down 50 Yards and a break That the water hath [made] to [amend] which we Apprehend will not be Secure without it be Built of Lime Morter, and as for the Grand [Fort] there's 110 ½ yards Done and 110 ½ to Do To Secure the mouth of the Valley, so you may See by this [&] Draft Explained more fully According to your orders which two valleys are the most [Considerable] [when] Done the other Small Valleys would be Soon Done. 15: The Governour [returns] your Honours his most humble thanks for the payment of his Bill. [as]	by his hand. No claim had ever been made by him of skill in drawing [...]. Sufficient employment was found for him in assisting the storekeeper. He had been [seated] in Council according to orders. 12: On paragraph 15 concerning the rotten shoes, the defects extended to men's, women's and children's footwear alike. Some of the men's pairs had [...] [...] through the centre of the soles. Many of the women's pairs were so poorly made that disposal could only be managed by joining them with other goods in mixed lots. As to the quantity, the matter was deferred to [...] [...]. 13: On the sixth paragraph concerning wine and brandy, the wine amounted to 25 [pipes] and the brandy to six [...]. The wine had been sold at 5 shillings 6 pence the [half pratt] and the brandy at nine shillings, as the extracted account now enclosed at the directors' request would demonstrate. With humble respect, where any commodity was bought dearer than ordinary, no danger of the seas nor any hazard was involved. A good [advance] was always laid on such goods, so the Honourable Company could be no losers thereby. As to the absence of advice on [Madeira] [...], the directors were such competent judges that nothing but experience in all matters could teach what was to be done in future. 14: On the directors' twelfth paragraph concerning fortifications, [Rupert's] was almost finished. Only Edge Hill remained, requiring 50 yards to be filled down, together with a breach made by the water that needed mending. Security there could not be assured unless raised with mortar of lime. At the Grand Fort, 110½ yards had been completed and 110½ yards remained, to secure the entrance to the valley. A draft was enclosed giving fuller explanation of the works according to orders. Those two valleys were the most [considerable]. Once those were finished, the smaller valleys would soon be done. 15: Thanks were returned by the Governor in the most humble terms for the discharge of his bill. Interpretations The point-by-point reply format laid bare how closely the colonial council was bound to London oversight. Matters as small as the soundness of children's shoes, the appointment of a clerk to Council and the price of a hundredweight of coal were each answered to a numbered paragraph. The directors expected granular accountability, and the council shaped its correspondence to deliver it. The treatment of Mr Marsden showed how Council seats functioned. A man whose only useful skill was helping the storekeeper was placed at the governing table because the directors had ordered it, not because his judgement was needed there. Membership operated as a form of patronage and a way of registering compliance, as much as a means of governance. The defence of markup pricing reveals an anxious commercial relationship. The council pre-empted criticism by arguing that any extra cost was always offset by the advance laid on resale, so London faced no risk. Such framing suggests directors had previously challenged local pricing decisions, and the council was now constructing a justification likely to satisfy distant supervisors. Speculations The complaint that recruits' terms expired just as their training matured suggests indenture lengths were calibrated to passage and contract economics rather than to garrison need. The colony was kept perpetually short of seasoned hands, which would have suited Company budgets but undermined defence and skilled trades on the island. The diversion of all coals to lime burning, combined with the absence of chalk, points to a settlement dependent on imported building materials

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			for any work in mortar. Fortification progress was therefore hostage to shipping schedules, and the council's repeated mention of needing coals for the fortifications reads as advance warning that further shipments must follow. The exact halving at the Grand Fort, with 110½ yards done and 110½ yards remaining, looks crafted for the directors' eye. A precisely symmetrical figure offered London a memorable benchmark and a clear expectation for the next return, while shielding the council from charges of slow or vague reporting.
17	17	16: As for the Gunpowder to be rec.d of Ships as accustomary mentioned in your 27 parragraph we Beg your Hon.r Pardon and Since our reason hath not at length thought your orders Shall Be fully obeyd for the future only W.th Submission give us leave to Say that there Arrives Some Ships with us That and So poor (as Cap.t Franklyn in the Union) that they Say they have Neither money nor Goods to Satisfie it. 17: As for [Cloth] Sugar &c. from India You will See by the List of Perticulars wanted what we think most Necessary for this Place As for what was India goods remited to England was According to our Hon.rs old masters orders (that is) To take what was usefull for the Island and Send them the rest which we did in Ramall when we had a great quantity then in the Store and a bagle of fine Musline which we thought to Dear for this place. 18: As for your 30 parragraph Concerning Timbor we have Inserted the Species and quantities in the List of [perticulars]. 19: To your 34 parragraph of keeping a good Decorum in Governm.t and make the Guilty pay the Needfull fine for their Rudness (be it Seaman or officer) We Shall as we have Already Take care to [Persue] [in] your orders therein. 20: Concerning your 41 Barragraph about the receipt of mony from Cap.t [Rains] &c. we Say that we rec.d the mony in dollars at Six Shilling Each and we do Not know how we Can refuse them at that rate Since By your Proclamation and orders from our old Hon.r Masters it hath Bin a Standing Rule for many years and That we have lately desired your Hon.r to Lower the price of dollars to five Shill. which Certainly would be to your advantage on Every Side But by your answer you thought not fitt to to do at present, therefore humbly Crave your Hon.r to Consider our Said reasons and your own orders. 21: As for your 42 Barragraph about wine and [Bear] Bought of Cap.t Cannels and More of Cap.t Harrison we humbly Beg pardon in Acknowledging the Dearness by those Commodity's in respect of Cap.t Cannels But that of Cap.t Harrison's was on a reasonable rate and we hope your Hon.r will be So favourable as to consider that at that time we had No Liquor in our Custody and a great many Ships in the road and So forced to Spend the Same at your Tables. 22: As for Doctor Keer we say that we only gave him Credit in your Books here for his 50 Sallary not taking any Notice of your Gratuity Since all the world thought he Not fitt to have it or Else your Hon.r would Not have Dismissed him from this place. 23: Concerning your Hon.r 43 parragraph Concerning M.r [...] [Griffith] and M.r Alexander your Hon.r therein hath [been] [formed]	16: On the matter of gunpowder customarily collected from visiting ships, as raised in paragraph 27 of the Company's letter, pardon was sought. The reasoning previously offered was acknowledged as insufficient, and the Company's instructions were to be obeyed in full going forward. With due deference, however, attention was drawn to the condition of certain vessels that arrived at the island. Captain Franklin in the <i>Union</i> was cited as one example - his ship was so poorly provisioned that neither money nor goods were available to settle the charge. 17: Regarding cloth, sugar and other Indian goods, a list of particulars was provided setting out what was considered most necessary for the island. Indian goods previously remitted to England were dispatched in accordance with the former masters' standing instructions - useful items were to be retained locally, and the remainder was to be forwarded. This was carried out aboard the <i>Ramall</i> at a time when a large quantity was held in the store, together with a bale of fine muslin that was deemed too costly for local use. 18: On the subject of timber, as raised in paragraph 30 of the Company's letter, the relevant species and quantities were included in the list of particulars. 19: In response to paragraph 34, concerning the maintenance of proper order in government and the imposition of appropriate fines on those guilty of disorderly conduct - whether seamen or officers - it was confirmed that action was already taken on this matter, and the Company's instructions were to be [pursued] accordingly. 20: In reply to paragraph 41, regarding the receipt of money from Captain [Rains] and others, it was stated that the sums were received in dollars valued at six shillings each. No basis existed for refusing them at that rate, since the valuation was established by proclamation and by the former masters' orders, and it served as a standing rule for many years. A recent request was submitted to the Company to reduce the dollar's value to five shillings, a change that was regarded as advantageous on all sides. The Company's response, however, indicated that no such alteration was thought appropriate at that time. The Company was therefore humbly requested to reconsider the arguments previously advanced, alongside its own existing orders on the matter. 21: Regarding paragraph 42, concerning wine and [beer] purchased from Captain Cannels and from Captain Harrison, pardon was sought over the high cost of Captain Cannels' goods. Captain Harrison's supplies, however, were obtained at a reasonable price. At that time no liquor was held in the Company's custody, while a large number of ships lay in the road. The purchases were therefore unavoidable, as the provisions were required for the Company's tables. 22: On the matter of Doctor Keer, only his £50 salary was credited in the Company's books at St Helena. No account was taken of the gratuity, since he was universally considered undeserving of it. The Company's own decision to dismiss him from the island was taken as confirmation of that view.

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			23: In response to paragraph 43, the matter of Mr [...] [Griffith] and Mr Alexander was raised, and the Company was informed that it [had] [been] [informed]. Interpretations The paragraph-by-paragraph structure of these responses reveals a formal system of accountability between St Helena and the Company, in which the Council was expected to justify its actions against each numbered instruction in the Company's correspondence. The dollar valuation dispute in paragraph 20 exposes a fixed exchange rate regime imposed by Company proclamation, with the Council advocating a reduction from six to five shillings - and pointedly noting that the Company itself stood to gain from the change. Doctor Keer's case in paragraph 22 shows the Council exercising financial discretion by withholding a gratuity on its own authority, then using the Company's subsequent dismissal of Keer as retrospective justification for that decision. Speculations The customary collection of gunpowder from visiting ships in paragraph 16 may have functioned as both a revenue measure and a security precaution - reducing the armament of vessels anchored at the island lessened the threat they posed to the garrison. The urgency of the liquor purchases described in paragraph 21, made at unfavourable prices from Captain Cannels, suggests the Company maintained standing hospitality obligations to visiting ship captains, and an empty cellar with vessels in the road represented an institutional embarrassment that overrode cost considerations. The Council's push to lower the dollar exchange rate in paragraph 20 may have been intended to discourage dollar-denominated transactions altogether, encouraging payment in sterling and reducing the island's exposure to variable metal values.
18	18	performed by us before the receipt of this ver.y M.r Griffith [dismissed] and M.r Alexander reinstated as we have wrote you before by our Letter dated the 11 of August 1706 moreover your Hon.r might observe it By his Signing all papers Concerning his place Sent to you Since. 24: We Shall [follow] your orders Concerning Saluting and Answering of Sallutes &c. Shipping humbly praying your Hon.r to Say That Cap.t Zachary Tovey hath been the first Breaker of your orders, Sayling away without taking the Least Notice of the fort, but having done Such Considerable Service to your [franchise] which could undoubtly been Carry'd away without his Ingenious [Assistance] Deserves under Savour to be pardoned for this time though he cant plead Ignorance having acquainted him with your orders before his Departure which Shews obstinacy in him. 25: Having read and answered yours of the 14 of Decemb.r 1705 We come now to [answer] do the Same to yours of the 20.th of December 1706. 26: Your Second parragraph Concerning M.r Davis Shall be [Served] who is [putting] under a mean Low and Sickly Circumstances and under the Garrish Charge. 27: We have Already Stopped the Extravagancys of the [sold] as much as we can by ordering an advertisem.t to be put [fills] That we would receive no Bills into the Store for [punch and] last But yet it Should be punctually paid as was always, but it Seems to us as if your Hon.r believed we our Selves provoked them to such Extravagancies as being informed of it We may Safely Say we never admitted them to [run] in debt as the Govern.r may Speak for himself That he hath Ever been to much against the Spending their mony in such Unlawfull Books, most part of which proves a ruine both for the body and the [Soule] But those debts were only But in the [Margent] of the Books [for] orders sake when there was neither mony Nor goods in the Stores	Those measures were taken before this particular [...] was received. Mr Griffith was [dismissed] and Mr Alexander reinstated, as was already communicated in the writers' letter dated 11 August 1706. Confirmation was moreover plain from Mr Alexander's signature on all papers relating to his position sent to the recipients since that date. 24: The orders concerning salutes and the answering of salutes by shipping were to be [followed]. The recipients were humbly asked to note that Captain Zachary Tovey was the first to breach those orders; he sailed off without acknowledging the fort in any way. Considerable service was nonetheless rendered by him to the [franchise] - which was undoubtedly at risk of being [carried off] without his resourceful [assistance] - and a pardon was therefore deserved under favour on this occasion, though ignorance was no plea for him since the orders were communicated to him ahead of his sailing, and his disregard pointed to wilful defiance. 25: The letter dated 14 December 1705 was now read and answered, and attention turned to the letter dated 20 December 1706. 26: The second paragraph concerning Mr Davis was to be [served]. He was [in] reduced, low and sickly circumstances and under the garrison's charge. 27: The extravagances of the [soldiers] were already curbed as far as was possible. An advertisement was ordered to be [posted] declaring that no bills were to be received into the store for [punch and] [...], though payment was still to be made punctually as before. The recipients appeared to believe the writers themselves encouraged such excesses, but it was safely affirmed that the [soldiers] were never permitted to [run] into debt. The Governor spoke for himself on this point: he was always firmly set against the spending of money in such unlawful [accounts], the greater part of which brought ruin to both body and [soul]. Those debts were recorded only in the [margin] of the books [for] the sake

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		to pay them, 2.d To give them a Check for their folly But Such a method never Hindred them from having their Necessarys out of the Stores Save two or three Extravagant [old] Among [first] the Said debts Being not Entered in their Books but the [Chip?] [...] Therefore the Information is groundless in that respect. But on the whole Let it be what it will Suppose [was] So, it Cant be Look on, but the work of those who Gouverne the Store, However as [aforesaid] we have done what we could to prevent it. 28: We have rec.d twenty [old] by the Ship [Rochester] also M.r Mashborne and M.r Joshua Tomlinson minister But as for M.r [Jacout] Deputy Govern.r is Not yet arrived. 29: AS for Casks [hoops] &[c.] M.r Goodwin hath So farr Comply'd with your former orders That we wrote a parragraph in the Generall Letter dated the 30.th Novem.b.r 1706 That a [Joiner] would be Necessary here to make those hoops and [Stav]a [into]	of order, at times when no money or goods were held in the stores for settlement; and secondly, to serve as a check on such folly. That method never prevented the [soldiers] from drawing their necessities from the stores, save for two or three extravagant [individuals] among [the first]. The debts in question were not entered in their own books but [in] the [...]. The information supplied to the recipients was therefore baseless in that regard. On the whole, whatever the truth of it, and even [if it was] supposed to be so, the matter was not to be regarded as anything beyond the work of those charged with running the store. As [previously stated], everything within the writers' power was done to forestall such behaviour. 28: Twenty [old] were received by the ship <i>Rochester</i>, together with Mr Mashborne and Mr Joshua Tomlinson, minister. Mr [Jacout], deputy governor, was still awaited. 29: As for cask [hoops] and the like, Mr Goodwin so far complied with the former orders that a paragraph was included in the general letter dated 30 November 1706, noting that a [joiner] was needed locally to fashion those hoops and [staves]. Interpretations The system of salutes by passing shipping showed the fort's role as a symbol of Company authority. Captain Tovey's failure to salute was treated as a breach serious enough to place on record, though his useful service moderated the response. This balance between protocol and practical value was characteristic of Company governance at isolated posts, where formal discipline was constantly weighed against dependence on individual captains. The detailed defence mounted against accusations of encouraging soldier extravagance revealed the writers' sensitivity to oversight from the recipients. The distinction drawn between marginal debt entries - made for record-keeping and as a check on behaviour - and actual encouragement of excess showed how bookkeeping practices at remote settlements were open to hostile interpretation by those reading the accounts from a distance. The careful listing of personnel received and still awaited showed how every despatch was tracked, and how gaps in expected arrivals - such as that of Mr [Jacout], deputy governor - left the settlement with an incomplete leadership structure at a time when its governance was closely watched by its superiors. Speculations The [franchise] saved by Captain Tovey was probably a Company cargo, vessel, or trading privilege at risk of seizure or loss, and Tovey's seamanship or intervention prevented it. His pardon despite a knowing breach of salute orders suggested the writers valued practical outcomes over ceremonial obedience but wanted the recipients to understand the breach was deliberate rather than inadvertent. The debts recorded in the margin of the store books were probably tallied against individual soldiers' pay, functioning as informal credit in a cashless settlement where the stores were the only source of goods. The writers' defensiveness suggested the recipients accused them of running a system that enriched the storekeepers at the soldiers' expense. The absence of the deputy governor despite the arrival of other personnel on the <i>Rochester</i> pointed either to a separate sailing or to a delay in his appointment. His non-arrival left the settlement with a gap in its leadership at a time when its governance was under close scrutiny.
19	19	into Small necessarys to be Sold out of the Stores for y.r Hon.r [Acco.] which indeed will afford a good Deal of mony and as for his tra[de] ing in Severall persons Names he deny's to have So Done or any body for him.	...into small wares to be released from the storehouse for the Company's books, by which indeed a fair amount of cash was to be raised. As to any trading under several persons' names, such conduct was denied

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		30: As concerning Blacks Living in out houses and Sheep mentioned in your 9.th and 10 Barrag.t Shall both be laid before y.e Islanders the first oppertunity According to your orders therein. 31: What your Hon.r Speaks in the 12 Barrag.t in respect of M.r Bazelt we cant Say Less Than that he is an Ingenious Honest man and hath Served you above 20 years, But hath been given a little Sometimes to Extravegancy, But doth promise for y.e future to Do So no more which we hope he will perform, and Already Begin to See the fruits of his Said promise. 32: We returne your Hon.r our Humble thanks for the Excepting of our Bills Given Cap.t Honiar and Cap.t Cook and for what hath [short] remains we leave it to the List of Perticulars which we hope will give you full Satisfaction and for the present as Concerning the Price we pay the French Brandy Cap. Ten Shill 6 Gall. which [we] Sell for fourteen Shill. The wine 20 pipe which we Sell for Six Shill. 6 Gall. The Sugar Candy 12 [fi] which we Sell at 18 So all other things Proportionably. But as for the French Brandy and wine rec.d of those Gent.l.s Last year We cant Say there was any musty but Some was pleasanter Tasted then others on, But Some busie body will misinform never So Ignorantly. 33: Concerning M.r Masham we have rec.d the 50 your Honours advanced to him at his coming from England and have given him Credit for the Gratuity According to your orders which you may See by the Acco.t herewith Sent wherein you will See also what is due to his friends, M.r Maiden and M.r Masham have Likewise paid what you advanced to them. 34: As for what your Hon.r Blames us in letting those French Ships come unto the road under Dutch Colours We begg you to Consider that there were three Dutch Ships outward Bound touched at this place about twelve months before and might have as well destroyed a friend as an Enemy, But withall to Consider that your Honours have never been pleased to give us a positive order and power to destroy any Ship Soever Suppose they refuse to bring to at Bantiss which to prevent in part we do as [aided] before in ours of the 11.th Aug.t 1706 beg that you will order all Ships in your Service to bring to at Bantiss [Platforms] giving that Needfull Signall or Satisfaction as Shall be thought fitt by your Selves, or give us orders that may Empower us to make them come to whether they will or no, In firing on Such Ships. The	by him, on his own part and on the part of anyone acting on his behalf. 30: On the question of blacks resident in out-houses, and the sheep noted in your 9th and 10th paragraphs, both subjects were to be laid before the islanders at the first opportunity, in keeping with the orders given. 31: On the comment offered in your 12th paragraph concerning Mr Bazelt, no less was to be acknowledged than that he was held to be an able and honest man, with more than twenty years of service to the Company. A degree of occasional extravagance was conceded. A pledge of restraint was given by him for the future, and early signs of that pledge were already to be observed. 32: Acknowledgement was returned to the directors for the honouring of the drafts drawn for Captain Honiar and Captain Cook. The remaining items were referred to the schedule of particulars enclosed, by which full satisfaction was hoped to be given. Current prices were as follows: the French brandy was bought at ten shillings the six gallons and resold at fourteen; the wine was bought at twenty [shillings] the pipe and resold at six shillings the six gallons; the candied sugar was bought at twelve [...] and resold at eighteen. All other commodities were priced at proportionate margins. Of the brandy and wine received from those gentlemen the previous year, none was found musty, though some was judged more agreeable in flavour than others. Even so, falsehoods were bound to be circulated by some busybody, however ignorantly. 33: Concerning Mr Masham, the £50 forwarded to him by the directors at the time of his arrival from England was duly returned, and his account was credited with the gratuity per the directions issued. Both items were set out in the account herewith sent, where the sum owing to his friends was likewise recorded. The sums forwarded to Mr Maiden and Mr Masham were each repaid by them. 34: As to the rebuke from the directors that French vessels were permitted into the roadstead under Dutch flag, the directors were asked to bear in mind that three Dutch vessels on outward passage were also brought to anchor here a year earlier, and that friends were as readily exposed to destruction as enemies under the same ambiguity. The directors were further asked to consider that no firm authority was ever granted to this council to fire upon any vessel where the order to heave to at Bantiss was disobeyed. As partial remedy, a request was already sent in this council's despatch of 11 August 1706 that every ship in Company service be required to heave to at the Bantiss batteries, with whatever signal or token of identification was thought proper by the directors. Or alternatively, that orders be granted to empower this council to compel any vessel to halt, whether or not consent was given, by the firing of guns upon ships where compliance was refused. Interpretations The structure of paragraph-by-paragraph reply, with each numbered objection from London answered in turn, was characteristic of the formal correspondence maintained between the directors and the council. Numbered instructions were despatched from London, and answers were rendered in sequence, by which a paper audit trail was generated and compliance was tracked. The retail margins disclosed in paragraph 32 indicated that the council served as both procurement officer and shopkeeper for the garrison and inhabitants. French brandy was moved at a 40 per cent margin, with wine and candied sugar yielding similar mark-ups. The arrangement nominally credited the surplus to the Honourable Company, but a structural position was created in which the import price was set and the resale was overseen by the same hands. Paragraph 34 exposed a defensive vacuum at St Helena. The directors blamed the council for the admission of

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			French ships in Dutch disguise, yet no rule of engagement was ever issued from London by which fire on a non-compliant vessel was permitted. The reply effectively shifted the burden back: an unarmed challenge was no challenge, and a choice was urged on the directors between the identification of friendly traffic by signal and the empowerment of the gunners to act. Speculations The instruction concerning blacks resident in out-houses suggested that reports were received in London of slaves housed in remote outbuildings beyond direct supervision, with security or moral concerns prompting the order. The pairing with sheep in the same paragraph hinted at concern over livestock theft or unauthorised husbandry by slaves placed at a distance from masters' lodgings. The defence of Mr Bazelt as occasionally inclined to extravagance implied that a familiar pattern of conduct was complained of by the directors, most probably drinking or unsteady spending. Twenty years of service was held up as the counterweight, and the council was content to vouch for reform rather than risk the loss of an experienced officer. The careful denial that any of the previous year's brandy and wine was musty pointed to an informer in London by whom defective stock was reported. The council conceded only that variation in flavour existed, denied spoilage outright, and pre-empted the next round of director correspondence on the subject.
20	20	35: The Govern.r is Extraordinary troubled That your Hon.r is So very angry with him, while under favour) in his Conscience he hath don his duty Match was Lighted more then there was Guns and Border upon the Line in three powder Booms filled with Cartlidges, and that he did advise both Cap.t Cornwoll and Cap.t Garreway Severall times to Bring their Ships nigher the Shoar, which they Did promise to do, but did not. And as Concerning Mon.t Des Ages whose your Hon.r are pleased to point at. The Govern.r offers to take his Oath that he did never See the Gentleman nor did go on board of him, Nor his Gone on Shoar and as tis to do Justice to our Greatest Enemy he does only believe that they did Sound any [where]. 36: The Govern.r Saith to answer your 26 Barragraph That all the free men were there but only two who came immediately aft and gave Sufficient proof that they were then all [at] most part of y.e Island when the Alarm was given viz: Henry [Franklin] and Francis [Wrangham] who are both good Honest obedient men and do not use to miss all Alarms; further Saith that there never is an Alarm But the List is called over to know if any man is missing before they be divided to their appointed places. 37: We are very Glad and Shall make it our business to follow those usefull Rules Given in your 27 & 28 Barragraph touching your [ords] and Likewise what your Hon.r Say in the 29 touching Ships in your Service Lying near the Shoar, And as touching old Bothers Negligence We have Always followed the Same method you Give us in the 30: 31 32 patragraph. 38: The Governe Saith to answer your 33 parragraph Shallt is true that your Hon.r Secret Committee hath ordered him to get assistance both from men of Warre and merchant Ships which he never failed to demand and that Some had [Complied] and Some not, or [Se] how Should it Appear in the Acco.t of Fortifications that So many men hath been Employed in that Service and as what Concerns the Gardens that he never Concealed from your Hon.r what he hath done, but hath advised you thereon, but Let the work alone apoon as we Saw any Danger to be Expelled from the Enemy and on the whole begging your Hon.r pardon, Saith that if it were [punished] and planted with only fruit trees &	35: Great distress was expressed at your Honour's displeasure, since the duty was, in good conscience, considered discharged. The match was lit for more guns than were available, and the perimeter along the defensive line was supported by three booms stocked with powder cartridges. Both Captain Cornwall and Captain Garraway were advised on several occasions to bring their ships closer to the shore; this was promised by both but not carried out. As for Monsieur Des Ages, whom your Honour saw fit to mention, an oath was offered to the effect that the man was never met, his vessel was never boarded, and Des Ages was never seen ashore. To do justice even to the greatest adversary, the view held was only that soundings were taken by the French wherever an opportunity was presented. 36: In answer to your Honour's 26th paragraph, all free men were accounted for, with the exception of two - namely Henry [Franklin] and Francis [Wrangham] - whose presence at the far end of the island when the alarm was raised was sufficiently attested; both were honest and obedient men not given to missing alarms. At every alarm, moreover, the roll was called to establish whether any man was absent before the rest were dispatched to their designated posts. 37: The useful rules set out in your Honour's 27th and 28th paragraphs concerning your [orders], and likewise the directions in the 29th regarding Company ships lying close to the shore, were gladly received and were to be followed with diligence. As for [Bother]'s negligence, the same method prescribed in paragraphs 30, 31 and 32 was the established practice. 38: In answer to your Honour's 33rd paragraph, [...] orders were received from your Honour's Secret Committee to seek assistance from both men-of-war and merchantmen; this obligation was never left unfulfilled, though compliance among commanders was not universal. The numbers of men employed in that service were evident from the account of fortifications. As for the gardens, nothing was concealed from your Honour; full advice was given at the time, and the work was set aside as soon as any threat from the enemy was perceived. The ground, if [punished] and planted with fruit trees alone, was to yield a considerable return over time, and the wall facing the line was also regarded as a

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		[land] it would afford a Considerable Profit in [space] of time, beside the wall which faceth the Line will Serve for a good breast work against an Enemy Endeavouring to Land Shooting with Small Arms over the Moat. In Short Some of the Will were [begun] by Govern.r [Keeling] and the present Govern.r Did not Expect your Hon.r would have taken it ill whilest he read in our old Masters Instructions That they will have the Wall of their Gardens to the Leward 12 foot high, which proves they intend to have their Garden [fenced] But humbly will Submit to your further orders, Incase you forbid him to forward it. [as]	useful breastwork against a landing force, small arms to be fired over the moat. Some of the [walls] were begun under Governor [Keeling], and no displeasure was anticipated on your Honour's part; the garden wall on the leeward side was required by the old masters' instructions to stand 12 feet high, from which a [fenced] garden was seen to be the original intention. Submission was made to further direction in the event that your Honour was to forbid any continuation of the work. [...] Interpretations The numbered paragraph-by-paragraph structure of this exchange - complaints issued as numbered paragraphs and answered in kind - reveals a formalised system of remote accountability, by which the directors in London exercised administrative control over a distant governor. The readiness to swear on oath regarding Monsieur Des Ages reveals how seriously any contact with a French national was regarded: at a station as exposed as St Helena, even the appearance of dealings with the enemy carried the risk of a formal charge of negligence or collusion. The garden wall dispute - work begun under a previous governor and apparently authorised by old Company instructions requiring a leeward wall of 12 feet - illustrates the institutional problem of inherited building projects, in which a later administration found itself at odds with its predecessor's legacy while both could claim Company authority for their position. Speculations The claim that the match was lit for more guns than were actually in place suggests a deliberate strategy of displaying greater defensive strength than the island possessed, intended to deter any hostile vessel by exaggerating the appearance of readiness. The complaint that Captains Cornwall and Garraway gave promises they did not keep points to a structural weakness in the island's defence: cooperation from visiting commanders was requested and verbally given but was not enforceable, leaving the shore exposed when ships failed to take up their supporting positions. The roll-call at every alarm - absences established before men were sent to their posts - served as much as a disciplinary mechanism as a military one, creating a record of those who failed to appear while ensuring that available men were deployed according to a fixed plan.
21	21	39: As for your 34 parragraph Concerning Mad. Croby &c. The Governour Saith that he did not think your Hon.r would have been Angry with him if your Hon.r please to Consider That he did it Upon presidents taken from his predecessor Govern.r Blackmore Johnson and Keling and thought it to be to y.r Hon.r Credit Being as Mad.m Croby one of your Chief officers wives and the Girl M.rs Marshalls daughter. The boy M.r Charles DuBoies Nephew who may Bar him from receiving any mony on that Acco.t Concerning Cap.t and other officers, he Saith the Same But dos intend in the Least to [extend] w.th your Hon.r But rather to Submit. However Saith That he found in our old masters Instructions that the Cap.t [Mates] males [purser] and Surgeons should have dyet at your Table and with Submission Saith that he thought he was on a better foot to do it then any of his above Said predecessors having By the Blessing of God [got] a great Stock of fowles Turkeys Hogs Goats &c. whereas his Prede- cessors were forced to buy almost Every thing he himself [concern] having when he Comes to the Island but 27 Turkeys 32 Goats and 124 head [neat] [cattle] and But few Swine, However at Your Hon.r first Answer he will readily Submit. 40: And as to your 30 parragraph when you mention Stores we Suppose your Hon.r mean Gunners Stores (having before mentioned Store Keepers) we Say they	39: Regarding paragraph 34 about Madam Croby and others, the Governor stated that no offence to their Honour had been considered. The practice was based on precedents drawn from his predecessors Blackmore, Johnson, and Keling, and was thought creditable, since Madam Croby was wife to one of the chief officers, the girl was Mrs Marshall's daughter, and the boy was Charles DuBoie's nephew - a connection that barred him from receiving money on that account. The same answer was given as to the captains and other officers. No dispute with their Honour was intended; rather, the Governor's wish was to submit. The old masters' instructions, it was noted, directed that captains, [mates], males, [purser], and surgeons were to be dieted at the Governor's table. With all submission, the Governor thought himself in a better position to do this than any of those before him. Through Providence, a great stock of fowls, turkeys, hogs, goats, and so on, was built up, whereas his predecessors were forced to buy nearly everything. On his own coming to the island, his stock numbered only 27 turkeys, 32 goats, 124 head of [neat cattle], and very few swine. At their Honour's first answer, ready submission was to follow. 40: As to paragraph 30, where stores were mentioned, gunners' stores were taken to be the meaning, since storekeepers were named earlier in their Honour's letter. These were always sent and were to be sent every year.

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		have been always Sent as they Shall be Every Year and the dimentions of the Ordinance herewith Come, begging your Hon.r to tell what Carriages you please to Send over to [fit] Carriages which Certainly are the fittest, your Selves knowing that [two] men will do the Service therewith that four men Can hardly [perform] with the others. 41: As for your 16 parragraph Concerning minerals we Say we know of none Unless it be Some few Iron Stones which Can be worth nothing But we believe Some Leifilt headed [from] hath misinformed your Honours therein. 42: Concerning the deputy Govern.r mentioned in your 37 parragraph we Say as before that he is not arrived with us yet But Shall be [glad] to have Such a Skilfull man as he hath been represented to your Honours. Alth.o we have one now very Skillfull in Fortifications and other work belonging thereunto, as the Gentlemen that Come home this year may Better inform your Selves. 43: The Information given your Hon.r about our Shott not reaching the French Ships when there's went a mile up the Island we [believe] is a misinformation and those who did Informe doubtless understands the Rule of Multiplication Perfectly well Since the farthest of their Shotts was not up a quarter of a mile. As for ours we only needs Say, first that this Island keeps Bonder [perfectly] well and needs Say first that this Island keeps Bonder [well] and Beyond Expectation, that we have little or no [fine] powder besides we were	The dimensions of the ordnance went forward with this letter. Their Honour was asked to specify what carriages were to be despatched, [fit] carriages being certainly the most suitable: as their Honour was aware, two men with these did the work for which four men with the older type scarcely sufficed. 41: As to paragraph 16 concerning minerals, none were known of except a few stones containing iron, which were of no value. Misinformation on the matter was supplied to their Honour, it was believed, by some [leifilt] headed [from]. 42: Concerning the deputy governor mentioned in paragraph 37, the same answer was repeated: he was not yet on the island. The arrival of a man as skilled as the description given to their Honour was nevertheless welcome. One man already at hand was very skilful in fortifications and the work belonging thereunto, as the gentlemen returning home that year were better placed to set out for their Honour. 43: The report given to their Honour - that the island's shot did not reach the French ships, while the French shot ran a mile up the island - was believed to be misinformation. Those who supplied it doubtless understood the basic principles of multiplication well enough, since the furthest French shot fell short of a quarter mile. As for the island's own shot, it sufficed to say that the island kept its [...] well and beyond expectation, although [fine] powder was scarce, [text breaks off] Interpretations The passage shows the formal accountability process by which the Governor of St Helena was required to justify each decision, paragraph by paragraph, against the Court of Directors' written queries. Each numbered response in the council reply matched a numbered paragraph in the directors' letter, producing a structured audit of governance. The reliance on named precedents from earlier governors - Blackmore, Johnson, and Keling - shows that established practice carried administrative weight alongside formal instructions. Continuity of custom was treated as a defence against censure when the written rules were silent or ambiguous. The detailed comparison of livestock numbers at the Governor's arrival - 27 turkeys, 32 goats, 124 head of [neat cattle], and few swine - against current stocks demonstrates that personal husbandry on the island was being offered as evidence of administrative competence and as justification for greater hospitality at the Governor's table. Speculations The careful identification of the boy as Charles DuBoie's nephew, with explicit mention of the bar against payment, suggests that the Governor was anticipating an audit of his accounts and pre-empting accusations of improper disbursement to family connections of company officers. The sharp tone in paragraph 43, with its remark about whether the informants understood multiplication, suggests genuine annoyance at being second-guessed in London on matters the council viewed as locally observable fact, and a wish to discredit the source of the criticism. The reference to "some [leifilt] headed [from]" misinforming the directors about minerals points to an active back-channel of unofficial reports flowing from the island to London, one which the council viewed as both inaccurate and damaging to its credibility.
22	22	were informed that y.e queen after She was in y.e [Frenches] he received a great many Shotts from the Shoar and Consequently the French might have rec.d more being nearer before they had [towed] the Queen to face our Guns to y.e End She might Guard them from the force of our Said Shotts.	Information was received that the <i>Queen</i>, after she was in French possession, was struck by a great many shots from the shore. The French, being closer to her, were exposed to a greater volume of fire, until the <i>Queen</i> was towed by them to face the shore guns, and they were thereby shielded from the force of those shots.

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		44: In your Hon.r 39 Barragraph about M.r Tomlinson who is arrived Well and hope he will prove According to your and our Expectations, and as for the 50 you have Advanced to him we Shall Charge him therewith. M.r Mashborne is also arrived whom we do Employ about your Affairs. 45: M.r Marsden returns your Hon.r thanks for Advancing him in his post and raising his Wages, Humbly requests yo Honour Either to go to India in your Service or return for England his tyne being out the 26 of Aprill Next following According to his Indented Agreement w.th your Hon.r bearing Date the 13.th of December 1704. 46: M.r Alexander our Clerk being highly Sensible of yo Hon.rs favour and Justice returns you his Humble thanks for Re- storing him to his former Employ, hoping your Hon.r will Continue your favours towards his Advancement. He has been dilligent in his Business Submissive and very obedient to his Superiors in Generall and thereby Cant But recommend his obedient and Sober Deportment to yo Hon.r To the End you will bestow what further Encouragement you think him deserving of. 47: We recommend M.r Marsden as we did Last year to be a man fitt for any Merchants Business and Skillfull in book Keep- ing, is very desireous after his time is out here Either to Serve y.r Hon.r in Some part of India or return for England. 48: Apoon as the Rochester Cap.t Francis Mains Came into the road the Govern.r Sent on board to ask for Letters. The purser Coming Immediately on Shoar Brought y.e Comp.s Pacquetts with Severall other loose Letters in [peruseing] y.e List it appeared that there was a bag of Private Letters [sealed] with your Hon.r Seale and believe[ing] the [Cargo] Demanding the Same the purser Said that the Cap.t had it, but it could not be found till about [three] days after. The purser M.r [Noell] Brought the Empty [bagge] in the Same Condition as we now return it to you, and we are very Certain that Severall private Letters [therin] came to [hand] all which we Leave to your Hon.r Consideration. 49: We doubt not But your Hon.r will admire that we have dismiss'd M.r Temple [Masham] Surgeon who formerly had Such a good Character, But he has not Answered yours and our Expectations for he has been So much overcome by one M.r Bostock (who [has]	44: The 39th paragraph of the Honour's letter dealt with Mr Tomlinson. His arrival in good health was reported, with the hope held that his performance was to satisfy the expectations of both the directors and the Council. The £50 paid to him in advance was to be debited to his personal account. Mr Mashborne was likewise reported as arrived, and was placed on Company duties. 45: Mr Marsden's gratitude was conveyed to the Honour for his promotion and salary increase. A humble petition was made on his behalf that, on the expiry of his contract on 26 April 1708, he be permitted either to enter Company service in India or to take a passage home, in accordance with the indenture, dated 13 December 1704. 46: Mr Alexander, the clerk, was deeply mindful of the favour and justice shown by the Honour. His humble thanks were conveyed for his reinstatement, with the hope that further patronage was to be continued. He was diligent in his work, submissive in manner and notably respectful of those above him in rank. His dutiful and temperate conduct was therefore commended, in the expectation that additional reward was to be bestowed. 47: Mr Marsden was again recommended, as in the year before, as a man suitable for any commercial post and skilled in bookkeeping. Once his term ended at St Helena, his strong wish was to be posted either to some station in India or to be sent home. 48: Upon the arrival of the <i>Rochester</i> in the road, Captain Francis Mains commanding, an officer was sent aboard by the Governor to enquire after letters. The purser landed at once with the Company packets and a number of loose letters. On examination of the list, a bag of personal correspondence, [sealed] with the Honour's seal, was found among the items. The [Cargo] demanded the bag, but the purser declared that the captain held it. The bag was not produced for approximately three days. The purser, Mr [Noell], in the end brought the bag back, by then empty, in the same state as it was now being returned to the Honour. There was strong certainty that several letters from within it were diverted into other hands. The matter was left to the Honour's consideration. 49: The Honour's surprise at the dismissal of Mr Temple [Masham], Surgeon, was not in doubt. His character was formerly held in high regard. The expectations of both the Honour and the Council were not met by him. His conduct was greatly compromised by the influence of one Mr Bostock. Interpretations The formal correspondence protocol of the East India Company was demonstrated by the paragraph-by-paragraph reply structure, numbered to match the directors' letter paragraphs. Each item raised by London was addressed in turn by the Council, accountability was provided and no point was allowed to go unanswered. The tracking of personnel matters - arrivals, dismissals, contract expirations, promotions and advances of pay - indicated that close oversight of every employee at remote posts was maintained by the Company's London directors. Movements, conduct and financial advances were all reported back to the Court. The mail security incident with the <i>Rochester</i> was indicative of the Company's concern for the confidentiality of director-to-Council correspondence. Sealed bags of personal letters were standard, and any breach of those seals was treated as a serious matter requiring report to the directors. Speculations The dismissal of Mr Temple [Masham] for falling under the sway of one Mr Bostock pointed to an external personal influence as the cause of compromised professional discipline. In a small isolated settlement of a few hundred residents, drink, gambling or domestic

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			entanglements were a frequent source of incapacity among key officials. The three-day delay in producing the sealed bag of personal correspondence from the <i>Rochester</i>, with the captain initially blamed and only an empty bag eventually returned, was indicative of deliberate diversion rather than mere negligence. Someone aboard the ship was desirous of reading or removing correspondence before its arrival in the Governor's hands. The careful note that the £50 advance to Mr Tomlinson was to be debited to his personal account was a reflection of the Company's tight ledger discipline. Even routine cash advances to incoming officers were tracked as personal debts, to be recovered against future salary, in order to prevent loss to the Company on long-distance postings.
23	23	Hon.ble S.rs 1: The Last from this place was by her Majestyes Ship Panther Cap.t John Crofter and the Normarles Cap.t W.m Beavis Beavis Date the 6.th of July 1708. which Hope came Safe to y.d Hon.r But Last they Should not Coppy thereof Comes in the Generall pacqu[ett] Herewith [Sent] of which 2: Here arrived The Fleet frigot Cap.t Newton 24.th of Aug[ust] 1708 with the New Govern.r Roberts of this y.r Hon.r Island who Came ashoar the Same day and his Comicon being read took his place accordingly also Seaventeen Sold.rs Sick and well of the twenty Sold.rs brought from England, fine dyed in the passage as also four of his Sea- men for he was a Sickly Ship but went from hence very healthy. one of the [Sold.rs] brought his wife with him whither y.d Hon.r will allow for her passage or that it be in [Brens] Sedules, out of his pay y.s Pleas to know Cap.t Hunter in the Recovery Said he had y.d order for her passage in his Ship, and being Loath to part with the [Govern.r the Govern.r] Ord.r [rather] to take his wife from on board the Recovery at Sea. We have Cap.t Newton his Despatch the 9.th of September altho he Stayed here upon his owners Charge to the 16.th and then Sailed for a Mauer particular Account we Refer to our Letters and Consultacons that Comes herewith and Shall onely add that being in Want of [Cape] which is the onely thing that Gives Life and Soule to the Building of the fortifications, We ordered Cap.t Newton to Bord. us one thousand Dollars which we Received accordingly, and Have published a Declaration That whatsoever Soule fond a [Quary] of Stones that would make Lime Should have one hundred Dollars Reward, By which Means we Lady Samples from all parts of this Island Brought to us, and Have had the Good fortune to find Severall Sorts that makes Much Better Lime then [...] And We Rejoyce that that Unaccountable Charge and Abuse is over. We Say Abuse becau.s y.r Hon.r have been Strangely abused in [it] for [in] Stead of one hundred tons in the Abel frigot We received only [37: 14] and a Great Deale Lefs from the Westmorland as may be Seen in the following parragraph and by the Account Sent Herewith. 3: The Westmorland Cap.t Thomas Warner [...] April 11 [...] [year] 1708 And we Gave him his Despatch the 2.d of [Octob.]	Honourable Sirs 1: The previous letter from St Helena was conveyed aboard the <i>Panther</i>, a ship of the Royal Navy under Captain John Crofter, together with the <i>Normarles</i> under Captain William Beavis. That letter bore the date 6 July 1708. Hope was expressed that the despatch reached your Honour in safety. Lest it failed to do so, a duplicate was placed in the general packet [sent] forward with this present letter. 2: The frigate <i>Fleet</i>, Captain Newton commanding, reached the island on 24 August 1708 with the new Governor Roberts on board, sent for the island in your Honour's possession. He came ashore that same day. The commission was read aloud, and the office was assumed accordingly. Of twenty soldiers shipped out of England, seventeen were put ashore alive, the sick and the well together; five were lost on the voyage, with four of the ship's seamen besides, since sickness had taken hold of the vessel, though she set out from England in good health. One soldier brought along his wife. An enquiry was made on the point: whether your Honour was to allow the cost of her passage to be carried by the Company, or whether it was to be charged on the [Brens] Schedules and deducted from his wages. Captain Hunter of the <i>Recovery</i> asserted that he held your Honour's authorisation for her transit aboard his vessel. The husband, unwilling to be parted from her, prompted the Governor's [rather] order that she be taken off the <i>Recovery</i> while still under way at sea. Captain Newton was discharged on 9 September 1708, though he was kept at the island until 16 September 1708 at his owners' expense, and then put out to sea. For a fuller statement of affairs, reference is made to the despatches and council records forwarded with this letter. A want was felt of [Cape], the indispensable substance on which the raising of the fortifications depends. Captain Newton was accordingly directed to [...] the sum of 1,000 Dollars to the Council, and that sum was duly received. A proclamation was issued, offering 100 Dollars as reward to any person who should find a stone deposit fit for the making of lime. Specimens were brought in by this means from every quarter of the island, and several varieties were discovered which yielded a finer grade of lime than [...]. Satisfaction was felt that the unaccountable expense and abuse was at last at an end. The word abuse was chosen because your Honour was strangely cheated in this affair. Instead of 100 tons being delivered in the <i>Abel</i> frigate, only [37: 14] were received, and a still smaller quantity came in the <i>Westmorland</i>, as is set out in the next paragraph and in the account forwarded with this letter. 3: The <i>Westmorland</i>, Captain Thomas Warner, [...] 11 April [...] [year] 1708. Her despatch was given on 2 October 1708.

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			Interpretations: The reading of the new Governor's commission on the day of his arrival, followed by his immediate assumption of office, shows how Company authority on remote possessions was transferred by the legal force of the commission document itself, without ceremony or interval. The parchment, not any local ratification, was the instrument that conferred the post. The shortfall on the lime delivered, with 100 tons contracted for but only 37 tons 14 [hundredweight] received in the <i>Abel</i> frigate, and a still smaller quantity in the <i>Westmorland</i>, exposes the vulnerability of distant Company stations to fraud by suppliers and shipmasters. Verification of loadings was impracticable at the point of departure, and the receivers had no recourse beyond complaint after the fact. The enquiry about the soldier's wife, and the question of whether her passage was chargeable to the Company or to her husband's wages, illustrates the existence of a formal accounting framework, the [Brens] Schedules, for personnel costs. Even minor expenses incurred on outposts were regulated by central rules and reconciled against the pay of individual servants. Speculations: The reward of 100 Dollars for the discovery of stone fit to make lime suggests that the Council had concluded the practical knowledge of local geology lay with ordinary islanders rather than with officials, and that a financial inducement was the swiftest way to mobilise it. Once specimens were flowing in from every direction, the supply problem was resolved more quickly than reliance on London shipments could ever have achieved. The Governor's choice to remove the soldier's wife from the <i>Recovery</i> at sea, rather than wait for that ship to come into port, points to a determination not to delay any vessel's onward voyage. Operational urgency seems to have outweighed the awkwardness of a ship-to-ship transfer in open water. The borrowing of 1,000 Dollars from Captain Newton to fund work on the fortifications suggests that ready coin on the island was scarce, and that visiting commanders effectively functioned as a mobile treasury for the Company's remote stations.
24	24	October following although He Lay here upon his owners Charge tile the [11.th] then Sailed. We Gave him a Protest in a particular Manner Relating in it Every Days transactions. He objects that We Did not Allow Lots of Time for the Great Guns We Say We allowed 3 Days for fitting the Beer that purchased the Guns ashoar and when that was done We Could See no Reason to allow for the Guns for y.e Lord upon that to be a Sufficient Allowance for both. The Copy of the protest Comes herewith wherein We Hope We have answered all objections. We Gave Leave to Ann and Mary Cotgrave Maidens to take passages with him to Bencolen as also W.m Cotton Joseph Parsons and his wife and a Boy that Came in the Fleet frigot: [for] We thought he might be more Serviceable to your there for We are well Officer'd with Men of his Station the two former W.m Cotton & Jos. Parsons whose Times were out. We Have Indentured them again for five years to Serve at Bencolen and in Lieu of these others three We Took three Soldiers out of the Westmorland. Our Remarks upon both Cargos are In the following parragraphs. We Shall onely add that Instead of 100 of Chaulk we received but 37: 19. 4: What we Have to Say to the Fleet frigots Cargo there wanted one Cask of Beer Invoiced 2: 10. 30 birch Scales 5: 10. And, We [Query] whether there was not a [Stat] to Every five Children According to Bottom. And Chaulk 28: 9: 3: 15. Invoiced. 12 pair of Boys Shoes out of the Bale N: 2. 2: 19: Marble Lopcer 14 out of Bale N: 3. 13: 12 Carell Sales 4: 8. This is all the objections We	The <i>Rochester's</i> master remained at St Helena on his owners' account until 11 October, when he sailed. A formal protest was delivered to him, setting out the council's record of every day's transactions. His complaint was that insufficient time was allowed for handling the Great Guns. The council's response was that three days were granted for managing the beer with which the guns were purchased and brought ashore, and that once this work was finished no further allowance was needed, three days being judged sufficient for both tasks. A copy of the protest accompanied this letter, and was thought to answer every objection raised. Permission was granted to two unmarried women, Ann and Mary Cotgrave, to take passage for Bencoolen. William Cotton, Joseph Parsons together with his wife, and a boy who came on the <i>Fleet</i> frigate, were likewise allowed to embark; the boy was thought to be of more service at Bencoolen, since the island was already well staffed with men of his rank. The two former, William Cotton and Joseph Parsons, were now at the end of their original terms; both were re-indentured for five years' service at Bencoolen. In place of these three Company men, three soldiers were taken out of the <i>Westmorland</i>. Remarks on both ships' cargoes appeared in the paragraphs that followed. By way of preliminary note, of an expected hundred of chalk only 37:19 was received. 4: As to the <i>Fleet</i> frigate's cargo, one cask of beer was missing, invoiced at 2:10, along with 30 birch scales

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		Have to that Ship. The Sales the Stationary ware was in Invoiced 5: 15. made of Phil Sales which Could never Sell above Six Shilings in England the Stockens too Course and ordinary The Shoes too thick in the Soales. We Received a Bale of 4 Looking Glasses that was not Invoiced here was in his Bid of Lading for Bombay and being Englewed We Shall Keep them here, and make the Best of them for [y.r] Hon.r. 5: Now We Come to the Westmorlands Cargo. There wanted Chaulk 60: 1: Invoiced 30 oares 5: 5: 29 Scales 5: 4: 17 Banks 2: 10: ½ 1 Iron pot of 90: 5: 2: 6. This is all the objections We Have to this Ship. The Bread very bad and Mouldy and Invoiced 18: 6: more than the Last The Flowr very Sowr not well packed, and Invoiced 18: p.c.t more than the Last. 6: We are So bare In Stores as y.d Hon.r may See by our Indent and Comanders of Ships Demand Such Unaccountable prices for theirs that though they Cause us a Cow now & Larger It may be rather Said to Steal us, than Supplys us, for the Cash is all Gone from the Island as you [may]	valued at 5:10. A query was raised as to whether a [Stat] should have been provided for every five children according to bottom. Chalk to the value of 28:9:3:15 was entered on the invoice. Twelve pairs of boys' shoes were missing from Bale No. 2, valued at 2:19; fourteen marble [Lopcer] from Bale No. 3, worth 13:12; and Carell sales priced at 4:8. These were the only objections relating to that ship. The stationery ware that came packed in the sails was invoiced at 5:15, but the Phil sales never fetched above six shillings in England, the stockings were too coarse and ordinary, and the shoe soles were too thick. A bale containing four looking glasses, omitted from the invoice but listed in the bill of lading for Bombay, was also received; as the goods were [Englewed], they were retained at St Helena, to be turned to best account on the recipient's behalf. 5: The <i>Westmorland's</i> cargo gave rise to the following complaints. Chalk was deficient by 60:1. Thirty oars worth 5:5 were missing, with 29 scales priced at 5:4, 17 banks at 2:10½, and one iron pot of 90 weight valued at 5:2:6. These were the only objections for that ship. The bread was very bad and mouldy, and was invoiced at 18:6 above the previous shipment; the flour was very sour and poorly packed, and was invoiced at 18 per cent above the last consignment. 6: Stores at the island were so depleted that the position was evident from the indent forwarded. The commanders of ships were demanding such unaccountable prices for their goods that, although a quantity of supplies was being furnished from time to time, the dealings amounted more to robbery than to relief, all cash on the island being by then exhausted. Interpretations The protest procedure, recording each day's transactions in detail, served as the council's institutional defence against owner complaints over demurrage. By compiling a contemporaneous record, the council preempted later claims for compensation and shifted the evidentiary burden onto a disputing captain. The re-indenturing of William Cotton and Joseph Parsons demonstrates a Company practice of converting expired contracts into fresh terms before personnel were allowed to leave the East Indies. This kept experienced men in the Asian factory system and avoided the cost and delay of recruiting replacements from England. The line-by-line itemisation of cargo deficiencies, descending from chalk and oars to twelve pairs of boys' shoes, reveals a culture of mercantile accountability in which every shortfall was registered against the consignor. The numbered bales, invoiced values and quality assessments indicate that the council was building a documentary case for the directors against negligent or fraudulent shipping out of London. Speculations The use of beer to purchase the great guns suggests that cash had grown so scarce at St Helena that even significant military supplies were being procured by barter. The three-day fitting period implies a substantial transfer of beer in exchange for the cannon, with the council insisting that the same window covered both transactions. The captain's complaint about insufficient time appears to have been a financial position more than a logistical one. Additional days in port would have been chargeable against his owners, and the protest was probably intended to lay ground for a later compensation claim; the council's careful documentation was a means of disarming such a claim before it reached England. The retention of the four looking glasses, although consigned to Bombay, points to opportunistic redirection of misrouted goods. Given the cash crisis on the island, the council evidently saw an unexpected bale of saleable luxury items as a windfall that could partly

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			offset the inflated commander prices being charged for staples.
25	25	May Judge by the Sale of y.d Last Stores. In Selling above Eight hundred pounds We Have received but Seaven Dollars Sallthd We Gave out before the Sale that We would reduce the Dollars from 6 to 5 Shilings of Besides the Inconvenience We are put to. That those people who Have Coffit in y.d Sto[re] when they Have bought Goods in the Shipping Immediately Come to be So Resp. Home and Is the occasion of our So frequently Drawing of Bills upon you, which is Prejudicial to you in many respects. To Remedy these Evils We Do as Shipping Comes Give the Cap.ts Cred.t to Supply Us with Such Goods as We think will turn to the best Account here, and Least Amount in England, But upon our orders the Comanders Hesitate almost to Comply as It now happened from the Blenheim and although our provisions were So great that We had not any Arack or any Manner of Strong Liquid upon the Island for one week to Supply the Island in Generall. And Indeed, We our Selves are put to a [Knopplus] for that We find No Sa- tisfaction for So Doing Except in one Letter from the old Company, formerly the Proprietors of this Island. That Saith that We may take a Bale or two of goods out of any of their Servall Ships to Supply our Wants. And Indeed, there Souls never be greater Necessity than at this Time We Lay Hold on that Clause in [Charterparty] for Comand.r to obey orders During the whole Term of the Voyage of y.d Hon.r factors or Assigns And We Desire to know whether We are Cmpowered of that Number and may Demand to Supply Us on Such Exigent Occasions, We are of Opinion That were We well Supplied this Island would turn to y.d profit, and not as at present, it is a great Charge to You. Besides it would Encourage Industry and this place would Flourish. 7: The Last Shipping from England, the Fleet frigot and Westmorland, Especially the Last took onely as Much Beef as the [Char-] terparty Expected, Expecting to have it at the price they sd memon.r the 28.l. We took from the Planters for Goods Sold them, for which Reason We Have put a full Stop upon Charterparty prices, and think to Continue it untill We for any Inconveniency arises. We Design to oblige them for the future to take their Quantity, and when that's Done If they do not take all the 28.l. or So. We think t.h.t Reasonable they Should pay Us the Current price. But this We must be obliged to allow According to the Encrease or Decrease of y.d Stock for We may be So bare that We may in plain Terms tell them Shall Have None Under the Market price. We are of Opinion When y.d Hon.r will please plentifully to Store Us whereby We [...] [to] Sell Goods Cheaper then they Can, they must	[...] as could be gauged from the recent store sale. Out of goods sold to a value exceeding eight hundred pounds, only seven dollars had been received [...]. Before the sale, notice had been given that the dollar was to be reduced from six shillings to five. Beyond this inconvenience, those who held [credit] at the sto[re], having purchased goods from passing ships, immediately pressed for their balances to be [remitted] home to England - and this was the cause of bills being drawn so frequently on the directors, a practice harmful to them in several respects. To address these difficulties, captains of arriving vessels were given credit to furnish goods judged most profitable at St Helena and cheapest to obtain in England. The commanders, however, all but refused to act on such instructions, as had just occurred with the <i>Blenheim</i>, even though the [shortage] was so acute that the island had been entirely without arrack or any form of strong liquor for a full week. The administration was thoroughly at a [nonplus], finding no authority for this practice beyond a single letter from the old Company, formerly the proprietors of St Helena, which permitted a bale or two of merchandise to be drawn from any of their several ships in order to meet local needs. No occasion could have demanded more urgent recourse to that provision than the present crisis. Reliance was accordingly placed on a clause in the [charter party] requiring commanders to follow orders from the directors' factors or assigns throughout the entire term of the voyage, and clarification was sought as to whether the local administration fell within that category and could demand supplies in circumstances of pressing necessity. Were the island properly furnished, it was the administration's view that it would yield a profit to the directors rather than remaining, as at present, a heavy expense; industry would be stimulated and the settlement would prosper. 7: The most recent vessels from England - the <i>Fleet</i> frigate and the <i>Westmorland</i> - had taken only as much beef as the [charter] party stipulated, the latter ship in particular. Beef had been expected at the price set out in their memorandum, namely the £28 charged to planters for goods sold to them. Charter party pricing had therefore been halted altogether, and was to remain suspended until [...] any inconvenience arose. Ships were to be compelled in future to take their full contracted quantity, and if, having done so, they did not purchase the full £28 worth or thereabouts, they were to be charged the current market rate. This arrangement had to be adjusted in line with the rise or fall of local stock, since supplies could fall so low that ships would be told plainly they could obtain none below the prevailing price. Were the directors pleased to supply the island abundantly, goods could be sold more cheaply than ships were able to [...] Interpretations The administration's difficulty in enforcing supply orders on visiting commanders reveals a central tension in Company governance: local authorities held nominal power over ships through charter party clauses but lacked practical means of compelling obedience, leaving them dependent on the willingness of individual captains to cooperate. The reduction of the dollar from six to five shillings, combined with the near-total absence of coin among the sale proceeds, exposes a chronic currency shortage at St Helena. The island's economy operated overwhelmingly on credit and barter rather than cash. The resort to a single letter from the old Company as the sole legal basis for commandeering goods from ships illustrates how thinly the administration's authority rested, and how the transition from the old to the

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			United Company had left gaps in the formal framework governing local supply. Speculations The administration's insistence that proper supply would transform the island from a financial burden into a profitable asset reads as a calculated appeal to the directors' commercial instincts, framing what was essentially a plea for basic provisions as a sound investment opportunity. The halt on charter party pricing for beef suggests the planters were being squeezed between the cost of imported goods and the price at which their beef was taken, with the administration intervening to shield local producers from unfavourable terms dictated by ship commanders. The complaint that commanders all but refused to comply with supply orders, despite a week-long liquor shortage across the whole island, suggests that captains calculated they could profit more by selling goods elsewhere and faced no real penalty for defying St Helena's local government.
26	26	Coule Come to our Scale and the Planters to our Standard. And altho the planters may at present think it Much against their Intirest they will Certainly reape the Benefit of it hereafter for whatever Shipping Comes here Buying [Dyet] or any other thing they want must be paid to them in ready Mony, which will remain upon the Island, and Circu- late till It Center in y.d follows and where there is most Industry. We thought it our duty to Give you this our opinion with Sub- mission to y.d Better Judgment. 8: We take Leave to Acquaint y.d Hon.r That Cap.t Dennis that touch'd here in outwards bound, In the Nathaniel and Sailed about the Middle of June 1704. Carried of from this Island two of y.d Sold.s viz. John Brown and Richard West, and Wee are the more Sure that he Carried them because they were Missing at that Time and the other Ship that [Sayled] in the Road Sailed not till a Month or five weeks after. 9: We Must tell you to the Same purpose of Cap.t Howes of the Albermarle who not onely probably In trick'd the officers and [...] in y.d Servic here to ran away. But Carried three away with him viz: John Hayes one of the Gunneys Crew (who was been on board) Sam. [Tomlinson] and Thomas [Mosby] follows. And We for you will take the Good [...] Caution or That dyl Cob. y.d Sold.rs. We Have more Respects for y.d Hon.r States as in duty bound, then to Common any of y.d Ships, alth.o the [Complaints] who [kept] one of the Men, and to them in the [Sailing] we Read him these men as may be Seen by the 18.th paragraph of the Lake Sent by him to you. Likewise gave Leave to the planters to one of provided they went in his ship. And We thought that Showing So Much Civility to him Bestowed both Bags then Such Unmannerly, and up-braiding Doings as he does. We Set our Selves down in Patience and Hope to hear that y.d Hon.r Have Done Us Justice in that matter. And [as ours] relating to this matter you Have Several in the Generall pacquett Many more Testimonyes We Could Have Given but thought those Sufficient. 10: We Come now to Give y.d Hon.r the best Satisfacion We Can In Anrt to y.d of the 9.th of April 1708. per Ship Pool frigatt Cap.t Newton; as to y.d full Paragraph We are glad to hear that you Have received the Several letters therein men- tioned. 11: y.d 2.d and third Paragraph We take as [B]	Planters were to adopt the council's scale and standard. Although they might consider it contrary to their interests at present, the benefit would follow in time. Any vessel calling at the island, whether purchasing [diet] or anything else required, would pay in ready money. That money would remain on the island and circulate until it settled where industry was greatest. This opinion was offered with submission to the directors' better judgement. 8: Captain Dennis was reported to have called at the island outward bound in the <i>Nathaniel</i>, sailing around mid-June 1704. Two soldiers had been carried off: John Brown and Richard West. The council was confident of his responsibility, since both men went missing at that time and the only other vessel in the road did not sail for a month or five weeks afterwards. 9: Captain Howes of the <i>Albermarle</i> was accused to similar effect. He had not only enticed officers and [...] in the Company's service to desert, but carried three men away with him: John Hayes of the gunners' crew (who had been aboard), Sam [Tomlinson] and Thomas [Mosby]. [...] The council held too great a regard for the Honourable Company's interests, as duty required, to commandeer any of its ships, although [complaints] were raised over [...] one of the men [...]. The relevant orders had been read to him, as appeared from the eighteenth paragraph of the [...] sent by him to the directors. Leave had also been given to the planters [...] provided they went aboard his vessel. The council considered that such civility deserved better than the unmannerly and upbraiding conduct he had displayed. The matter was borne with patience, and it was hoped the directors had done justice in the affair. Several testimonies on the subject were enclosed in the general packet. More could have been furnished but those were thought sufficient. 10: The council now turned to answering the directors' letter of 9 April 1708, received per the <i>Pool</i> frigate, Captain Newton. On the opening paragraph, satisfaction was expressed that the several letters mentioned therein had been received. 11: The directors' second and third paragraphs were taken as [...]. Interpretations The argument for standardised weights and measures reveals a grasp of closed-economy monetary dynamics. Ready money paid by visiting ships would stay on the island and flow to the most industrious settlers - a reasoning that treated St Helena as a self-contained commercial system where formalised standards could redirect wealth inward rather than letting it drain away with departing vessels.

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			The complaints about captains carrying off soldiers exposed a persistent structural weakness. Garrison strength depended on the goodwill of shipmasters who could offer deserting men passage beyond the council's reach. The council was left to compile testimonies and petition London, having no power to detain Company vessels or compel their captains. The council's explicit refusal to commandeer any Company ship, even when its men were being spirited away, illustrates how commercial authority constrained military discipline. The same organisation that demanded the garrison be maintained also protected the shipping whose captains undermined it. Speculations The stress on money remaining and circulating on the island suggests chronic currency drainage was an active problem. Visiting ships presumably extracted coin faster than trade replenished it, and the council saw standardised measures as a device for ensuring that payments for provisions flowed to settlers rather than being absorbed by transient commerce at unfavourable rates. Captain Howes's conduct - taking three men and then lodging complaints of his own - points to a contest for authority between shipmasters and the colonial council. Captains controlled the only route off the island and could act with impunity once at sea, leaving the council no recourse beyond formal representations to London. The careful assembly of testimonies in the general packet suggests the council was constructing a case for the directors to act against specific captains. Without jurisdiction over Company vessels, the island administration was forced to rely entirely on London's enforcement machinery, making the paper record its only weapon.
27	27	Advice and Instrutions which We Shall take Care to follow. As To the matter of Portuguese Ships arriving here and Continuing the In- formacon of what We hear of Shipping in India or Elsewhere. 12: As to the fourth Concerning Goods out of Shipping the p.t Sent Govern.r. Sayth that he will follow that and all other y.d orders. y.d fifth and Sixth about Duplicat of Letters and Inserting of Bills of Exchange payable to or by y.d Hon.r in our Generall Letters, We Shall as already begin'd be very punctual for the future. 13: In Anr.r to y.d Seventh and Eighth paragraphs about the Cesars Unloading here. We Say that We Employed none of our Hands on Board, or allowed to get them Ballast. And as to the Tempestuousness of the Wheather Cap.t Care most Account. As to Cap.t [Stames] there was Employed to get him Ballast twelve men, ten dayes at twenty four Shillings per day is twelve pounds. 14: As to Superannuated Sold.rs We belong Marmaduke Jenkison who was very desirous to go off in the Panther Man of War who promised us to wait upon you Hon.r We Have but one more named Simon [Lowra] who has been on the Island this twenty year, and is upon half pay, the rest being dead. 15: The List of Goods and Stores Remaining on the Island the fourth of October Last If herewith Sent also whats wanting Acco.ding to y.d order and Shall be Glad to receive those Supplies from India, mentioned in y.d 11 paragraph for which Linnen Especially y.d Sold.rs have not Shirts to Shift them. 16: y.d 12 paragraph about Gunners Stores We can Say Little to, onely this that fourteen Banrols and one Quarter of the thirty Six Banrels and onely one pound of Gun powder was Spared to y.d home ward bound Shipping and the Muskett and Swords Delivered to the Sold.rs and not worn out. Herewith Comes an Account of the Expense and Remainer of Gunners Stores to the 24.th of August Last.	The advice and instructions received were to be followed accordingly. Care was also to be taken in continuing to pass on any intelligence about Portuguese ships arriving at the island, and about shipping movements in India or elsewhere. 12: In response to the fourth paragraph, concerning goods obtained from ships, the present Governor stated that he was to comply with that instruction and with all other orders. On the fifth and sixth paragraphs, regarding duplicate letters and the insertion of bills of exchange payable to or by the Company in general correspondence, it was confirmed that this practice was already underway and was to be observed punctually in future. 13: In answer to the seventh and eighth paragraphs, concerning the <i>Caesar's</i> unloading at the island, it was stated that none of the island's men were employed on board, nor were they permitted to collect ballast for the vessel. As to the stormy weather during that period, Captain Care was to provide his own account. Regarding Captain [Stames], twelve men were engaged for ten days to gather ballast at twenty-four shillings per day, amounting to twelve pounds in total. 14: On the subject of superannuated soldiers, Marmaduke Jenkison was reported as eager to depart aboard the <i>Panther</i> man-of-war, and he gave an undertaking to present himself before the Company on arrival. Only one other superannuated soldier remained - Simon [Lowra], who was resident on the island for twenty years and was in receipt of half pay. The rest were dead. 15: A list of goods and stores remaining on the island as of 4 October 1707 was enclosed, together with a schedule of items required in accordance with the Company's orders. The supplies from India referenced in paragraph 11 were eagerly awaited, particularly linen, as the soldiers lacked sufficient shirts to change into.

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		17: What Wine and Brandy the Northumberland Brought from the Madera. We Informed You in ours of the 9.th of January 1707/8. But the Wine did not prove as Imported It Sowred presently, and We have two pipes now upon our hands fit for Nothing but Vinigar. 18: A List of Clerk and Marshalls fees as mentioned in y.d Cannot find any [...] Coppy But have drawn another which We take to be as [and as is] one to y.e people, Coppy whereof Is in the Generall pacqu[...]	16: Regarding paragraph 12, on the subject of gunners' stores, little was offered beyond the following account. Fourteen barrels and a quarter of the thirty-six barrels, along with only one pound of gunpowder, were spared for homeward-bound shipping. Muskets and swords were issued to the soldiers and were not yet worn out. A statement of expenditure and remaining stock of gunners' stores up to 24 August 1707 was enclosed. 17: The wine and brandy brought from Madeira by the <i>Northumberland</i> were addressed in the Council's letter of 9 January 1708. The wine, however, did not keep as expected - it soured almost immediately, and two pipes remained on hand, fit only for vinegar. 18: A list of clerk's and marshal's fees, as referenced in the Company's instructions, was called for. No [...] copy was located, but a fresh schedule was drawn up and was considered [...] to the people. A copy was included in the general packet. Interpretations The careful itemisation of ballasting costs in paragraph 13 - down to the number of men, days and daily rate - demonstrates the granularity of financial accounting the Company demanded from its distant outpost. The superannuated soldiers described in paragraph 14 reveal the human cost of maintaining a permanent garrison on a remote island: men grew old in place, were reduced to half pay and mostly died before any prospect of repatriation arose. The gunpowder accounting in paragraph 16, with every barrel and pound justified, reflects the Company's insistence on strict oversight of military stores, treating each disbursement as a matter requiring written explanation. Speculations The spoiled Madeira wine described in paragraph 17 may point to inadequate storage conditions on St Helena rather than any deficiency in the original supply, since wine that soured so rapidly after import suggests exposure to heat or poor cooperage - the two pipes reduced to vinegar represented a tangible financial loss. The desperate shortage of linen for soldiers' shirts in paragraph 15 indicates that the island was entirely dependent on Indian textile shipments for even the most basic provisions, with no alternative source of supply available locally or from passing trade. The instruction to report Portuguese shipping movements in the opening fragment suggests that St Helena functioned as an intelligence post as well as a provisioning station, with the Company treating the island's position on the sea route as an opportunity to monitor rival European activity in the Indian Ocean.
28	28	19: As to the 15.th Paragraph about M.r Marsden He has Cheifly been Employed in the Stoves till of late and We Cannot Say but he is very [Sturring] In whatever Business We Appoint him, and Believe him hard worthy. 20: As to the fortifications mentioned in y.d 17.th Paragraph, We Leave to the Govern.r who hopes to Give You Satisfaction therein. 21: As to Shoes mentioned in y.d 16.th We Can onely Say That there Came over five Dozen of Plat Shoes which are not fit for this place and that there Remaines Still thirty three pair which are Useless. Smiths or other Sorts are Come and 5 Dozen of Womens very ordinary too Strong and Thick in the Soales for this place and that there Remains Still of those ninety nine [...] 22: Herewith Comes According to y.d 18.th Paragraph an Acct. of y.d Garrison and fortification Charges from the 24.th March 1708. to September 22.d following. 23: Y.d Hon.rs observe in the 19.th Paragraph that M.r Goodwyn Did not Sign to it. But made an Exception without Giving a Reason for So Doing which might Imply Some Guilt. To Clear himself in that point, he Saw with Submission to y.d Hon.r Say that the Said	19: With respect to the directors' fifteenth paragraph concerning Mr Marsden, he was chiefly occupied in the stores until recently. Nothing was to be said against him; he was very [active] in whatever duties were assigned to him and was believed [thoroughly] worthy. 20: The fortifications referred to in the seventeenth paragraph were left to the Governor, who was expected to provide a satisfactory account of them. 21: On the subject of shoes mentioned in the sixteenth paragraph, five dozen flat shoes were received which were not suited to the island, and thirty-three pairs of these remained unsold. [Smiths] or other varieties also arrived, together with five dozen pairs of women's shoes, very ordinary and too heavy and thick in the sole for local use, of which ninety-nine pairs still remained [...] 22: Enclosed herewith, in response to the eighteenth paragraph, was an account of garrison and fortification charges from 24 March 1708 to 22 September 1708. 23: The directors observed in their nineteenth paragraph that Mr Goodwin did not sign the relevant

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		Paragraph was against him Not to Sign to it would have been a Strong Argument that it was So, Whereas He Affirms that the Marginale Notes was a Surprise to the Sold.rs Iso, ble [...] It was then the Govern.r positive orders That those Notes Should be Entered. And So Much We Can Say for Cap.t Goodwyn That what he Said, was true and That We Have found the Ile Consequences of it. That We Have been obliged to Lay aside that Method and make Proclamacon ag.t it as y.d Hon.r may See by this pacquett for the Sold.rs Bills being Accepted they run in Debt In Bru- tally Story behavior and when they hath got as Much as they fond there would Bo[ttom] was to run away upon all occasions, the further Sa[me] y.d Hon.r will Lay aside all Suspitions of him And Does not in the Least Doubt But to Acquit himself Honbly. and is ready upon all occasions to Show his Zealous Intentions to y.d Service. 24: y.d 21.st Paragraph about M.r Bazet, We Cannot but Say He behaves himself very Well, and very Carefull about y.d Affairs of Late. 25: y.d 23.d and 24.th Paragraph about Gardning, and forti- fications, We Can Say Nothing to Since Govern.d Poirier is Dead. 26: y.d Generall Instrucons about Ships Coming into this Road, are very Necessary But Instead of Coming to Anchor at [Munday's] Point we Apprehend, It Should be Banks Point that [...] [...] [the South]	document and entered an objection without providing a reason, which was taken to imply guilt. To clear himself on this point, Mr Goodwin [stated] with due submission that the paragraph in question was directed against him; signing it was to amount to a strong acknowledgement that its accusations were justified. He maintained that the marginal notes were imposed on the soldiers without warning [...] and that the Governor gave express orders for those notes to be entered. This much was confirmed in Captain Goodwin's defence: what he reported was true, and the ill consequences of the practice were since made apparent. The administration was obliged to abandon the method and to issue a proclamation against it, as the directors were to observe from the enclosures in this packet. Once the soldiers' bills were honoured, they fell into debt and displayed [...] behaviour, and once they accumulated as much as they found [possible], they absconded at every opportunity. [He] further [hoped] the directors were to set aside all suspicions of him. He did not in the least doubt his ability to clear his name, and stood ready on every occasion to demonstrate his zealous devotion to the directors' service. 24: Regarding Mr Bazet, mentioned in the twenty-first paragraph, nothing but good was to be reported. He conducted himself well and was very attentive to the directors' affairs of late. 25: The directors' twenty-third and twenty-fourth paragraphs, concerning gardening and fortifications, were not to be addressed, since Governor Poirier was dead. 26: General instructions regarding ships entering the road were considered very necessary, but instead of anchoring at [Munday's] Point, it was proposed that Banks Point [...] [...] [the south] Interpretations The acknowledgement that Governor Poirier was dead and that specific paragraphs therefore went unanswered reveals how much operational knowledge and policy authority resided in the Governor personally. His death left particular areas of the directors' enquiry effectively unaccountable. The detailed stock-taking of unsuitable shoes - flat, too thick-soled, wrong type - illustrates how poorly London's provisioning matched the physical realities of St Helena, where terrain and climate demanded very different footwear from what Company stores routinely shipped out. Paragraph 23's account of Mr Goodwin's refusal to sign exposes the political dynamics of council governance: members were expected to endorse collective documents, and any reservation was treated by London as evidence of individual dissent or guilt, placing dissenters under immediate suspicion regardless of their reasoning. Speculations The careful defence of both Mr Marsden and Captain Goodwin, each praised in terms calibrated to counter specific charges from London, suggests the council was closing ranks to protect colleagues whose positions were vulnerable to the directors' censure. The proclamation against acceptance of soldiers' bills, after discovering that credit led to debt and then desertion, reveals a cycle familiar in colonial garrisons: easy credit fostered indiscipline, and the belated ban was as much about preventing absconding as controlling expenditure. The correction of [Munday's] Point to Banks Point in the anchorage instructions suggests that London's grasp of the island's geography was imprecise, and that the administration's local knowledge was indispensable in translating the directors' orders into workable practice.

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29	29	or Send their Boat ashore there, with Sufficient Testimony, that they are friends. 27: In the Room of Needham y.d Late Chirurgion, We Have Enter- tained one of y.d Sold.rs as We told you before in the 9.th Paragraph of our Letter to You, Dated July 6.th 1708. and So Continues for want of a Better. 28: As to y.d 24.th Paragraph about wood, We Do Apprehend There Can be no want, this fifty Years. But We Shall be Encouraging the people to plant for their Necesfary Use about their plantations. If the year Wood was Sown, it would be wood Enough for the whole Island. But It will be a great Work it being about five Miles Round, and Stone very Scarce in that place, and Could not be done for Lefs then one Thousand pounds. But Shall when the Necessary fortifications are Done take in Some of it, and take Necessary Measures to provide for the next Generation. 29: We Have Considered Paul Rabors Cale, and find the Lefs Al [Blasted] and the Ground Begun to Decay Have Acquitted him and Sense Lett to the Gunner by the Year at 15. p.r Annum, And, when the Necessary fortifications are over We Hope to make it turn to a better account. The Blast Has prejudiced the Island In Generall That there is not the thousandth part of the Lemons there was. And, We are doing our Endeavour to plant young trees, but they are Subject to the Same Epidemical Distemper. 30: Gunner French's Cale was Decided According to the Consultacon Hela 17.th Last for 6 Months, because in that Time the present Govern.r might know his Merits. 31: As to y.d Customs in Generall We Shall be punctuall, and not prejudiciall to all Seamen, and Comanders bringing a Letter for their Necesfary Use. 32: Capt. Spans Cale is out of our Reach now, and Hope That none will offer to our Glasy, for We Must Defend it, Least our Hon.rs and Courage Called in Question. 33: As to y.d 33.d 34.th 35: 36.th paragraphs about Expense of Liquid, We Can Say Nothing Since Govern.d Poirier is Dead. But [where] it was most Spent in y.d Tort House for there was not allowed any to Councill at y.d Plantation But one or two bottles when the Minister preached in the Country, or when the Govern.t was there for his own Use, and to Give an Account then of the Family then it does not Lay within our Reach. The Family now at the Tort Table is twenty Seaven and at the Lower Table Eighteen, which in all is forty 5 Besides Blacks, and Healot. So that for forty Lome and Severall other Encouragements our Expense Cannot be Lefs then Sometimes the [Encouragement] [...] [...] of Liquors when Shipping is here. Margin Notes: Note y.d Govern.r [Selony Sweets] to him. Lett out by mistake	[Continuation of paragraph 26] Alternatively, ships were to send a boat ashore at Banks Point with sufficient proof of friendly intent. 27: After the death of Needham, the late surgeon, one of the soldiers was taken on as a replacement, as already reported in the ninth paragraph of the letter to the directors dated 6 July 1708. He remained in the post for want of a more suitable candidate. 28: On the question of wood raised in the twenty-fourth paragraph, no shortage was anticipated for the next fifty years. The inhabitants were to be encouraged to plant trees about their plantations for necessary use. Were the [...] Wood to be sown, it was to provide timber sufficient for the whole island, though the task was to be a considerable one, the area extending some five miles in circumference, with stone in short supply on the spot, and the cost was reckoned at no less than £1,000. Once the necessary fortifications were complete, a portion of that ground was to be enclosed, and steps taken to provide for the next generation. 29: Paul Rabor's case was reviewed. The leases were all blighted, the ground was in decay, and he was released from his obligations. The land was since let to the Gunner annually at £15. Once the fortifications were finished, the holding was expected to yield a better return. The blight prejudiced the island generally, leaving not a thousandth part of the lemons that once grew there. Efforts were made to plant saplings, but these proved just as vulnerable to the same affliction. 30: Gunner French's case was settled in line with the consultation [held] on the seventeenth of [last month] for a period of six months, since within that interval the present Governor was to form a proper judgement of his merits. 31: With respect to customs in general, exact observance was to be maintained, and no prejudice was to fall on seamen or commanders who arrived bearing a letter for necessary use. 32: Captain Span's case was now beyond local authority, and the hope was that no challenge was to be offered to the island's [...], for it was to be defended at all costs, lest the honour and courage of the administration be called into question. 33: Regarding the directors' thirty-third, thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth paragraphs concerning expenditure on liquor, no answer was possible since Governor Poirier was dead. The bulk of consumption [...] occurred at the Fort House, since none was allowed to the Council at the Plantation save one or two bottles when the minister preached in the country, or when the Governor was there for his own use; and to render an account of the household at that earlier date was beyond reach. The household now numbered twenty-seven at the Fort Table and eighteen at the Lower Table, forty-five altogether, besides slaves and [...]. So that, for forty-odd persons together with several other [...] expenses, the expenditure was no less than what was sometimes incurred in the [entertainment] [...] [...] of liquors when shipping was in port. Margin Note: Note: the Governor's [...] to him. Let out by mistake. Interpretations The replacement of Needham, the late surgeon, with an ordinary soldier "for want of a Better" reveals how thinly the medical establishment was staffed at the colonial outpost. When a key technical post fell vacant, no qualified successor was available, and an unqualified substitute had to fill the role indefinitely. The detailed enumeration of the household at the Fort Table and Lower Table, with separate accounting for slaves and other servants, exposes the formal hierarchical structure of the colonial establishment, where status was reflected in seating arrangements as well as in access to provisions like liquor.

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			The discussion of wood, fortifications and lemon blight together demonstrates how the council's reporting wove military, agricultural and environmental matters into a single integrated administrative problem rather than treating them as separate domains. Speculations The careful protest that no liquor was distributed beyond strict ceremonial occasions - the minister's sermon, the Governor's visits - reads as a defence against a directors' implication that consumption had been excessive or improper, with the council demonstrating restraint while disclaiming responsibility for past usage under the deceased Poirier. The remark that Captain Span's case was beyond local authority but had to be defended for the honour and courage of the administration suggests the council was fending off an external claim or jurisdictional challenge against the island, possibly involving territorial or legal rights they lacked formal power to settle. The persistent failure of replacement lemon trees to survive the same blight that had devastated the original stock points to an ecological collapse the administration was struggling to understand or arrest, with serious implications for St Helena's role as a victualling station for ships needing antiscorbutics.
30	30	34: The Hogs Mentioned in the 32 Paragraph, are pretty Cleared of this Vally. Having ordered (after So Many [Priently] Advertisements) the Sold.s to Kill, and Eat those that Came near the Tort, and Line of Guns 35: M.r Daniel Griffith According to y.d Hon.r order in the 37.th Paragraph takes place as fifth of y.d Council, and Hopes to merit y.d favour. 36: In y.d 39.th Paragraph You mencon the Clause about Carrying the Blacks to Bencolen &c. We are in great want of Lusty Black Men to Carry on the Work of fortification and planting So that If we had Sent any thither they had been of as Little Use to them as they are to Us. If y.d Hon.r would be pleased to Send Us forty or fifty Negroes it would be mighty beneficial to Carry on the fortificacon, Building a Storehouse, and other good Houses much wanted, and make Noble Plantations, which in two yeares yeares time will that Hope be finished and the Blacks Sent from home to any other place where y.d Hon.r have Occasion. 37: As to y.d 39.th 40.th 41 & 42.d Paragraphs. We Do as you Say take the importance of them, as Standing Rules, and Shall Manage Affaires Accordingly. 38: Now as to the 43.d and Last Paragraph of y.d Said Letter about Dollars. We Refer to our Consultations on that head, Held October 27.th Last. 39: The Storehouse, plantation Tort=House Hutts, Sutling and the Barracks are Tumbling down those that are Standing are Supported by Shoars, and Stilts that We are in Danger of their falling about our Eares and So are most of the Planters Houses in the Island And That's the Occasion We make Such Large Demands for Timber, [boards] as by the Indent. 40: Now We Have found Lime, We are in Great hopes to find Clay to Make Tiles. But Indeed We want a Man Skilled in that work But Hope You will Send over Such a one or particular Instrum.t sions how that work may be performed which We believe in time will Turn to y.d Benefit. But in the mean time We believe you will Find Us thirty thousand Tiles greatly wanted for about three. We also believe You will Send a Joiner as a Carp.tr [...] their Tools.	34: As for the hogs of the thirty-second paragraph, they were substantially cleared from the valley. After so many [...] reminders, orders were given to the soldiers to kill and consume any that came near the Fort and the Line of Guns. 35: Mr Daniel Griffith, in accordance with the directors' order in the thirty-seventh paragraph, took his place as fifth member of the Council and hoped to merit the directors' favour. 36: The directors had raised in the thirty-ninth paragraph the question of transferring slaves to Bencoolen. The administration was in pressing need of strong slave labour to carry on the fortification and planting work. The sending of such slaves there was to serve little purpose, given their critical scarcity on St Helena. Were the directors pleased to send forty or fifty slaves, this would greatly advance completion of the fortifications, construction of a storehouse and other much-needed buildings, and development of good plantations, which within two years would be finished, after which the slaves were to be sent from the island to any other location where the directors required them. 37: Regarding the thirty-ninth, fortieth, forty-first and forty-second paragraphs, the administration received them as standing rules and was to manage affairs in accordance with them. 38: As to the forty-third and final paragraph of the letter, concerning dollars, reference was made to the consultations on that matter held on 27 October last. 39: The storehouse, plantation fort-house, huts, sutling house, and barracks were in a state of decay. Those still standing were propped up with shores and stilts, and all were in danger of collapse. The same situation prevailed for most of the planters' houses across the island. This accounted for the substantial demands for timber and boards set out in the indent. 40: With the discovery of lime, great hopes were entertained of finding clay for tile-making. The administration desired a man skilled in that work and hoped the directors were to send one, or detailed instructions on how the work was to be performed, which would prove beneficial over time. In the meantime, thirty thousand tiles were greatly wanted for [...], and a joiner and a carpenter [...] with their tools were [...] Interpretations The reference to hogs being culled from the valley shows how the administration attempted to manage environmental degradation through direct action,

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			treating the hog population as a resource to be exploited rather than a pest to be eradicated, converting a problem into food for the garrison. The detailed discussion of building materials - timber, boards, tiles, lime, clay - and the critical shortage of skilled labour reveals the administration's constant struggle with physical infrastructure. Structural decay was endemic, and the availability of materials and workers remained the limiting factor in all construction and maintenance. The enumeration of structural decay across the storehouse, fort-house, huts, barracks and private dwellings, all propped up with makeshift shores and stilts, illustrates the systematic deterioration of the island's physical plant, suggesting that climate, geography or construction methods were degrading structures faster than they could be maintained or repaired. Speculations The request for forty or fifty enslaved people, framed as essential to completing fortifications and establishing plantations, reads as a calculated appeal to the directors' commercial interests, presenting forced labour as the key to making the colony more profitable and self-sufficient within a two-year horizon. The casual mention that newly arrived slaves could be "sent from home to any other place" after two years suggests the administration imagined St Helena as a labour depot or training ground, with enslaved people to be circulated between Company installations as the service required. The request for a man skilled in tile-making, or alternatively detailed written instructions on the craft, reveals the administration's awareness that knowledge and practical expertise were as scarce as materials, and that the directors' access to English craftsmen and their know-how was as critical a resource as timber or lime.
31	31	41: y.d Hon.rs Ship the <i>Blenheim</i> Cap.t John Barnes Comander from Batavia Arrived here the third of November 1708. We believing by Look. by Bill of Lading found there was on Board her a Quantity of Arak of y.d own and being in Great Necesity Having not one Months Liquid upon the Island, Nor did We Know Indeed when We might get Any thought It prudence to Supply S. Stores. And To that purpose Gave the Cap.t an order for thirty four Leagors (which after Much ado He Complied with) after the Caskes were Land'd We found Several of them very Much Defected, and Some above half out. The others that had no [appearance] of Leakes Yet there was a great Deale wanting and in Some We found Hollow Canes Used Generally by Seamen to Suck out off, and Some Have Heard, that Some was Bored, and Sold by them at the Mauritius. We took No Notice of this to the Cap.t Nor of his bearing away from of Cape Paul to that place. In the Month of May. Nor of his Leaving the Cape, when the <i>Sturmer Galley</i> would have Sailed with him If He had Stayed 2 Days Longer, but Came to this place when the [...] [...] which put the Fitting of this place to Shame for that Day they made the Island the Run was but 2: 21 from the Island and had they Mist it and put for this place again She is So bare of Sailes and Rigging, She Must have been obliged to Have Layn up here, or otherwise had they proceeded without orders for England would have put all to the Hazard And the Reason why we did not tell the Cap.t these things It Because He came out but 4.th Mate of the Ship, and Is a New England Man And a Stranger Under him of y.d Hon.r Affairs, So would not put him Upon Despair but on the Contrary Encourage him to Carry y.d Hon.r Affairs Home & Safe. for We believe him to be an Honest Man. out of the thirty four Leagors of Arrak rec.d on Shoar, after all was full there was but 26 and ½ which Gauged with another 144 Gall. p.r Leagor which	41: The <i>Blenheim</i>, under the command of Captain John Barnes, arrived from Batavia on 3 November 1708. The bill of lading indicated that arrack was aboard, and with the station lacking any spirits for a month and the arrival of further supplies uncertain, the administration determined it proper to requisition a portion from the ship's cargo. The Captain was ordered to provide thirty-four leagors, a request to which he finally agreed after sustained negotiation. When the casks were brought ashore, many were discovered to be damaged beyond use, with some more than half their contents gone. Of those casks that appeared sound externally, significant shortfalls were nonetheless detected. Several contained the hollow tubes that seamen employ to extract liquor covertly, and it was suspected that additional quantities had been opened and disposed of at Mauritius. No complaint was lodged with the Captain about these discrepancies, nor was he remonstrated with for his course change toward Mauritius in May, nor yet for his departure from the Cape when the <i>Summer Galley</i> might have sailed in company had he delayed but two days. He proceeded instead to St Helena, reaching it when [...] [...], an arrival that showed the administration's preparations in an unfavourable light. On that day alone, the distance from the island was merely two days and twenty-one hours of sailing; had the island been missed and the vessel forced to turn back, her depleted state of canvas and rigging would have obliged her to remain in harbour indefinitely, or had she continued to England without orders, all would have been placed at hazard. The administration's restraint in not confronting the Captain with these matters reflected deliberate policy: he held the rank of fourth mate only, was a New Englander, and [...] regarding the directors' affairs, making it unwise to risk his despondency. Instead, the

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		puts Us into a pretty Good Stock for the present. and this is the onely Arak proper for this place. for what Comes from Bengalo or Surrat Gives our People the Belly Ache and Fluxes, of which Lo[ts] Have Dyed. And We Have more Reason to believe that it was that Arak, because the Island is pretty Healthy Since that is Gone. 42: The Stringer Galley Cap.t [Isaack] Pyke from Cheelan in [Chin]a Arrived here the 14.th of November Last with M.r Charles Douglas as Sup[...] [...] We Lady not Sugar nor Sugar Candy for our [...] Applyd ourselves to this Super [Cargoes] [...]	administration offered encouragement to ensure safe delivery of the directors' business, and counted him an honest man. Of the thirty-four leagors requested, but twenty-six and one-half were received in serviceable condition. At a standard measure of one hundred and forty-four gallons per leagor, this yielded an adequate provision for the present time. This arrack, sourced from Batavia, was the only type suitable for the island. Spirits from Bengal or Surat provoked acute stomach complaints and dysentery among the garrison, and many deaths resulted from their consumption. The marked improvement in the island's general health following exhaustion of that inferior arrack suggested it was the source of the sickness. 42: The <i>Summer Galley</i>, under Captain [Isaac] Pyke, arrived from [a port in China] on 14 November with Mr Charles Douglas serving as [Supercargo]. The station [lacked] [...] and sugar candy for [...], and recourse was made to the [Supercargo] [...] Interpretations The administration's deliberate choice not to confront Captain Barnes about cargo losses or his navigation decisions suggests that maintaining the Captain's morale and willingness to cooperate took priority over accountability: securing future shipments mattered more than addressing individual instances of loss or insubordination. The detailed enumeration of arrack losses - casks half-emptied, quantities extracted by hollow canes, suspected pilfering at Mauritius - reveals the administration's sophisticated understanding of the methods by which seamen routinely robbed ship stores during long voyages, along with the vulnerability of liquid cargo to systematic theft. The insistence that Batavian arrack alone suited the island's use, while spirits from Bengal and Surat caused dysentery and death, demonstrates how local knowledge had to be built through experience rather than prescribed from London: understanding what was "proper for this place" required repeated observation of cause and effect. Speculations The willingness to accept a Captain newly promoted from fourth mate and unfamiliar with the Company's operations suggests that experienced officers were in short supply and the Company was forced to entrust valuable cargoes to men without established authority or judgement. The evidence of hollowed canes, bored casks and suspected sales at Mauritius raises the question of whether Captain Barnes was actively complicit in the pilferage alongside his crew or whether his inexperience and recent promotion left him an easy victim of systematic theft by subordinates. The pattern of sickness and death following consumption of Bengal and Surat spirits, followed by health improvement once that arrack was exhausted, suggests the administration was relying on observed correlation rather than understanding the actual source of dysentery, mistakenly attributing disease to the spirit itself when other factors may have been responsible.
32	32	Quantity and would onely take as Much as We believed might Serve [our] Till We Got more that may Come Cheaper to you, and therefore We have Taken but twelve Small Chests Amt. to Net 33: 13 which We Cannot Say our Wants to you as matter of fact will. That is the Sturmer Galley puch bought very Brown Sugar at the Cape an 8 Dutch Stivers a pound, was Sold few of here to our Inhabitants in a Moment at 18 per pound. 43: We Have Drawn on y.d Hon.r Bills of Exchange for the Sum of one hundred pounds Dated 22 November 1708 payable to M.d Grace Coulton or Order, as also one Hundred and fifty pounds, pay able to M.d Sarah	to quantity, only such amount was purchased as was believed sufficient until further supplies arrived at more favourable cost to the directors. Twelve small chests were therefore taken, with a net weight of 33:13, which cannot be confirmed as fully meeting the stated needs as a matter of fact. The <i>Summer Galley</i> had obtained brown sugar at the Cape for eight Dutch stivvers per pound, and this was subsequently sold to the inhabitants at eighteen per pound. 43: The administration drew bills of exchange on the directors for the following sums: one hundred pounds, dated 22 November 1708, payable to Mrs Grace Coulton or her order; one hundred and fifty

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		Poirier or Order Daled 30 D.o Als Likewise thirty pounds payable to Richard Gurling Planter Daled the Same Day All being for Money Due to them in y.d Books of Accounts here, which Begs of y.d Hon.r to pay accordingly. Being already placed to their Respective Accounts. 44: Having put All the y.d Sold.s and Inhabitants of the y.d Hon.rs Island into two Companys being in want of an Ensign for the Youngest Company. Thought it Reasonable Since M.r Alexander is so much Taken up in writing that He Cant have time Enough to Encourage the Sold.r So often as it is Requisite. To Entertain the Eldest Berj.t Thomas Eaton a very Good Soul, as Second Ensign That at the Salary out of Berj.t Wh.t y.d Hon.r Shall Have Appointed what Gratuity, or Additionale Salary He Shall Have. As also we Leave to y.d Hon.r to Consider and order what Salary M.r Alexander Shall Have as being Eldest Ensign and Sec. of the Councill And We are at a Loss what Salary You will please to allow M.r Daniel Griffith fifth of y.d Councill. We Think fit to Continue him 60. p.r Annm being he Same M.r Marsden had when he was Appointed fifth of y.d Councill, Till y.d Hon.r pleasure be known. 45: The two Masons or Stone Cutters that you Sent here in the Northumberland Cap.t Dickenson Witt: Theroe and George Norton are Sober Workmen and Cant Reasonably be Brought to any Good, and to be always upon the Bones of Such fellows would be very Tirefome. We Understand that they have a great Mind to Come off, And, We Sh.r be [...] willing to Let them. Provided then So Long as [...] [...] May then Stay [...]	pounds, dated 30 of the same month, payable to Mrs Sarah Poirier or her order; and thirty pounds, dated the same day, payable to Richard Gurling, planter. All three represented money due to these persons according to the account books kept on the island, and the directors were asked to discharge them accordingly. The sums had already been allocated to their respective accounts. 44: The soldiers and inhabitants of the island were organised into two companies. An ensign being needed for the junior company, and Mr Alexander being much taken up with writing and therefore unable to attend to the soldiers' drilling as regularly as necessary, it was thought reasonable to appoint Sergeant Thomas Eaton, a worthy man, as second ensign, drawing salary from the post of Sergeant White, with such additional gratuity as the directors might authorise. The administration looked to the directors to determine the salary for Mr Alexander as eldest ensign and secretary of the Council. Regarding Mr Daniel Griffith, fifth member of the Council, the administration was uncertain what salary the directors would approve and therefore proposed to continue him at sixty pounds per annum, the same amount Mr Marsden had received upon his appointment to that position, until the directors' pleasure was known. 45: The two masons or stone cutters sent on the <i>Northumberland</i> under Captain Dickenson - [...] and George Norton - were sober workmen, yet could not reasonably be brought to good effect, and constantly overseeing such men would be tiresome. It was understood that they had a strong desire to depart. The administration would be [...] willing to release them, provided that [...] Interpretations The enumeration of three separate bills of exchange - to Grace Coulton, Sarah Poirier and Richard Gurling - illustrates how the colonial administration operated as a nexus of local credit relationships, channelling wages and payments through individual colonists whose claims the directors were obliged to honour from London. The appointment of Sergeant Thomas Eaton as second ensign, funded from an existing sergeant's salary rather than from new funds, demonstrates how the administration created new posts and titles within the constraints of a fixed budget, shifting money between positions rather than requesting increased expenditure. The characterisation of the two masons as "sober workmen" who "could not reasonably be brought to good effect" reveals a consistent pattern: the Company's understanding of what labour was needed on the island did not match the skills or aptitudes of those it sent. Speculations The reference to funding Sergeant Eaton's position "out of Sergeant White's salary" suggests that White's post was either vacant or that his salary was being redirected, raising questions about the circumstances of his removal. The proposal to fix Mr Daniel Griffith's salary at sixty pounds "being the same Mr Marsden had" indicates that precedent governed compensation more than individual performance or circumstances, and that the administration was reluctant to establish new pay rates without explicit direction from London. The incompletely recorded condition under which the masons might be released - "Provided that [...]" - suggests that terms had been negotiated (perhaps guarantees of replacement workers or financial compensation) that the fragmentary text does not preserve.
33	33	what is at p.tnt Sent Needfull. I am. y.d Loving Friend Nov.b. 23.d 1708. J. Pyke. If You Shall Have Occasion to Send out y.d Boat at Night and the Guard Boat Hails it and Demands the	What presently remained to be sent was deemed sufficient. I am your devoted friend, 23 November 1708. J. Pyke.

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		Word, Let him who has Charge of the Boat Anr.r For this Night the - - Governour. To Morrow Night y.t. 24.th - - the Council. For the Night of y.t. 25.th - - S.t Helena 26.th - - The Island 27 - - The New fort 28.th - - The Castle 29.th - - The Stringer 30.th - - The Blenheim. Any Boat who Shall Anr.r Thus is to pas the Guard boat. J. Pyke. From on board the Stringer Galey In S.t Helena Road November y.t. 23.d D.t 1708. Cap.t Pyke We Receivy.d y.r of this Days Date and Do Comend You for y.d Care and So take Notice of your Watch Words and Will Give out Accordingly Shall to Morrow Mornm.g weigh y.d Sugar Candy and accordingly Give You Receipts. We are Y.d Loving Friends. The Govern.r Saith He would Not Have You Give him any other Title then that our Hon.tle Masters Gives. what's more He Saith is Vanity. November 23.d 1708.	Should the administration have occasion to send out a boat during the hours of darkness, and the guard boat hails it demanding the password, the person commanding the boat was to respond as follows: for this night (23 November), "Governor"; for the following night (24 November), "the Council"; for the night of 25 November, "St Helena"; for 26 November, "The Island"; for 27 November, "The New Fort"; for 28 November, "The Castle"; for 29 November, "The Summer Galley"; for 30 November, "The Blenheim". Any boat furnishing the correct response was to be permitted to pass the guard. J. Pyke, from aboard the <i>Summer Galley</i> in St Helena Road, 23 November 1708. Captain Pyke, We received your communication dated this day and acknowledge your diligence. We have taken note of the passwords and will distribute them as directed. Tomorrow morning we shall measure the sugar candy and furnish you with written receipts. We remain your devoted friends. The Governor wishes you to understand that he will accept no title beyond that which our honourable directors confer. Any addition to this, he observes, partakes of vanity. 23 November 1708. Interpretations The rotating daily passwords - Governor, Council, St Helena, Island, New Fort, Castle, <i>Summer Galley</i>, <i>Blenheim</i> - reveal a naval security protocol adapted for land-based colonial defence, showing how maritime procedures were borrowed to structure the colony's night watch and boat movements. The Governor's insistence that he be referred to only by the title the Company bestows, rejecting additional honorifics as vanity, reveals a distinctive posture toward authority: he refused to accumulate ceremonial status that might inflate his position beyond what London had formally granted, maintaining deference to the directors' ultimate control. The swift exchange between Captain Pyke and the island administration - with immediate acknowledgment and promised implementation of his security procedures - demonstrates how visiting ships were integrated into the colony's governance and defence during their time in port, with captains having input into local security protocols. Speculations The rotation of passwords through references to officials (Governor, Council) and locations (St Helena, Island, New Fort, Castle) alongside ship names suggests an effort to keep the watch alert and prevent the memorisation of a single static password that might be compromised or carelessly shared. The Governor's pointed comment about vanity and titles suggests he may have encountered or anticipated requests for inflated titles or forms of address, and was making clear that he would resist any erosion of the formal hierarchy that placed the London directors at the apex and all colonial officials as their subordinates. The carefully documented password system, complete with written instructions and acknowledgment of receipt, indicates an awareness that security procedures only functioned if they were explicit, recorded and acknowledged in writing - a bureaucratic approach to operational security.
34	34	Cap.t Pyke. The Govern.d and Council ordered me to acquaint you That they take Notice That you do not take Beef of the Hono.ble United Company According to y.d Charter-party They Expect you will otherwise You will Incurr the penalty therein Mentioned. I am. S.r Y.d Humble Servant November 26.th 1708 John Alexander.	Captain Pyke, The Governor and Council instructed me to inform you that they observed your failure to take beef from the Honourable United Company in accordance with the terms of the charter party. They expected you to comply; failure to do so was to bring the penalties specified therein. I am, Sir, your humble servant. 26 November 1708. John Alexander.

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			Interpretations The formal notice about beef provisions reveals that the charter party contracts governing ships' stores were specific, detailed documents that the island administration actively monitored and enforced, with explicit penalties for non-compliance. Captain Pyke's non-receipt of his contractual beef allowance suggests either unfamiliarity with the terms, deliberate evasion (perhaps to conserve shipboard space or avoid spoilage), or a dispute over the quality or availability of the island's supply. The Governor and Council's insistence on enforcing this seemingly minor provision demonstrates their concern that any deviation from contractual terms - even regarding provisions - could establish a precedent of non-compliance and ultimately undermine the authority of the charter party itself. Speculations Captain Pyke's refusal of beef may have been a practical calculation to preserve hold space or avoid the spoilage and health risks of storing salted meat, suggesting that maritime captains prioritised operational considerations over strict contractual compliance. The escalation to a formal written notice, rather than informal resolution, indicates that the administration had already attempted to address the issue through other means and was now deploying official channels, suggesting a pattern of repeated non-compliance. The reference to unspecified penalties "therein Mentioned" raises the question of what enforcement powers the island administration actually possessed and whether such penalties could be imposed without recourse to Company authority or English courts.
35	35	Honour.ble S.rs 1: The Last from this place was by the Stringer Galley Cap.t [Isaack] Pike and the Blenheim Cap.tn John Barles dated the 30 Novb.r Last which Should be glad to hear Came Safe to you Coppy thereof is herewith Inclosed. 2: Your Hono.r Ship the Dispatch Galley Cap.tn Thomas Cason Arrived here the 9 Instant with a Short Letter and Invoice [Same of] Goods from Bengall of which have Sent Coppy. And we returne yo. Hono.rs thanks for them but want greater Supplys and are of the Same Opinion as we told you in our Last That if we are well Supplied with all Sorts of Necessarys this Island would (after the Necessary fortifications are finished) Tean rather to Acco.tt then (as it hath ever been) a Charge to Your Honours. 3: We have Inclosed a Coppy of our Last Indent and do onely Say That in the Indent by the Albemarle there was mentioned [...] Demy Cannon of which have Since rec.d by the Westmoreland Eight and are Satisfyed with those of that Nature, And if there Should have been more Since Shipped We could have as many Demy Culvering Mentioned in this Last Repl in their [Boom] 4: We have made a hard Shift to Scrape up (with useing all what [possitly] could of the old house) Timber to build a new one in y.r new Fort, But are in great Necesfity for more to build Stone houses and Barracks be all ready to fale. 5: It was with great Difficulty that we got the Arrack out of the Blenheim and for want of Such Supplys if an Enemy had attackt us we might have Lost the Island for want of Liquors to keep up the Spirits of the people for besides what we then had in Stores we have Sold at nine Shillings p.r Gallon all the old Store and near Two Thousand Gallons of the new with Sugar Candy Proportionably at 18 ½ This Eddition that we have, by the Dispatch and Sugar we designe for the Good of these poor people To Lower the price Since we find them So Pleable and willing to assist us all they can at 1.s a day which indeed is very Low these good [and] provisions are at So high prizes.	Honourable Sirs, 1: The last communication from this place was conveyed by the <i>Stringer Galley</i> under Captain Isaac Pyke and the <i>Blenheim</i> under Captain John Barnes, both dated 30 November last. A copy was enclosed herewith. 2: The directors' ship, the <i>Dispatch Galley</i>, under Captain Thomas Cason, arrived on the 9th of this month, bringing a brief letter and an invoice of goods from Bengal. A copy was enclosed. Thanks were rendered for the supply, though greater quantities were required. The view previously expressed was restated: were the island properly supplied with all necessities, it was to yield a profit rather than remaining a charge upon the directors. 3: A copy of the most recent indent was enclosed. The indent transmitted by the <i>Albemarle</i> made mention of [...] demy cannons; eight demy cannons were subsequently received by the <i>Westmorland</i>, with which satisfaction was expressed. Were additional pieces to be shipped, accommodation was to be found for as many demy culverins as mentioned in the present reply in their [...]. 4: Considerable effort was made to gather sufficient timber (all salvageable material from the old structures being employed) to construct a new building at the new fort, but additional timber was required to erect stone houses and barracks, all of which were in danger of collapse. 5: The recovery of arrack from the <i>Blenheim</i> presented great difficulty. Were an enemy to have attacked in the circumstances then obtaining, the want of such supplies was to result in the loss of the island, as liquor was essential to the garrison's morale. Beyond what remained in store, sale was made at nine shillings per gallon of the whole old stock and nearly two thousand gallons of the new, with sugar at eighteen shillings and sixpence. These supplies from the <i>Dispatch</i>, together with sugar, were designated for the benefit of the poor people, that prices were to be lowered. The people were found to be so compliant and willing to

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		[Christian] Frederick Vogell that was Engineer here we could [...] [reason] Neither by fair nor foul means So be of any [...] and therefore have Sent him of in this Ship and we [...] Satisfaction in that affair without any more	assist at one shilling a day - a rate which was scarcely adequate given the dearth of provisions. Christian Frederick Vogell, formerly engineer, was found to be intractable by neither persuasion nor pressure, and was therefore sent off aboard this vessel. The matter was to be regarded as concluded. Interpretations The opening reference to two ships conveying a single letter illustrates the administration's practice of redundancy: despatch by multiple vessels was undertaken to ensure at least one copy reached London safely, reflecting awareness of maritime hazards. The repeated assertion that proper supply would transform the island from a financial burden to a profitable concern reveals how central the supply question was to the colony's entire justification to the Company and its fundamental viability. The enumeration of prices charged for liquor and sugar shows the administration exercising strategic control over the colonial economy, setting rates aimed at both profit and welfare of the poorest inhabitants. Speculations The difficulty in recovering arrack from the <i>Blenheim</i> suggests ongoing friction between ship captains and the island administration over cargo release and compliance with supply agreements. The dismissal of Christian Frederick Vogell as an engineer who proved intractable by all means suggests that technical skills alone were insufficient; a craftsman unwilling to operate within the colony's constraints and hierarchies was ultimately a liability. The practice of selling supplies at controlled prices while acknowledging workers' acceptance of minimal wages reveals an administration attempting to manage a subsistence colonial economy through paternalistic price control and wage suppression.
36	36	of that Name his Acco.t is inclosed wherein you'll See that by his Extravegancy he is indebted to your Hon.rs The Sum of fou[r-] =teen pound Eight Shillings Eight pence half penny which for the future we designe to prevent by Proclamation, That none of your Hon.rs Servants be Trusted Upon the Risque of [Loosing] what they trust them Even from the Govern.r to a Private Sold.r he having no Effects here Besides you'll gett it of him. 7: We have now greater reason to believe That the former Arrack we used to have from Bengall was unwholesom, because now having that which is good your Island (thank god) is very healthfull. 8: We forbear Sending your Hon.rs an Acct. of what Remains in Stores By this Conveyance because are just Upon Making full Acct. with all people and Ballancing your Books to the 24 inst. in order to Send them home by Yo.r Summer Fleet with Acct. of yo.r Stock of Cattle &c. The whole State of the Island. 9: Our present Surgeon Willis Cortinos whom we mentioned in our Last we find to be very Diligent in his business, and Travels Up and Down the hills Extraordinary well and do believe we Cant have a Better for that purpose if we had but one to ase[t] him. 10: We are now Collecting all the Laws orders and Constitutions of the Island Even from the first Settlem.t and Shall bring them Into one Volume, and which we have done Shall Transmitt them to you for your further Confirmation And the Next thing we design to go Upon as being very Necessary for the Good of His Island will be about Surveying Imediately all the Lands and Plantations Upon the Island And have the plans brought, and new Leases given where wanting and where people have properties to Examine into them That a full Confirmation may be Recorded. 11: Since our Last to yo.r Hon.rs By the Two Ships afores.d we find the Two Stone Cuters George Northen and Nicholas Theroe to be of Late very orderly, and	His account was enclosed, wherein it was shown that by his extravagance he was indebted to the directors in the sum of fourteen pounds eight shillings and eight pence halfpenny. To prevent such indebtedness in future, a proclamation was to be issued that none of the directors' servants were to be extended credit, at the risk of losing what was lent to them, from the Governor down to the lowest private soldier; since no effects being present here, recovery was to be impossible. 7: Greater reason was found to believe the former arrack received from Bengal to be unwholesome, as the island (by God's grace) was observed to be very healthy once good arrack was obtained. 8: An account of what remained in stores was not sent by this conveyance, as full accounts were made up with all persons and the books were balanced to the 24th instant, in order that these accounts, together with an account of the stock of cattle and the whole state of the island, were to be sent home by the directors' Summer Fleet. 9: The present surgeon, Willis Cortinos, mentioned in the previous letter, was found to be very diligent in his work and was observed to travel up and down the hills with remarkable facility. It was believed that none better could be obtained for the purpose, were an assistant to be provided. 10: Steps were taken to collect all the laws, orders, and constitutions of the island from the first settlement, and these were to be brought together in one volume and transmitted to the directors for confirmation. The next matter was to be undertaken, being deemed very necessary for the island's welfare: the immediate survey of all lands and plantations, with plans to be brought and new leases to be issued where required. Where properties were held by settlers, examination was to be made so that full confirmation could be recorded.

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		Diligent about their work we therefore Desire that orders may have their money Paid em According to their Contract for we believe they will be very Servisable to your Inerds. 12: We are in great want of a Sprit to fetch Lime and Arch Stone and unloving of Ships of 22 foot Long 6 foot [...] and 4 foot Deep, made very Stoney, which begg yo.s Hon.r [...] the Next Oppertunity. We have given M.r William Marsden three [...] Drawn upon your Hon.r howable to him	11: Since the previous communication by the two aforementioned ships, the two stone cutters, George Norton and Nicholas Theroe, were observed to be very orderly and diligent in their work. Orders were therefore requested that payment was to be made to them according to their contract, as it was believed these men were to prove very serviceable to the directors' interests. 12: Great need was felt for a small vessel to fetch lime and arch stone and [vessels] of twenty-two feet in length, six feet in breadth, and four feet in depth, made of sturdy construction, which were requested from the directors at the next opportunity. Mr William Marsden was given three [...] drawn upon the directors, [payable] to him. Interpretations The proclamation against extending credit to any of the directors' servants, regardless of rank, reveals the administration's recognition that debt and extravagance undermined military discipline and colonial stability, requiring a blanket prohibition rather than case-by-case judgment. The reversal of opinion on Bengal arrack - once thought acceptable, now deemed unwholesome - demonstrates how the administration used observed health outcomes as evidence of cause, attributing the island's improved health to the superior quality of the new arrack supply. The decision to survey all lands and plantations and issue new leases represented a systematic attempt to regularise property relations on the island, moving from informal occupation to formal legal documentation and Crown confirmation. Speculations Vogell's indebtedness of fourteen pounds eight shillings and eight pence suggests he had lived beyond what the island could provide, possibly purchasing goods at inflated prices or maintaining a standard of living unsuitable to a remote colonial outpost. The request for assistance in recruiting a suitable surgeon reveals the chronic difficulty of attracting qualified professionals to the island; the existing surgeon Willis Cortinos was deemed adequate only because no alternative was available. The proposal to collect and systematise all island laws, orders, and constitutions suggests that the colony had developed a body of custom and regulation over decades, but lacked a unified legal code, prompting the administration to create one for submission to London.
37	37	amount of 92: 13: - being for Credito due to him in y.d Books of Acco.tt here which pray Accept Acordingly. 14: We have a Soldier here Named George Heelon who was in y.d Hon.r Service as Such at Banjar and Afterward Shipt himself on Board your Ship the Blenheim and having 16: 18 as he Sayd due to him for Seamens Wages Cap.tn Barnes gave him a bill for the Same without Running any Risque, which the Govern.t not Approving of Drew another of Different Nature which the Captain Carryed away with him. So that the Fellow has nothing to Show for his Soluctione We desire to have your order to pay him whats his due for his Service in that Ship, So we remaine S.t Helena Honourable S.rs March y. 19.th 170 8/9 [per] the Dispatch Galley Cap.t Tho. Cason Your most faithfull obedient Humble Servants. John Roberts Thom.s Goodwin Geo. Mashborne Will.m Marsden Dan.l Griffith. Honor.ble S.rs The Inclosed is Cap.t Casons Acco.t which being Not made up before our Gen.lt dated the 17 Inst. could not Send it in that pacq.t. We have nothing more to Add than that Cap.t Cason hath told us all y.d Hon.rs Ships are arrived Safe on the Coast & Bay So remaine	The amount was ninety-two pounds thirteen shillings, being for credit due to him in the account books maintained at the island, which was requested to be accepted accordingly. 14: A soldier named George Heelon was in the directors' service at Banjar. He was subsequently shipped aboard the <i>Blenheim</i> and claimed sixteen pounds eighteen shillings was due to him for seamen's wages. Captain Barnes furnished him with a bill for the same without incurring any risk. The Governor, not approving of this action, drew another bill of different nature, which the Captain carried away with him. Thus the fellow was left with nothing to show for his settlement. An order was requested that payment was to be made to him for what was due to him for his service aboard that ship. St Helena, Honourable Sirs, 19 March 1709, per the <i>Dispatch Galley</i>, Captain Thomas Cason. Your most faithful obedient humble servants. John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, George Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith. Postscript The enclosed account of Captain Cason was incomplete before the General Letter dated the 17th instant and therefore was unable to be sent in that

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		S.t Helena Hon.ble S.rs March y. 19.th 170 8/9 Yo.r most Humb. & faithfull Servants. Jn.o Roberts Tho. Goodwin Geo. Mashborne Will.m Marsden Dan.l Griffith. Margin Notes: We are in great want of Chairs be pleased to Send us two Doz.n forgot in our Indent	packet. Nothing further was to be added save that Captain Cason informed the senders that all the directors' ships arrived safely on the coast and in the bay. St Helena, 19 March 1709. Your most humble and faithful servants. John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, George Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith. Margin Note Great need was felt for chairs; two dozen were requested, these being overlooked in the indent. Interpretations The case of George Heelon reveals the confusion of jurisdiction and authority when a soldier transferred to maritime service: competing bills of exchange (one from the ship's captain, one from the Governor) resulted in the man holding worthless documents and the island administration unable to guarantee payment. The postscript noting that all the directors' ships had arrived safely on the coast and bay suggests that safe arrival of the Company's shipping was a matter of significant concern and relief, with news of safe passage being reserved for inclusion in the formal record. The margin note about chairs forgotten in the indent reflects the practical constraints of colonial supply: even small, essential items were subject to the vagaries of shipping schedules and memory, requiring explicit reminders to ensure their inclusion in future orders. Speculations The Governor's rejection of Captain Barnes' bill and substitution of another suggests that the Governor viewed the transaction as potentially fraudulent or improper, and sought to impose his own authority over financial settlements between ship officers and colonial personnel. The failure to resolve Heelon's claim during his time on the island—leaving him with two competing, conflicting bills—indicates that the administration lacked clear procedures for validating and honouring wage claims made by individuals transferring between military and maritime service. The postscript's inclusion of Captain Cason's reassurance about safe arrivals, appended after the formal letter close, suggests that security of the fleet was a matter of sufficient importance to warrant a separate communication, or that news of arrivals had reached the writers only after the main letter was composed.
38	38	Island S.t Helena. List of the pacqu.t Sent y.e Hono.ble Comp.y by y.e Dispatch Galley Cap.t Thomas Cason March the 17.th 170 8/9 No. 1 Govern.r & Coun.ll Gen.l dated y.e 17.th March 170 8/9 2 Coppy of Govern.r & Coun.ll Gen.l dated y.e 30 Nov.r 1708 by y.e Stinger Galley & Blenhe.m 3 Coppy of Govern.r & Coun.ll Gen.l from Bengall dated y.e 8.th Nov.r 1708 4 Coppy of a Short Supplem.t Letar by Stringer S.t Helena Galley dated y.e 30 D.r 1708 5 Coppy of Invoice from Bengall 6 Christian Fred.k Vogels Acco.t Cur.t 7 Indent of Goods to Supply the Island &c. Cap.t.n Edmund Racy. You are hereby Desired and ordered to Moar y.r Ship Aurengzeb So near in as that y.r Hauser will Reach the Rocks Generally Call'd the Landing place and Carry a Shore there yo.r Bestern.r Cable or a very Good Hauser, and make fast the Under End to Some of the Rocks and Leave it there Quoted ready And Upon an Allarem Let your Boat go and fetch it to you, for Very often you Cant Carry it a Shore whereas you may at all Times Carry it off before the Wind, And you are also required to Sound all Round the place You are to heave moar That you may know the better how farr to Come with Safety. We are	Island of St Helena. List of the Packet sent to the Honourable Company by the <i>Dispatch Galley</i>, Captain Thomas Cason, 17 March 1708/9. No. 1: Governor and Council General [Letter] dated 17 March 1708/9 No. 2: Copy of Governor and Council General [Letter] dated 30 November 1708 by the <i>Stinger Galley</i> and <i>Blenheim</i> No. 3: Copy of Governor and Council General [Letter] from Bengal dated 8 November 1708 No. 4: Copy of a Short Supplemental Letter by <i>Stringer</i> St Helena Galley dated 30 December 1708 No. 5: Copy of Invoice from Bengal No. 6: Christian Frederick Vogel's Account Current No. 7: Indent of Goods to Supply the Island, etc. Order to Captain Edmund Racy Captain Edmund Racy was hereby ordered to moor his ship <i>Aurengzeb</i> so near the shore as that his hawser was to reach the rocks generally known as the Landing Place, and to carry ashore there his western cable or a very good hawser, and to make fast the under end to some of the rocks and to leave it there secured and ready. Upon an alarm being raised, his boat was to proceed and fetch it to him, as the cable was unable to be brought ashore very often whereas it was always to be retrieved before the wind. He was also required to

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		S.t Helena Yo.r Loving Friends. United Castle June y.e 2.d 1709 Jn.o Roberts Tho. Goodwin Edw. Mashborne Will.m Marsden Dan.l Griffith. Margin Notes: ord.r to Cap.t.n Racy for Mooring his Ship Aurengzeb none of y.e [Threats]	sound all round the mooring place in order that he was to know the better how far to approach with safety. St Helena, Your Loving Friends, United Castle, 2 June 1709. John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith. Margin Note Order to Captain Racy for mooring his ship <i>Aurengzeb</i>, none of the [...]. Interpretations The detailed list of enclosures - seven items comprising copies of multiple letters, accounts, invoices, and supply indents - reveals the documentary burden of colonial administration: the need to create multiple copies of correspondence for redundancy and to send supporting financial records back to London for audit and review. The order to Captain Racy regarding mooring procedures demonstrates the administration's active role in directing visiting ships' conduct in the harbour, specifying not just where to anchor but how to secure emergency cables and conduct preliminary soundings - procedures that reveal accumulated knowledge about safe harbour practices. The specific instruction to sound the mooring place before approaching full mooring distance reflects an understanding of the dangers posed by rocky, shallow waters around the island, and the administration's insistence on standardised safety procedures for all visiting vessels. Speculations The rotation of supplemental letters dated in December and February, appended after the main General Letter, suggests that final business requiring attention emerged after the primary dispatch was prepared, necessitating separate covers for last-minute items. The instruction that the hawser be retrievable "before the wind" implies prior experience of sudden weather changes forcing ships to leave harbour hastily, making it essential that mooring equipment could be abandoned rather than delaying departure. The explicit requirement that Captain Racy sound the harbour before mooring suggests that previous captains may have neglected this precaution or approached too closely with insufficient knowledge of depth and bottom conditions, prompting the administration to mandate the procedure in writing.
39	39	Cap.tn Edm.d Racy. You are desired and ordered to Deliver the Arrack, being one Butt, Eight Puncheons and Two Hogsheads Consigned to us from the Generall Councill of Bombay, asoon as Possible you Can, Taking all oppertunities of the weather to Land them Acordingly. We are. Yo.r Loving Friends. Jn.o Roberts. Tho. Goodwin. Edw. Mashborne W.m Marsden Dan.l Griffith. Cap.tn Edm.d Racy. It will be for the Hono.ble United Companys Service here if you Can Spare us one of yo.r Spare Teak Main Top Mast for a Mast to our Flagg, and also a Large Spaar of about thirty foot to Make us a flagstaffe &c. Shall in Lieu Spare you a fair Top mast of about forty five foot which we Suppose will make you a good Pole topmast, and pay you the odds. Wee are yo.r Loving Friends United Castle Jn.o Roberts June y.e 10.th 1709 Tho.s Goodwin Edw.d Mashborne Will.m Marsden Dan.l Griffith Right Worshipfull S.r and the rest of the Coun.ll Yo.rs Sir.d and for the Service of y.e Hon.ble United Compan.y I have by the bearer Sent you a Teak Topmast of fifty one foot Long And have Sent a Sudden Sait Boom of [Joseby] [Wood] foot Long for a	Order to Captain Edmund Racy for Delivery of Arrack from Bombay Captain Edmund Racy was desired and ordered to deliver the arrack brought from Bombay - being one butt, eight puncheons, and two hogsheads consigned to the administration from the General Council of Bombay - as soon as possible, taking all opportunities of the weather to land them accordingly. Letter to Captain Racy Requesting a Top Mast It was deemed to be for the Honourable United Company's service if Captain Racy could spare one of his spare teak main top masts for a flag mast, and also a large spar of about thirty feet to serve as a flagstaff. In exchange, a fair top mast of about forty-five feet was to be furnished, which was supposed would make a good pole top mast, and the difference in value was to be paid. Captain Racy's Answer regarding Compliance with the Foregoing Request To the Right Worshipful Sir and the rest of the Council, For the service of the Honourable United Company, a teak topmast of fifty-one feet in length was sent by the bearer. A [...] boom of [...] feet in length was sent for a flagstaff, which was feared to be too short by four or five feet. As for the pole topmast ashore, the

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		flagg Staffe, which I am affraid is Too Short by four or five foot And as for yo.r Pole Topmast a Shore, I have Sent a Sho.r my Carpent.r to See of yo.r Topmast will be of any Service to us upon any Occasion if Sound and Good and fitt for our Service when it is up [We Hope] Margin Notes: Ord.r to Cap.t Racy for Delivering the Arrack on Board br.t from Bombay. Let.t.r to Cap.t Racy to desire a Top mast. Cap.t Racy An.r of afores.d Let.t.r of Compliance herewith.	sender's carpenter was despatched to determine whether that topmast would be of any service upon any occasion if sound and good and fit for service when in place. [...]. Interpretations The detailed specification of arrack quantities in multiple units - one butt, eight puncheons, two hogsheads - demonstrates the precision required in recording liquid cargo, with each vessel size having a standard capacity and the administration needing exact accountability of incoming stores. The negotiation over masts and spars between the administration and Captain Racy reveals a reciprocal relationship: the island needed materials and the ship needed replacement equipment, allowing for barter exchanges rather than purely monetary transactions. Captain Racy's dispatch of his carpenter to evaluate whether the offered pole topmast would serve the ship's needs shows a practical approach to assessing the fitness of materials before accepting them, avoiding acquisition of unsuitable items in exchange. Speculations The emphasis on landing the arrack "taking all opportunities of the weather" suggests that St Helena's harbour conditions were volatile and unpredictable, making it essential to move cargo ashore whenever weather permitted rather than waiting for ideal conditions that might not arrive. Captain Racy's offer of a topmast three feet longer than requested (fifty-one feet versus the requested forty-five feet) may have reflected either a surplus of that particular item aboard his ship or an effort to demonstrate generosity and strengthen relations with the island administration. The feared shortage of the flagstaff boom by four or five feet raises the question of whether the specifications provided by the administration were precise or whether the available materials simply fell short of ideal proportions, forcing a compromise between what was needed and what could be supplied.
40	40	Worships pleasure to Send or order it on board I am ready to fetch it [or] Receive it. I Shall think My Self happy to Serve y.r Wrshpt when ever a is your pleasure to Command. S.r Yo.r most Humble & obed.t Serv.t Aurengzeb Edmund Racy. June y.e 10.th 1709 Cap.t Racy The fatall & unaccountable accidents that has happen.d to the Hon.ble Comp.a purely for want of care in fitting their Ships especially Homeward bound and providing themselves w.th a Sufficient quantity of provisions. And as the Comad.r Sandys has offer'd You his Asistance as well to fitt y.r Ship as to Supply You w.th what You may have occasion for, therefore Wee recomend to You y.r Diligent Care to fitt your ship well before You goe out of this Road, & not put it to a hazard of Looseing y.r Hog for a half pe.ny of tarr. As for provisions Wee Shall Supply You, and w.th any thing else this Iland affords and You want. Wee must Likewise recomend to You the care of y.r Sick men, and that somebody be appointed for that purpose for they Strool about here in a wretched and miserable condition We are Y.r Lo.g freinds United Castle S.t Helena June 15.th 1709 Jn.o Roberts Tho. Goodwin Edw.d Mashborne W.m Marsden Dan.l Griffith Margin Notes: Let.t.r to Cap.t.n Racy to advise him to fitt his Ship w.th necessarys and to apply himself to Cap.t Sandys for assistance provisions &c. offerd him and to take better Care of his Sick men	When it was the worship's pleasure to send or order [the mast] on board, it was to be fetched or received. Happiness was to be found in serving the worship whenever it was the pleasure to command. The <i>Aurengzeb</i>, Edmund Racy, 10 June 1709. Letter to Captain Racy Advising Proper Fitting of His Ship, Application to Captain Sandys for Assistance, and Better Care of His Sick Men Fatal and unaccountable accidents had occurred to the Honourable Company purely from want of care in fitting their ships, especially those homeward bound, and from failure to provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of provisions. As Commander Sandys offered his assistance both to fit the ship and to supply what might be required, diligent care was recommended that the ship was to be fitted well before departure from this road, and that the vessel was not to be put at hazard of loss for want of a halfpenny's worth of tar. As for provisions, supply was to be furnished, and likewise anything else the island afforded that was wanted. The care of the sick men was likewise recommended, with someone to be appointed for that purpose, as they were observed to stroll about in a wretched and miserable condition. St Helena, United Castle, 15 June 1709. Your Loving Friends. John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith. Interpretations The reference to "fatal and unaccountable accidents" to Company ships reflects a pattern of maritime loss attributable to inadequate maintenance and provisioning, with the administration invoking recent catastrophes as cautionary examples to persuade Captain Racy to maintain his vessel properly.

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			The specific warning against losing the ship "for a halfpenny's worth of tar" reveals how small, preventable negligences in maintenance could compound into catastrophic failure, with the idiom capturing the administration's frustration with captains who skimmed on essential repairs. The observation that sick men "stroll about here in a wretched and miserable condition" indicates that the island lacked proper facilities or designated personnel for caring for the sick crews of visiting ships, forcing the administration to address the problem through exhortation rather than institutional provision. Speculations The repeated recommendation that Captain Racy apply to Commander Sandys for assistance suggests that Sandys held particular expertise or resources for ship fitting, and that the administration was actively managing relationships between visiting captains and those who could provide necessary support. The emphasis on proper provisioning before departure, linked explicitly to past fatal accidents, indicates that the administration had observed a pattern of ships departing St Helena inadequately supplied and subsequently failing to reach port, prompting them to make provisioning a matter of explicit instruction. The concern for the sick crews of visiting ships, expressed as a moral imperative to the captain despite the lack of institutional means to enforce it, reflects the administration's awareness that epidemic disease could spread from ship to ship and pose a threat to the island's own health.
41	41	S.r It will be very much for the Service of the Hon.ble United Comp.a if you could Spare the following things which we are in great want of Vizt. Coales and in Lieu we Shall Supply you w.th wood. one Barr.l of Tarr One Coile of 3 Inch roap one Ditto 2 Inch A boom of 35 or 36 foot for a flagstaffe A Capp for Ditto Oak or Ulm for Trussell trees and Cap Trees A Carpent.r to Fix it, and y.r Joyner For which we will be Accountable to yo.r Sattisfaction. Wee are yo.r Affectionate & Loveing freinds. United Castle S.t Helena June y.e 18.th 1709 Jn.o Roberts Tho. Goodwin Ed.w Mashborne Will.m Marsden Dan.l Griffith S.r Wee are informed that yo.r Ship Aurengzeb Sprung a Leak in y.e Bows and has Damaged all of the Powder there, And that you had another Dangerous Leak near yo.r Stern Post, that one of yo.r Beam in y.e Cuff weeks in y.e [Sluefs] works and has bin the Occasion of Damageing Some Goods. That yo.r Sailes are very Defective, and want a great Deale of Repaire and that yo.r Provision is and has bin So bad, which has Occasioned the Sicknefs & Mortality in yo.r Ship. And therefore wee do in the behalfe of the Hon.ble United Company require a Survey for y.e Good of yo.r owners and the Good of all And wee have desired Cap.t Sandys, To Lett his Master, his Carpent.r and Such other persons as Shall be thought fitt To make the aforesaid Survey and Lett us know as Soon as possible when You Shall be ready for it We are Yo.r Loving freinds. United Cattle S.t Helena Jn.o Roberts June y.e 19.th 1709 Tho. Goodwin Ed.w Mashborne W.m Marsden Dan.l Griffith Margin Notes: Lett.r to Cap.t Racy desireing Such Necesfarys The List of em Lett.r to Cap.t Racy in Relation to a Leak in y.e Ship Bowes and Stern & as y.e Gov.r were informed and that y.r Sailes are bad as also the Provisions A Survey required.	Letter to Captain Racy Requesting Necessary Supplies It was to be very much for the service of the Honourable United Company were the captain to spare the following items of which great want was felt: Coals, in exchange for which wood was to be supplied. One barrel of tar. One coil of three-inch rope. One coil of two-inch rope. A boom of thirty-five or thirty-six feet for a flagstaff. A cap for the same, of oak or elm for trussell trees and cap trees. A carpenter to fix it, and the administration's joiner. For these items, accountability was to be rendered to his satisfaction. Your Affectionate and Loving Friends, United Castle, St Helena, 18 June 1709. John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith. Letter to Captain Racy regarding Leaks, Defective Sails, Bad Provisions, and the Requirement for a Survey Information was received that the <i>Aurengzeb</i> sprung a leak in the bows and damaged all the powder there, and that another dangerous leak existed near the stern post. One of the beams in the [...] was weakened in the [...] works and was the occasion of damage to some goods. The sails were reported to be very defective and in want of much repair. The provisions were reported to be so bad, which was the occasion of sickness and mortality aboard the ship. Therefore, on behalf of the Honourable United Company, a survey was required for the good of his owners and the good of all. Captain Sandys was requested to allow his master, his carpenter, and such other persons as were thought fit to make the survey and to inform the administration as soon as possible when the captain was to be ready for it. Your Loving Friends, United Castle, St Helena, 19 June 1709. John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith. Interpretations The detailed itemisation of supplies requested from Captain Racy - coals, tar, rope, spars, and skilled labour - reveals the island's chronic dependency on visiting

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			ships for materials and expertise that could not be produced locally, requiring a constant flow of negotiation and barter with merchant captains. The letter regarding the <i>Aurengzeb's</i> structural damage, defective sails, and spoiled provisions reads as a formal record of the ship's unfitness for continued sailing, with the administration invoking the survey requirement both to protect the ship's owners and to establish documentary evidence of the vessel's condition. The direct linking of bad provisions to sickness and mortality aboard the ship demonstrates the administration's understanding of the connection between food quality and crew health, a connection that remained poorly understood or acknowledged by many captains and ship owners. Speculations The request for coal in exchange for wood suggests either that the island's timber resources were abundant but coal was scarce, or that the administration sought to encourage the captain to accept wood as payment rather than demanding monetary compensation, preserving cash reserves. The requirement for a survey, imposed on authority of the directors' interests, indicates that the administration had power to mandate inspections of visiting vessels and to document their condition, a power presumably granted to defend the Company's commercial interests against fraud or negligence by captains. The reference to sickness and mortality aboard the <i>Aurengzeb</i> as a consequence of bad provisions may have been partly a reproach to Captain Racy for crew mismanagement, but also served the administration's interest in establishing that St Helena's own healthiness was due to their proper provision of good supplies, not to the island's inherent character.
42	42	Right Worshipfull S.r And the Gentlemen of the Council. Yours I Rec.d the 15.th day of this Instant wherein you write to me to me to fitt the Ship Aurengzeb with what Provisions and other Supplyes that may be wanting [for the] Ships Use, for England which I will Use my Utmmost Endeavours So to do, vizt: 1 for Beef, I have two Thousand five Hundred Pieces of Europe Meat I have on Board ay Rice Twelve Thousand Weight, on Nearest there a bouts I have witts Casks that I designe to fill and to Carry to. Sea thirty five or forty Tuns. And I praise the Almighty God the Ship is very tite by In very Good Order at Present. Considering the Time the Ship hath been out of England, Some Small Leakes we had when we came in here, which I have Used my Endeavours to Stop And I am in Real Hopes have stoped them, have Rumaged our Hold from the Bread Room, Butt as far as our Fore- Hatch way, and have found all the Hono.tle Comp.s Goods Dry. Yn very Good Order As Touching our Wants. vizt: Six or Eight men of the Island, if your Worship Could Spare them, And to Be supply'd from Cap.t. Sands. 1 Cable of Sixteen Inches. 1 New Main Topsail. 6 Barrells of Powder. ½ a Ream of Cartridge Paper. 1 Quilo of 2 ½ Inch Roppe 2 Ditto of 1½ Inch 10 pound of Twine 2 Bolts of Pillery Cloth 1 Ditto Duck 2 Bushells of Coals. S.r, Just as I was inclosing of the above mention'd I Rec.d the Orders from m.r Dalton for me to gett Ready for a Survey on our Ship, & Provisions, & if your Worship Pleases Lett it be as soon as possible. Yo.r Reasons every thing Lyes at Aland and we are Ready for a Survey out to Morrow Morning being the twentieth of this Month. I Shall be getting my Water on Board and Stowing it away, w.ch moving it again will Discommode	Captain Racy's Response Regarding Provisions and the Condition of the <i>Aurengzeb</i>, with Request for Men and Supplies from the Island Right Worshipful Sir and Gentlemen of the Council, Your letter was received on the 15th instant, wherein instruction was given that the ship <i>Aurengzeb</i> was to be fitted with such provisions and supplies as were to be wanted for the ship's use in proceeding to England. The utmost endeavours were to be employed to accomplish this. Regarding provisions on board: for beef, two thousand five hundred pieces of European meat were on board. Rice amounting to twelve thousand weight, or nearest thereabouts, was held. Casks were designed to be filled and carried to sea, providing thirty-five or forty tons [of fresh water]. By God's grace, the ship was very tight and in very good order at present. Considering the time the ship had been at sea from England, some small leaks were encountered upon arrival, the stopping of which was to be attempted. Real hopes were held that these were stopped. The hold was to be rummaged from the bread room as far as the fore-hatchway, and all the Honourable Company's goods were found to be dry and in very good order. Regarding supplies wanted: six or eight men of the island were requested, were the worship to spare them, to be supplied from Captain Sandys: One cable of sixteen inches. One new main topsail. Six barrels of powder. Half a ream of cartridge paper. One coil of two-and-a-half-inch rope. Two coils of one-and-a-half-inch rope. Ten pounds of twine. Two bolts of pillery cloth. One bolt of duck cloth. Two bushells of coals. At the moment of enclosing the above, orders were received from Mr Dalton for the ship to be made ready

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		Us very much. If possible a Survey could be made to Night Margin Notes: Cap.t Racys An.r to y.e foregoing lett.r Giving an Ac.t of Provi- sion on board. Th.e Condition of Said Ship. He desires 6 or 8 men off y.e Island. V.t What he desires may be supplied all from Cap.t.n Sandys. His ready Comp- liance for a Survey, Conv- [...] [it may] be at all Expedit- ion. Giving Reasons of the [...]	for a survey of the vessel and provisions. If it was the worship's pleasure, such survey was to be undertaken as soon as possible. Everything lay at hand and readiness was to be present for a survey by the following morning, being the twentieth of the month. Water was to be brought on board and stowed, the moving of which was to greatly discommode the crew. If possible, the survey was to be undertaken that night. Interpretations The detailed inventory of provisions aboard the <i>Aurengzeb</i> - two thousand five hundred pieces of beef, twelve thousand weight of rice, and provisions for thirty-five to forty tons of fresh water - demonstrates the substantial provisioning required for a long ocean voyage and the administration's need to verify that adequate stores were aboard before release of the ship. The captain's assertion that the ship was "very tight" and goods "dry and in very good order" constituted a formal statement of the vessel's fitness, made in response to the administration's earlier charges of leaks and cargo damage, representing his defence against the implicit accusation of negligence. The request for six or eight men from the island, to be supplied through Captain Sandys, shows the reliance of visiting ships on local labour for crew replacement or augmentation, with the island serving as a source of temporary workers for maritime purposes. Speculations The captain's invocation of God's grace regarding the ship's condition, combined with his detailed accounting of repairs attempted and goods examined, suggests he was aware that his competence and honesty were under question and was employing both pious language and detailed facts to rehabilitate his reputation. The urgent plea that the survey be conducted at night rather than after water was stowed suggests that Captain Racy was attempting to minimise disruption to the ship's loading and departure schedule, and that he feared delay would jeopardise his ability to catch favourable winds. The meticulous list of supplies needed - cables, canvas, powder, rope, cloth - reveals the standard items routinely consumed or damaged during long voyages, and the predictability of such requests allowed the island administration to anticipate and potentially stockpile items for visiting ships.
43	43	Or in the Morning Early. It might a forward Business very Much, for the Person That informd your Worsh.p of our Provisions, Sails &c. being so very Bad, he Knows nothing of the matter, I am Sure, for he doth not Know how to Fitt a Ship, nor how to Survey a Ship, & yo.r Sure he doth not know what to do with a Ship If he had one in his Charge; and as Touching a Beam Working in our Luffe, or any Where Else in our Ship, that I am Sure will appear by the Survey a Most Notorious & Rank Lye And if the Gentleman in any ways agrieved at what I write to your Worship, which is the Truth when ever the Gentleman's Block-Head will Demand Sattisfaction, I am Ready to give it him. This being the Needfull at p.r Sent from me that Am Your Worship's & Councill's Aurengzeb Luney.e very Humble Serv.t 19.th 1709 Edmund Racy S.r We have got Information, and it Seems to us Credible That the Ship Aurengzeb Sprung a Leak in the Browes and has Damaged all her Powder there, and that She had another Dangerous Leak near her Stern Post, that one of his Beams in the Luffe Works, and has been the Occasion of Damageing Some Goods. That her Sails are very Defective and want a great Deal of Repair, and that the Badness of the Provisions on Board has been the Occasion of the Sicknefs & Mortality in the s.d Ship.	[Continuation of Captain Racy's letter] Or in the morning early. This was to forward business very much, for the person that informed the worship of the provisions, sails, etc., being so very bad, knew nothing of the matter, surely, for he did not know how to fit a ship, nor how to survey a ship, and surely he did not know what to do with a ship if he had one in his charge. And as touching a beam working in the luff or anywhere else in the ship, that was to appear by the survey as a most notorious and rank lie. And if the gentleman was in any way aggrieved at what was written to the worship, which was the truth, whenever the gentleman's blockhead was to demand satisfaction, readiness was to be given to him. This being the needful at present. From the <i>Aurengzeb</i>, 19 June 1709. Your worship's and council's very humble servant. Edmund Racy. Letter to Captain Sandys Regarding the Condition of the <i>Aurengzeb</i> and Request for Swift Survey Information was received, and it seemed credible that the ship <i>Aurengzeb</i> sprung a leak in the bows and damaged all her powder there, and that another dangerous leak existed near her stern post, that one of the beams in the luff works was the occasion of damage to some goods. Her sails were reported to be very defective and in want of much repair, and the badness of the provisions on board was the occasion of sickness and mortality aboard the ship.

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		Wherefore we desire that you would please to Order your Master, your Carpenter, your Gunner, and the Carpenter of the <i>Windsor</i>, and direct them to Survey those s.d Defects, and Defects above mentioned, and that they do pry about & See if they Can find any more, Giving Us an Account from Under their Hands of the Survey. This will be a Good Piece of Service to the Hono.ble United Comp.a, and your very much Oblidge. Your affectionate & very Loving Friends John Roberts Tho.s Goodwin Ed.w Mashborne W.m Marsden Dan: Griffith Margin Notes: Delaye would hind.r their business Lett.r to Cap.t Sandys informing him of the Aurengzebs Condition Wherefore desire a Survey may be speedily made by his officers	Therefore, it was desired that the captain was to order his master, his carpenter, his gunner, and the carpenter of the <i>Windsor</i>, and direct them to survey the said defects mentioned above, and that they were to pry about and see if they were to find any more, giving the administration an account under their hands of the survey. Delay was to hinder their business, and therefore the survey was to be undertaken with all expedition. This was to be a good piece of service to the Honourable United Company, and was to very much oblige the captain. Your affectionate and very loving friends. John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith. Interpretations Captain Racy's heated defence - attacking his unnamed accuser as ignorant and incompetent, threatening violence if challenged - reveals the vulnerability of shipmasters to accusations from local authorities, and their recourse to aggressive language and challenges to honour as a means of defending their reputation. The administration's insistence on a formal survey by specified officers from other ships demonstrates the colonial governance pattern: disputes between captains and local authorities were to be resolved through documented inspections by disinterested third parties, creating an official record that could be referred to London. The reference to the carpenter of the <i>Windsor</i> as one of the survey parties indicates that other Company ships in harbour at the time were integrated into the colony's administrative procedures, with their officers serving as witnesses and arbiters in disputes. Speculations The accusation that the informant "does not know how to fit a ship, nor how to survey a ship" suggests that Captain Racy knew who had reported the damage and was using the council's letter as an opportunity to attack that person's professional credentials, hoping to discredit the complaint through character assault. The threat of violence - "whenever the gentleman's blockhead will demand satisfaction, I am ready to give it him" - indicates that disputes aboard ships and in colonial ports could escalate to physical confrontation, and that captains expected the option of duelling to defend their honour against serious slurs. The administration's emphasis on speed - "delay would hinder their business" and "expedition" - suggests that prolonged disputes over ship fitness posed a commercial hazard, as delays in repair and departure could threaten the ship's voyage and cause losses to the Company, creating pressure to resolve matters swiftly.
44	44	Gentlemen Swallow in S.t Helena Road June 25 1709 I have yours of the 19.th and as you Desire have ordered my officers to Inspect into the Circumstances of the Aurengzeb and Acordingly they have been on Board and there report I here Inclose you. I Shall Supply the Said Ship with what the Comand.r has Desired Except a Cable which I cant Spare but it Seems that might have bin bought in India and Every thing else thats wanting if they could have Laid out money but this being none of mine but of Comp.s business Shall give them my Opinion of it when I come home I am Sorry they are So ill Served in their Shipping, I feet before we reach our own Coast he will not have one Sale Left of [...] my the Season we may fale into the Channell I have nothing more to Add but am. Gentlemen Yo.r Very Humble Serv.t J. Sandys By Cap.t Jordan Sandys Comand.r of her Majest.s Ship the Sapallow Whereas the Govern.r and Counc.r of this Island of S.t Helena by their Lett.r to me Say they have been Informed of the Ill Condition of the Comp.s Ship the	Captain Sandys Response to the Council Regarding Supply of the <i>Aurengzeb</i> and His Instructions to His Officers for Survey Gentlemen, <i>Swallow</i>, St Helena Road, 25 June 1709. The letter of the 19th was received. As requested, instructions were issued to the officers to investigate the <i>Aurengzeb's</i> condition, and they went accordingly aboard. Their findings were enclosed herewith. The ship was to be provisioned with most of what had been requested, with one exception: a cable was not to be spared from the <i>Swallow</i>. It appeared such items were to be obtained in India, and any other deficiencies were to be remedied had funds been available. However, as this was a matter for the Company rather than for the captain's vessel, an opinion on the matter was to be offered upon return to England. It was regretted that the <i>Aurengzeb</i> was so poorly equipped. Before the ship was to reach English waters, it was feared little canvas would remain serviceable.

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		Aurengzeb in Relation to her Sailes Provisions &c. As also of her having Severall Dangerous Leakes in [her] Bowes Stern broke and have requested of me that I would in the behalf of the Hon.ble East India Comp.s Lett my officers Inspect into the Same and report their Opinions into the Same may be be Remedied Before the Ships Putt out of this Road. You are therefore hereby Directed and required to go on Board the Said Ship and apply yourselves to the Comand.r that he will Cause you to be Informed of what Leak they have which are knowne and where the Gentlemen in bad weather Apprehend how the Same may be most Effectually Remedy You are also to Inspect into the Condition of the Rigging and Particularly into all her Spare Sailes which are not now at y.r [Yard] and to Note y.r Number and Goodness and what Service or Dependance may be Expected of them when we Come near our own Channell. You are also to Inspect Carefully into what Provision the Comand.r Shall produce before You and Note the Goodness and Quantity of y.t Same and whether the Same be wholsom and fitt for men to Eate. In all Perticulars you are to be very Carefull and Exact, and report y.r Same to me Under y.r hands on the Back of this. And for So doing this Shall be your Want. Dated on board her Majest.s Ship the Sawallow in S.t Helena Road June the 20.th 1709 J. Sandys To the s.d Lieut.t Master Gunner and Carpent.r of her Majest.s Ship y.e Swallow Margin Notes: Cap.t Sandys Anr.r to y.e afore mentioned Lett.r Promising to Sup- ply y.e Aurengzeb w.th &c. So Cant Spare. his opinion ab.t his Rigging. Copy of Cap.t Sandys Warr.t Directed to his officers for Surveying the Aurengzeb.	Given the season and the approach to the Channel, the vessel's condition was a cause of serious concern. Very respectfully submitted. Captain Jordan Sandys, Commander of Her Majesty's Ship the <i>Swallow</i>. Warrant to Officers Inspecting the <i>Aurengzeb</i> The Governor and Council of St Helena wrote to inform the captain of the <i>Aurengzeb's</i> poor condition—her sails worn, her provisions suspect, and serious leaks discovered in her bows and stern. They requested that the officers be permitted to examine these defects and report on remedies before the ship departed the anchorage. The officers were therefore instructed to board the vessel and confer with the commander regarding the known leaks, ascertaining where damage had occurred and how repairs might best be executed. They were to examine the rigging carefully, paying particular attention to spare canvas not currently in use, and to document the number and condition of these sails and whether they could be relied upon once the ship approached English waters. They were further to inspect the provisions the commander could produce, noting their quality and quantity and whether the food was fit and wholesome for the crew to eat. In all respects they were to be thorough and precise, and report their conclusions in writing to the captain. Issued aboard Her Majesty's Ship the <i>Swallow</i>, St Helena Road, 20 June 1709. Captain J. Sandys. To the Lieutenant, Master, Gunner, and Carpenter of Her Majesty's Ship the <i>Swallow</i>. Interpretations Captain Sandys formal instruction to his officers demonstrates how naval authority was placed in service of the Company's commercial interests, with a Royal Navy captain directing his crew to conduct a detailed inspection on behalf of an East India Company vessel, blurring the boundaries between naval and mercantile command structures. The comprehensive nature of the inspection—addressing hull integrity, canvas condition, rigging, and food quality—reveals what maritime experience had established as essential to a ship's survival of a long ocean voyage, with particular concern for the final leg through the English Channel where winter storms were common. Sandys candid acknowledgement that he lacked spare cables and his observation that supply items were to be obtained in India expose the practical constraints facing naval commanders, who had to balance the needs of their own vessels against requests to support merchant ships. Speculations Sandys gloomy prediction that the ship would reach England with almost no serviceable canvas suggests he doubted the <i>Aurengzeb</i> would survive the voyage, and his pessimism may have motivated him to ensure a thorough written record of the ship's condition before departure—establishing documentary evidence in case the vessel failed to arrive. The explicit instruction to assess whether spare sails could be "relied upon" approaching English waters indicates that Sandys knew the final stretch of the voyage would demand every scrap of sound canvas, and that inadequate rigging in heavy weather could be fatal. The warrant's stipulation that provisions be judged for wholesomeness and fitness reflects the growing recognition that spoiled food was responsible for crew illness and death, with the survey designed to catch supply problems before the ship departed rather than waiting until sickness emerged at sea.

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45	45	Inclosed you have these three [Acco.ts] viz.t of her Majest.s Ship the Swallow, the Aurengzeb and the Windsor And have taken Bills of Exchange for the Ballance of Said Ships Acc.to amounting in the whole to the Summ of Ninety five Pounds five Shillings and a half Penny Drawn Payable to your Selves or order which Acc.ts wee have Sent by the Swallow Man of Warr. 2: Wee have given M.rs Sarah Poirier three Bills of Exchange drawne on your Honours for the Summ of Twenty Eight Pounds Twelve Shillings and Eleven Pence which Pray to Accept Accord- ingly She having Credit due to her in your Store books of Accounts here. 3: Cap.t Edmund Macy has spaared us a Teak Top Mast for a flagg staffe which by his Accounts taking up money in India at forty p Cent wee finde Cost Thirteen pound five Shillings for which Summe we have given him one Bill of Exchange upon your Honours which please to Accept of Wee remaine Hono.ble S.rs United Castle Yo.r faithfull & most obedient June y.e 23. 1709 Servants Jn.o Roberts Thom: Goodwin Edw.d Mashborne Willi: Marsden Dan.l Griffith Margin Notes: Memo.m That a copy of the abovesaid Lett.r was Sent p the Swallow Man of Warr with the alteration of the first Parrag.r insted of mentioned the Ships and the Bills of Exchange.	Three matters relating to accounts and bills of exchange were recorded at United Castle on 23 June 1709. Enclosed were the accounts of Her Majesty's Ship the <i>Swallow</i>, the <i>Aurengzeb</i>, and the <i>Windsor</i>. Bills of exchange were drawn in settlement of the balances due on these accounts, totalling ninety-five pounds, five shillings, and half a penny. These bills were made payable to the directors or their order, and the accounts themselves were sent by the <i>Swallow</i> Man of War. Mrs Sarah Poirier was issued three bills of exchange drawn upon the directors for the sum of twenty-eight pounds, twelve shillings, and eleven pence. These were tendered in settlement of credit due to her in the store books at St Helena. Captain Edmund Macy had furnished a teak topmast for use as a flagstaff. Taking into account the cost at which such timber was procured in India—forty per cent above prime cost—the mast was calculated to have cost thirteen pounds, five shillings. A bill of exchange for this sum was drawn upon the directors in recompense. Signed by John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, and Daniel Griffith. A copy of this letter was sent by the <i>Swallow</i> Man of War, with the first paragraph altered to refer to the ships and bills of exchange rather than to the accounts themselves.
46	46	Inclosed we Send you a Coppy of our Council whereby you may Perceive what measures we have Taken to Defend this Island and Shipping which we thought might be of use to you. Wee are Honour.ble S.rs To the Hono.ble The Secret Your obedient Servants. Committee Tho. Cook S.r Sam.tt Andrews S.r Edmond Jn.o Roberts Harrison and Bull Gough Thom Goodwin Esq.r Edw.d Mashborne Willi Marsden United Cattle June Dan Griffith 22.d 1709. By Cap.tn Jordan Sandys Comand.r of her Majest.s Shipp the Swallow. Whereas the Govern.r and Coun.ll of this Island S.t Helena Say they have been Informed of the ill Condition of the Comp.s Ship Aurengzeb in Relation [Several] Defects. This is to Sertifie all whom it may Concerne That we the Carpent.rs of her Majest.s Shipp the Swallow and Windsor East India Man have According to ord.r been on Board the Said Ship Aurengzeb and have Surveyed her, and Do finde the Said Shipp in good Condition without known Leaks and one Beam Sprung but Securely Searsed And it is our Opinion That She is fully Quallifyd to put to Sea and Proceed her Voyage to England, Dated on Board the Aurengzeb in S.t Helena road the 20 day of June 1709 Given under our hands J. Everdon Edm. Pamphilin Margin Notes: The Carpent.rs of the Swallow & Windsor Certificate ab.t Aurengzeb.	A copy of a council resolution concerning measures taken to defend the island and its shipping was enclosed, deemed of use to the directors. The resolution was dated 22 June 1709 at United Castle and signed by the Governor and Council: Thomas Cook, Samuel Andrews, Edmund Harrison, Gough Bull, John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, and Daniel Griffith. It was transmitted by Captain Jordan Sandys, commander of Her Majesty's Ship the <i>Swallow</i>. The resolution recorded that the Governor and Council of St Helena had been informed of the poor condition of the Company's ship <i>Aurengzeb</i> and the several defects she presented. In response, a survey was undertaken. The carpenters of Her Majesty's Ship the <i>Swallow</i> and the East India Man <i>Windsor</i> were directed to board the <i>Aurengzeb</i> and examine her condition. Their inspection, carried out on 20 June 1709 whilst the ship lay at St Helena Road, confirmed that the vessel was in good condition. No leaks were discovered in her hull. One beam was found to be sprung, but it had been securely caulked and reinforced. The carpenters were of the opinion that the ship was fully qualified to put to sea and proceed on her voyage to England. The certificate was signed by J. Everdon and Edmund Pamphilin, carpenters of the <i>Swallow</i> and <i>Windsor</i>.
47	47	Persuant to an ord. from Cap.tn Jordan Sandys to us Directed bearing date June 20.th 1709 Wee whose Names are here under Subscribed have been on Board the Comp.s Shipp Aurengzebb and have Carefully Inspected into the Rigging Stores Provisions &c. and finde as followeth. Sailes at the Yard. One Compleat Sute Tollerable Good & Servuable being the best in this Shipp. Spare Sailes. One new Sprit Saile, one old Maine Saile One old Fore Saile, one Main Top Saile very much worne, but repaired with Dungaree One Fore Top saile very old but repaired with Dungaree all those Sailes very old, and Little Service Can be Expected of them, and these are all the Spare Sailes in the Shipp.	Pursuant to an order from Captain Jordan Sandys dated 20 June 1709, the undersigned went aboard the Company's ship <i>Aurengzeb</i> and carried out a careful inspection of her rigging, stores, provisions, and other contents. The findings were as follows. The sails at the yard amounted to one complete suit, tolerably good and serviceable, being the best aboard the ship. The spare sails comprised one new spritsail, one old mainsail, one old foresail, one main topsail much worn but repaired with dungaree, and one fore topsail very old but likewise repaired with dungaree. The sails were old and little service was to be expected of them. These were the only spare sails carried in the ship.

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		Rigging. All about the bowsprit Tollerable Good Fore and Fore Top Mast Shrouds Seems to be Servisable. Mizon Standing Rigging Seems to be Servisable. Main Top Mast Shrouds Servisable, S.x pair of the Main Shrouds very Bad and Inservisable Main and fore Top Mast Back Stays Unsersivable Main and foreSEEs and Main and fore Sheets Unsersivable, and the Greatest Part of the Running Rigging Unsersivable. Boats in the Shipp. Boatswames Holland Duck Twelve yards French Canvas half a Bolt Tarr one Stores. Bar.l. and these are all the Boatswaines Stores in the Shipp. Gunneers Stors Cannon Powder five Barrells and no more. Ground Tackle Two Cables Disserable to be Servisable and one old one [Both] [parts] of the Swallows and Windsor reports they finde no Visible Leak and none Should to em, and the body of the said Shipp Appears to be in Good Condition. Provisions on Board Beef in Twenty Punchions and Two Thousand five hundred Pieces fitt to Eate, Rice Eighteen Thousand five hundred lb. fifty Caces Very Good. Rob.t Harrison J. Bures W.m Miller Tho. Everdon Margin Notes: [afore]said report or Survey Sailes at y.e Yard Spare Sailes Rigging Coils in the Shipp Boatswaines Stores Gunneers Stores Ground Tackle Provisions on board	The rigging was inspected throughout. The rigging about the bowsprit was tolerably good. The fore and fore topmast shrouds appeared serviceable, as did the mizzen standing rigging. The main topmast shrouds were serviceable, but six pairs of the main shrouds were very bad and unfit for service. The main and fore topmast backstays were unserviceable, as were the main and fore sheets. The greater part of the running rigging was likewise unserviceable. The boatswain's stores carried in the ship were limited. There were twelve yards of Holland duck, half a bolt of French canvas, and one barrel of tar. These were the only boatswain's stores on board. The gunner's stores consisted of five barrels of cannon powder, and no more. The ground tackle comprised two cables considered serviceable and one old one. Both surveyors representing the <i>Swallow</i> and the <i>Windsor</i> concurred that no visible leaks were to be found, and the body of the ship appeared to be in good condition. The provisions aboard included twenty puncheons of beef containing two thousand five hundred pieces fit to eat, eighteen thousand five hundred pounds of rice, and fifty cases in very good order. Signed by Robert Harrison, J. Bures, William Miller, and Thomas Everdon. Interpretations The detailed inventory of the <i>Aurengzeib's</i> rigging reveals the meticulous record-keeping practices of early 18th-century naval surveys, where every component from shrouds to backstays was assessed individually rather than the ship being judged as a whole. This granular approach allowed responsibility for any subsequent failure to be precisely attributed. The repeated use of "tolerably good" and "serviceable" alongside "unserviceable" demonstrates a working vocabulary of maritime condition assessment that distinguished between equipment adequate for the voyage ahead and equipment that posed a clear hazard. The terminology was understood by all parties involved in the survey, from the carpenters who inspected the ship to the directors in London who received the report. The careful enumeration of food stores—two thousand five hundred pieces of beef fit to eat, eighteen thousand five hundred pounds of rice, fifty cases in good order—reflects the central importance of provisioning to a ship's survival on a long ocean voyage, with starvation and scurvy posing risks comparable to those of structural failure. The use of dungaree to patch the topsails indicates that improvised repair was an accepted practice rather than evidence of negligence, with cheap Indian cotton cloth applied to extend the life of canvas that would otherwise have required replacement at considerable expense. The presence of only five barrels of cannon powder reveals the modest defensive capacity of even a Company ship operating in waters where French privateers and pirates were known to operate, suggesting either confidence in convoy protection or acceptance of significant vulnerability. Speculations The notable contrast between this survey's findings and the earlier complaints of the Governor and Council—who had alleged serious leaks, damaged provisions, and a sprung beam—suggests either that the council's information was exaggerated or that Captain Racy had successfully addressed the worst of the defects before the survey took place. The discrepancy may also reflect the political delicacy of the situation, with naval officers potentially reluctant to condemn a Company vessel that the commander insisted was sound. The fact that the survey explicitly notes "this is all" the boatswain's stores in the ship and "no more" cannon powder hints at the surveyors' surprise or

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			concern at how thinly the <i>Aurengzeb</i> was equipped, with the emphatic phrasing suggesting they wished the directors to understand just how minimal her supplies were. The description of the running rigging as largely unserviceable, combined with the noted deterioration of the spare sails, indicates the ship's commander faced difficult choices about which voyage-critical replacements to prioritise from the limited supplies available at St Helena, with full re-rigging clearly impossible. The survey's conclusion that the ship was structurally sound despite the parlous state of her rigging and stores may have been deliberately calibrated to allow the voyage to proceed whilst ensuring that any subsequent failure could be attributed to the equipment rather than to the hull, thereby protecting both the surveyors' professional reputation and the Company's interest in maintaining the vessel's insurability.
48	48	Honour.ble S.rs 1: Our last from this place was by the Dispatch Galley Cap.tn Thomas Cason Comand.r dated the 17.th of March 170 8/9 which hope came Safe to hand But least it Should not is Inclosed a Coppy thereof. 2: Since which arrived the following Shipp's viz.t the Windsor a Separate Stock Ship Cap.t Kirk Comand.r on the 29 May Last. The Aurengzeb Cap.t.n Lacy Comand.r on the 5.th Inst. and The Swallow Man of Warr Comadore Sandys on the 12 following who brought us the Unhappy news of the Albemarle being Lost for which we are Extreem Sorry But on the other hand glad to hear of the String and Blenheims Safe Arrivall at Lisburne. 3: The Comad.r Sandys designes to saile upon as the Aurengzeb is ready, which we Suppose will be on the 23 Inst. and having had a Survey upon her to See what Condition She is in, do referr to the Coppy of Letters to Cap.t.n Lacy with the Coppy of the Anrwers and Survey herewith Sent and have desired Cap.t Sandys to Spare him what he Can for She is very bare in Stores &c. which he has Promised to do, When we Look back we could never find that there is any Precedent for Surveying of Shipp's at S.t Helena and if the Capt. had refused a Survey we Should have given him a Protest. But weather That could have bin in force we are in doubt for that the Charter Party Sayes they are to be Surveyd in India. And weather your Honours Please be Stowed for yo.r Interest, Continue to Survey Ships and to Send us Severall Stores as Sales Canves &c. we Submitt to yo.r Judgem.t. for this Ship before She was Surveyd wanted nothing and Since of any Almost Every thing and easter Ships out to be Taken the most Cur.f of, and if those Sayled She has to the Yards Should Blow away. So that not one Sail to bring to and has only about five Barrells of Powder. Cap.t She.r Should Loose Company to Defend Such a great Ship as that is. 4: We have Collected and Completed the Lawes mentioned in the 10.th [...] of our Letter by the Dispatch and Since the People hath had the Perusal of em, hope they will Live Easey and quiett under them and we have no reason to doubt it And as to their desires and our anrwers we referr to our Consultacon dated the 14 June Last But one thing we mu.t Intreat your Hon.rs to Suffer the Inclosures of Lands to begin from the 23 day of March Last for Should we make Seizures now it could Ruine above half the People upon the Island, and what other favour you Shall please to bestow upon these poor People. 5: We are very bare in Stores for what Came by the Dispatch were Swallowed up at one Gulps. We rec.d from Bombay by the Aurengz.	Honourable Sirs, The last communication from St Helena was conveyed by the <i>Dispatch</i> Galley, Captain Thomas Cason commander, dated 17 March 1709. In the hope that it arrived safely, but in case it did not, a copy was enclosed. Since that letter, several ships put into the road. The <i>Windsor</i>, a Separate Stock ship under Captain Kirk, arrived on 29 May. The <i>Aurengzeb</i>, under Captain Racy, followed on 5 June. The <i>Swallow</i> Man of War, under Commodore Sandys, came in on 12 June, bringing the unhappy news of the loss of the <i>Albemarle</i>. This intelligence was received with much sorrow, though some consolation was found in word of the safe arrival of the <i>Stringer</i> and the <i>Blenheim</i> at Lisbon. Commodore Sandys intended to sail as soon as the <i>Aurengzeb</i> was ready, which was expected on 23 June. A survey of the <i>Aurengzeb</i> was conducted to ascertain her condition, and copies of the correspondence with Captain Racy together with his replies and the survey itself were transmitted with this letter. Captain Sandys was requested to spare what stores he could, the <i>Aurengzeb</i> being very poorly furnished, and he agreed to do so. On reflection, no precedent was to be found for surveying ships at St Helena, and if the captain had refused a survey, a formal protest was to have been issued. Whether such a protest would have carried force was uncertain, as the charter party specified that surveys were to take place in India. Whether the directors thought it best for the Company's interest that surveys continue at St Helena, and that further stores such as sails and canvas be supplied accordingly, was submitted to their judgement. Before the survey was undertaken, the <i>Aurengzeb</i> was reported by her commander to want for nothing, yet upon inspection she was found wanting in almost everything. Ships easterly bound were to be the most carefully attended to, since if the sails on the yards were to blow away, not one remained to bring her to. The vessel carried only about five barrels of powder. Should she lose company at sea, she was poorly placed to defend so great a ship as the <i>Aurengzeb</i>. The laws referred to in the tenth paragraph of the previous letter conveyed by the <i>Dispatch</i> were collected and completed. Since the inhabitants of the island were given the opportunity to peruse them, there was reason to hope they would live easily and quietly under them, and no reason to doubt it. As to the people's requests and the council's replies, reference was made to the consultation dated 14 June. One favour was earnestly requested of the directors: that the enclosures of lands be permitted to take effect from 23 March last, since to make seizures from any earlier date would ruin more than half the inhabitants. Whatever further favour the directors were pleased to bestow upon these poor people was left to their discretion.

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			The island was very bare in stores. The supplies brought by the <i>Dispatch</i> were consumed at one gulp. From Bombay, by the <i>Aurengzeb</i>, were received [text breaks off] Interpretations The careful enumeration of arrivals and losses—the <i>Windsor</i>, <i>Aurengzeb</i>, and <i>Swallow</i> safely in, the <i>Albemarle</i> lost, the <i>Stringer</i> and <i>Blenheim</i> reported safe at Lisbon—reveals how St Helena functioned as a clearing house of maritime intelligence, with each arriving ship bringing news of distant vessels that allowed the council to piece together the wider state of Company shipping across the Atlantic and Indian oceans. The council's careful hedging on the question of whether they had the authority to survey the <i>Aurengzeb</i> demonstrates the precarious legal position of colonial administrators operating at the edges of the charter party's explicit provisions, with the surveyors aware that any departure from established procedure required justification to their distant superiors. The contrast between Captain Racy's initial claim that his ship "wanted nothing" and the survey's discovery that she was deficient in "almost everything" exposes the routine deception that commanders practised in their reports to shore authorities, with the discrepancy revealing how heavily the survey system depended on independent inspection rather than commanders' own accounts. The plea that enclosures be permitted to commence from 23 March rather than earlier shows the council attempting to mediate between the directors' commercial interests and the practical realities of island life, where strict enforcement of property rules could destroy the livelihoods of more than half the population. Speculations The emphatic statement that the <i>Dispatch</i>'s supplies were "swallowed up at one gulp" suggests the council was building a case for substantially increased provisioning from London, framing the island's chronic supply crisis as an emergency rather than a routine condition to be managed through prudent rationing. The reference to easterly-bound ships requiring particular care, combined with the observation about powder reserves and the difficulty of defending so great a ship, hints at the council's anxiety about French privateers operating in the South Atlantic, with the <i>Aurengzeb</i>'s condition viewed not merely as a maintenance problem but as a strategic vulnerability. The submission of the survey question to the directors' judgement—rather than a robust defence of the council's actions—indicates a degree of nervousness about exceeding their authority, possibly reflecting earlier reprimands or a sense that the late Governor Poirier's freer hand with administrative innovations had created problems the current council was eager to avoid repeating.
49	49	To the Worshipfull The Gov.r Godolphin S.t Helena Road Aug.t and Coun.ll of S.t Helena. the first 1709. Gentlem.n Your letter bearing Equall date with this freed Advising for the better Security of the Hono.ble United East India Companys Ship Godolphin Shall be Punctually Comply.d with. As Shall also your Letter & Indent for Stores So farr as I am Capable, which you Shall to morrow have Acco.t of Perticulars In the Interim am with Due respects. Your most Humble Servant Jn.o A. Rice. Whereas it has been my misfortune to meet w.t a Tedious passage from England to this place, and having Severall Sick men on board, Desire a place may be Appointed a Shore in order for their Releife As also yo.r order for fresh Provisions durring our Stay here for those y.t remaine aboard, Likewise the use of yo.r Smith & forge	Two letters were exchanged between Captain John A. Rice, commander of the Honourable United East India Company's ship <i>Godolphin</i>, and the Governor and Council of St Helena. Both bore the date 1 August 1709, with the council's reply dated 2 August. To the Governor and Council, from the <i>Godolphin</i>, St Helena Road, 1 August 1709. The council's letter of the same date was received, and the instructions provided for the better security of the <i>Godolphin</i> were to be punctually complied with. The letter and indent for stores were also to be addressed as far as circumstances permitted, and an account of particulars was to be furnished the following day. In addition, several matters were laid before the council. After a tedious passage from England, the ship had arrived with a number of sick men aboard. A place ashore was therefore requested where these men might

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		to make Some Small necessaryes of Stores for my Carpent.r use, the Hindar of which you Shall have. J.A.R. Cap.tn A. Rice Wee are well Satisfied in every respect in anrwer to ours of yesterdays date And wee Shall Asist you with Smithes or any thing Else we have But for yo.r Sick you must use the best means you can to Lodge em in Some house or houses as Cheap as you and they Can agree, for our Stone house is ready to Drop downe that we are Forc.d to use the Common Hosspitall till we build a new one And least your men Should Run in debt here to yours and theire Prejudice we Shall Publish an order that none Trust them at their Perill. Wee are yo. Affectionate and Loving Friends Jn.o Roberts [from y.e] [Lighteria] Tho. Goodwin United Cattle Aug.t Ed.w Mashborne 2.d 1709 W.m Marsden Dan.l Griffith	be lodged for their relief. Orders were sought for fresh provisions during the ship's stay, to be supplied to those who remained on board. The use of the island's smith and forge was further requested, so that small necessary stores might be made up for the carpenter's use. Any hindrance arising from these accommodations was to be defrayed. Signed John A. Rice. The council replied from United Castle on 2 August 1709. Full satisfaction was expressed in every respect on the matters laid before them in the captain's letter. The smith was to be made available, together with any other assistance within the council's power to provide. As to the sick men, the captain was to make such arrangements as he could, lodging them in whatever house or houses might be agreed at the cheapest rate. The island's stone house was on the point of collapse, obliging the inhabitants to make use of the common hospital until a new building could be erected. To prevent the captain's men from running into debt to the prejudice of all parties, an order was to be published forbidding any inhabitant to give them credit at their own peril. Signed John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, and Daniel Griffith. Interpretations The captain's formal acknowledgement of the council's defensive instructions, followed immediately by his own requests for assistance, illustrates the reciprocal nature of the relationship between Company ships and the island administration, with security cooperation tied directly to the provision of supplies and shore facilities. The polite courtesies exchanged between Rice and the council—"due respects," "affectionate and loving friends"—demonstrate the conventional formality of 18th-century maritime correspondence, where commercial and administrative business was conducted through epistolary protocols that softened the underlying transactional nature of the exchanges. The council's blunt admission that the stone house was on the verge of collapse and that the common hospital had been pressed into emergency service reveals the deteriorated state of the island's infrastructure, with even basic facilities for caring for sick sailors having failed. The published order forbidding inhabitants to extend credit to the <i>Godolphin's</i> sick crew reflects a recurring administrative concern that ran throughout the council's correspondence, in which the easy extension of credit to transient sailors had repeatedly produced debt, desertion, and disorder on the island. Speculations The captain's reference to a "tedious passage" from England, combined with the presence of multiple sick men aboard, suggests that the <i>Godolphin</i> had encountered either unfavourable winds, an extended voyage time, or an outbreak of scurvy or some other shipboard illness, with St Helena offering the first opportunity for the crew to recover before the longer Indian Ocean leg of the journey. The council's refusal to lodge the sick men in any official building, instead directing the captain to negotiate private accommodation at the cheapest rate, hints at the financial pressures bearing on the administration, where any expenditure on transient sailors would have to be justified to the directors in London, who had repeatedly complained about island expenses. The juxtaposition of the council's warm closing—"affectionate and loving friends"—with the firm refusal to provide proper hospital facilities suggests that politeness in 18th-century mercantile correspondence often masked considerable institutional unwillingness,

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			with formal cordiality serving as cover for what was effectively a transfer of responsibility back to the captain. The mention of plans to build a new stone house indicates that the council was already engaged in capital projects, with the surveys and indents in earlier correspondence concerning timber, lime, and tiles likely connected to this ongoing reconstruction of the island's neglected infrastructure.
50	50	To y.e Worshippf.l Govern.r Godolphin Aug.t y.e 4.th 1709 and Coun.cll of S.t Helena. S.r &c Whereas I am in want of Severall Stores for y.e better refitting the Hono.ble United East India Companys Ship Godolphin perticularly Some Iron Worke to be done at yo.r Forge &c. a Funnell for my Hearth House for my Gallies, [Bales] for one Tope Tree Pruntions for my Gangwaybeome forks and thimbles a few Staples, and not having any spare Iron aboard at Ships Stores Desire yo.r Advise whether I may not make use of [Such] Iron of the Hono.ble Company from that is on Board being a Part of the Cargo that is Consigned to their Govern.t at Bombay, Likewise yo.r Opinion about our Bale Goods whether we ought not to open one to see what Condition the Cloth is in, Perceiving all things in yo.r W.B to be Very moist and Mouldy with the Damps of the Shipp. Finding it Very Chargable to Quart my Sick men ashoar, Begg y.e favour you will be Pleased to Order a Black or two for their attendance Designing to Build a Tent for them to Ly in, whcih will be a means to Save about two Pound a day. My Coals being all Expended and having Little Wood aboard and my Iron Very Sickly Desire You will be Pleased to ord.r me wood Suf- ficient for my Passage to Bombay. For my own use, Desire You will Spare me 20 or 30 Gallons of Arrack and about 100 wat. of Sug.r Am with all due respects yo.r most Humble Serv.t to Command Jn.o A. Rice In anrwer to yo.r of the first Inst. I have no Tarp to Spare having but 1½ Barr.lts on board. Coals none Cordage None to Spare few Bolts of Hollands Duck I have Sent you They Cost in England 2: 17 - p.r p.s £ 5: 14: Cap.t.n A. Rice We have yo.r before us of yesterdays date As to the Fitting our Hono.ble Masters Shipp under your Command we Look upon that as already sufficient Anrwered to you in ours by this Instant But Shall repeat it to you once more That tis our duty to give You all the Asistance wee can. In the first place You desire our oppinions about yo.r Bale Goods which You [Suppose] the Damps of yo.r Shipp may have Damaged. You will Soon See that by [Hoysing] two or three Upon Deck and open em Especially those You may Suppose	Two further communications were exchanged between Captain John A. Rice and the Council of St Helena on 4 August 1709, together with a brief intermediate note on the supply of stores. To the Governor and Council, from the <i>Godolphin</i>, 4 August 1709. Several stores were required for the better refitting of the <i>Godolphin</i>. Particular needs included ironwork to be carried out at the council's forge: a funnel for the hearth in the galley, fittings for one top-tree, puncheons for the gangway, beam-forks and thimbles, and a small quantity of staples. As no spare iron was carried aboard among the ship's stores, the council's advice was sought on whether use might be made of the Company's iron lading aboard the vessel, the same forming part of the cargo consigned to the Bombay government. The council's opinion was also requested concerning the bale goods. Upon inspection, the warehouse contents appeared damp and mouldy on account of the moisture aboard. The question was whether one bale ought to be opened to ascertain the condition of the cloth. Lodging sick men ashore had proved very costly. As a means of reducing expense, a request was made that one or two slaves be assigned to attend the men, so that a tent might be erected to house them, which was calculated to save some two pounds per day. The ship's coals were entirely expended, little wood remained aboard, and the existing supply of iron was very poor. Sufficient wood was requested for the passage to Bombay. For the captain's personal use, twenty or thirty gallons of arrack and around one hundredweight of sugar were sought. Signed John A. Rice. A short note was returned in reply to the captain's letter of 1 August. No tarpaulin was to be spared, only one and a half barrels remaining aboard. No coals were available, and no cordage was to be spared. A few bolts of Holland duck were sent, the same having cost in England two pounds seventeen shillings the piece, totalling five pounds fourteen shillings. A fuller reply from the council followed. The captain's letter of the previous day was acknowledged. As to the fitting out of the directors' ship under his command, the matter was considered sufficiently addressed in the council's earlier letter of that same day. The point was nonetheless to be made once more: it was the council's duty to provide all assistance within its power. On the question of the bale goods, which were thought possibly damaged by the moisture aboard, the captain was to discover the truth easily by hoisting two or three bales onto the deck and opening them, particularly those most likely to be affected. Interpretations The captain's detailed list of ironwork requirements—funnel, fittings, puncheons, beam-forks, thimbles, staples—reveals the constant repair and refitting that wooden sailing ships demanded during long voyages, with St Helena functioning as an essential workshop where damage sustained on the outward leg could be remedied before the longer Indian Ocean crossing. The request to draw upon iron from the Company's own cargo, consigned to Bombay, illustrates

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			a practical principle of self-sufficiency in maritime supply, with ships at sea entitled to consume cargo materials in cases of necessity, subject to proper accounting and replacement upon arrival. The economic calculation behind the proposed tent for sick men—an expected saving of two pounds per day—demonstrates the captain's careful attention to voyage expenses, with shore lodging in the island's depleted housing stock evidently commanding rates that quickly outstripped the cost of improvised alternatives. The council's note that the Holland duck sent to the <i>Godolphin</i> had cost two pounds seventeen shillings the piece in England reflects the careful record-keeping that underlay Company commerce, with every transfer of goods between ships and shore tracked at its original purchase price to support the audit of accounts back in London. Speculations The captain's request for slaves to attend his sick men, rather than for free labour, suggests that the island's slave population was viewed as a flexible source of services that the council could redirect at relatively low cost, with the captain expecting the labour of enslaved people to be made available without the wage payments that would have been required for free workers. The damp and mouldy condition of the bale goods hints at persistent problems with the <i>Godolphin's</i> waterproofing, possibly related to the tedious passage from England and the unfavourable weather conditions that had also caused crew sickness, with cargo damage representing a potentially significant commercial loss to the Company. The council's curt response—offering no tar, no coals, and no cordage but only a few bolts of cloth—indicates that supplies at St Helena were so depleted by the demands of the successive arriving ships that the administration was effectively rationing rather than supplying, with each commander obliged to compete for the residual stock. The council's somewhat defensive insistence that its duty to assist had already been sufficiently addressed suggests that Rice may have struck them as a demanding commander whose successive requests for stores, slaves, and personal supplies had begun to test their patience, with the formal repetition of cordialities masking a degree of administrative frustration.
51	51	and you ought to be Very Dilligent in your Search for whatever Damage may arise its an future Loss to the Hono.ble Company. As to what Iron you want wee Shall Supply You having Sufficient Quantity in the Stores, and therefore You need not Touch your Cargoe, Wee think You do prudently in Endeavouring to Save Charges about yo.r Sick men, and we Shall Supply You with a Black to Tend em Our wood is a great way off and Very Chargable to fetch and wish You could make Shift to get to Bombay without it, But if your Necessity is So Great, wee Shall get you Some if you cant Spare men of yo.r owne Wee are Very bad in Arrack & Liq.r and dont know when wee Shall Get more, however we think to Spare you a Little Wee are Yo.r Affectionate Frinds. United Castle S.t Helena Jn.o Roberts Aug.t y.e 5.th 1709 Tho. Goodwin Edw.d Mashborne Will.m Marsden Dan.l Griffith	Diligence was urged in the search for any damage to the bale goods, since concealed loss would prove a future detriment to the Company. As to the captain's want of iron, the council was able to furnish a sufficient quantity from the island's stores, so no recourse to the cargo was necessary. The proposal to economise on the lodging of sick men was thought prudent, and a slave was to be assigned to attend them as requested. The island's wood lay at some distance from the settlement and was very costly to bring in. The captain was urged, if possible, to make shift to reach Bombay without further supply. Should his need prove pressing, however, wood was to be procured, particularly if no men could be spared from his own crew for the labour. The island's stocks of arrack and other liquor were very low, and no certainty existed as to when further supplies were to arrive. Nonetheless, a small quantity was to be spared for the captain's use. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 5 August 1709. Signed John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, and Daniel Griffith. Interpretations The council's willingness to supply iron from its own stores, thereby preserving the integrity of the Bombay-bound cargo, illustrates the priority placed on protecting shipments to their final destination, with the

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			island's resources used to absorb shortfalls rather than allowing the cargo manifests to be disturbed by withdrawals at intermediate ports. The recurring concern about damage to bale goods, with the council pressing the captain to be diligent in searching for losses, demonstrates the Company's awareness that humid conditions during ocean passages routinely degraded cloth shipments, with substantial commercial losses possible if damage went undetected until arrival at the destination market. The council's offer of a slave to attend the sick crew, combined with its willingness to procure wood if the captain could not spare his own men for the labour, reveals the routine availability of enslaved labour to support ship operations at St Helena, with the slave economy underpinning the island's role as a victualling and refitting station. The candid admission that stocks of arrack were low and that the timing of resupply was uncertain reflects the chronic supply difficulties that ran through the council's correspondence, with the small quantity allocated to the captain representing both a courtesy and a clear signal that further demands would not be entertained. Speculations The council's hope that the captain might "make shift" to reach Bombay without further wood suggests an awareness that the <i>Godolphin's</i> remaining voyage was relatively short and that prudent stewardship of cooking fuel could see her through without requiring the laborious overland transport of further timber. The careful balancing of supply and refusal throughout the letter, with iron freely supplied but wood and liquor offered only grudgingly, points to a council that was systematically calculating its remaining stocks against expected future arrivals and the demands of the island's own population, rationing each commodity according to its anticipated scarcity. The repeated use of warm closing phrases, in this case "your affectionate friends," suggests that the council was anxious to maintain cordial relations with Company commanders despite the necessary refusals embedded in the correspondence, since hostile reports to the directors in London could cause considerable difficulty for the administrators upon their next review.
52	52	Cap.t.n A.p Rice. I was Looking over to day your Expençe of Provisions Since you have been here and find 2773 of Beef 7500 yams I think it is a very Large Expençe for an outward Bound Ship You will consider that altho the Island and Shipp and all is the Hono.ble Companys yet it is as much out of their pocketts as if you had Laid their money out any where Else Charter Party Ships dont give their men Every day fresh Beef meat and for bread If you have but Enough to Last you to Bombay tis Sufficent for if there Should be any Left it will be all Spoild you know and Since your men are well refreshed I think two day in a week Beef and Expend upon your bread will do very well Pray Let me know your thoughts in this matter and also when you designe to Saile and you will oblige yo.r affectionate Frind Aug.t y.e 6.th 1709 Jn.o Roberts. S.r Rec.d yours of this days date observe the Contents, and to your desire am to Acquaint your W.rshp that I have now not 5000 weight of Bread in the Shipp, agreeat part of my Salt Beef on board the [...] [...] have Variety the Sufficent to Carry us to Bombay of all Specious therefore thought it my Behave Masters Intrest to Lessen the Expense of my Sea Stores as much as Cap.tn have during my Stay here Allowed my People 5 of Beef to Each Mess, and what yams they could Eat If thought Extravegant in this Allowance Should be Sorry	Two further letters were exchanged between Captain John A. Rice and Governor John Roberts on 6 August 1709, concerning the <i>Godolphin's</i> consumption of provisions and the date of her intended departure. To Captain Rice, from Governor Roberts. The expense of provisions consumed by the <i>Godolphin</i> during her stay was reviewed, and the totals were found to amount to 2,773 pounds of beef and 7,500 yams. For an outward-bound ship, this was thought a very large expense. Although the island, the ship, and all aboard were the Company's property, every quantity consumed was as much a charge upon the Company's purse as if the money had been laid out elsewhere. Ships sailing on charter party terms did not allow their men fresh meat every day, and as for bread, sufficient supply for the passage to Bombay was all that was needful. Any surplus was likely to spoil before consumption. As the crew were by this point well refreshed, beef twice a week was thought adequate, with the ship's bread used to make up the balance. The captain's view on the matter was requested, together with notice of his intended date of sailing. Signed John Roberts, 6 August 1709. To Governor Roberts, from Captain Rice. The Governor's letter of the same date was received and its contents noted. By way of response, the captain reported that less than five thousand pounds of bread remained aboard. A considerable portion of the salt beef was also of doubtful quality. The variety of

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		for it and Shall Govern myselfes your W.rshp Shall think most Proper in this Case As for my Sailing it was always your W.rshps opinion that y.e Season of the year was Too Late for obtaining my Passage to Bombay and that a month Spent here was of Lefs Expence to my Hono.ble Masters than Elsewhere. Now God willing the 23 of this Instant I have Appointed for Sailing and by that time I hope to have my Ship Frind my men bless god are all well refreshed And hope nothing will prevent us, You were Sensible my men were Very Sickly when I arrived here and could not get my Carpenter or any of the [Caur-] allers go aboard to worke till the 22 of Last month, will See yo.r W.rshp tomor- row and doubt not to give you a full Sattisfaction. In the Interam am with my wishes and all friends due respects to yo.r Self and all friends. Yo.r most Humble Serv.t to Command Jn.o A.p Rice Margin Notes: 35 [...] [Lottery] [House] [...] 09	stores aboard was nonetheless sufficient to reach Bombay across all categories of provisions. With the directors' interest foremost in mind, the captain had endeavoured to limit the consumption of sea stores during the stay at St Helena. The current allowance to each mess was five pounds of beef, together with such yams as the men could eat. Should this allowance be considered extravagant, regret was expressed, and the captain was to be governed by whatever the Governor thought most proper. As to the date of sailing, the Governor was reminded of his earlier opinion that the season was already too far advanced for an easy passage to Bombay, and that a month spent at St Helena was of less expense to the directors than the same time spent elsewhere. God willing, 23 August was now appointed for sailing, by which date the ship was expected to be refitted. The crew, thanks be to God, were all well refreshed, and nothing was anticipated to prevent the departure. The Governor was reminded that the crew had been very sickly upon arrival, and that neither the carpenter nor any of the workmen were able to come aboard for work until 22 July. A meeting was promised the following day, at which full satisfaction was to be given on all these matters. Signed John A. Rice. Interpretations The Governor's careful audit of the <i>Godolphin's</i> consumption, with totals struck down to the precise weight of beef and the count of yams, illustrates the rigorous accounting that underlay every transfer of provisions between the island and visiting Company ships, with each pound charged ultimately against the directors' books in London. The Governor's principle that "the island, the ship, and all aboard were the Company's property" yet "every quantity consumed was as much a charge upon the Company's purse" reveals a sophisticated understanding of internal accounting, in which transfers between Company assets were nonetheless reckoned as real costs to be justified against the alternative uses of the same provisions. The contrast between charter party ships, which did not provide daily fresh meat, and the more generous allowance evidently practised aboard the <i>Godolphin</i>, demonstrates how directly owned ships were expected to operate on tighter rations than those provided under commercial charter, with the directors' direct ownership translating into stricter expense control. The captain's defensive response, citing the late season, the sickly state of the crew, and the unavailability of shore workers until 22 July, illustrates the standard rhetorical strategy of mariners answering criticism from administrators, with each item of expenditure justified by reference to unavoidable circumstance rather than discretionary choice. Speculations The Governor's precise figures and the captain's somewhat aggrieved reply hint at the underlying tension between island administrators, whose careers depended on demonstrating thrift to the directors, and ship commanders, whose authority over their crews depended in part on maintaining decent victualling standards during an extended stay in port. The captain's mention that a "considerable portion of the salt beef was also of doubtful quality" suggests an implicit argument that the <i>Godolphin's</i> remaining stores were not, in fact, as ample as the consumption figures might imply, with much of the original provisioning already lost to spoilage before any was consumed by the men. The reference to the late season for a Bombay passage, combined with the appointed sailing date of 23 August, reflects the well-understood seasonal constraints of Indian Ocean navigation, where the

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			timing of the monsoon system created narrow windows during which different routes were practicable. The closing assurance that "full satisfaction" was to be given at the following day's meeting suggests that some matters were considered too delicate or too detailed for written correspondence, with the formal record of disagreement to be resolved in face-to-face conversation that left no paper trail.
53	53	To the Hono[ble] the Councill. for affairs of the United Trade. in Bengall. We rec[d] yours by the Dispatch dated Novemb[r] y[e] 8[th] 1708 as also Inclosed the Coppy Sent by the S[t] George Cap[t] Goodwein and y[e] [Po]rtchest[er] Cap[tn] [...] neither of which [Sh]ips Touch[t] here The little Cargoe Sent to us by the Dispatch was very acceptable, and we thank you for the Care of us, and do hope that what ever orders you do receive from the Court of Managers for a Suppl[y] to us You'l [P]lease to Send the full Quantity for we are in great Necess[ity] The [So]rtment we [s]e[n]t very Proper only the Dark Co[llo]ured Chints was not So tacke as the Light we desire you'l Send is two or three [B]ag[s] of a Sort and those Gay and Cheap Some may be of y[e] finest [So]rt The Dispatch Sailed from hence the 19[th] March 1709 for England Since arrived here the Windsor a [S]eperate Stock Ship May the 29 from Bombay, and after on the 2[d] of June arrived the [Aurengzeb] S[r] Nicholas Wa[ite] [P]assenger on board for England, the 12 following arrived the Swallow Man of Warr they all Sailed from hence the 24 D[i]tto for the Coast of Brazile, where they are to make up the Homeward bound fleet We have Lately built a new C[as]tle of 24 Guns and a [v]ery good house in it and we are planting Sugar Canes and hope in two years time to See So many acres Growing of it as will Supply this Island with Rum and Sugar This Seem[s] to be around about way of Sending news because Bengall S[h]ips never To[u]ch here outward Bound, but if it may be Serviable to you, we Sh[all] take all Opportunities to Lett you know what Ships C[o]mes and goes from hence This goes by the Godolphin Cap[t] John A[...][Pi]e[ce] who arrived here July the 35[th] [&] Sailed for Bombay the 5[th] September following Wee wish our Masters affairs may prosper every where, and your Selves [...] [h]ealth and good Succe[s]s Wee are y[r] Affectionate Friends & Humb[ly] Servan[ts] United C[as]tle on S[t] Helena. Septemb[r] y[e] 23: 1709 Jn[o] Roberts Tho[s] Goodwin [P]r Ship Godolphin Ed[w] Mashborne Will[m] Marsden Dan[ly] Griffith	To the Honourable Council for Affairs of the United Trade in Bengal. The Council's letter of 8 November 1708, conveyed by the <i>Dispatch</i>, was received, together with the enclosed copy sent by the <i>St George</i> under Captain Goodwin and the <i>Portchester</i> under another commander. Neither of those ships touched at St Helena. The small cargo conveyed by the <i>Dispatch</i> was very acceptable, and thanks were returned for the care taken. The hope was expressed that any orders received from the Court of Managers for supply to St Helena were to be honoured in their full quantity, given the great necessity of the island. The assortment of goods sent was found to be proper, with one exception: the dark-coloured chintz proved less attractive to buyers than the lighter material. Two or three bags of each sort were requested, the cloths to be gay and cheap, with some of the finer sort also included. The <i>Dispatch</i> sailed from St Helena for England on 19 March 1709. Since that date, the <i>Windsor</i>, a Separate Stock ship, arrived from Bombay on 29 May. The <i>Aurengzeb</i> followed on 2 June, with Sir Nicholas Waite aboard as passenger for England. The <i>Swallow Man of War</i> arrived on 12 June. All three vessels sailed together on 24 June for the coast of Brazil, where they were to join the homeward-bound fleet. A new castle of twenty-four guns had recently been built on the island, together with a very good house contained within it. Sugar cane was being planted, and it was hoped that within two years sufficient acreage would be in growth to supply the island with rum and sugar of its own production. Although the route was a roundabout means of conveying intelligence, since Bengal-bound ships did not touch at St Helena on the outward leg, every opportunity was to be taken to inform the Bengal Council of the ships arriving at and departing from the island, should such notice prove useful. The present letter was carried by the <i>Godolphin</i> under Captain John A. Rice, which had arrived on 25 July and sailed for Bombay on 5 September. Best wishes were offered for the prosperity of the directors' affairs in every quarter, together with hopes for the health and success of the Bengal Council itself. Issued from United Castle on St Helena, 23 September 1709. Signed John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, and Daniel Griffith. Per the <i>Godolphin</i>. Interpretations The St Helena Council's careful enumeration of which ships did and did not touch at the island reveals the systematic intelligence-gathering function performed by the island administration, with each arriving vessel adding to a running picture of Company shipping movements that was then redistributed across the network of factories and councils throughout Asia. The specific request for "gay and cheap" chintz of light colours, with the explanation that dark cloths sold less readily, demonstrates the practical commercial knowledge accumulated by the island's storekeepers, with consumer preferences on St Helena communicated back through the supply chain to the production centres in Bengal.

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			The simultaneous mention of building works—a new twenty-four-gun castle complete with a very good house—and agricultural development through sugar cane planting illustrates the ambitious dual programme being pursued by the council, which was attempting to make the island both more defensible and more economically self-sufficient. The acknowledgement that Bengal-bound ships did not call at St Helena outward, yet the council nonetheless chose to write, reveals an early modern understanding of inter-presidency communication, with information routed via available carriers even when the geometry of the trade routes did not make direct correspondence convenient. Speculations The note that Sir Nicholas Waite was aboard the <i>Aurengzeb</i> as passenger for England, set without further comment, hints at the significance of the move, since Waite had been one of the principal figures in the old English Company at Surat and his return to England may have been connected to the continuing reorganisation of Company affairs following the merger of the two East India companies. The ambition to plant sugar cane sufficient to supply the island with rum and sugar within two years reflects the council's awareness of the high cost of arrack and spirits in the chronic supply correspondence, with import substitution offered as a long-term solution to a problem that had repeatedly featured in their letters to the directors. The careful diplomatic phrasing of the offer to keep the Bengal Council informed, framed as something that "may be serviceable" rather than as a duty, suggests an awareness that the St Helena Council's authority did not extend to imposing communications on the Asian presidencies, with the relationship between island and continental factories being one of cooperation among peers rather than of clear hierarchy. The letter's measured, almost newsy tone, with its enumeration of ship movements, construction works, and agricultural projects, suggests that the council was conscious of cultivating its standing with the Bengal Council, presenting St Helena not merely as a transit point but as a developing colony whose progress was worthy of attention.
54	54	To the Honour[ble] the Generall [&] Councill, At Bombay- We wrote you by the Fleet Frigot bearing date y[e] 11[th] of Septemb[r] 1708 and hope to hear She is Safe arrived with you, and have Since rec[d] yours by the Aurengzeb bearing date y[e] 2[d] of Febru[y] 1709] which Served only to Inclose Bills of Lading for 16 Tu[bs] [of] Goa Arrack But by the badness of the Cask[s] we rec[d] only 562 Gallions and that very Bad Stuffe Some had worm[s] in it Some Stunk and other Some was Sower and So for y[e] future desire you to Send us that which is good and wholesome for it is Needless to Send Such as the Last was we can't tell either the fault Lies nor can we beli[e]ve you would have Ship[t] Such bad Stuff as that was on board The Aurengzeb arrived here the 2 of June Last and Sailed in Company with y[e] Swallow m[a]n of Warr and Windsor the 24 ditto for the Coast of Brazile, where they were to Make up their Homeward bound fleet We have heretofore [in]formed you we want white people and [a]s we have orders from our Honourable Masters Whatever Peopl[e] we Send off from hence Should be for Bencoolen or Bombay we are present to Serve you in like [Cas]e [Le]t in our [La]rder and take this oppertun[i]ty by the Godolphin Cap[tn] A[s]pli[c]e to Send you Joseph Fox Henry Webley and [Pa]ul [B]rakon with their wives and Children to Come and Settle wit[h] you Joseph Fox and Henry Webley we have	To the Honourable General and Council at Bombay. A letter dated 11 September 1708 was sent by the <i>Fleet</i> frigate, and it was hoped the same arrived safely. Since that despatch, a letter from Bombay dated 2 February 1709 was received by the <i>Aurengzeb</i>. The Bombay letter served only to enclose bills of lading for sixteen tubs of Goa arrack. Owing to the poor condition of the casks, only 562 gallons were received, and that quantity was of very poor quality. Some of the arrack contained worms, some had a foul stench, and some had turned sour. For the future, the supply of good and wholesome arrack was requested. There was no purpose in sending stuff of the kind last received. Where the fault lay was uncertain, and it was hardly to be believed that the Bombay council would knowingly have shipped such bad stuff aboard. The <i>Aurengzeb</i> arrived at St Helena on 2 June and sailed in company with the <i>Swallow</i> Man of War and the <i>Windsor</i> on 24 June, bound for the coast of Brazil, where the three were to join their homeward-bound fleet. The St Helena Council had previously informed Bombay of the island's need for white settlers. Orders from the directors specified that any people sent off the island were to be directed either to Bencoolen or to Bombay. Accordingly, the present opportunity provided by the <i>Godolphin</i>, Captain Rice commander, was taken to send Joseph Fox, Henry Webley, and Paul Brakon,

[illegible]

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			of the possibility of revising its correspondence and may have done so on other occasions, with the explicit record of non-alteration serving as evidence of the document's authentic original form.
55	55	hands That all our Honourable Masters affaires may Succe[ed] and Prosper we heartily wi[s]h and are Gentlemen United Castle S[t] Helena. Septemb[r] y[e] 24[th] 1709. Your affectionate Friends Jn[o] Roberts [P]r Ship Godolphin Cap[t] Tho[s] Goodwin Jn[o] Aspli[c]e C[o]mander Ed[w] Mashborne Will[m] Marsden Dan[ll] Griffith YOU are hereby Directed and ordered to Receive on board Joseph Fox whom we have Engaged to Serve as a Soldier at Bombay, as also his wife and two [C]hildren And give them Such Accomodation as is u[s]ual to Soldiers W[ec] are your Loving friends To Cap[tn] Jn[o] Aspli[c]e C[o]mand Jn[o] Roberts [ord]r the Hono[bl] United Comp[s] Ship Tho[s] Goodwin Godolphin: These Ed[w] Mashborne United Castle S[t] Helena Will[m] Marsden Septemb[r] y[e] 21: 1709. Dan[ll] Griffith We have given Leave to Paul Prat[o]n at his request to go off this [I]sla[n]d with his wife and two [C]hildren to Bombay a[g]ree with him for his Pa[s]sage and best way to take So much of him as to Satisfie our [M]asters for his Provisions We are your Loving Friends To Cap[tn] Jn[o] Aspli[c]e C[o]mand Jn[o] Roberts [ord]r y[e] Hon[o]b[ll] United Comp[s] Ship Tho[s] Goodwin Godolphin These Ed[w] Mashborne United C[as]tle S[t] Helena Will[m] Marsden Septemb[r] y[e] 23: 1709 Dan[ll] Griffith	Best wishes were offered that all the directors' affairs were to succeed and prosper. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 24 September 1709, per the <i>Godolphin</i> under Captain John Rice. Signed John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, and Daniel Griffith. Order to Captain Rice concerning Joseph Fox, 21 September 1709. Captain Rice was directed and ordered to receive aboard the <i>Godolphin</i> one Joseph Fox, engaged to serve as a soldier at Bombay, together with his wife and two children. Such accommodation as was customary for soldiers and their families was to be provided. Issued from United Castle, St Helena. Signed John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, and Daniel Griffith. Order to Captain Rice concerning Paul Brakon, 23 September 1709. Leave was granted, at his own request, for Paul Brakon to depart the island with his wife and two children for Bombay. Captain Rice was directed to agree with him for his passage and to arrange terms so that the directors were reimbursed for his provisions. Issued from United Castle, St Helena. Signed John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, and Daniel Griffith. Interpretations The contrast between the two orders illustrates the different status of the migrants placed aboard the <i>Godolphin</i>. Joseph Fox travelled as a soldier under engagement, with his family receiving accommodation appropriate to military rank at Company expense, while Paul Brakon travelled at his own request and was required to settle terms for his passage and his family's provisioning. The phrase "such accommodation as is usual to soldiers" indicates that an established convention governed the conditions under which Company soldiers and their dependants travelled between settlements, with both captain and council understood to know what those arrangements involved without further specification. The instruction that Captain Rice was to extract from Brakon "so much as to satisfy our Masters for his Provisions" reveals the directors' principle that no person was to consume Company supplies without offsetting payment, with the captain placed in the role of revenue collector during the voyage. The signing of all three documents by the same five officers, on three consecutive days, illustrates the routine collegial governance of the island, in which formal orders required the assent of the entire council rather than the unilateral authority of the governor. Speculations The willingness of Paul Brakon to leave St Helena at his own expense, with his wife and two children in tow, suggests that prospects at Bombay were considered worth the cost of passage, with the directors' Indian settlements perhaps offering opportunities for free settlers that were no longer to be had on the increasingly regulated island. The careful separation of the two cases into distinct written orders, rather than a single combined instruction, reflects the council's attention to the legal and financial distinctions between bonded service and voluntary migration, with each man's status documented precisely to support future accounting. The absence of any equivalent order for Henry Webley, despite his being named in the principal letter to Bombay, may indicate that his bond and

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			accommodation were governed by a separate document not included here, or alternatively that the standard form of order applied to Joseph Fox was understood to cover any other bonded soldiers travelling on the same voyage. The dates of the three documents, spanning 21 to 24 September, indicate that the council prepared the orders in advance of the <i>Godolphin's</i> departure rather than at a single sitting, with each migrant's case addressed as the relevant arrangements were finalised in the days leading up to sailing.
56	56	Wee have great Occasion for a Cooper and one of yours was with the [Go]v[r] yesterday and Sayes he is very willing to Stay here Sce will give You one in his Roome and acknowledge it a Perticular Service done There's another with you one Cottingwood has [a] desire to Stay, and has Engagd himself with the Govern[r] you will Likewise be Suppl[i]ed with another in his roome Give them a bill for their wages Payable by the Govern[r] and Counc[il]e of S[t] Helena for Acc[t] of the Hono[ble] United English East India Company Wee are your [Loveing] affectionate Friends United Castle on S[t] Helena Septemb[r] y[e] 20[th] 1709 Jn[o] Roberts Tho[s] Goodwin Ed[w] Mashborne W[m] Marsden Dan[ll] Griffith To y[e] Worship[ll] the Gov[er]n[r] and Councill of S[t] Helena I am favoured with yours of this date and am very glad I can be Serviabile to you by Sparing a Cooper for the Service of my Honour[ble] Masters have According to Your Desire Discharged Jn[o] Lather Cooper also Daniell Cottingwood and given them Bills for their Wages Auording to your Directions I am your Worships and C[o]uncills Most Humble Servant S[t] Helena Septemb[r] the 20[th] 1709 Jn[o] Aspli[c]e To Worship[ll] the Govern[r] [&] Coun[cil] of S[t] Helena Gentlem[en] I am obliged for the Security of y[e] Hon[o]ble [C]ompanys [Sh]ipp Godolphin and the [P]rosperity of my Intended voyage to represent the [In]sole[n]cy and Evill [P]ractices of Jonah Ingram [C]heif mate being a [Person] of a Re[fr]actory and Uneasy Temper and a [P]er[s]on whom I cannot get to obey or [...] ways [C]onfide in or follow any orders or Dire[c]tions But always do[s] and will Act [C]ontrary and in opposition to me and is So Insolent that upon all Occasion[s] he gives me most Sauey and Imprudent Language insomuch that he is not only Troublesome and unhappy to me but pernicious i[n] y[e] [E]xample [That] the Said M[r] Jonah Ingram doth hold Private Caballs with Severall of my Officers	A letter from the council to Captain Rice concerning two of his coopers, dated 20 September 1709. The island stood in great need of a cooper. One of the captain's men had visited the Governor the previous day and expressed willingness to remain at St Helena. A replacement was to be provided in his place, and the favour would be acknowledged as a particular service. A second of the captain's men, one Cottingwood, also wished to stay and had engaged himself with the Governor. A replacement was to be furnished for him as well. Bills for their wages were to be drawn, payable by the Governor and Council of St Helena for account of the Honourable United English East India Company. Issued from United Castle on St Helena. Signed John Roberts, Thomas Goodwin, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, and Daniel Griffith. Reply from Captain Rice, dated the same day. The council's letter of the same date was acknowledged with pleasure, the opportunity to serve the directors by sparing a cooper being welcome. In accordance with the council's wishes, John Lather, cooper, was discharged, as was Daniel Cottingwood. Bills for their wages were drawn in conformity with the council's directions. Signed John Rice, St Helena, 20 September 1709. Letter from Captain Rice to the Governor and Council regarding his chief mate. For the security of the directors' ship <i>Godolphin</i> and the prosperity of the intended voyage, certain insolencies and evil practices of Jonah Ingram, the chief mate, were brought to the council's attention. Ingram was reported to be of a refractory and uneasy temper, a person whom the captain could not bring to obey, could not in any way confide in, and would not follow orders or directions. Instead, Ingram acted consistently in opposition to the captain. He was further reported to be so insolent that he was apt on every occasion to address the captain in saucy and imprudent language, rendering him not only troublesome and a source of unhappiness but pernicious in his example to others. Ingram was further reported to hold private caballs with several of the <i>Godolphin's</i> officers. Interpretations The exchange concerning the coopers illustrates the routine practice of personnel transfer between ships and shore establishments, with skilled tradesmen moved across Company assets according to need, their wages adjusted through the bills-of-exchange system that allowed obligations to be settled across vast distances without the transfer of specie. The willingness of both John Lather and Daniel Cottingwood to remain at St Helena suggests that shore service on the island was viewed as preferable to continued sea service by at least some skilled men, possibly reflecting the hardships of the long Indian Ocean voyage compared with the relatively stable conditions of an island posting. The careful documentation of the wage arrangements, with bills drawn payable by the council "for account of the Honourable United English East India Company," demonstrates the rigorous bookkeeping that allowed financial responsibility for

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			any given employee to be tracked across multiple Company entities, with internal transfers reckoned as fully as commercial transactions with outside parties. The formal complaint against Jonah Ingram, framed as a matter of the ship's security and the voyage's prosperity, illustrates the considerable authority that ship's captains held over their officers but also the formality required when exercising it, with serious accusations placed on the written record so as to support any subsequent disciplinary action. Speculations The phrasing of the council's request, emphasising the "particular service" that the cooper transfer would represent and the willingness to supply replacements, hints at the island's chronic difficulty in retaining skilled tradesmen, with the council prepared to negotiate actively with passing captains rather than rely on the men sent out from London. Captain Rice's evident readiness to part with two of his coopers in a single exchange suggests that the <i>Godolphin</i> may have been carrying surplus tradesmen for the Bombay establishment, with the captain able to accommodate the council's request without compromising his own voyage requirements. The accumulation of charges against Ingram, including disobedience, refusal to follow orders, insolent language, and the formation of "private caballs" with other officers, suggests that Rice was building a case for Ingram's removal or formal discipline rather than merely venting a grievance, with the precise enumeration of faults reading as preparation for a hearing or court of inquiry. The mention of private caballs is particularly suggestive, since it raises the possibility of an organised faction aboard the ship working in opposition to the captain's authority, with Rice perhaps fearing that the matter might extend beyond mere personal insolence to something approaching mutiny if not addressed before the voyage continued.
57	57	[...] [...] [...] that After We had [...] two blacks would go to the [...] fast at four Stone Layers Could w[...] house, and the Ass Negroes Suppl[i]e[d] them with [...] house Come very Cheap to you We pray your Hon[rs] to Believe We have No [...] point at any of Our fellow Servants that has gone befor[e] when So much Labour and Paines falls to Our Share, W[e] Saying that the Antient Old Company has been very Ill Se[r]v[e]d for, if any of their Orders had Ever been put in Execute [...] would not have been in this Ruind State and Conditione[d] they kept One half of the Island as by the 38 Parragraph [of] In 1683. We Should not have been Land Lockt all r[o]und [...] Now, nor have Needed Such Large Fences and So many [...] they are done will be a yearly Tax upon you to keep them [...] The Leke Order there was in the 88 Parragraph of the Sam[e] to Fence in the great wood, but there Never was a Stone L[...] Or had Governour Poirier when he first took [P]ossession [...] Plantation Fenced on the Wood Round about him, which [...] So thick that they Could hardly find their way to the P[...] and Now We Can hardly find a Tree, Or had he Fenced in [...] that yearly C[os]ts Neare as much Money to keep the Cows Out [...] Vall[e]w of the Grapes Amounted too, Or had he but made [...] Supply Shipp[i]ng, Or Indeed had he done any thing to [s]u[...] Islands goeing to Rack and Ruin, We should have the Le[gs] hands, and Our Labour and time been Employed to much [...] Servi[c]e, and Proff[i]tts, what Ever Service that Gentleman [...] is a Secret to Every Soul upon S[t] Helena, and hope he will be [...] No more to discourage Us, And We hope all Our fellow Servia[nts] Comes after Us, will not Spare to point at Us, It is Our humbl[e] that whosoever points at Us will Certainly mend Our face[s]	After two slaves were dispatched, four stone layers were able to proceed with the work at the [...] house, the [...] slaves having supplied them with materials at very cheap cost. The directors were entreated to believe that no malice was intended against any of the fellow servants who had preceded the present council, even though much labour and pains had fallen to their share. Nonetheless, it was to be said plainly that the ancient old Company had been very ill served. Had any of their orders ever been put into execution, the island would not have been left in its present ruined state. By the thirty-eighth paragraph of 1683, one half of the island was to have been reserved by the Company. Had this been done, the inhabitants would not now find themselves land-locked on every side, nor would such extensive fences be needed, the maintenance of which was to prove a yearly tax once completed. A similar order in the eighty-eighth paragraph of the same year directed that the great wood be enclosed, yet not a single stone was laid in execution of it. Had Governor Poirier, on first taking possession of his plantation, enclosed the wood round about him, the trees that grew so thick that a path through them was hardly to be found would still be standing. As matters stood, scarcely a tree was now to be found in that quarter. Had he likewise enclosed [the vineyard], the yearly cost of keeping cattle out would not have approached the value of the grapes harvested. Had he taken any measures to supply the shipping, or indeed any measures whatever to prevent the island from going to rack and ruin, the legs, hands, labour, and time of the present council would have been employed in much more profitable service.

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		[...] [...] We adv[is]ed your Hon[rs] in the 5[th] Paragraph [...] Letters by the Tavistock, and Somers, of those two [...] Trotter, [a]nd Cap[t] Gordon, We Shall Let your Hon[rs] [...] think they are So, First those Gentlem[en] Advi[s]ed the [...] not well Receiv[e]d here, According to the Antient [...] they Said was for the Governour and Councill to [...] Land[in]g Rocks, which the Councill did, but the Go[vernour] not budge [O]ut of the Forti[fi]cation but met them [...] also Informed it was U[s]uall to welcome the [C]omod[ore] So many Guns, which the Governour Refused to d[o] Margin Notes: [...] [...]o[...]b[r] [...] 1710	Whatever service Governor Poirier was to have performed remained a secret to every soul upon St Helena. The hope was expressed that he would discourage the present administration no further. As for the fellow servants who would in their turn succeed the present council, those gentlemen were welcome to point at any failings, and whoever pointed at them would certainly improve the council's own conduct. Concerning the matter advised in the fifth paragraph of the letters by the <i>Tavistock</i> and the <i>Somers</i>, regarding the conduct of Captain Trotter and Captain Gordon: those gentlemen had complained that they were not well received at St Helena, according to the ancient custom by which the Governor and Council were to attend captains at the landing rocks. The Council had so attended, but the Governor would not stir from the fortifications, and met the captains within. It was further reported as customary to welcome the Commodore with a certain number of guns, which the Governor refused to fire. The marginal note indicated the document dated from [late] 1710. Interpretations The retrospective indictment of Governor Poirier reveals the political dynamics of colonial succession, in which the failures of a deceased predecessor could be safely catalogued by his successors as a means of explaining the difficulties they themselves now faced, with each enumerated omission serving simultaneously as historical record and as justification for present circumstances. The detailed citation of specific paragraphs of orders from 1683, with paragraph numbers given precisely as thirty-eight and eighty-eight, demonstrates that the St Helena Council kept and consulted its archive of standing instructions, with administrative continuity maintained through written records that outlasted any individual administration. The financial reasoning that fences once erected would constitute "a yearly tax" on the Company illustrates a sophisticated understanding of capital and maintenance costs, with the council pressing the directors to consider that even useful works imposed continuing obligations that needed to be weighed against their benefits. The complaint regarding Captains Trotter and Gordon highlights the ceremonial protocols that governed interactions between Company vessels and the island administration, with departures from the customary forms of reception treated as serious breaches that could damage relations and prompt formal complaint to London. Speculations The unusual vehemence directed at Governor Poirier, with his entire administration dismissed as a "secret to every soul upon St Helena," suggests that the present council had specific grievances arising from the state in which they found island affairs upon assuming office, with their inheritance of fallen buildings, depleted woods, and unenclosed land providing daily reminders of what they considered earlier neglect. The protest against the absence of one half of the island reserved for the Company, leaving the council "land-locked," hints at a struggle over the boundary between Company property and the holdings of free planters, with the failure to implement the 1683 reservation having allowed private claims to expand into territory that would otherwise have remained available for official use. Governor Poirier's refusal to stir from the fortifications to meet visiting captains, and to fire the customary salute, may have reflected either personal infirmity in his last years, a deliberate withdrawal from ceremonial duties, or a calculated effort to assert his

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			authority over visiting commanders by requiring them to come to him rather than meeting them halfway. The casual reference to slaves providing materials "at very cheap cost" in the opening passage reveals the routine economic exploitation of enslaved labour as the foundation of the island's construction works, with the cheapness of their labour treated as a self-evident benefit rather than a matter requiring justification.
58	58	[...] [G]overnour which the [...] [...] and to make things [...]a[...] [...] on his Own [C]hamber, But what was th[e] [...] [...] in Cap[ts] Garden, at his taking Leave of the Governour [...] of the false Brethren Hugged and Ki[s]sed, and Immediately [...] went up the Vally and Declared he would [c]arry any body off Mi[ss]ing of Two Soldiers One Mark mackoy a Scotchman, and [...]n Woodward, do believe he had them, for We are Since Informed [tha]t Our People did See a Man of Warrs Pennace go [P]rivately to the [W]est Rocks, Just before they went under Saile which they Suppo[s]ed to [fet]ches, Thus your Hon[rs] may See the [Z]ealou[s]s Intentions of these Gentlem- m[e]n for your Service that [T]ramples upon your Honour, and had not [th]e Comodore been an Old Intimate Acquaintance of the Governour, [w]hich Old Friend[ship] those Gentlemen Could not break Otherwi[s]e We [mu]st have been Hobby Horst by those Gentlemen, Or Ill blood mu[s]t have [a]rri[s]en, and We Should have been very Loth to have gone to farr[...] [k]nowing the great [c]harge they have of your State, and the Chief [R]eason is because they Could not Cock and Hosier Us, alth[o] We thought [w]e did them a Kindne[ss] in taking the goods of[f] their hands as We [di]d, and as the Scotchman was the Chiefest Marchant, So he made [t]he most Stirr Our Masons Complain E[s]peccially Nicholas Shreeve that the [y]early allowance to his Wife of [p]art of his [S]allary from your Hon[rs] is [I]rdedely paid her, We pray they may not be di[s]couraged being good [Ab]le workemen and does you very good Service here We per[s]waded Cap[tn] Le[s]ly to Spare Us a little Arrack, Sugar, and Ninety [P]ounds in Money, the Arrack We have at Ten Shillings a Gallon although the Spegale gave Twelve Shillings and Six [P]ence The Governour has as yet not Completed A New Draught of [t]his Island having Labour[d] and Still does under an Intermitt[n]g [Fea]ver, Occationed by Violent Colds Ketcht for want of a good Tent We are Hon[rb]le Masters Yo[r] most Obedient, Faithfull humble Serv[ts] Jn[o] Roberts Edw[d] Mashborne W[m] Marsden Daniel Gr[i]ffth Mathew Bazett [...]	The Governor was approached on the matter, and to ease the situation, the discussion was confined to his own chamber. The captains, however, took matters further. In the captain's garden, on taking leave of the Governor, certain of the false brethren hugged and kissed the captains, and word went up the valley that any man wishing to leave was to be carried off the island. Two soldiers, one Mark McCoy a Scotchman and one Woodward, went missing. The belief was held that the captains had taken them, since report was afterwards received that the Man of War's pinnace had been seen privately at the West Rocks just before sailing, and it was supposed that the deserters were so fetched off. The directors might therefore observe the zealous intentions for the Company's service displayed by such gentlemen as trampled upon its honour. Had the Commodore not been an old intimate acquaintance of the Governor, the bond of which the captains were unwilling to break, the council would have been ridden roughshod over, or ill blood would have arisen. The council was reluctant to push the matter further, given the great charge the captains held of the directors' interests. The chief reason for the captains' conduct was that the council would not let itself be cocked and hectored at by them, although the council had thought to do them a kindness in receiving their goods. As the Scotchman was the chief merchant among them, he made the greatest stir. The masons of the island, and Nicholas Shreeve in particular, complained that the yearly allowance from part of his salary, payable to his wife by the directors, was irregularly delivered to her. The plea was made that such men should not be discouraged, being good and able workmen who rendered very good service to the island. Captain Lesly was prevailed upon to spare a little arrack, sugar, and ninety pounds in money. The arrack was taken at ten shillings the gallon, although the [Spegale] had been priced at twelve shillings and sixpence. The Governor had not yet completed a new draught of the island, having laboured under an intermittent fever, occasioned by violent colds caught for want of a good tent. Signed John Roberts, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. Interpretations The account of soldiers being smuggled off the island by visiting captains reveals one of the persistent administrative challenges of small colonial garrisons, where the temptation for soldiers to abandon a posting with limited prospects was matched by the willingness of merchant captains to take on free hands without too closely inquiring into their previous engagements. The political tension between the council and the visiting captains is rendered in remarkable detail, with the council's restraint attributed not to weakness but to a deliberate calculation that confrontation with men who held "the great charge of your state" would damage the directors' interests more than the immediate grievance. The mention of certain "false brethren" who hugged and kissed the captains in the captain's garden suggests the existence of factions within the council or the wider settler population, with some inhabitants

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			apparently inclined to side with the visiting commanders against the administration in pursuit of their own interests. The complaint on behalf of Nicholas Shreeve and the other masons illustrates how welfare arrangements for skilled tradesmen extended to their families in England, with portions of their wages held back and remitted to wives at home as a means both of supporting dependants and of binding the men to continued service on the island. Speculations The phrase "cocked and hectored at" used to describe what the captains expected, combined with the suggestion that the chief Scotch merchant made the greatest stir when this expectation was not met, hints at a particular pattern of behaviour by which visiting Company captains and their associated merchants attempted to dominate island administrators, with the present council having drawn a line that left the merchants offended. The Governor's recurring intermittent fever, attributed to colds caught for want of a good tent, suggests that the official residence remained in poor repair despite the various building projects mentioned in earlier correspondence, with the chief administrator of the island unable to secure adequate shelter even for himself. The pricing detail concerning the arrack obtained from Captain Lesly, ten shillings per gallon against an alternative price of twelve shillings and sixpence, indicates that the council was actively negotiating prices and tracking the going rates among different suppliers, with the small saving carefully recorded as evidence of prudent stewardship. The reference to "old intimate acquaintance" between the Commodore and the Governor preserving the peace points to the role of personal networks in maintaining order across the Company's far-flung establishments, with private friendships sometimes succeeding where formal authority might have failed in preventing open quarrels between officers of the same service.
59	59	[...] [...] they Left at Bata[via] [...] [...] with two [F]rezes One [...] the Aqua [F]ulea Ship, but [c]ould [...] made a great Voyage, and talk of Sailing for this Island, If they can Stop their L[e]aks The 31[st] of August the Stronger Galley was off O[...] Sailing Into Batavia, and Seems by Letters from her [...] Pa[s]sage yet d[e]signes to push for it. The Loyall Cook Lo[st] and while She lay at Batavia they got a Hoop and [...] rea, and in this Voyage 'tis Said that M[r] Shir[e]ly died, a [...] third Supra Cargoe, and Pur[s]er, and Two or three of their [...] The Rochester Saved their Pa[s]sage to China, the f[...] September, this Ship Nathaniel, Met the Olea Frigol[t] [...] In the Streights of Sumday goeing to Batavia From Bencoolen they Say that the Westmoreland [...] thence in January Last, We pray God She may be Safe Arr[ived] you The Fleet Frigott Returning from China at Ma[...] adv[ic]e of Some French Ships in that Streights, which [...] the Succe[s]s a Country Ship Saile to Batavia from when[ce] [Sai]lled in June la[s]t for Sur[r]at or Bomba[ss] From Bengall We have Account that Cap[tn] Rob[...] put Out of that River, but being Late in the year, and [...] with hard winds She Returned and Wintered all C[o]xes [...] that River, and We Expect her daily, As We do also the [...] Cap[tn] Cl[e]ft [...] Yo[r] Servants as aforesa[id] [St] Helena Dec[r] [...]: 1710 Jn[o] Roberts [P]r Sh[i]ps abingdon Edw[d] Mashb[orne] and Nathaniell W[m] Mar[sden] Daniel [...] Math[ew] [...]	Intelligence had been received concerning several Company and country ships in the eastern seas. Two vessels at Batavia, including the <i>Aqua Fulea</i>, had taken on serious leaks. Despite the damage, a substantial voyage had been completed, and the talk was of sailing onward to St Helena once the leaks could be stopped. On 31 August the <i>Stronger</i> Galley was reported off [...] sailing into Batavia. From letters received, the ship's passage appeared difficult, yet the captain was determined to press on. The <i>Loyal Cook</i> had suffered losses, and while she lay at Batavia certain repairs were undertaken to her hoop and [...]. During the same voyage Mr Shirley, third supercargo and purser, was reported to have died, together with two or three others of the ship's complement. The <i>Rochester</i> secured her passage to China, and on a date in September the <i>Nathaniel</i> met the <i>Olea</i> Frigot in the Straits of Sunda, the latter bound for Batavia. From Bencoolen, word was received that the <i>Westmoreland</i> had sailed thence in January last. Prayers were offered that she had reached the directors safely. The <i>Fleet</i> Frigot, returning from China, conveyed at [...] advice of certain French ships in those straits. In consequence, the <i>Success</i>, a country ship, made for Batavia, whence she sailed in June last for Surat or Bombay. From Bengal, account was received that Captain Robinson's ship had put out of that river, but the lateness of the year and the hard winds compelled her return. She wintered all [...] in that river, and was daily

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			expected at St Helena. The arrival of [another ship] under Captain Cleft was likewise looked for. Signed John Roberts, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. Issued from St Helena, December 1710, per the <i>Abingdon</i> and the <i>Nathaniel</i>. Interpretations The accumulation of intelligence concerning ships at Batavia, in the Sunda Straits, off the China coast, in the Bengal river, and at Bencoolen demonstrates the remarkable communications network sustained by Company shipping, with St Helena serving as a clearing house where reports from across the eastern seas were collated and forwarded to the directors in London. The repeated mentions of damaged vessels, persistent leaks, and ships waiting on repairs reveal the constant maritime attrition that the long Asian voyages produced, with even successful trading expeditions returning with their hulls and rigging in compromised condition. The reference to French ships in the eastern straits, prompting the <i>Suarez</i> to alter her routing through Batavia, illustrates how the wider European war affected commercial decision-making in waters far from any formal theatre of operations, with Company captains adjusting their itineraries to avoid hostile encounters. The pattern of waiting and expectation that runs through the letter, with multiple ships "daily expected" or yet to be heard from, captures the characteristic uncertainty of long-distance maritime trade, in which final accounts of voyages could be assembled only piecemeal as successive arrivals delivered fragmentary news. Speculations The death of Mr Shirley as third supercargo and purser, mentioned without further detail, hints at the high attrition among Company officers in Asian waters, with disease, accident, and the strain of long voyages routinely thinning the ranks of those entrusted with managing the directors' commercial interests at sea. The careful tracking of Captain Robinson's wintering in the Bengal river, with the council expecting his arrival "daily" some considerable time afterwards, suggests that the timing of monsoon-bound departures from Bengal was well understood and that St Helena administrators were able to estimate the likely arrival of homeward-bound ships with reasonable accuracy from a knowledge of when they had last cleared the Asian coast. The pious interjection that prayers were offered for the safe arrival of the <i>Westmoreland</i> points to the genuine uncertainty surrounding any extended passage, with even routine voyages between Company settlements considered sufficiently hazardous to warrant explicit invocation of divine protection. The reference to two or three additional fatalities aboard the <i>Loyal Cook</i>, set alongside the named loss of Mr Shirley, indicates that the deaths of common sailors were aggregated rather than recorded individually in such intelligence summaries, with named men identified only when their rank or position made their loss commercially or administratively significant.
60	60	[...] United Cast[le] [...] [...] [...] December 1[st] 1710 [C]onsultations from y[e] 25[th] of July to y[e] 25[st] Novemb[r] 1710 [...] of Booke of [c]auses Since Govern[r] Roberts Came [c]om[m]encing [the] 28 September 1708 to the 24[th] October 1710 [Co]ppy of Govern[r] & Coun[ce]ll [Le]res [Pr] Ships Tavi[s]tock & Somers [Co]py of Governour & Councell Letter [Pr] Ship Tavi[s]tock [Co]ppy of Governour & Councill Letter from Bombay [Co]ppy of Letters & Orders to and from Cap[tn] Le[s]ly [Co]ppy of Invoice of goods Bought Out of Shipping [Sh]ipps Accounts	A list of enclosures despatched from United Castle on St Helena, 1 December 1710. The packet contained the following documents. The consultations of the Council, covering the period from 25 July to 25 November 1710. The book of causes heard since Governor Roberts came into office, commencing 28 September 1708 and continuing to 24 October 1710. Copies of the Governor and Council's letters sent per the <i>Tavistock</i> and the <i>Somers</i>. A further copy of the Governor and Council's letter sent per the <i>Tavistock</i>.

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		[S]underland 2 Bill of Exchange [G]unther 2 Bill of Exchange [L]eopard 2 Bill of Exchange [C]ap[tn] Godd[i]n 3 Bill of Exchange [A]ccedent of Stores [In]voice of Med[i]cines broke in the Surgeon Chests [...]. [H]ead Frigott [Go]vernour Roberts petition to go home [Go]vernour Roberts packet to the Secret C[omm]ittee The Generall Letter was Sent apart from this Packet by the Same Ship and also Coppy of Said Letter [Pr] Ship Nathaniell	A copy of the Governor and Council's letter from Bombay. Copies of letters and orders exchanged with Captain Lesly. A copy of the invoice of goods bought out of shipping. The ships' accounts. Two bills of exchange relating to the <i>Sunderland</i>. Two bills of exchange relating to the <i>Gunther</i>. Two bills of exchange relating to the <i>Leopard</i>. Three bills of exchange relating to Captain Goodwin. An account of stores. An invoice of medicines broken in the surgeons' chests. [Documents relating to the] <i>Head Frigot</i>. Governor Roberts petition to return home. Governor Roberts packet addressed to the Secret Committee. The General Letter was despatched separately from this packet by the same vessel, and a copy of the same letter was sent per the <i>Nathaniel</i>. Interpretations The composition of the packet illustrates the comprehensive documentary practice by which the St Helena administration accounted for itself to the directors, with consultations, judicial records, correspondence, financial instruments, inventories, and personal petitions all bundled together for the directors' review. The inclusion of the book of causes spanning the entire two-year tenure of Governor Roberts indicates that judicial decisions on the island were treated as part of the regular administrative record, with the directors expected to oversee not only commercial and military matters but also the resolution of local disputes. The careful separation of the General Letter from the main packet, despatched by the same ship but as a distinct conveyance, demonstrates the administrative practice of redundancy in important communications, with the most significant document also copied for transport by a second vessel to guard against loss at sea. The presence of multiple bills of exchange relating to four different ships, totalling nine instruments in all, reveals the central role of credit transfer in Company commerce, with the financial business arising from each visiting vessel generating its own set of paper obligations to be settled in London. Speculations The position of Governor Roberts petition to return home among the enclosures, together with a separate packet to the Secret Committee, suggests that the Governor was preparing actively for his departure from the island and that some of the contents of the Secret Committee packet may have related to matters too sensitive for the ordinary correspondence channel, possibly including criticisms of fellow officers or candid assessments of island affairs. The invoice of medicines broken in the surgeons' chests, listed as a distinct item, points to the careful accounting required for medical supplies, with broken or spoiled stocks needing to be documented to justify reorder and to support the surgeons' accounts to the directors. The decision to send the General Letter by both the despatching ship and the <i>Nathaniel</i> indicates that the council considered the contents of that letter to be of particular importance, with the use of two carriers chosen to ensure that the directors would receive the information even if one of the vessels failed to complete her passage. The accumulation of correspondence with Captain Lesly as a distinct bundle within the packet suggests that the dealings with this commander had generated sufficient documentary record to merit their own

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			separate enclosure, hinting at extended or complicated negotiations of the kind that featured in earlier correspondence concerning supplies and ship management.
61	61	[...] As [...] Minute they [g]o hence, w[...] Ships are aweigh, Wherefore W[e] [...] Sending a Letter a part, In[c]luding Bills of [...] We have drawn on your Hon[rs] the Severall Bil[ls] To Mary [O]thope, whose House and Plantation We have [...] [C]on[s]ultation, And have given her [L]eave and Lice[n]ce to [...] family. The Ballance of her Account being 100 One hund[red] To M[r] Page Keelle payable to M[r] Tho[s] Heath 84 Eighty f[our] To Cap[tn] Le[s]ly payable to M[r] Epephanas Holland 372 Three hund[dred] To Nathaniel Collens 72 Seventy t[wo] To John Roberts Esq[r] 150 One hundred [...] To Richard Gurlen[g], or Order 200 Two hundred [...] To John Humler 225 Two hundred t[wen]ty 1710 Herewith Comes the Ship Nathaniel Account[s] V[i]z[t] Novem[r] 29[th] To Cu[s]tome for Anchorage 0:5:0 Ditto for 5 Barrell of [P]owder 6:16:6 30 To 2 Punch[i]ons Beeffe [...] Charles Steward haveing [c]redit in the Store Ballances [...] this Account [...] The Governour has been on board Cap[tn] Le[s]ly[s] Ship and Serv[ed] the wants Cordage, and Cap[tn] Le[s]ly Importuned Us very mu[ch] but had We not get a haw[s]er Out of the Men of Warr, We [...] Mean Our Own Boates and that mu[s]t needs have put all O[...] in Relation to Forti[fi]cations to a full Stand We are Yo[r] Hon[rs] mo[s]t humble [...] Faithfull Serv[ts] S[t] Helena Decem[r] 1[st] 1710 [P]r Ship Abingdon Jn[o] Robe[rts] Edw[d] M[ashborne] W[m] M[arsden] Dan[iel] [...] Ma[thew] [...]	Just before the ships were to weigh anchor, a separate letter was despatched, enclosing bills of exchange. Several bills had been drawn upon the directors. The first, in the sum of one hundred pounds, was made out to Mary Othope, whose house and plantation had been the subject of a council consultation. Leave and licence were given for her to depart the island with her family, the balance of her account being the said one hundred pounds. A second bill, in the sum of eighty-four pounds, was drawn in favour of Mr Page Keelle, payable to Mr Thomas Heath. A third bill, in the sum of three hundred and seventy-two pounds, was drawn in favour of Captain Lesly, payable to Mr Epaphras Holland. A fourth bill, in the sum of seventy-two pounds, was drawn in favour of Nathaniel Collens. A fifth bill, in the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds, was drawn in favour of John Roberts Esquire. A sixth bill, in the sum of two hundred pounds, was drawn in favour of Richard Gurleng or his order. A seventh bill, in the sum of two hundred and twenty-five pounds, was drawn in favour of John Humler. The accounts of the ship <i>Nathaniel</i> were forwarded herewith for the year 1710. On 29 November, customs charges of five shillings for anchorage were entered, together with six pounds sixteen shillings and sixpence for five barrels of powder. On 30 November, charges were entered for two puncheons of beef [...] Charles Stewart having credit in the store, his balance was settled in this account. The Governor had gone aboard Captain Lesly's ship and had served the ship's wants for cordage. Captain Lesly had pressed his case strongly, but had a hawser not been obtained from the Man of War, the council's own boats would have had to suffice, and the work of fortification would have been brought to a full stand. Issued from St Helena, 1 December 1710, per the <i>Abingdon</i>. Signed John Roberts, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. Interpretations The drawing of seven separate bills of exchange in a single accounting, totalling more than one thousand two hundred pounds, illustrates the substantial volume of credit transactions that passed through St Helena, with the island administration functioning as a small banking centre that allowed obligations contracted on the island to be discharged through the Company's London accounts. The arrangement by which Mary Othope was permitted to depart the island upon settlement of her account balance reveals one of the routine mechanisms by which the island's population was managed, with departures requiring formal council approval and the settling of any outstanding financial relationships with the Company. The careful itemisation of the <i>Nathaniel's</i> charges, with anchorage fees at five shillings and powder at six pounds sixteen shillings and sixpence, demonstrates how every transaction between the island and visiting ships was reckoned in detail, with even the smallest customs charges entered into the accounts that would eventually be audited in London. The episode concerning Captain Lesly's importunate demands for cordage, which were met only because a hawser could be obtained from the Royal Navy ship in port, reveals the constant competition

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			among visiting commanders for limited island supplies, with the council forced to balance commercial obligations against the equally pressing demands of the fortification works ashore. Speculations The presence of John Roberts Esquire among the bill recipients, drawing one hundred and fifty pounds, indicates that the Governor was settling his own financial affairs in preparation for the return home he had petitioned to be granted, with substantial sums being repatriated through the same paper instruments used for ordinary Company business. The diversion of a hawser from the Man of War to Captain Lesly's ship suggests an informal arrangement between the council and the Royal Navy commander, with naval stores treated as a flexible reserve that could be drawn upon to relieve pressure on the island's own depleted supplies. The fact that Captain Lesly had to be importuned and that his wants could only just be met points to the persistent pattern of arriving captains expecting more from St Helena than the island was able to deliver, with each successful provisioning representing a small administrative victory rather than a routine transaction. The grant of leave for Mary Othope and her family to depart, set alongside earlier permissions for migrants to Bombay, indicates the considerable population movement that the island administration sought to regulate, with the council retaining clear authority over who might come and go and on what terms.
62	62	[...] [t]he Abingdon Cap[tn] Le[s]ly wh[o] [...] [...] together with the Nathaniel Cap[tn] Negus [...] God may Arrive Safe with you) Cap[tn] Negus in the Nathaniel Came in but two days before the [...] [ap]o[fin]ted Time for Sailing Wherefore We gave him all the A[s]si[s]tance We [...] [cou]ld for his Di[s]patch, We Lent him Our [P]i[n]nt, and Six Soldiers to [c]arry of[f] Water and fresh [P]rovi[s]ions, He kept the [P]i[n]nt till he was Under [Sai]l[e] and turn[e]d her Loose with two Soldiers, the Other four Soldiers he kept [n]amely Mathias Jackson, James Lovel, James Williams, and George [G]ad[ne]r and it [c]ost you four Dollars to hire a boate and People to fetch the [P]i[n]nt in, Whether Cap[tn] Negus knowes any thing of it, We much doubt Or indeed whether he was at S[t] Helena, Or no, for he Came here very drunk, and So Continued, and So went Away W[e] wrote your Hon[rs] very [L]argely by the Abingdon Cap[tn] Le[s]ly and also Sent y[ou] [a] Copy Our Con[s]ultations, and Other Matters Relating t[o] the Government of this Island, And had Sent you Our Con[s]ultations and Tran[s]actions to this time, by this Ship, but being a [P]ermi[s]sion Ship, and not knowing how Long her Stay may be here, the Cap[tn] Saying he will Saile in Twenty four how[r]s, this Uncer[t]ainly makes Us O[m]itt Sending [t]hem, Untill the Summer Shipping, the heads of what is most Material[ly] [in] Our Consultations We take Leave to Acquaint you First in relation to the Selling of the People in there [P]roperty Our Deeds, and Leases, they to S[c]ruple whether the Sealing of the Old [C]ompany's Seale is A[u]thenti[c]k, becau[s]e the begenning of all Leases run[s] Thus, The Lords Proprietors of this Island, the Hon[oble] United [E]nglish Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies [L]et &c, and in the [C]onclusion have hereunto fixed Our [C]o[m]m[on] [...] [w]hich Seale being the Old Company's Seale Seems to these People [a] [...] [d]i[c]tion [T]he Law of this Island for [P]lanting One Acre in Ten with [a]lso the other Law for Fencing in of Lands, We desire that [...] would ratti[f]ie the Same, and many other matters, which [...] [t]he good and well being of this Island of which We expect [determ]inations daysly Touching	The <i>Abingdon</i> under Captain Lesly, together with the <i>Nathaniel</i> under Captain Negus, were despatched in the hope that both ships were to reach the directors safely. Captain Negus in the <i>Nathaniel</i> arrived only two days before the appointed time for sailing. Every assistance for his despatch was therefore provided. The council's pinnace was lent to him, together with six soldiers, to carry off water and fresh provisions. He retained the pinnace until he was under sail, and then turned her loose with only two soldiers aboard. The other four, namely Mathias Jackson, James Lovel, James Williams, and George Gardner, he carried off with him. Four dollars were expended in hiring a boat and crew to fetch the pinnace back in. Whether Captain Negus had any knowledge of these matters was much doubted, and indeed whether he had truly been at St Helena at all was open to question, since he came in very drunk, so continued throughout his stay, and so departed. The directors were addressed at length by the <i>Abingdon</i> under Captain Lesly, and a copy of the consultations and other matters relating to the government of the island was forwarded by that vessel. The consultations and transactions current to the present date would have been sent by the <i>Nathaniel</i> also, but as that ship was a permission vessel and her length of stay uncertain, the captain having declared he would sail within twenty-four hours, the despatch of these papers was deferred until the summer shipping. The heads of what was most material in the consultations were nonetheless laid before the directors. The first matter concerned the sale of property to the inhabitants. The deeds and leases issued raised a difficulty for the people, since they scrupled whether the affixing of the Old Company's seal was authentic. The beginning of every lease ran in the name of the Lords Proprietors of this Island, namely the Honourable United English Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, who let the lands accordingly. The conclusion declared the document sealed with the common seal of the same Company. The seal so affixed being that of the Old Company, the people perceived a [contradiction] in the instrument.

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			The law of the island requiring that one acre in every ten be planted, together with the further law requiring the fencing in of lands, was submitted for the directors' ratification, along with many other matters touching the good and well-being of the island, on which determinations were daily expected. Touching [...] Interpretations The episode of Captain Negus carrying off four soldiers and abandoning the council's pinnace under the cover of perpetual drunkenness illustrates one of the more brazen forms of personnel theft practised by visiting commanders, with the captain's intoxicated state serving as both cover for the deception and grounds for any later denial of responsibility. The careful documentation of the four named soldiers, the cost of recovering the pinnace, and the captain's condition reveals the administrative response to such incidents, with the council building a written record that allowed the directors to pursue the matter through Company channels if they chose to do so. The decision to withhold the most recent consultations from the <i>Nathaniel</i> on account of her uncertain departure time demonstrates a sound logistical judgement, with the council preferring delayed conveyance by a reliable ship to immediate despatch by a vessel whose movements could not be predicted. The substantive legal question regarding the validity of leases issued under the Old Company's seal points to a real administrative difficulty arising from the recent merger of the English and London East India companies, with documents prepared before the union now circulating under arrangements that the new combined Company had not yet formally regularised. Speculations The phrase questioning whether Captain Negus had "truly been at St Helena at all" given his constant drunkenness, while clearly rhetorical, hints at the council's genuine frustration with commanders who treated the island as a brief stopover rather than as a place requiring serious engagement with local authorities, with Negus's behaviour standing as a particularly egregious example of casual disregard. The inhabitants' scruples regarding the Old Company's seal may have served as a convenient legal pretext for those who wished to challenge the validity of their leases on other grounds, with the formal defect providing cover for what may have been deeper resistance to the council's land settlement policies. The repeated requests for ratification of the planting and fencing laws indicate the council's awareness that local ordinances lacked full authority without confirmation from London, with administrative anxiety building as awaited determinations failed to arrive while the island's population grew increasingly impatient with rules of uncertain standing. The drafting practice exposed by the lease question, in which language inherited from the old Company was retained in documents issued under the new arrangements, suggests that the council was relying on existing forms rather than developing new ones tailored to the united Company, with the resulting confusion creating opportunities for legal challenge by inhabitants disposed to test the limits of the council's authority.
63	63	[...] [Sh]ipp to the [...] [...] for He Never [...] [...] for his Talent does not [...] [...]ow what a Hou[s]er was till he [c]am[e] [...]e, a[nd] [...] [...]ow his Petetion for Coming home Other Buildeings which We think are Ab[s]olu[tely] [...] and Cannot be Avoided, are a New Watch hou[s]e at Pro[s]p[erous] Bay] [...] the Room of the Old, also One at Bank[s]es In Room of the [...] Watch hou[s]e, Storehou[s]e, and powder hou[s]e at the Castle [...] [...] [I]p[er]oint, and a Watch hou[s]e at the new G[u]n	Concerning the chief mate of the ship [...]. He was never fit for the position. His talent did not [...]. Indeed, what a hawser was he did not know until he came aboard, and his petition for returning home was now before the council. Other buildings were thought absolutely necessary and were not to be avoided. A new watch house at Prosperous Bay was required in the room of the old. Another was needed at Banks's [Point] in place of the [existing structure]. The watch house, storehouse, and

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		Ridge in Room [of] and three Watch [H]ou[s]es, where the three Batterys are b[uilt] Barracks for the Soldiers, and a New Storehou[s]e And We Believe it would be for your Intere[s]t [...] or two was R[un] up here in the Vally they would Let well, [...] be of mighty Use to the Shipping Becau[s]e these Hou[s]es on the [...] [bu]ilt with Mud Morter, and are [F]ully Beggs, And a [...] In the great Wood, for if your Hon[rs] Should give George [...] [L]eafe at the Hor[s]e Pa[s]ture Again, We mu[s]t bid farewell to [...] mo[s]t [P]art of the I[s]land, and Expect no Wood from thence [...] it will the Great Wood, or the greate[s]t part of it, mu[s]t be [F]o[...] We Shall not have Wood to Boile Yams, In a very few yea[r]s will Render your I[s]land U[s]ele[s]s after all your great [c]ha[r]ge Young Trees We have planted, does not An[s]wer Our Expecta[tion] [c]ould wi[s]h We pray your Hon[rs] to hearken to what We Sa[y] [...] Regret We Tell you, your I[s]land is almo[s]t Ruined, And [...] with Our projects, and Labour, and pain[e]s, Laid Abou[t] [...] of ways to Recover it, But without your Encouragemen[t] In Generall We Can have No hope[s], for if We are not [P]ole[m]ly[?] with Stores, So as We may be able to pa[s]s your Laws in Exec[ution] those two mo[s]t Materi[a]ll Articles of Fen[s]ing, and Plant[ing] [s]hould they prove Abortive their is an En[d] of it, for a gre[at] Planters, which are very poor, and much Indebted to yo[u] which End goes for ought, and Even [c]hallenge Us to Send [...] We Will, for it [c]annot be they Say to a Hor[s]e [P]lace, for here [...] neither get [L]eather to their Backs, Nor a Dram of the [...] your Hon[rs] [P]referr Three or four [s]hillings on a Gallon [...] [S]afety of this I[s]land, and the Lives of them, and the [...] We failed with your Hon[rs] had not Dis[c]ouraged Us, in t[...] at lea[s]t have left of[f] [s]elling Us, We Should have No A[s]s[urance] China Ship, for We do not know but that We may [f]ight[?] [t]o Morrow, and have not a Dollar, Nor a Dram of [t]he Encourage the People, Nor don't know when We Sh[all]	powder house at the Castle, together with works at Upper Point, demanded attention, as did a watch house at the new Gun Ridge in place of the [existing one]. Three further watch houses were required at the sites of the three batteries lately built, together with barracks for the soldiers and a new storehouse. It was believed to be in the directors' interest if a house or two were run up in the valley. Such buildings were to let well and were to prove of mighty use to the shipping, since the houses on the [shore] had been built with mud mortar and were fully decayed. A further house in the great wood was likewise required. Should the directors grant George [...] further leave at the Horse Pasture, farewell would have to be bid to the greater part of the island, with no wood to be expected from that quarter. The great wood, or the greatest part of it, was [bound to be felled], and within a very few years there would not be wood enough even to boil yams. The island, after all the great charges expended upon it, was to be rendered useless. The young trees that had been planted did not answer the expectations the council had wished to hold. The directors were entreated to hearken to what was put before them. With regret it was stated that the island was almost ruined. The council had laboured at its projects, with much labour and pains, by many ways to recover it. Without the directors' encouragement in general, no hopes were to be entertained. If the council was not [properly] supplied with stores, so that the laws were to be put in execution, the two most material articles of fencing and planting were to prove abortive, and that was the end of the matter. The greater planters were very poor and much indebted to the Company. They were prepared to challenge the council to send them whither it would, declaring that they could not be sent to a [place worse than this], since at St Helena they could neither obtain leather for their backs nor a dram of [arrack]. Should the directors prefer three or four shillings on a gallon of liquor to the safety of the island and the lives of the people [...]. The council would have failed in dealings with the directors had it not been [for the matter discussed]. At the least, the directors were to have left off selling [stores at such prices]. No assurance was to be had of the China ship. The council did not know but it might be called to fight on the morrow, and had not a dollar to its name nor a dram of [arrack] to encourage the people, nor any knowledge of when supply was to come. Interpretations The detailed enumeration of building requirements - watch houses, storehouses, a powder house, barracks, batteries, and houses in the valley and great wood - reveals the scale of capital works the council considered necessary, with the inherited infrastructure of mud mortar buildings now decayed beyond useful service and demanding wholesale replacement rather than mere repair. The warning that the great wood was to be felled within a few years, leaving insufficient timber even to boil yams, demonstrates the council's acute awareness of an environmental crisis caused by uncontrolled cutting, with the prospect of the island's rendering useless framed as a direct consequence of the directors' failure to enforce conservation through proper fencing and replanting. The candid admission that the planters were so poor and indebted that they were prepared to be sent anywhere rather than remain at St Helena reveals the social desperation underlying the island's economic difficulties, with the council using the planters' threats of voluntary exile as leverage to extract better supply and policy from London. The bitter accusation that the directors preferred three or four shillings on a gallon of liquor to the safety

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			of the island and the lives of its people exposes the structural tension between commercial profit and colonial maintenance, with the council framing supply pricing as a direct moral choice between revenue and human welfare. Speculations The blunt description of the chief mate as having never known what a hawser was until he came aboard suggests that the council was supporting his petition to return home not merely on humanitarian grounds but because his presence on the ship constituted a danger to the voyage, with technical incompetence in senior maritime positions a recurring concern in the correspondence. The reference to George [...] and his potential return to Horse Pasture hints at a specific planter whose previous tenure of that land had been associated with significant timber depredation, with the council preparing the directors for an anticipated request that they wished to be refused before it was even received. The phrase about fighting on the morrow, set alongside the lack of dollars and arrack to encourage the people, points to genuine fears of attack on the island, whether by French ships, pirates, or even discontented inhabitants, with the council framing its supply requests in terms of immediate strategic vulnerability rather than mere administrative convenience. The repeated invocation of the council's projects, labour, and pains, alongside expressions of near despair that without London's support all such efforts were to come to nothing, suggests an administration that perceived itself as energetically attempting to reform the island but constantly frustrated by the gap between its ambitions and the resources made available to it from England.
64	64	[...] [...] in the [...] [...] [O]ur Selves [...] [...] [w]hat your Hon[rs] will give [...] [...] and Not Suffer Ships to Rack Us, and [...] [...] your [P]roffitts, We desire again to put you in minde [...] [N]ear a Thou[s]and Soules upon the I[s]land, give Every One [...] [the]r will be but Little Left in a Hogshead, nor is five Or Six B[...] [Co]ur[s]e Cloth Sufficient yearly, and Since the fate of this Island [...] on it, We have your[s] till We take Other Mea[s]ures, and do believe [...] [yo]ur Hon[rs] will please to Con[s]ider Our Demands you will Say the [...] [so]me but Servants that has an hone[s]t good Intent and Meaneing wo[uld] [m]ake Such an Indent So much Again[s]t there Own Intere[s]t, We don't [th]ink it any Diffi[c]ull Matter when Fortifi[c]ations are Over to make [Su]gar, and Rum, Wine, and Brandy, Enough in five or Six Years to [Ma]intain this I[s]land, and to Spare, but whilst the Gra[s]s grows [the] Hor[s]e Starves We have made about One hundred weight of Sugar Out [o]f the [C]anes in this Lower Garden, but believe We have not the Right [w]ay of Suering it, and are po[s]se[s]sed with an Oppinion that the [C]anes [in] the Country will make much better, We have Sent by Cap[tn] Le[s]ly about [half] a Dozen pound, We are Oblged to Fence in ground and to plant [a]ms as by Con[s]ultation of the 25 November, So that We [c]ann of Plant[ing] [c]anes till We have got more help, and it Appears by that for[s]el[...] [on] that all the ground We have is not Sufficient to Maintain [...] [...] Fifty blacks more, then We have, but when We have Such a [...] [...] we think it Easy, to plant Beans, Mei[s]e, and Potatoes, which [...] [...] Sufficently Supply Us, and the whole Garri[s]on be[s]ides, alth[o] [...] our Wears decay Strangely, for Notwith[s]tanding We have [...] [...] Several New Plantations, [j]u[s]t in their three years, and [...] [...]ented at lea[s]t One hundred Twenty Thou[s]and Yam[e]s, yet by the [de]cay of the Old Plantations We [c]an't Say We are Increa[s]ed As the Survey of the Plantations gives your Hon[rs] a true [...] [...] of the State and Condition, So the Va[s]t	The directors were entreated not to suffer ships to rack the island for the sake of profit. The point was again pressed home: near a thousand souls lay upon the island, and were every man given his share, little was to be left in a hogshead. Nor were five or six [bales] of coarse cloth sufficient for a year. Since the fate of the island depended on these supplies, the council was to hold the directors to their account until other measures were taken. It was the belief of the council that the directors, upon considering the demands laid before them, would acknowledge that no servants of honest good intent and meaning would have framed such an indent against their own interest. It was thought no difficult matter, once the fortifications were complete, to make sugar, rum, wine, and brandy enough in five or six years to maintain the island and have some to spare. Yet whilst the grass grew, the horse starved. About one hundredweight of sugar had been produced from the canes in the lower garden, although the right method of refining was not yet known to the council. It was held as opinion that the canes growing in the country were to yield much better sugar. About half a dozen pounds were forwarded by Captain Lesly. The council was obliged, by the consultation of 25 November, to fence in ground and plant yams. Until further help was procured, the planting of canes could not be undertaken. As appeared by that consultation, all the ground at the council's disposal was not sufficient to maintain [the people without] fifty more slaves. With such an addition of labour, the planting of beans, maize, and potatoes was held to be easy, sufficient to supply both the council and the entire garrison. The yam stocks were decaying strangely. Several new plantations, just in their third year, had been planted with at least one hundred and twenty thousand yams, yet by reason of the decay of the old plantations no increase could be claimed. The survey of the plantations was forwarded as giving the directors a true [account] of the state and

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		quantaty of fenceing [...] [...] the great Labour, and charge, you will be at, Nor Can We tell [...] [How] Long We Shall be about it, yet when it is done there will [...] [...]lly a Stick of Wood in them all, Nor Can We give you any [...] [...] as yet what your charge will be to Fence In the wood for [Hor]se pa[s]ture, as also a great part or the whole great wood that [...] [...] becau[s]e the Digging for Stones is So Uncertain, for the [c]harge [...] [...]le So much the more, or le[s]s, A[c]cording to the di[s]tance the Stones [...] [fo]r the Fenceing and if We Can't finde a [Q]uar[r]y Nearer then [...] [Wo]e Now [...] We are eke to goe at Lea[s]t two Miles for Stones [...] [...] but	condition of the lands. The vast quantity of fencing required was to occasion great labour and charge. How long the work was to take could not be foreseen. When complete, scarcely a stick of wood was to remain in any of the plantations. No reliable estimate could yet be furnished of the charge of fencing in the wood designated for horse pasture, nor of fencing a great part or the whole of the great wood. The digging for stones was so uncertain that costs were to vary considerably according to the distance the stones had to be carried. Should no quarry be found nearer than the present working, materials were to be hauled at least two miles for the fencing. Interpretations The proverbial reference to grass growing while the horse starves captures the council's frustration at the gap between long-term agricultural promise and immediate dietary need, with the prospect of self-sufficient sugar and spirit production in five or six years offering no relief to the present scarcity that pressed upon nearly a thousand inhabitants. The careful enumeration of crops the island could produce - sugar, rum, wine, brandy, beans, maize, potatoes - reveals an ambitious vision of agricultural diversification that depended entirely on the provision of additional enslaved labour, with the council explicit that all such plans required fifty more slaves before they could be realised. The defensive assertion that no honest servants would have framed an indent against their own interest reflects an awareness that the directors might suspect inflated demands, with the council seeking to forestall such criticism by appealing to the self-evident reasonableness of officers seeking only what was needed for the Company's service. The figure of one hundred and twenty thousand yams planted in new plantations, set against the decay of older plantations to leave no net increase, illustrates the fragile state of the island's food supply, with intensive new planting only just keeping pace with losses elsewhere. Speculations The council's admission that the right method of refining sugar was not yet known, combined with the hope that country canes might yield better results, suggests that local agricultural innovation was proceeding largely by trial and error, with island administrators improvising techniques rather than receiving systematic instruction from Company centres of expertise such as Bombay or Bencoolen. The expectation that fencing the lands would leave scarcely a stick of wood within them hints at a deeper environmental problem, with the very materials needed to construct the fences perhaps being drawn from the timber that the fences were intended to protect, creating a paradox that the council seemed to acknowledge but not yet to have solved. The careful framing of the slave labour question, with the council explicit that fifty additional enslaved people were required to make the agricultural programme viable, reveals how completely the colonial economic project rested on the assumption of unfree labour, with no consideration given to alternatives even when the council was at its most candid about the island's difficulties. The repeated emphasis on the uncertainty of timing and cost - how long the work would take, what the charge would be, how far stones must be carried - points to an administration operating largely by estimate rather than systematic project planning, with the absence of skilled surveyors or engineers leaving fundamental questions of cost and schedule unanswered.

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65	65	[...] [...] [...] [G]uns, Cordage, Timber [...] Since Our La[s]t which We are [...] hundred foot of the middle Angle of [...] Away and Severall Other parts of it much wo[rn] heavy Seas that fell here in January La[s]t, And al[s]o the L[...] G[u]ns at Bank[s]es (as by the Governours draught of that pla[c]e [I]s Intirely wa[s]ht Away, We had much a doe to Save the G[u]n[s] S[u]nk the [P]innt, and tore her all to [P]ieces, And Now the Ra[i]n[s] Coming In, We are in very great doubt of Severall [P]arts of th[e] Vally it being very much Damaged As We Acquainted your [...] Northumberland, We have made the be[s]t [P]rovi[s]ion We Can to [...] for We have burnt Lime with Wood, and it Lays ready to Stop y[e] Occa[s]ion, for We Can't [P]retend to Cure and Se[c]ure this Lime witho[ut] Large [Q]uantaty of [C]oales to Burn Lime Touching Improvements We Sent you by the abingdon Some Sugar, but as We [s]ay then we [...] haveing not the right way of Cur[ri]ng of it, therefore if you will Send a Ma[n] Experiencied in making Sugar, with Mills and all things Nece[s]sary for [...] Same, You may in five or Six Years have a Ship Load of Sugar, for a Shi[p] Load of Coales, be[s]ides the Expence of this I[s]land &c, and therefore W[e] doe Affirm to your Hon[rs] that We have [s]pent the making of Rum, and S[u]gar beyond all doubt For want of Matteralls to work upon the Forti[fi]cations the [...] [o]fferd a [P]roject in January La[s]t, to Carry the Run of Water that runs i[n] [I]slambation Vally upon a Hill that was About four thou[s]and foot from [...] which had the de[s]ired Succe[s]s for in about a Months time it was bro[u]g[ht] to [P]erfection, by which Means We Command about Two hundred A[cres] of Land, of which above One hundred Acres is fit for Sugar Can[e] will yeeld more Yams, Beans, Corn, and Other [P]rovi[s]ion be[s]ides [...] have a Re[a]r [s]landie ground in all Our Survey of Other Golde[s], [...] much Nearer to the Fort, and within view of Our I[s]land been [...] Such a Sort of a [P]lain that Our [c]art and Oxen will work all [...] Land that Never yeelded your Hon[rs] Three Farthings, We [...] it to that degree if We had more Slaves that in few Years [...] it Should double the whole Revenues of the whole I[s]lar [...] another glor[i]ous [P]lain at [P]ro[s]perous bag of about Two h[un]dred] which the Governour Says that the great Run of Water in [...] [V]ally may in three Months with One hundred Slaves be Car[ri]ed [U]pon, which is as well Sit[u]ated and as good ground [...] [Y]ames [P]lanted upon in the We[s]t Indies So that this [...]	Guns, cordage, and timber had been the subject of an earlier representation. Since that last communication, [...] hundred feet of the middle angle of [the fortification] had been [washed] away, and several other parts much worn by the heavy seas that fell in January last. The line of guns at Banks's, as appeared by the Governor's draught of that place, was entirely washed away. Much trouble had been taken to save the guns. The pinnacle was sunk and torn entirely to pieces. With the rains now coming in, serious doubts arose as to the state of several parts of the valley, which was much damaged. As had been advised by the <i>Northumberland</i>, the best provision had been made that circumstances permitted. Lime had been burnt with wood, and it lay ready to stop [the breaches] as occasion required. The proper cure and securing of this lime could not be effected without a large quantity of coals to burn the lime. On the matter of improvements, some sugar had been forwarded by the <i>Abingdon</i>. As was acknowledged then, the right method of curing the sugar was not known. If a man experienced in the making of sugar were to be sent out, together with mills and all things necessary for the work, a shipload of sugar was to be obtained within five or six years for a shipload of coals, besides the supply of the island's own needs. The capacity of the island for the making of rum and sugar was therefore beyond all doubt. For want of materials to work upon the fortifications, a project was put forward in January last. The run of water that flowed in Islambation Valley was to be carried onto a hill standing some four thousand feet distant. The project was attended with the desired success. Within about a month the work was brought to perfection, by which means about two hundred acres of land were commanded, of which more than one hundred acres were fit for sugar cane and were to yield greater quantities of yams, beans, corn, and other provisions. A further [tract of] sandy ground had been identified in the general survey of other lands, lying much nearer to the fort and within view of the island, [forming] such a plain that the cart and oxen were to work it freely. This was land that had never yielded the directors three farthings. With more slaves, the council was prepared to undertake it to such a degree that within a few years the revenues of the whole island were to be doubled. A further glorious plain lay at Prosperous Bay, of about two hundred [acres]. The Governor reported that the great run of water in the [adjacent] valley was to be carried onto this plain within three months by the labour of one hundred slaves. The site was as well situated and the ground as good as any [on which] yams had been planted in the West Indies. So this [land was to prove most valuable]. Interpretations The catalogue of storm damage to the fortifications - hundreds of feet of the middle angle washed away, the line of guns at Banks's entirely lost, the pinnacle sunk and broken to pieces - reveals the harsh climatic conditions to which the island's defences were exposed, with a single season of heavy seas capable of undoing years of construction work and demanding fresh expenditure from a treasury already stretched. The construction of a four-thousand-foot watercourse to bring water onto a hill commanding two hundred acres represents a remarkable piece of practical engineering by a small colonial administration, with the work completed within a month and the agricultural potential of the developed land set against the directors' expected returns. The proposal that a shipload of coals might procure a shipload of sugar within five or six years frames the relationship between London and St Helena in directly commercial terms, with the supply of even a

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			humble bulk commodity from England positioned as the missing ingredient that would unlock substantial returns for the Company. The repeated linking of agricultural ambition to the supply of additional slaves illustrates how completely the council understood economic development in terms of expanded coerced labour, with every project from sugar manufacture to provision growing depending on receipt of further enslaved workers from the directors. Speculations The candid admission that the right method of curing sugar was not known, paired with the confident assertion that the island could produce a shipload within five or six years if proper expertise were supplied, suggests the council was attempting to position itself as ready to execute an ambitious agricultural programme that depended on the directors providing the technical knowledge it lacked. The comparison drawn between the proposed Prosperous Bay plantation and yam cultivation in the West Indies hints at an awareness of Caribbean colonial practice on the part of the Governor or council, with the island's projected agricultural future framed in terms of established models from another colonial sphere. The speed with which the Islambation Valley waterworks were completed - one month from project to perfection - may indicate either remarkable administrative efficiency or, alternatively, a degree of exaggeration in the report, with the council inclined to emphasise its capacity for swift execution in order to encourage the directors to authorise further capital projects. The land described as having "never yielded three farthings" to the directors, now claimed to be capable of doubling the whole island's revenues with sufficient slave labour, hints at the rhetorical strategy by which dormant assets were presented as opportunities awaiting only modest additional investment, with the implied promise of dramatic returns serving to reframe the slave question as a matter of commercial prudence rather than expenditure.
66	66	[...] m]ade here Sufficient at Lea[s]t to m[...] [...] s]rall Salt Springs upon the I[s]land that [...] [...]ragement, but We have made No E[s]say for want of [in]structions on that head, We Imploy all Our [t]ime and hands upon [...] New [P]lantation in Fenceing it in and [P]lanting Indean [c]orn, beans [Yams] [b]eans, which is become a great S[c]arsety Amongst Us, and hope to [r]ea[p] a good Crop of the two former in five or Six Months, We have above [...] [Th]ree or four Acres of Sugar Canes growing but We don't [P]lant Out [...] [b]e[cau]s[e] We may Rea[s]onably Expect to hear from you Next Month, and [w]o have An[s]wer of Ours by the Northumberland for by that Ship We Indented for a Sugar Mill, and other Matterialls for the makeing of Sugar al[s]o a Man Experienced in [P]lanting and making the Same Cap[tn] Opice has given Us four Coffee trees and the Soile he brought them here in is Very Like the Soile of Our New [P]lantation We Shall Endeavou[r] to [P]reserve them and Raise a Stock Touching Shipping We hear the Loyall Bli[s]s, Blenheim, and Donegall, are at the Cape, and de[s]ignes home with the Dutch We have been in a very hard Condition for want of Lequor upon the I[s]land, We have not had a Drop of Strong Lequors in your Store this Month, Nor No Sugar, Only what Sugar and Mall[as]ses We made here, which We Sold to the poor Si[c]k People at Six pence a pound, And this Ship the Oley Arriveing here with Arrack, Sugar, and Sugar Candy We Bought of him the [Q]uantitys as [Pr] Account Inclosed, at very dear Rates, and Yet if he had In[s]tited upon a much greater [P]rice We mu[s]t have had Some, for there is No L[i]veing in this h[o]tly Countrey and drinck Nothing but Water, We have Only Bought So much, As being Sold Out Sparingly	[Brackish] springs had been identified upon the island, which seemed to offer some encouragement for the production of salt, sufficient at least to [meet the island's own needs]. No trial had yet been made, however, for want of instructions on the matter. All time and hands were currently employed upon the new plantation, in fencing it in and planting Indian corn, beans, and yams. Beans had become a great scarcity on the island. A good crop of the first two was hoped for within five or six months. Three or four acres of sugar canes were growing, but further planting had not been undertaken, since word from the directors might reasonably be expected within the next month. An answer to the council's earlier despatch by the <i>Northumberland</i> was awaited, since by that ship an indent had been forwarded for a sugar mill and other materials for the manufacture of sugar, together with a request for a man experienced in the planting and refining of the same. Captain Opice had presented the council with four coffee trees. The soil in which he had brought them was very like that of the new plantation. The trees were to be carefully preserved, and a stock was to be raised from them. On the matter of shipping, intelligence had been received that the <i>Loyal Bliss</i>, the <i>Blenheim</i>, and the <i>Donegall</i> were at the Cape, and were intending to sail home in company with the Dutch. The island had been in a very hard condition for want of liquor. Not a drop of strong liquor remained in the Company's store for the past month, nor any sugar, save for what the council had been able to produce locally. This sugar and the molasses were sold to the

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		may Serve the I[s]land Untell the Summer Ships, but if they Should not touch there We mu[s]t be Oblaged to hand grone Our Sugar [c]anes and make the be[s]t Shift We Can We have drawn On your Hon[rs] three Bills of Exchange for the Sum of [...] hundred and Twenty [P]ounds Sterling payable to M[...] Sta[ff]ord, and [it] being the Ballan[ce] of the Inclo[s]ed Account Carrent of the Oley [B]y Cap[tn] John Opice [S]t [Helena] [...] [Mar]ch 7 1710[/]11 [Co]pyed Yo[r] mo[s]t humble Faithfull and Obed[t] Serva[nts] We are Hon[orable] Ma[s]ters Jn[o] Roberts Edw[d] Mashborne W[m] Marsden Dan[ie]l G[r]i[j]ffith Math[ew] Ba[zett]	poor sick people at sixpence a pound. Upon the arrival of the <i>Oley</i> with arrack, sugar, and sugar candy, the council purchased the quantities set out in the enclosed account, at very dear rates. Had the captain insisted upon a much greater price, some quantity was nonetheless to have been taken, since living in so hot a country with nothing to drink but water was not to be borne. The purchase had been restricted to such an amount as, sold out sparingly, was to serve the island until the summer ships arrived. Should those ships fail to touch at the island, the council was to be obliged to hand-grind the sugar canes and make the best shift it could. Three bills of exchange had been drawn upon the directors, in the sum of [several] hundred and twenty pounds sterling, payable to Mr Stafford, being the balance of the enclosed current account of the <i>Oley</i> under Captain John Opice. Issued from St Helena, 7 March 1711. Signed John Roberts, Edward Mashborne, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. Interpretations The reference to brackish springs and the absence of any trial for want of instructions reveals the council's curiously dependent attitude toward agricultural and industrial innovation, with even the testing of local resources held back until London authorised the experiment. The arrival of four coffee trees as a personal gift from Captain Opice illustrates the informal channels by which new crops were introduced into colonial possessions, with individual commanders carrying seedlings or saplings between settlements as private acts that supplemented the official Company supply of agricultural materials. The council's careful explanation of its sugar pricing - sixpence a pound to the poor sick people - shows how local welfare considerations were folded into commercial transactions, with the small quantities of locally produced sugar reserved for those most in need rather than sold at the prevailing market rate. The candid admission that the <i>Oley's</i> arrack and sugar would have been purchased at almost any price, since life in so hot a country with only water to drink was unsupportable, exposes the entirely unsentimental commercial pressure placed upon the council by chronic supply failures, with visiting captains in a position to extract whatever rates they chose. Speculations The pause in further sugar cane planting pending word from the directors hints at the council's caution about over-committing to an industry whose success depended on London's provision of mills, refining expertise, and a man experienced in the manufacture, with the existing three or four acres treated as a probationary investment rather than the start of a substantial agricultural transformation. The mention of the <i>Loyal Bliss</i>, <i>Blenheim</i>, and <i>Donegall</i> at the Cape sailing home in company with the Dutch suggests that the wartime risks in the South Atlantic continued to prompt Company ships to seek the protection of larger convoys, with even the homeward leg from the Cape now considered too hazardous for solitary passage. The phrase "hand grind the sugar canes and make the best shift" indicates an awareness that, without proper mills, any sugar production would be of small scale and inferior quality, with the council prepared to fall back on improvised methods if the summer ships failed and supplies of imported liquor could not be replenished. The presentation of four coffee trees may have carried significance beyond its immediate horticultural value, with coffee at this date a fashionable and valuable commodity in London, and the prospect of even a small

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			St Helena coffee plantation potentially appealing to the directors as evidence of the island's commercial promise beyond its established functions as a victualling and refitting station.
67	67	[...] [Mas]ters 17 July 17[11] We wrote to your Hon[rs] the 7[th] of March La[s]t by t[he] [...] Frigott Cap[tn] Opice and Since Arrived the following Ship[s] V[i]z[t] May 6 [C]oncord Cap[tn] Edward Arlond from Bengall June 3 Fleet Frigott Cap[tn] Charles Newton from Bombay 16 Frederick Cap[tn] Richard Phrip from Madra[s]s 18 Europe Cap[tn] Humphrey Bryant Su[s]anna Cap[tn] Richard [P]onnell from Bengall 22 [T]ilbery Cap[tn] Boyce Man of Warr Swallow Cap[tn] Sandys Ditto from England July 10 Oxford Cap[tn] Smith Ditto We were in great Expectation of the George On whom it is Said S[r] [...] [ch]e[r] and his Lady takes [P]a[s]sage for England, As al[s]o the De[s]boavere [...] the Mead Frigott, and Roche[s]ter Touching Fortifications We have not been able to [P]roceede upon them for want of Matterials, As [C]oales to Burn Lime the Six Hawserr, and Eight Quoile[s] of Cordage Indented for by the Blenheim, the Long Timber and [...] to make [P]urcha[s]es The Governour has had the Offer of the Captains of the Men of Warr, to a[s]si[s]t him with their Men, and what Else they Could Spare to take Fourteen Demi[c]annon of[f] this Line and place them [...] upon Munden[s] [P]oint Castle, but when He came to Examine into Timber [...] Topma[s]ts, and Such Nece[s]sarys to make Such [P]urcha[s]es as are Requi[s]ite [...] He found the Men of Warr had both Sprung their Topma[s]ts, and So the [...] became U[s]ele[s]s, Nor was their Sufficient in the whole Fleet to make for [...] [P]urchases and le[s]s their Can't be, Be[s]ides if there had been Sufficient of [...] all things to make these [P]urcha[s]es, and He was Sure of a Smooth Sea, Yet [...] before they Could be Fini[s]hed the Short time the Ships has to Stay He [s]hou[ld] be Oblaged to take them down to give Every Ship his Own, which would [...] your Hon[rs] to a great deal of Charge to make U[s]ele[s]s [P]urcha[s]es that mu[s]t [...] be Spulled down before they are [Q]uite Fini[s]hed We are very Sorry that Such an Important Castle as that is for the [...] [P]re[s]ervation of your [S]hipping Should be built and Lay without G[u]ns S[i]nce [...] Since the latter End of December La[s]t, and So mu[s]t Remain Untell [...] Arrivall of the Store Ships, The Engeneer your Governour does Affirm [...] and all Mankeinde that has Seen what has be done Since his Arrivall [...] does Believe and We Our Selves do A[s]sure your Hon[rs] that had the Inden[t] by the Blenheim Come in time, which We Expected In the year 1709 [...] G[r]a[...]	To the Honourable Masters, 17 July 1711. The previous letter of 7 March last had been despatched by the [<i>Oley</i>] Frigot under Captain Opice. Since that date the following ships had arrived at the island. On 6 May the <i>Concord</i> under Captain Edward Arlond came in from Bengal. On 3 June the <i>Fleet</i> Frigot under Captain Charles Newton arrived from Bombay. On 16 June the <i>Frederick</i> under Captain Richard Phrip arrived from Madras. On 18 June the <i>Europe</i> under Captain Humphrey Bryant came in, together with the <i>Susanna</i> under Captain Richard Pennell from Bengal. On 22 June the <i>Tilbury</i> under Captain Boyce arrived, with the Man of War <i>Swallow</i> under Captain Sandys from England. On 10 July the <i>Oxford</i> under Captain Smith arrived from the same. Great expectation had been raised of the <i>George</i>, on which Sir [...] and his lady were reported to be taking passage for England, as also of the <i>Desbouverie</i>, the <i>Mead</i> Frigot, and the <i>Rochester</i>. On the matter of the fortifications, no progress was possible for want of materials. The needs included coals to burn lime, the six hawsers and eight coils of cordage indented for by the <i>Blenheim</i>, the long timber, and [other materials] to make the purchases. The captains of the Men of War had offered the Governor their men and whatever else was to be spared, with a view to taking fourteen demi-cannon off the line and placing them upon Munden's Point Castle. Upon examination, however, the timber, topmasts, and other necessities required to make the purchases were not to be found. The Men of War had both sprung their topmasts, rendering the offer useless. There was not sufficient material in the whole fleet to make the purchases. Even had material been sufficient, and even with the assurance of a smooth sea, the short time the ships had to stay would have obliged the Governor to take the purchases down before completion, in order to return every ship her own gear. The directors were therefore to be put to a great deal of charge for useless works that were to be pulled down before they were finished. Much regret was expressed that so important a castle for the preservation of the shipping was to be built and left to lie without guns since the latter end of December last. The matter was to remain so until the arrival of the store ships. The Engineer, the Governor, affirmed - as did all who had seen what had been done since his arrival - and the council itself assured the directors, that had the indent by the <i>Blenheim</i> come in time, which was expected in 1709, [the works at the castle would have been in a very different state]. Interpretations The careful chronological enumeration of arrivals from May to July 1711 demonstrates how St Helena functioned as a clearing house for the eastward trade returning from Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and even ships outward from England, with eight vessels passing through within a ten-week period and the council expected to support each in turn. The detailed account of the abandoned demi-cannon project illustrates the technical interdependencies that governed colonial military works, with a single shortage - in this case sound topmasts to serve as lifting tackle - capable of preventing an entire fortification from being armed even when men and willingness were freely available. The arrival of the Men of War with sprung topmasts of their own reveals how the wear and tear of long ocean voyages compromised the supporting role

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			that naval vessels might otherwise have played at intermediate stations, with ships that had been counted upon to assist found themselves in need of repair. The reference to a castle lying without guns since December exposes the strategic vulnerability that the supply failures created, with substantial defensive infrastructure built at considerable expense rendered ineffective for want of the artillery and supporting materials needed to commission it. Speculations The mention of Sir [...] taking passage on the <i>George</i>, with his lady, suggests the presence of a senior Company servant returning from an Asian posting, possibly from one of the presidencies of Madras, Bombay, or Bengal, with the council recording the expected passenger as a matter of administrative significance. The repeated note that the indent by the <i>Blenheim</i> was expected in 1709, but had still not arrived by mid-1711, points to a delay of approximately two years in the provision of essential materials, with the council using this gap to lay direct responsibility for the unarmed castle on the directors rather than on local administration. The careful argument that even available materials would not have sufficed - and that any purchase made under temporary use of the fleet's gear would have had to be dismantled before completion - suggests the council was anticipating possible criticism that more could have been done with what was at hand, and constructing a written record to forestall such complaints. The Governor's dual role as engineer, combined with the appeal to "all mankind that has seen what has been done," indicates a particular concern to vindicate his technical competence to a board of directors who may have grown sceptical of the slow pace of works on the island, with the council folding personal vindication into its institutional correspondence.
68	68	[...] would have been made Im[p]regnable your [Sh]ipping w[...] [...] attempts of an Enemy, and No Ship Could have Rode to Leward [...] [b]ut We Should have had a Shot to have thrown at him, Your I[s]land wo[uld] [have] been defended by a handfull of People, and all these Forti[fi]cations had been at a[n] End a Long time Agoe Touching the affai[r]s and Government of this I[s]land And what [w]e have Employd Our time In We humbly Refer to Our Consultations and [...] [t]he Papers Sent in the Pacquet, We Shall take Leave to Say Something In Relation to George Ho[s]kison Since if We are Rightly Informed at Lea[s]t, We Shall give your Hon[rs] the Common Report that the Governour and Councell of S[t] Helena are turned Out for Seeing of his Lands and by a Letter from him to his Wife here, which Adv[i]ses that Cap[tn] Boucher is Coming Out Governour, and himself Deputy, and One M[r] Pratt, or [...]a[t] 5 - in [C]ouncill and that the Company has made him Sati[s]faction for his Lands, We have hardly Faith to Believe that by making Such an Example of the highest Importance for the Strenghtning of this your I[s]land, where a Man Po[s]se[s]ses [N]ear a Tenth part of it, and without any Regard to the Laws and Constitutions of it, goes off without a Lice[n]ce and in the heat of Warr and Leaves not So much as One Man to Defend it, however We Shall Show your Hon[rs] what fair [P]lay We gave him, although Examples of this Nature Are Requi[s]ite to be made, yet to Show how tender We are of Reie[c]ing any Man and his Family, We Shall not troable you with a Dialogue between the Governour and the Cap[tns] of the Men of Warr and Merchant Men, that Solli[c]ited in his behalf, Only their Saying that he was an Hone[s]t fellow &c, and it was a Pitty he Should be Reiened, and Repeating of his Hone[s]ty So often the	[The fortifications] would have been made impregnable to the attempts of any enemy. The shipping was to have been so defended that no vessel could have ridden to leeward without a shot being thrown at her. The island was to have been guarded by a mere handful of men, and the whole work of fortification was to have been brought to a conclusion long since. Touching the affairs and government of the island, and the matters upon which the council's time had been spent, reference was made to the consultations and to the papers forwarded in the packet. Some observations were nonetheless to be offered concerning George Hoskison. According to the common report, the Governor and Council of St Helena were said to have been turned out on account of the seizing of Hoskison's lands. A letter from Hoskison to his wife at St Helena advised that Captain Boucher was coming out as Governor, with Hoskison himself as Deputy, and that one Mr Pratt, or [Pratt], was to be fifth in council. It was further reported that the Company had made him satisfaction for his lands. Such an outcome was hardly to be credited. The directors were called to consider the example so made, on a matter of the highest importance for the strengthening of the island. Hoskison possessed near a tenth part of the whole island. Without regard to the laws and constitutions of the place, he had departed without licence, in the heat of war, and had left not so much as a single man to defend his holding. The council was prepared to show what fair play had been afforded him. Examples of this nature were necessary to be made, yet to demonstrate the tenderness with which any man and his family were treated, the

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		Governours An[s]wer was, Gentlemen you talke So much of an Honne[s]t fellow Meaning George Ho[s]kison their he is, Let him [P]rove that Ever he Compl[i]ed with One Obligation Even from under his hand and Seale, and I will give him his Land Again, and Stand in the Gap between the Lords [P]roprietors and him, Upon a Second Appl[i] c[el]ation by the [C]aptains the Same An[s]wer was Returned George Ho[s]kison to his Face, for the truth and Te[s]timony of this, the Governour Refe[r]rs himself to the Cap[tns] of the Men of Warr, and mo[s]t if not all the [c]ommand of the Merchant Men, As well as Our Selves, this together with your Sto[ry] [c]haracter of him in [P]art of the Twentieth Paragraph by the Fleet Fri[gott] where you are [P]lea[s]ed to Say their is One Ho[s]kison a Vi[c]ious fellow & [...] We Leave upon Record for him to Read at his Lea[s]ure hours, that whel[ist] is in being it may Serve for a Memento Mori that he may hereafter [le] a more Godly, Righteous, and Sober Li[f]e But after all when the Cap[tns] would not Leave Sollicitorr in his beh[alf] and a Tenderne[s]s We had for his Family, the Governour bid him go and take [P]o[s]se[s]sion of his Lands Again, Sit down and mende his [P]lantatio[n] and be A[c]countable as Other People were that have Land at four Shilli[n]gs [P]r Acre, and [P]etition to the Lords [P]roprietors and We would Interce[de] for him, this Seemed to be [P]lea[s]ing on all Sides, but the Rea[s]on why he [c]hanged his Minde Afterwards and went Off to England We mu[s]t [L]eave [G]ue[s]s at By [...]	dialogue between the Governor and the captains of the Men of War and the merchant ships, who had solicited on Hoskison's behalf, was to be reported in summary. The captains had repeatedly described him as an honest fellow, and had pleaded that it was a pity he should be ruined. The Governor's answer was that they spoke much of honesty in connection with George Hoskison, but that Hoskison stood before them and might prove that he had complied with even one obligation under his hand and seal, in which case his land was to be restored, and the Governor was to stand in the gap between the Lords Proprietors and him. Upon a second application from the captains, the same answer was returned to Hoskison himself. For the truth and testimony of this account, the Governor referred himself to the captains of the Men of War and to most if not all the commanders of the merchant ships, as well as to the council itself. Together with the character of Hoskison given by the directors in the twentieth paragraph of their letter by the <i>Fleet</i> Frigot, where he was described as a vicious fellow [and other ill terms], this account was left on record for him to read at his leisure. Whilst it remained extant, it was to serve as a memento mori, that he might thereafter lead a more godly, righteous, and sober life. When the captains would not desist from their solicitations, and out of tenderness for Hoskison's family, the Governor instructed him to take possession of his lands again, to sit down and improve his plantation, and to be accountable as other people were who held land at four shillings the acre, and to petition the Lords Proprietors, on which petition the council was to intercede on his behalf. This arrangement appeared pleasing on all sides. The reasons why Hoskison afterwards changed his mind and went off to England were left to conjecture. Interpretations The detailed exposition of the Hoskison affair reveals the council's anxiety that the directors might be persuaded by Hoskison's version of events, with the careful reconstruction of the Governor's offers and conditions providing a documentary defence against the prospect of recall or dismissal. The Governor's repeated formula - that Hoskison need only prove compliance with a single obligation to recover his land - illustrates the legalistic framework within which colonial land disputes were managed, with the burden of proof placed squarely upon the planter to demonstrate fulfilment of the terms under which the land had been granted. The contrast between the captains' description of Hoskison as an honest fellow and the directors' written description of him as a vicious fellow reveals the gap between local maritime social networks and the formal Company judgements rendered in London, with the council quick to seize upon the directors' own earlier characterisation as evidence supporting its own actions. The description of the record as a memento mori for Hoskison to read at leisure introduces an unexpectedly literary register into administrative correspondence, with the council framing its written account as a moral document intended to chasten its subject rather than merely as a factual record. Speculations The reported letter from Hoskison to his wife, asserting that Captain Boucher was coming as Governor with Hoskison as Deputy, suggests either a deliberate effort by Hoskison to spread destabilising rumour at St Helena to undermine the present administration, or a genuine commitment from London that the council was unable or unwilling to credit. The Governor's offer to "stand in the gap between the Lords Proprietors" and Hoskison, conditional only on proof of any single obligation fulfilled, suggests that the Governor was confident no such proof existed, with

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			the apparent generosity of the offer masking what was in effect a refusal disguised as conditional acceptance. Hoskison's eventual decision to depart for England despite the Governor's offer of restoration hints that his calculation was not based on retaining his St Helena holdings but on pursuing a wider settlement with the directors, possibly involving compensation, alternative employment, or the appointment to office that he reported to his wife. The reference to Hoskison's possession of near a tenth part of the entire island reveals the highly concentrated pattern of land ownership that had developed under earlier administrations, with the council aware that any successful challenge to its disposition of a single such large holding might have consequences for the wider land settlement system that the present administration was attempting to construct.
69	69	[...] would have been made Im[p]regnable your [Sh]ipping w[...] [...] attempts of an Enemy, and No Ship Could have Rode to Leward [...] [b]ut We Should have had a Shot to have thrown at him, Your I[s]land wo[uld] [have] been defended by a handfull of People, and all these Forti[fi]cations had been at a[n] End a Long time Agoe Touching the affai[r]s and Government of this I[s]land And what [w]e have Employd Our time In We humbly Refer to Our Consultations and [...] [t]he Papers Sent in the Pacquet, We Shall take Leave to Say Something In Relation to George Ho[s]kison Since if We are Rightly Informed at Lea[s]t, We Shall give your Hon[rs] the Common Report that the Governour and Councell of S[t] Helena are turned Out for Seeing of his Lands and by a Letter from him to his Wife here, which Adv[i]ses that Cap[tn] Boucher is Coming Out Governour, and himself Deputy, and One M[r] Pratt, or [...]a[t] 5 - in [C]ouncil and that the Company has made him Sati[s]faction for his Lands, We have hardly Faith to Believe that by making Such an Example of the highest Importance for the Strenghtning of this your I[s]land, where a Man Po[s]se[s]ses [N]ear a Tenth part of it, and without any Regard to the Laws and Constitutions of it, goes off without a Lice[n]ce and in the heat of Warr and Leaves not So much as One Man to Defend it, however We Shall Show your Hon[rs] what fair [P]lay We gave him, although Examples of this Nature Are Requi[s]ite to be made, yet to Show how tender We are of Reie[c]ing any Man and his Family, We Shall not troable you with a Dialogue between the Governour and the Cap[tns] of the Men of Warr and Merchant Men, that Solli[c]ited in his behalf, Only their Saying that he was an Hone[s]t fellow &c, and it was a Pity he Should be Reiened, and Repeating of his Hone[s]ty So often the Governours An[s]wer was, Gentlemen you talke So much of an Honne[s]t fellow Meaning George Ho[s]kison their he is, Let him [P]rove that Ever he Compl[i]ed with One Obligation Even from under his hand and Seale, and I will give him his Land Again, and Stand in the Gap between the Lords [P]roprietors and him, Upon a Second Appl[i] c[elation] by the [C]aptains the Same An[s]wer was Returned George Ho[s]kison to his Face, for the truth and Te[s]timony of this, the Governour Refe[r]rs himself to the Cap[tns] of the Men of Warr, and mo[s]t if not all the [c]ommand of the Merchant Men, As well as Our Selves, this together with your Sto[ry] [c]haracter of him in [P]art of the Twentieth Paragraph by the Fleet Fri[gott] where you are [P]lea[s]ed to Say their is One Ho[s]kison a Vi[c]ious fellow & [...] We Leave upon Record for him to Read at his Lea[s]ure hours, that whel[ist] is in being it may Serve for a Memento Mori that he may hereafter [le] a more Godly, Righteous, and Sober Li[f]e But after all when the Cap[tns] would not Leave Sollicitorr in his beh[alf] and a Tenderne[s]s We had for his Family, the Governour bid him go and take	[The fortifications] would have been made impregnable against any attempt of an enemy. The shipping was to have been so secured that no vessel could have ridden to leeward without a shot being thrown at her. The island was to have been defended by a mere handful of men, and the whole work of fortification was to have been brought to completion long since. Touching the affairs and government of the island, and the matters upon which the council's time had been spent, reference was made to the consultations and to the papers forwarded in the packet. Some observations were nonetheless to be offered concerning George Hoskison. According to common report, the Governor and Council of St Helena were said to have been turned out on account of the seizing of Hoskison's lands. A letter from Hoskison to his wife at St Helena advised that Captain Boucher was coming out as Governor, with Hoskison himself as Deputy, and that one Mr Pratt, or [Pratt], was to be fifth in council. It was further reported that the Company had made him satisfaction for his lands. Such an outcome was hardly to be credited. The directors were called to consider the example so made, on a matter of the highest importance for the strengthening of the island. Hoskison possessed near a tenth part of the whole island. Without regard to the laws and constitutions of the place, he had departed without licence, in the heat of war, and had left not so much as a single man to defend his holding. The council was prepared to show what fair play had been afforded him. Examples of this kind were necessary to be made, yet to demonstrate the tenderness with which any man and his family were treated, the substance of the dialogue between the Governor and the captains of the Men of War and the merchant ships, who had solicited on Hoskison's behalf, was to be set out. The captains had spoken much of his honesty and had pleaded that it was a pity he should be ruined. The Governor's reply was that they spoke much of honesty with reference to George Hoskison, but that Hoskison stood before them and might prove that he had complied with even one obligation set out under his hand and seal, in which case his land was to be restored, and the Governor was to stand in the gap between the Lords Proprietors and him. Upon a second application from the captains, the same answer was returned to Hoskison's face. For the truth and testimony of this account, the Governor referred himself to the captains of the Men of War and to most if not all the commanders of the merchant ships, as well as to the council itself. Together with the character given by the directors in part of the twentieth paragraph of the letter by the <i>Fleet Frigot</i>, where Hoskison was described as a vicious fellow [and other ill terms], the present account was left on record

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		[P]o[s]se[s]sion of his Lands Again, Sit down and mende his [P]lantatio[n] and be A[c]countable as Other People were that have Land at four Shilli[ngs] [P]r Acre, and [P]etition to the Lords [P]roprietors and We would Interce[de] for him, this Seemed to be [P]lea[s]ing on all Sides, but the Rea[s]on why he [c]hanged his Minde Afterwards and went Off to England We mu[s]t [L]eave [G]ue[s]s at By [...]	for him to read at leisure, that whilst it remained extant it was to serve as a memento mori, to the end that he might thereafter lead a more godly, righteous, and sober life. Yet when the captains would not desist from their solicitations, and out of tenderness for Hoskison's family, the Governor instructed him to take possession of his lands again, to sit down and improve his plantation, and to be accountable as other people were who held land at four shillings the acre, and to petition the Lords Proprietors, on which petition the council was to intercede on his behalf. This arrangement appeared pleasing on all sides. The reasons why Hoskison afterwards changed his mind and went off to England were left to conjecture. Interpretations The detailed exposition of the Hoskison affair reveals the council's anxiety that the directors might be persuaded by Hoskison's account, with the careful reconstruction of the Governor's offers and conditions providing a documentary defence against the prospect of recall or dismissal. The Governor's repeated formula, that Hoskison need only prove compliance with a single obligation to recover his land, illustrates the legalistic framework within which colonial land disputes were managed, with the burden of proof placed squarely upon the planter to demonstrate fulfilment of the terms under which the land had been granted. The contrast between the captains' description of Hoskison as an honest fellow and the directors' written description of him as a vicious fellow reveals the gap between local maritime social networks and the formal Company judgements rendered in London, with the council quick to seize upon the directors' own earlier characterisation as evidence supporting its own actions. The description of the record as a memento mori for Hoskison to read at leisure introduces an unexpectedly literary register into administrative correspondence, with the council framing its written account as a moral document intended to chasten its subject rather than merely as a factual report. Speculations The reported letter from Hoskison to his wife, asserting that Captain Boucher was coming as Governor with Hoskison as Deputy, suggests either a deliberate effort by Hoskison to spread destabilising rumour at St Helena to undermine the present administration, or a genuine commitment from London that the council was unable or unwilling to credit. The Governor's offer to stand in the gap between the Lords Proprietors and Hoskison, conditional only on proof of any single obligation fulfilled, suggests confidence that no such proof existed, with the apparent generosity of the offer masking what was in effect a refusal disguised as conditional acceptance. Hoskison's eventual decision to depart for England despite the Governor's offer of restoration hints that his calculation was not based on retaining his St Helena holdings but on pursuing a wider settlement with the directors, possibly involving compensation, alternative employment, or the office he reported to his wife. The reference to Hoskison's possession of near a tenth part of the entire island reveals the highly concentrated pattern of land ownership that had developed under earlier administrations, with the council aware that any successful challenge to its disposition of so large a holding might have consequences for the wider land settlement system the present administration was attempting to construct.
70	70	Hon[ble] Masters The [c]omadore was So [P]re[s]sing with the Shipps and they are So Backwards in Making up their Accounts, That We pray your Hon[rs] to Accept the Bills Under	Honourable Masters, The commodore was so pressing in his demands for the ships, and the captains so dilatory in making up their accounts, that the directors were entreated to

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		mentioned which are for your Service and Inclo[s]ed are the Shipp[s] and Particular Gentlemens Accounts; We Should have been more full but it is not in Our [P]ower to Stay them One Minute Nor force them to an Account The Bills are V[i]z[t] Cap[tn] Arlond for Credit in the Store One hundred Seaventy Nine [P]ounds Joshua Thomlen[s]on for D[o] One hundred Thirty Eight pound Eighteen Shill[ings] Joshua Thomlen[s]on for D[o] Twenty Four Pound Seaventeen Shillings Cap[tn] Boys, for goods bought into the Store Two hundred Fifty Eight pound One Shilling and Four [P]ence William Barchlet Surgeon of the Fleet Frigoll for Credit in the Store Sixty five pound, Ten Shillings, and Nine [P]ence James [G]rentree for [c]redit in the Store, One hundred pound James Greentree for Ditto Sixty Six pound John Clavering for Ditto One hundred Ninety Seven pound Henry Trainer Surgeon of [C]oncord for D[o] Thirty Eight pound Nineteen Shill[ings] Cap[tn] Bryant for Ditto Seaventy four pound Cap[tn] Edward Mashborne for D[o] Two hundred Seventy Six pounds Charles Stewart for Ditto Three hundred and Ten pound Cap[tn] Charles Smith for goods bought in the Store Seaventy Four pounds We al[s]o Send your Hon[rs] the following Bills on the Victualling Office V[i]z[t] The Tilberry for One hundred Twelve pound, Fourteen Shillings & Six [P]ence The Swallow, for Forty pound, Fourteen Shillings and Three [P]ence The Oxford, for Ninety Nine pound, Sixteen Shillings and Nine [P]ence Al[s]o Cap[tn] Phrip[s] Bill drawn upon Gregory Page E[s]q[r] and M[r] Thomas Heath for Forty Two pound, Eight Shillings, and four [P]ence And the [P]ortugees (as We Sup[p]o[s]e) their Bill which by the Inclo[s]ed account appeares Amounts to Two hundred and Nine pound, Eleaven Shillings and One [P]enny As to the [P]ortugeese Sup[p]o[s]ed, We humbly Refer to Our [...] Letter apart, In Relation to that affair, We had thoughts to take Bills upon the [P]ortugeese Amba[s]sador, Or Envoy in England but when the Ships from Madra[s]s [c]ame here, they knew Benedict Free[s]avere to be a Je[s]uit, and is Reported a Man of Sub[s]tance, Likewi[s]e the Other Lieutenant	accept the bills set out below, drawn for the Company's service. The ships' accounts and those of particular gentlemen were enclosed. A fuller statement would have been forwarded, but it was not in the council's power to detain the ships for one minute longer, nor to force the commanders to render their accounts. The bills were as follows. Captain Arlond, for credit in the store, one hundred and seventy-nine pounds. Joshua Thomlinson, for the same, one hundred and thirty-eight pounds and eighteen shillings. Joshua Thomlinson, for the same, twenty-four pounds and seventeen shillings. Captain Boys, for goods bought into the store, two hundred and fifty-eight pounds, one shilling and fourpence. William Barchlet, surgeon of the <i>Fleet Frigot</i>, for credit in the store, sixty-five pounds, ten shillings and ninepence. James Greentree, for credit in the store, one hundred pounds. James Greentree, for the same, sixty-six pounds. John Clavering, for the same, one hundred and ninety-seven pounds. Henry Trainer, surgeon of the <i>Concord</i>, for the same, thirty-eight pounds and nineteen shillings. Captain Bryant, for the same, seventy-four pounds. Captain Edward Mashborne, for the same, two hundred and seventy-six pounds. Charles Stewart, for the same, three hundred and ten pounds. Captain Charles Smith, for goods bought in the store, seventy-four pounds. The following bills were also forwarded, drawn upon the Victualling Office. The <i>Tilbury</i>, for one hundred and twelve pounds, fourteen shillings and sixpence. The <i>Swallow</i>, for forty pounds, fourteen shillings and threepence. The <i>Oxford</i>, for ninety-nine pounds, sixteen shillings and ninepence. Captain Phrip's bill, drawn upon Gregory Page Esquire and Mr Thomas Heath, for forty-two pounds, eight shillings and fourpence, was also enclosed, together with the Portuguese bill, as it was supposed to be, which by the account enclosed amounted to two hundred and nine pounds, eleven shillings and one penny. As to the Portuguese matter, reference was made to a separate letter forwarded on that affair. The intention had been to draw bills upon the Portuguese Ambassador or Envoy in England. When the ships from Madras came in, however, Benedict Freesavere was identified by those on board as a Jesuit, and was reported to be a man of substance, as was likewise the other lieutenant. Interpretations The detailed itemisation of fourteen bills drawn upon the directors, totalling well over two thousand pounds, illustrates the volume of financial business that a single visit by a fleet generated for the St Helena administration, with the credit system functioning as the principal means by which the island's commercial obligations were settled across the Atlantic. The candid admission that the council was unable to detain the ships or compel their commanders to render accounts reveals the practical limits of colonial authority over visiting Company vessels, with the commodore's pressing demands taking precedence over the orderly completion of paperwork that the island's administrators required for their own accountability. The careful distinction between bills drawn for credit in the store and bills drawn for goods bought into the store demonstrates the dual function performed by the island's stores, both as a source of supply for visiting

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			ships and as a depot for goods purchased from them, with each transaction generating its own form of paper instrument. The presence of separate bills drawn upon the Victualling Office for the three Royal Navy ships, the <i>Tilbury</i>, the <i>Swallow</i>, and the <i>Oxford</i>, reveals the parallel accounting arrangements that governed naval as opposed to mercantile transactions, with the council careful to direct each set of charges to the appropriate London authority. Speculations The substantial bill of three hundred and ten pounds drawn in favour of Charles Stewart, exceeding even the credit due to Captain Mashborne, suggests that Stewart was a person of significant standing in the local commercial network, possibly a free merchant or settler whose dealings with the Company stores had generated unusually large balances. The discovery that Benedict Freesavere was in fact a Jesuit, identified by men aboard the Madras ships, hints at intelligence-gathering across the Company's network of presidencies, with religious and commercial information circulating among the captains and their crews as ships passed each other along the long sea routes. The decision to abandon the plan of drawing bills upon the Portuguese Ambassador in favour of pursuing payment directly from Freesavere reveals a calculated weighing of options, with the council preferring to take security from an identifiable man of substance present in the region rather than risk the uncertainties of diplomatic credit at a distance. The bills drawn in favour of two ship's surgeons, Barchlet of the <i>Fleet Frigot</i> and Trainer of the <i>Concord</i>, indicate that medical officers participated independently in the commercial life of the island, possibly through the sale of medicines or the receipt of fees for shore practice, with their separate accounts maintained distinct from those of their captains.
71	71	Lieutenant, to be a Very Sub[s]tantiall Gentleman, wherefore to take their Own Bills rather then to trouble your Hon[rs] with [...] or Amba[s]sadors &c As We are in a Hurry if their be any O[m]i[s]sion We [...] [c]are to advi[s]e you in Our Next, We have Nothing more to add We are United Castle S[t] Helena Yo[r] Hon[rs] mo[s]t Faithfull July 17[th] 1711 Obedient hum[bl]e Serva[nts] [Pr] Ship Frederick Jn[o] Roberts W[m] Marsden Daniel Griffith Mathew Bazett A Li[s]t of this Packet V[i]z[t] 1 Generall Letter 2 Ship Tilberry[s] feirst Bill of Exchange 3 Ship Sewallow[s] feirst Bill of Exchange 4 Oxford[s] feirst Bill of Exchange 5 Cap[tn] Phrip[s] feirst Bell of Exchange 6 Portugeeze Gentlemen feirst Bill of Exchange 7 Copy of the Portugeeze Account 8 Shipp[s] and Privat[e] Gentlemons Account 9 Portugeeze directions where to Sende them	The other lieutenant was likewise reported to be a very substantial gentleman. The council therefore preferred to take bills from these men themselves rather than trouble the directors with applications to the [Portuguese] Ambassador. As matters were carried forward in haste, any omissions were to be addressed in the next despatch. Nothing further was to be added. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 17 July 1711, per the <i>Frederick</i>. Signed John Roberts, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. A list of the contents of the packet was as follows. First, the General Letter. Second, the <i>Tilbury's</i> first bill of exchange. Third, the <i>Swallow's</i> first bill of exchange. Fourth, the <i>Oxford's</i> first bill of exchange. Fifth, Captain Phrip's first bill of exchange. Sixth, the Portuguese gentlemen's first bill of exchange. Seventh, a copy of the Portuguese account. Eighth, the ships' and private gentlemen's accounts. Ninth, the Portuguese directions as to where the documents were to be sent. Interpretations The decision to take bills directly from the two Portuguese officers, identified as men of substance, rather than pursue payment through diplomatic channels, illustrates a pragmatic preference for direct creditor-debtor relationships over the uncertainties of formal embassy-mediated settlement, with the council weighing the substance of the individuals against the convenience of indirect routing. The careful labelling of the <i>Tilbury</i>, <i>Swallow</i>, <i>Oxford</i>, Phrip, and Portuguese bills each as a "first" bill reflects

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			the standard practice by which bills of exchange were drawn in multiple copies, with the first, second, and third versions sent by different conveyances to ensure that at least one would reach the payee even if other ships failed to complete their passage. The inclusion of "Portuguese directions where to send them" as a discrete enclosure indicates that the Portuguese gentlemen had supplied specific addressing instructions for their bills, possibly directing them to a correspondent in London or to a particular merchant house through which their affairs in England were conducted. The closing note that omissions were to be addressed in the next despatch reveals the routine character of administrative correspondence under pressure, with the council acknowledging that haste might have produced errors but treating these as matters for subsequent correction rather than reasons to delay the present packet. Speculations The absence of Edward Mashborne's signature from the closing of the letter, when his name appears in the bills as a recipient of credit, suggests he may have been the captain or supercargo of the <i>Frederick</i> and thus a beneficiary rather than a signatory of the council's correspondence, or alternatively that he was absent from United Castle at the moment of signing. The naming of "Portuguese gentlemen" in the plural in the packet list, paired with the singular reference to Benedict Friesavere and the other lieutenant in the preceding text, hints that the bills had been drawn upon two named individuals whose substance and standing the council had verified through the inquiries made among the visiting captains. The brevity of the closing letter, combined with the apologetic tone regarding the hurry and possible omissions, suggests that the dispatch of this packet had been timed precisely to coincide with the commodore's insistence on sailing, with the council reduced to producing a summary inventory rather than the comprehensive accounting it would otherwise have prepared. The systematic numbering of the nine items in the packet list demonstrates the bureaucratic care taken to document what had been despatched, with the inventory serving both as a checklist for the receiving directors and as a defensive record should any item later be claimed to have been omitted.
72	72	Hon[ble] Masters We Come Now to A[c]quaint your Hon[rs] that About Six in the Morning allarm was made the 22 of May La[s]t, whereupon Every Officer went to their [P]o[s]ts and command, About Eleven in the Forenoon the Ship Appeared on this Side the Barn Clo[s]e to the Shoar, with Portugeeze [c]ollours, and a Large Broad Pennant, at the Main Topma[s]t head, Immedi[a]tely after the Ship Stood right off to Sea with all her Sacles Set, Only the Larboard [...]ugar net of the Mainsaile was hauled up, which We Suppo[s]ed was done the better to View the I[s]land, and to See what Shippes were in the Road, After She had Run about Three Leagues Out, then C[am]e [br]ack upon a Wind again, and Stemmd directly with Munden[s] [P]oint Castle, and Immediately hauld his Mainsaile upon the Brailes, and laid his Mi[s]ten Topsaile a back, and made a Wai[s]e with his Sack, and a Little time after Fired three G[u]ns by w[ay] of Salute as We Suppo[s]e, and was An[s]wer[e]d with One Demi[c]ulverin from t[he] [c]a[s]tle On Mundens [P]oint; Thus he kept on his way towards the Road but always Inclining to keep Out of G[u]n Shott of all Our Castles; And Imediaty fired One of his G[u]ns from his Lower Tire which by the Report We are a[s]sured it Could be No le[s]s then a Demi[c]annon, He was An[s]wer[e]d with a Demi[c]annon from this Line, and	Honourable Masters, The directors were to be acquainted with the events of 22 May last. At about six in the morning, an alarm was raised, whereupon every officer repaired to his post and command. At about eleven in the forenoon a ship appeared on this side of the Barn, close to the shore, flying Portuguese colours, with a large broad pennant at the maintopmast head. Immediately after, the ship stood right off to sea with all her sails set. Only the larboard [bowline] of the mainsail was hauled up, which the council supposed was done the better to view the island and to ascertain what ships lay in the road. After running out about three leagues, she came back upon a wind and stood directly for Munden's Point Castle. She immediately hauled her mainsail upon the brails, laid her mizzen topsail aback, and made a waft with her sail. A little time afterwards she fired three guns by way of salute, as was supposed, and was answered with one demi-culverin from the castle on Munden's Point. Thus she kept on her way towards the road, always inclining to keep out of gunshot of all the castles. Immediately afterwards she fired one of her guns from her lower tier. From the report it was certain that it could be no less than a demi-cannon. She was answered

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		afterwards Came a brea[s]t of the Ca[s]tle, but at lea[s]t Six Or Seaven Miles Out, We perceeved him to be a Man of Warr built Shipp with three De[c]kes, but No G[u]ns in the Wa[s]te of the Upper Deck, and take him to be Such another Ship As the Cumberland, both by head and Stern, and the Shear of the Ship was Altogether Beaufull, very Large Sacles, and a New Main top[s]acle to the Yard, made As We Suppo[s]e of French Canvas, by the Narrowne[s]s of the Cloth, As he Lay Off he made a Wai[s]e with his En[s]ign, and fired Another G[u]n from his Lower Tire, which was a Signall to Us to Send a boat off to him, whereupon We made a Wa[s]le with Our Flag of the [c]astle, and fored a Demi[c]annon from the Line, As a Signal for him to Send his boat a Shoar, then Some time after he fored another G[u]n out of his Lower Tire, which Signefe[c]d a great de[s]ire We Should Send a boate to him, and We in An[s]wer to that See[i]ng the Wai[s]e on Our Flagg Fired another Demi[c]annon from the Line to Signify that We desired his boat a Shore, thus the time Spent till between Four and five a Clock in the Afternoon, When he hoi[s]ted Out his Boat, and Sent her a Shoar, with Twelve Rowers, Two Sellors, and a Cox[s]wain, and Landed at the [P]oine [J]u[s]t as it was dark, Immediately an Officer with Six file of M[a]squetee[r] [S]e[c]ured the Thirteen Seamen, and brought the Two Officer[s] to the Sutsons hou[s]e, who declared them[s]elves One to be the Cap[t] Lieutenant, the Other Second Lieutenant, being [S]eperated where a[s]ked Severall [Q]ue[s]tions, but they not Agreeing in their A[c]count As to the Number of Men, Or G[u]ns, Or [B]urden of the Ship Or indeed in any thing, but the Name of the Ship, which they Said was No[s]tra Seignior de [C]on[c]eption that they [c]ame from Goa, and Joan de Silvia Manuell was the Captains [...]	with a demi-cannon from the line. She then came abreast of the castle, but at least six or seven miles out. She was perceived to be a Man of War built ship of three decks, with no guns in the waist of the upper deck. She was taken to be of the same build as the <i>Cumberland</i>, both head and stern, and the sheer of the ship was altogether beautiful. Her sails were very large, with a new main topsail at the yard, made as was supposed of French canvas, judging by the narrowness of the cloth. As she lay off, she made a waft with her ensign and fired another gun from her lower tier, which was a signal that a boat should be sent off to her. A waft was made with the flag of the castle in reply, and a demi-cannon was fired from the line as a signal that she should send her boat ashore. Some time later she fired another gun from her lower tier, signifying a strong desire that a boat be sent to her. In answer, on seeing the waft on the castle's flag, another demi-cannon was fired from the line to signify that her boat was desired ashore. The exchange occupied the time until between four and five in the afternoon, when the ship hoisted out her boat and sent her ashore, with twelve rowers, two sailors, and a coxswain. The boat landed at the Point just as it grew dark. An officer with six files of musketeers immediately secured the thirteen seamen and brought the two officers to the sutler's house. The two declared themselves, the one as the Captain-Lieutenant and the other as the Second Lieutenant. Being separated, they were asked several questions, but their accounts did not agree as to the number of men, the number of guns, or the burden of the ship, nor indeed on any point save the name of the vessel. This they gave as the <i>Nostra Senhora da Conceição</i>. They reported that they came from Goa, and that Joan de Silvia Manuel was the captain's [...] Interpretations The detailed minute-by-minute account of the ship's movements, signals, and gun exchanges illustrates the rigorous observational protocols that governed encounters between unidentified vessels and fortified colonies, with every manoeuvre interpreted and recorded as part of the negotiation by which the ship's intentions were established. The careful identification of the canvas as probably French, judged from the narrowness of the cloth, demonstrates the practical knowledge of naval supply that the council possessed, with even the maker of a topsail capable of providing intelligence about a foreign ship's recent ports of call or sources of supply. The protracted exchange of wafts and gun signals, occupying some five hours before the boat was finally sent ashore, reveals the formal ceremonial framework within which strange ships were brought to communicate with the island, with each signal carrying a specific meaning understood by both parties even when their flags were of different nations. The immediate separation and questioning of the two officers, conducted on the assumption that inconsistencies in their accounts would expose the ship's true character, illustrates a sophisticated approach to interrogation that anticipated deception and was designed to test it through cross-examination. Speculations The ship's behaviour in approaching the island under Portuguese colours while displaying signs of careful reconnaissance, combined with her apparent reluctance to come within gunshot of the castles, hints at the possibility that the council suspected her of being a privateer or enemy vessel disguised under neutral flag, with the long-drawn exchange of signals serving as a test of her intentions. The presence of a new main topsail of French canvas may have weighed heavily in the council's

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			assessment, given the war between Britain and France, with the cloth raising the question of whether the ship had been recently refitted at a French port or had taken French supplies as prizes during her voyage from Goa. The detailed comparison of the ship to the <i>Cumberland</i>, both at head and stern, suggests that someone in the council or among the witnesses possessed close knowledge of the Cumberland's lines, with this identification possibly important to determining whether the vessel had been built in a British yard or was a foreign-built ship imitating English design. The inconsistencies between the Captain-Lieutenant's and Second Lieutenant's accounts of basic facts about their own vessel, including the number of men and guns and the burden of the ship, suggest either deliberate evasion to conceal embarrassing information, or that the two officers were impostors unfamiliar with the ship they claimed to command, with the council clearly inclined to suspect the latter.
73	73	One Said She was a Ship of Three Thou[s]and Tuns, and was [pe]i[r]c[ed] One hundred and Twenty G[u]ns, the Other Said She was about Two th[ousand] and was built to [c]arry but One hundred and Ten G[u]ns The first Lieutenant was a[s]ked his Name Replied Joseph [P]oe[i]r [...] Silvia, We de[s]ired to See his [c]ommi[s]sion, he An[s]wered it was a [...] The Second Lieutenant Said he had No [C]ommi[s]sion at all Only a [...] L[i]eutenant, and that he was a German by Nation, and that his Na[me] Benedict Fri[s]eloven, but Among[s]t the Portugeeze they [c]alled him [...] de [P]o[s]ta, It was between Eight and Nine a Clock at Night before W[e] ha[d] done the Examination, and for want of Credential Letters, Or [s]om[e] to Show that they Realy were Portugeeze, and by the Le[s]tening of their [...] Number of Men, Saying they had but One hundred and Fifty Aboard, and [...] the Ship Sayling Extraordinary well, We were jealous and therefore [c]oncluded to Send their Boat aboard with a Letter from the Lieutenant[s] to the Captain to Send the Commi[s]sion a Shoan, Or Some good Te[s]timony to Clear all Su[s]pi[s]tion, In the Mean time the two Officer[s] were to Remain a Shoan, but when they Came to the Water Side it blowd very Fresh, and it was very dark, and the Ship having No Lights Out, they Could not tell where to finde her, and therefore We [c]oncluded the Next Morning betimes to Send her Off, but the Next Morning the Shipp was almo[s]t Out of Sight, makeing the be[s]t of her way, the Officers Nor People would not Venture to follow her, and Seeing their Ship gone that they were Obliged to Remain here, the Captain L[i]eutenant wrote the Governour a Letter, for the Second Lieutenant whom We finde Since that he is a Je[s]uit, and did not Signe it, what was the Purport of that Letter his Requ[es]t for [C]redit &c, and An[s]wer thereunto We humbly Refer to Our Con[s]ultation of the 29[th] of May La[s]t And Cap[tn] Arlond was here, and he Saw all the Transaction[s] and heard the Examinations We got him to Signe with Us Jn[o] Roberts Edw[d] Mashborne E Arlond W[m] Marsden This Letter was Inclo[s]ed in the Gen[ll] Daniel Griffith Letter [Pr] Ship Concord, and al[s]o copy of it Mathew Bazett In the Generall L[et]re [Pr] Ship Fleet Frigott Margin Notes: see ante 17 July 1711	One of the officers reported the ship to be of three thousand tons burden, pierced for one hundred and twenty guns. The other reported her to be of about two thousand tons, built to carry no more than one hundred and ten guns. The First Lieutenant was asked his name and replied that it was Joseph Poeir [da] Silvia. His commission was requested, to which he answered that it was [aboard the ship]. The Second Lieutenant declared that he carried no commission at all, only that of [acting] Lieutenant, that he was a German by nation, and that his name was Benedict Friseloven, although among the Portuguese he was called [the Posta]. The examination was concluded between eight and nine in the evening. For want of credential letters or any testimony to confirm that the men were genuinely Portuguese, and on account of the manifest dissimulation as to the number of men aboard, the officers having declared the complement to be only one hundred and fifty, together with the extraordinary speed at which the ship sailed, suspicion was raised. The decision was therefore taken to send the boat back to the ship with a letter from the lieutenants to the captain, requesting that the commission be sent ashore, or some other satisfactory testimony to clear all suspicion. In the meantime the two officers were to remain ashore. When the boat reached the water's edge, however, a fresh wind was blowing and the night was very dark. The ship carried no lights, and her position could not be made out. The decision was therefore taken to send the boat off betimes the following morning. By daylight, however, the ship was almost out of sight, making the best of her way from the island. Neither the officers nor the men of the boat would venture to follow her. Seeing their ship gone and finding themselves obliged to remain at the island, the Captain-Lieutenant addressed a letter to the Governor. The Second Lieutenant, who was afterwards discovered to be a Jesuit, did not sign it. The contents of the letter, including the request for credit and other matters, together with the answer returned, were set out in the consultation of 29 May last, to which reference was made. Captain Arlond was present at the island throughout these transactions and witnessed the examinations. He was prevailed upon to sign the present letter alongside the council. Signed John Roberts, Edward Mashborne, E. Arlond, William Marsden, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. The letter was enclosed in the General Letter sent by the <i>Concord</i>. A copy was also enclosed in the General Letter sent by the <i>Fleet Frigot</i>.

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			The marginal annotation referred to the entry of 17 July 1711. Interpretations The marked discrepancy in the officers' accounts of basic facts about their own vessel - whether she displaced three thousand or two thousand tons, whether she was pierced for one hundred and twenty or one hundred and ten guns - confirms the value of the separated interrogation method, since such variation in answers to elementary questions was precisely the kind of inconsistency that careful cross-examination was designed to expose. The absence of any commission produced by either officer, despite the formal requirement that legitimate naval and merchant commanders carry such documents to identify themselves and their authority, removed the principal means by which the ship's claim to Portuguese identity could have been verified, leaving the council to rely on circumstantial judgement alone. The decision to retain the officers ashore while sending the boat back for the commission demonstrates the council's effort to maintain leverage during the negotiation, with the two men effectively held as hostages whose return depended on the ship's willingness to satisfy the council's evidentiary demands. The ship's departure during the night, with no lights showing and the wind freshening, reveals the calculated risk taken by her commander, who evidently judged that abandoning two officers ashore was preferable to submitting to inspection or producing the documentation that the council had required. Speculations The Second Lieutenant's identification as a German Jesuit, given the name Benedict Friseloven and the Portuguese sobriquet [da Posta], raises the question of why a German Jesuit was serving as an officer on a vessel claiming to be Portuguese, with the religious and national disjunction perhaps explaining why he carried no commission and why he was reluctant to sign the subsequent letter to the Governor. The ship's behaviour throughout the encounter, including her reconnaissance of the island, her elaborate ceremonial approach, the abandonment of her officers, and her silent overnight departure, suggests a calculated strategy by which she sought to gather intelligence and obtain supplies while preserving the option of immediate withdrawal should the council's response prove unfavourable. The extraordinary speed at which the vessel was reported to sail, combined with her three-deck Man of War construction and the council's identification of her sails as probably French canvas, raises the possibility that she was a French prize captured by the Portuguese or, less plausibly, a French ship operating under false Portuguese colours. The eventual settlement of the matter through bills drawn upon the two officers themselves, as recorded in the earlier letter of 17 July, suggests that the council ultimately treated the affair as a commercial matter to be resolved through ordinary credit instruments rather than as a matter of state, with the abandoned officers' personal substance providing the security that the absent ship's commission could not.
74	74	You're right, I apologise. The leading spaces I used for alignment triggered the formatting again. Here is the previous transcription without any leading spaces: S[r] Thomas Blow You are hereby De[s]jired and Ordered to Deliver the g[oods] Con[s]igned to Us by the Hon[ble] Court of Directors We are Your Very Lov: Friends [U]Castle S[t] Helena [Augu]st 7[th] 1711 Benj[mn] Boucher George Ho[s]ki[s]on John Pack Daniel Griffith Mathew Bazett	Three orders were issued from United Castle to ships' commanders, dated 7 and 23 August 1711. The first order, dated 7 August, was addressed to Sir Thomas Blow. He was directed to deliver the goods consigned to the council by the Honourable Court of Directors. Signed Benjamin Boucher, George Hoskison, John Pack, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. The second order, of the same date, was addressed to Captain Daniel Small. He was directed to deliver the

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		Cap[tn] Daniel Small You are hereby De[s]ired and Ordered to Delever the goods Con[s]igned to Us by the Hon[ble] Court of Directors We are Yo[r] very Loving Friends United Castle S[t] Helena August 7[th] 1711 Benj[mn] Boucher George Ho[s]ki[s]on John Pack Daniel Griffith Mathew Bazett Cap[tn] Thomas Blow S[r] The following goods Out of your Ship are Wanting which Wee de[s]ire may be Sent a Shoad by to Morrow Night V[i]z[t] 1 Cask of White Lead 1 Ditto Red 1 Bundle of Twine Conti[g] 200 Skeines 260 Dealer 20 Long Dealer 1 Baulk 2 Sparrs 20 Caskes of Bread and Iron Shott Wee are Yo[r] Loving Friends United Castle S[t] Helena August 23 1711 Be[njmn] Boucher George Ho[s]ki[s]on Jn[o] Pack Daniel Griffith Mathew Bazett	goods consigned to the council by the Honourable Court of Directors. Signed Benjamin Boucher, George Hoskison, John Pack, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. The third order, dated 23 August, was addressed to Captain Thomas Blow. Certain goods aboard his ship were wanting, and were to be sent ashore by the following night. The goods specified were one cask of white lead; one cask of red [lead]; one bundle of twine containing two hundred skeins; two hundred and sixty deals; twenty long deals; one baulk; two spars; twenty casks of bread; and iron shot. Signed Benjamin Boucher, George Hoskison, John Pack, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. Interpretations The dates and signatures of these three orders confirm the change of administration foreshadowed in the earlier correspondence, with Benjamin Boucher now Governor and George Hoskison restored to the council, just as Hoskison had reported in his letter to his wife. The previous administration of John Roberts, Edward Mashborne, and William Marsden has been entirely displaced, with Daniel Griffith and Matthew Bazett the only members of the earlier council retained under the new arrangements. The presence of Hoskison's signature alongside Boucher's indicates that the dispute documented at such length by the previous council resulted not in the vindication of the former administration but in its complete reversal, with the very man whose lands had been seized now signing official orders as a member of the governing body. The transition from "We are your loving friends" in the earlier correspondence under Roberts to the same formula under Boucher illustrates how administrative continuity in form was preserved across a discontinuity in personnel, with the conventional courtesies of Company correspondence outlasting the men who employed them. The detailed specification of cargo items required from Captain Blow's ship demonstrates that the new administration immediately resumed the routine business of provisioning, with the council's authority to draw upon visiting ships for goods consigned to the island exercised within days of the change of government. Speculations The previous Governor John Roberts extended written defence against the rumour that Boucher was coming as Governor with Hoskison as Deputy now appears as a strikingly accurate reconstruction of what actually occurred, with the dismissed council having been better informed of London decisions than they had allowed themselves to credit, perhaps from a reluctance to accept the implications of the news for their own positions. The casks of red and white lead requested from Captain Blow's cargo point to fresh construction or painting work intended by the new administration, possibly indicating that Boucher arrived with instructions for new building projects or repairs to the fortifications that Roberts had been unable to complete for want of materials. The substantial quantity of deals, baulks, and spars demanded from the ship suggests that the new council faced the same timber shortage as their predecessors and were equally prepared to commandeer such materials from visiting vessels, with the change of personnel making no difference to the island's structural dependence on cargo from England. The exclusion of John Roberts, Edward Mashborne, and William Marsden from the new council, set alongside the retention of Daniel Griffith and Matthew Bazett, hints that the directors had drawn distinctions among the previous administration as to

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			individual culpability for the Hoskison affair, with the two retained members perhaps having signed earlier letters under pressure or being judged less responsible for the policies that had brought the previous council into conflict with London.
75	75	Cap[tn] Daniel Small S[r] The following goods Out of your Ship are [...] which We de[s]ire may be Sent a Shoar by to Morrow Night V[i]z[t] 5 Coile of Cordage 7 Cask of Bread 5 Cask of flour 155 Dealer and Severall [P]ieces of [P]lank 30 Bu[s]hells of [P]eales Wee are Yo[r] Loving Friends United Castle S[t] Helena August 23[d] 1711 Benj[mn] Boucher George Ho[s]ki[s]on Jn[o] Pack Daniel Griffith Mathew Bazett Cap[tn] Thomas Blow Wee Ob[s]erve that you Arrived in this Road the 5[th] In[s]tant in the Evening and began to Unlade the 7. Wee have Con[s]id[er]ed the [c]argo you brought hither, and the time you might have Unladen the Same (as being [P]roper Judges in this [C]ase) and Do Say, that you might [...] have Unladen in Sixteen Working days, and whereas you Receiv[e]d a Letter from Us, bearing date the 23[d] In[s]tant, Req[ui]ring you to Send on Shoar what Remained On board your Ship of the goods Con[s]igned to Us, by the Hon[ble] Court of Directors by the 24[th] In[s]tant, the which having not Compli[ed] with, Therefore all the time you have been and Shall be at S[t] Helena Longer then those Sixteen working days Wee do Prote[s]t and Declare for and in the Name of the Hon[ble] United Company of Merchants of [...] England trading to the Ea[s]t Indies that you and your Owners of the Ship <i>Toddington</i> are and Shall be A[c]countable for all your Ships Charge[s] of Demerage to the Hon[ble] Company for the time She Remains beyond the Sixteen working days as afore[s]aid United Castle S[t] Helena August 25[th] 1711 Be[n]jmn Boucher George Ho[s]ki[s]on John Pack Daniel Griffith Mathew Bazett	Two further documents were issued from United Castle in August 1711. The first, dated 23 August, was addressed to Captain Daniel Small. Certain goods aboard his ship were [wanting] and were to be sent ashore by the following night. The goods specified were five coils of cordage, seven casks of bread, five casks of flour, one hundred and fifty-five deals, several pieces of plank, and thirty bushels of peas. Signed Benjamin Boucher, George Hoskison, John Pack, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. The second document, dated 25 August, was a formal protest addressed to Captain Thomas Blow. It was observed that he had arrived in the road on the evening of 5 August and had begun to unload on 7 August. The council had considered the cargo brought by his ship, and the time within which the same was to have been unladen, the council being proper judges in such matters. It was declared that the cargo was to have been unladen in sixteen working days. By letter dated 23 August, the captain had been required to send ashore the goods remaining aboard, consigned to the council by the Honourable Court of Directors, by 24 August. This requirement had not been complied with. For all the time the captain had been and was to remain at St Helena beyond the sixteen working days, formal protest and declaration was therefore made, in the name of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, that the captain and the owners of the ship <i>Toddington</i> were to be accountable to the Honourable Company for all the ship's charges of demurrage for the period beyond the sixteen working days specified. Signed Benjamin Boucher, George Hoskison, John Pack, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. Interpretations The demand made of Captain Small for cordage, bread, flour, deals, plank, and peas, set alongside the earlier demand made of Captain Blow for white lead, twine, deals, spars, and casks of bread, demonstrates the systematic approach of the new administration to discharging cargo, with each visiting ship subjected to a detailed inventory of goods to be transferred ashore. The formal protest against Captain Blow introduces a distinct legal register into the correspondence, with the careful citation of dates, the assertion of the council's authority as "proper judges" of unlading time, and the invocation of the directors' name marking the document as preparatory to action for demurrage in the courts of England rather than as ordinary administrative business. The specification of sixteen working days as the proper time for unlading reveals that the council operated under defined commercial conventions for cargo handling, with this figure presumably derived from the charter party or other contractual instrument governing the <i>Toddington's</i> service to the Company. The new administration's willingness to issue a formal protest within twenty days of taking office indicates considerable confidence in its legal standing and a readiness to enforce Company contracts vigorously, contrasting with the more conciliatory tone of much of the previous council's correspondence with visiting captains. Speculations The relatively rapid escalation from polite request to formal protest, with only two days separating the letter of 23 August from the declaration of 25 August, suggests that Captain Blow had given some specific

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			cause for the council's displeasure, possibly through outright refusal to comply with the unloading demand or through a response that the council judged insolent or evasive. The mention of the <i>Toddington's</i> owners alongside Captain Blow as liable for demurrage charges indicates that the ship was held under charter party rather than being directly Company-owned, with the council's protest aimed at the commercial principals behind the captain as much as at the captain himself. The careful documentation of dates of arrival, commencement of unloading, and deadline for compliance, all preserved within a single document, reads as evidence designed for future litigation, with the council methodically constructing the factual record that would be required should the Company elect to pursue Captain Blow and his owners through the English courts. The contrast between this confrontational stance and the previous administration's more accommodating dealings with visiting captains may reflect either the specific instructions Boucher brought from London regarding the enforcement of charter party terms, or a personal preference for stricter administration that distinguished the new Governor from his predecessor.
76	76	S[t] Daniel Small Wee Ob[s]erve you Arrived in this Road the 5[th] In[s]tant in t[he] Evening and began to Unlade the 7[th]. Wee have Con[s]sidered the [c]argo you brought hither, and the time you might have Unladen the Same (as being [...] [P]roper Judges in this [C]ase) and Do Say, that you might have Unladen in Sixteen Working days, and whereas you Received a Letter from Us, bearing Date the 23 In[s]tant, Req[ui]ring you to Send on Shoar what Remained On board your Ship of the goods Con[s]igned to Us by the Hon[ble] Court of Directors by the 24[th] In[s]tant the which having not Compli[e]d with, There[f]or all the time you have been and Shall be at S[t] Helena Longer then those Sixteen working days, Wee do [P]rote[s]t and Declare for and in the Name of the Hon[ble] United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Ea[s]t Indies, that you and your Owners of the Ship Thi[s]tleworth Are and Shall be Accountable for all your Ships Charge of Demerage to the Hon[ble] Company for the time She [...] Remains beyond the Sixteen working days as Afore[s]aid United Castle S[t] Helena August 25[th] 1711 Be[njmn] Boucher George Ho[s]ki[s]on John Pack Daniel Griffith Mathew Bazett To the R[t] Worshipfull The Governour & Councill S[t] Helena August 27[th] 1711 Gentlemen This acknowledges the Receipt of yours of the 23 In[s]tant, as al[s]o your [P]rote[s]t of the 25 Ditto, to which Wee Now An[s]wer fir[s]t as to the Letter of the 23 D[i]tto which mentions the Li[s]t of goods wanting with Orders to S[p]ull the Same a Shore the Next day[s] Wee Shall not di[s]pute how [P]roper Judges you are in that Ca[s]e but da Say in our humble Op[i]nions it was impo[s]sible to be Compl[i]ed with, for if you will but [P]lea[s]e to Con[s]ider that two Ships Unl[oad]ing at the Same time am[e] Obligated to Come to One Crane where the lea[s]t Swell of the Sea often hinders a Boats di[s]patch Con[s]iderably and add to this one Boat mu[s]t of Nece[s]sity wait for the unloading of the Other So Con[s]equently each Ship Can make but half the De[s]patch of a Single Ship Further wee have to Say is that untell Wee had delevered the better half of Our Cargoe to make room to take in ballast which by the hinderance afore[s]aid took up a great deal of time before we Could ta[s]k any in tho[se] we made Our Men work Night and day to Clear away which has been an unnece[s]sary work had we been to delaver alone	A second formal protest, identical in substance to that issued against Captain Blow, was directed to Captain Daniel Small on 25 August 1711. It was observed that he had arrived in the road on the evening of 5 August and had begun to unload on 7 August. The council had considered the cargo brought by his ship, and the time within which the same was to have been unladen, the council being proper judges in such matters. It was declared that the cargo was to have been unladen in sixteen working days. By letter dated 23 August, the captain had been required to send ashore the goods remaining aboard, consigned to the council by the Honourable Court of Directors, by 24 August. This requirement had not been complied with. For all the time the captain had been and was to remain at St Helena beyond the sixteen working days, formal protest and declaration was therefore made, in the name of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, that the captain and the owners of the ship <i>Thistleworth</i> were to be accountable to the Honourable Company for all the ship's charges of demurrage for the period beyond the sixteen working days specified. Signed Benjamin Boucher, George Hoskison, John Pack, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. A joint reply from the captains followed two days later, dated 27 August 1711. The captains acknowledged receipt of the council's letter of 23 August and the protest of 25 August. As to the letter of 23 August, which set out the list of goods wanting and required them to be sent ashore the following day, the captains were not to dispute how proper judges the council was in such matters. It was their humble opinion, nonetheless, that compliance with the demand was impossible. The council was entreated to consider that two ships, unloading at the same time, were obliged to use a single crane. The least swell of the sea was apt to hinder a boat's despatch considerably. In addition, one boat was of necessity to wait upon the unloading of the other. Consequently, each ship was able to make only half the despatch that a single vessel was to achieve. It was further to be said that, until the better half of the cargo was delivered, no room was to be had for the taking in of ballast. The hindrances above mentioned occupied a great deal of time before any ballast was to be received. The men were nonetheless made to work night and day to clear away, a measure that was to have

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			been unnecessary had only one ship been engaged in delivery. Interpretations The issuing of identical formal protests against two captains on the same day, with both designated for demurrage in the name of the directors, demonstrates the new administration's systematic approach to the enforcement of charter party terms, with no distinction made between commanders despite their apparent willingness to assist with the discharge of cargo. The captains' decision to reply jointly, rather than each defending himself individually, reveals a degree of solidarity among the commanders against what they evidently regarded as unreasonable demands, with the shared response strengthening their position by demonstrating that the difficulties they faced were structural rather than the fault of any single ship. The detailed technical defence offered by the captains - concerning the single crane, the effect of swell on small boats, the requirement that one boat wait upon another, and the need to deliver cargo before ballast could be taken in - illustrates the practical knowledge of maritime cargo handling that captains commanded and that allowed them to challenge the council's claim to be "proper judges" of unloading time. The polite formula by which the captains declined to dispute the council's status as proper judges, while immediately proceeding to do precisely that, demonstrates the careful diplomatic register required when challenging an administrative authority that retained the power to make life difficult for visiting ships, with rhetorical deference masking substantive contradiction. Speculations The captains' emphasis that each ship could make only half the despatch of a single vessel when forced to share a crane points to a specific infrastructural limitation at St Helena, with the island apparently possessing only one functioning loading crane at this date, a constraint that any council assessment of reasonable unloading time was bound to take into account. The mention of working the men night and day to clear away cargo, framed as evidence of the captains' good faith efforts, may also have served as an implicit warning that crew discontent or exhaustion was a foreseeable consequence of the council's demands, with the captains anticipating potential disciplinary problems aboard their ships if the pace of work continued. The very specific defence regarding the need to discharge cargo before taking ballast suggests that the captains were preparing for a return voyage in which proper trim and stability would be essential, with the council's impatience for goods to be landed perhaps in tension with the captains' own duty to ensure their ships were fit to sail. The joint reply, written within forty-eight hours of receiving the protest, indicates that the captains anticipated the dispute would be carried to the directors in London and were determined to ensure their own version of events was on the record before they sailed, with the careful construction of their defence reflecting the same legal awareness that informed the council's protest itself.
77	77	As to ya[r] [...] [P]arragraph about Fenceing in of Land and the Planting of Wood, We have Sett out an Advertizement to Caution the Planters to be Carefull, and U[s]e their Utmo[s]t Endeavour to Compl[y]e with the Laws in that Case by the 25 of March Next, being the L[i]mited time, Otherwi[s]e they will Incurr the Penalties which is the Forfei- ture of their Land We Shall take Care A[c]cording to your 65[th] Parragraph that all your Hon[rs] Plantations Shall be Fenced in, As for the great Wood We Can not go about	On the paragraph concerning the fencing in of land and the planting of wood, an advertisement was set out to caution the planters to be careful and to use their utmost endeavour to comply with the laws on this head by 25 March next, that being the time limited for compliance. Failure was to incur the penalties prescribed, namely the forfeiture of their lands. Pursuant to the directors' sixty-fifth paragraph, care was to be taken that all the directors' plantations were fenced in. As to the great wood, no immediate

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		it yett, having but very few Sla[v]es hardly Enough to Manure Plantations, and Mending Fences, that without a Con[s]iderable Supply of Negroes from your Hon[rs] We do not See very well how it Can be Effectted, Although very Nece[s]sary for the Pre[s]ervation of the I[s]land and it will be a great Charge to your Hon[rs] to have it done in hereing the Planters Slaves after Forti[fi]cations be Fini[s]hed, be[s]ides they are Employd about Fenceing in their Own Lands We Shall Likewi[s]e take Care as We have [P]romi[s]ed to People to E[s]tabl[i]sh them in their [P]roper[t]ies when their Lands are Fenced in which We have already begun to Some in the Same Method your Hon[rs] are [P]lea[s]ed to [P]re[s]cribe in your 67 Parragraph, and those that are found to have More then their due Lea[s]es are granted to them for the Over [P]les for the Term of One and Twenty years, which work when Fini[s]hed will Con[s]iderably Increa[s]e your Hon[rs] Revenues, and Rents Pur[s]uant to your Hon[rs] 82 Parragraph, the Wedow Alexander Now Mercy Yargen was Sett on the [P]o[s]se[s]sion of the hired Land formerly Richard Alexanders her Hu[s]band The Case of Gabreell Powell, and Beales Orphans, was According to your Orders in the 84 Parragraph, Left to a Jury of Freeholders, who Determined it in his favour Again[s]t the Orphans, as by a Verdict at a Court of Judicature, held the 18 of October Appears, to which We Referr The Two Stone Cutters Mentioned in your 93 Parragraph are both Alive and in your Hon[rs] Service, their Time to Serve you is morttgage and de[s]ire you'll be [P]lea[s]ed to Send four More as Soon as Po[s]sible for We Suppo[s]e their In[c]linations will be to go Off, if they See No Other[s] [c]ome to Supply their [P]laces, or will be for more wages, Therefore We thought fitt to advi[s]e your Hon[rs] of it in Time Fourthly Touching Forti[fi]cations We Referr to the Governour to give your Hon[rs] an Acc[t] of them The Governour de[s]ires your Hon[rs] will be [P]lea[s]ed to Send him out a Ten Oar Pennace well built and two Sets of Oarr and Sailes the foirt Oppertun[i]ty, which will be of great Service for he has Never a Boat to go in Any where about your Bu[s]ine[s]s, and a Le[s]ser Boat will not Roe to Windward when the wind blows We	undertaking was possible. The few slaves available were hardly sufficient to manure plantations and mend fences. Without a considerable supply of slaves from the directors, the work was not to be effectted, although it was very necessary for the preservation of the island. The hiring of the planters' slaves once the fortifications were complete was to occasion a great charge to the Company, the slaves moreover being employed in fencing their owners' own lands. Care was likewise to be taken, as had been promised, to establish the people in their properties once their lands were fenced in. The work was already begun with some, in the same method prescribed by the directors in their sixty-seventh paragraph. Those found to hold more than their due were to be granted leases for the overplus for the term of twenty-one years. When the work was completed, the directors' revenues and rents were to be considerably increased. Pursuant to the directors' eighty-second paragraph, the widow Alexander, now Mercy Yargen, was set in possession of the hired land formerly held by her late husband Richard Alexander. The case of Gabriel Powell and the orphans of Beale, in accordance with the directors' orders in the eighty-fourth paragraph, was left to a jury of freeholders. The jury determined the matter in Powell's favour and against the orphans, as appeared by the verdict given at a Court of Judicature held on 18 October, to which reference was made. The two stone cutters mentioned in the directors' ninety-third paragraph were both living and in the directors' service. Their term of service was near expired. Four more men were requested to be sent out as soon as possible. The inclination of the present men was likely to be to go off should no others come to supply their places, or alternatively to demand higher wages. Timely notice of the matter was therefore given. Fourthly, on the matter of the fortifications, reference was made to the Governor's account of the same. The Governor desired that a ten-oar pinnace, well built, with two sets of oars and sails, be sent out at the first opportunity. Such a vessel was to be of great service. No boat was at present available for the Governor to use on the Company's business anywhere about the island. A lesser boat was unable to row to windward when the wind was strong. Interpretations The systematic paragraph-by-paragraph response to the directors' letter, with each numbered instruction addressed in turn, illustrates the formal protocol governing correspondence between London and the colonial administration, with the council expected to demonstrate that every direction had been read, considered, and either implemented or accounted for. The careful linkage between fencing, planting, and slave labour reveals how thoroughly the council understood its administrative programme to depend on the supply of additional enslaved workers, with each request for more slaves justified by reference to specific paragraphs of the directors' own instructions that could not otherwise be fulfilled. The judgement in favour of Gabriel Powell against the orphans of Beale, secured through a jury of freeholders rather than by direct council determination, demonstrates how disputes touching property and inheritance were referred to local juries even under the directors' explicit instruction, with the council acting more as administrator of the process than as judge of its outcome. The candid warning regarding the two stone cutters, whose term was near expired and who were expected either to leave the island or to press for higher wages, reveals the practical labour-market dynamics that operated even at the most isolated of colonial postings,

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			with skilled craftsmen possessing real bargaining power that the council was constrained to acknowledge. Speculations The deadline of 25 March for compliance with the fencing and planting laws, set out in an advertisement carrying the threat of land forfeiture, suggests that the council was preparing to act decisively against any planters who failed to comply, with the new administration evidently determined to enforce the regulations that the previous council had pressed the directors to ratify. The grant of twenty-one year leases for overplus land, rather than the resumption of such land into Company hands, hints at a deliberate strategy by which the new administration sought to regularise existing occupation while preserving the Company's underlying title, with the long lease term offering planters sufficient security to make improvement worthwhile while leaving ultimate ownership undisturbed. The remarriage of the widow Alexander to a man named Yargen, with her formal entry into possession of her late husband's hired land, demonstrates how the rights of widows to inherited tenancies were preserved across remarriage, with the new husband apparently taking the wife's existing tenancy rather than her bringing the land into a new household under his name. The Governor's request for a properly built ten-oar pinnace, set against the apparent absence of any adequate boat for the Company's business about the island, hints at the deteriorated state of the island's maritime infrastructure under the previous administration, with the new Governor evidently determined to establish independent transport at the earliest opportunity.
78	78	We have Sent your Hon[rs] in the [P]acket the 2 Bills [...] The Tilberys for One hundred Twelve Pound Fourteen Shillings & Six Pence The Sewallow for Forty Pound Fourteen Shillings and Three [P]ence The Oxford for Ninety Nine Pound Sixteen Shillings and Nine Pence Cap[ts] Phrips Bill for Forty Two Pound Eight Shillings and Five Pence And the Portageeze Gentlemen Bill for Two hundred and Nine Pound Eleven Shillings and One Penny We have drawn the following Bills on your Hon[rs] which We pray you will be [P]lea[s]ed to Accept V[i]z[t] William Harbwell for Credell in your Hon[rs] Stores Twenty Two Pound Eighteen Shillings and Eleven [P]ence Three Bells James Greentree for Ditto One hundred and Thirty Pound Three Bells Cap[tn] John Roberts for Ditto One hundred and Thirty Pound Three Bells M[r] Marsden for Ditto Forty Pound Three Bells Charles Steward for Ditto One hundred Thirty Six Pound thirteen Shi[ll]s[s] and three [P]ence 3 Bells Cap[tn] John Bernard for Ditto Two hundred Two Pound Eight Shillings and Two [P]ence Three Bells William Sourfegis for Ditto One hundred Pound Three Bills Cap[tn] Daniel Small for Twenty Nine Pound Four Shillings and Six Pence Three Bells We al[s]o Send your Hon[rs] a Bill from Cap[tn] John Bernard Drawn upon M[r] Richard Mead Merchant for Forty Two Pound Six Shillings and Nine [P]ence Since the New Governour and Councell Came here, We have been busy Settling Accounts with the Old, and Examining Other Affairs, which Cau[s]es Us to be So brief Now, and being a Single Ship, We Shall Send a full An[s]wer to Every Parragraph of your Hon[rs] Letter by the Next Fleet, hoping you will be [P]lea[s]ed to Excuse Us this time We are Yo[r] Hon[rs] mo[s]t Faithfull & Obedient hum[bl]e Servants United Castle S[t] Helena December 1[st] 1711 [P] Ship Mead Frigall Be[n]jmn Boucher George Ho[s]ki[s]on Jn[o] Pack Daniel Griffith Mathew Bazett	The two sets of bills enclosed in the packet were as follows. The <i>Tilbury's</i> bill, for one hundred and twelve pounds, fourteen shillings and sixpence. The <i>Swallow's</i> bill, for forty pounds, fourteen shillings and threepence. The <i>Oxford's</i> bill, for ninety-nine pounds, sixteen shillings and ninepence. Captain Phrip's bill, for forty-two pounds, eight shillings and fivepence. The Portuguese gentlemen's bill, for two hundred and nine pounds, eleven shillings and one penny. The following bills had also been drawn upon the directors, with the request that they be accepted accordingly. William Harbwell, for credit in the directors' stores, twenty-two pounds, eighteen shillings and elevenpence, in three bills. James Greentree, for the same, one hundred and thirty pounds, in three bills. Captain John Roberts, for the same, one hundred and thirty pounds, in three bills. Mr Marsden, for the same, forty pounds, in three bills. Charles Stewart, for the same, one hundred and thirty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and threepence, in three bills. Captain John Bernard, for the same, two hundred and two pounds, eight shillings and twopence, in three bills. William Sourfegis, for the same, one hundred pounds, in three bills. Captain Daniel Small, for twenty-nine pounds, four shillings and sixpence, in three bills. A further bill was forwarded from Captain John Bernard, drawn upon Mr Richard Mead, merchant, for forty-two pounds, six shillings and ninepence. Since the arrival of the new Governor and Council, time had been occupied in settling accounts with the previous administration and in examining other affairs.

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			The brevity of the present despatch was the consequence. The vessel by which the letter was sent being a single ship, a full reply to every paragraph of the directors' letter was to be forwarded by the next fleet. The directors were entreated to excuse the council on this occasion. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 1 December 1711, per the <i>Mead</i> Frigot. Signed Benjamin Boucher, George Hoskison, John Pack, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. Interpretations The presence of bills drawn in favour of Captain John Roberts and Mr Marsden, both members of the displaced previous administration, illustrates the orderly transition of authority that the new council was nonetheless required to manage, with the former officers' financial accounts settled through the same instruments that governed any other creditor of the Company. The substantial sum of one hundred and thirty pounds drawn in favour of the former Governor Roberts indicates that he was credited with significant balances in the Company's store at the moment of his removal, with his departure for England requiring the conversion of these credits into instruments payable in London. The practice of issuing each bill in three copies, repeatedly noted throughout the list, demonstrates the standard maritime accounting protocol by which the same obligation was duplicated across multiple conveyances, ensuring that loss of one ship would not extinguish the underlying debt. The candid admission that brevity was necessitated by the work of settling accounts with the old administration reveals the considerable administrative burden of a change of government, with the practical handover consuming the time that would otherwise have been devoted to substantive policy correspondence with London. Speculations The inclusion of John Bernard among the principal creditors, with a bill of more than two hundred pounds and a further forty-two pound bill drawn upon Richard Mead in London, suggests that Bernard was a person of substantial commercial standing whose dealings with the island generated significant credit balances, possibly as captain or supercargo of one of the visiting ships. The departure of the former Governor Roberts with a credit balance settled at the same rate as those due to other commanders points to the careful financial closure of his administration, with the new council taking pains to ensure that no outstanding obligations to the previous officers remained on the island's books. The decision to send only the financial documents with a brief covering letter, rather than to delay sailing while a comprehensive reply was prepared, indicates that the new administration judged the prompt despatch of bills more important than a full policy response, with the financial instruments having a market value to their recipients that justified urgent conveyance. The reference to "the next fleet" as the occasion for a full reply suggests that the new council was already calculating its administrative schedule by reference to the expected pattern of ship arrivals, with the larger spring or summer fleets understood to provide the proper occasion for substantial despatches rather than single-ship sailings such as the <i>Mead</i> Frigot now departing.
79	79	Cap[tn] Thomas Clapham You are de[s]ired and Ordered to Deliver the good[s] Con[s]igned to Us from the Governour and Councill of Bengall As al[s]o the goods Con[s]igned to Us from Madra[s]s a[s] [s]oon as po[s]sible	Order to Captain Thomas Clapham, dated 11 February 1712. Captain Clapham was directed and ordered to deliver the goods consigned to the council from the Governor and Council of Bengal, together with the

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		We are Your Loving Friends United Castle S[t] Helena February 11[th] 1711[/]12 Be[n]jmn Boucher Jn[o] Pack Daniel Griffith Matthew Bazett To the R[t] Worshipfull Benjamin Boucher E[s]q[r] Govern[r] & to the Councill of S[t] Helena S[r]s It[s] the humble Petition or Reque[s]t of you[r] humble Servant underwritten Commander of the Hon[ble] Compan[ies] Ship Su[c]ce[s]s, to be Suppl[i]ed in [P]rovi[s]ions during Our Stay here, and to Renew our Stores for Our Voyage to England, the Account of what We have Now in [P]o[s]se[s]sion being 5 Baggs of Fine Rice of about 10 Baggs of Cour[s]e Rice 3 [P]uncheons & a [...] of Beefe of about 350 [...] and about 2 [...] of flower Wanting, or Reque[s]te for the time being Yams or Beames, Every Other day Beefe at the Avesall allowance of 8 [...] [...] Me[s]s with Greens for [P]ottage, the Re[s]t of the days Fi[s]h if [c]an be gott At Our Departure about 10 hoggs, and 4 bea[sts] Salted up, and [...] Yams or Beames to the [Q]uantity of a Months Store; al[s]o what Other[s] [P]rovi[s]ions you may grant for my Own Table, all which is of Con[s]eque[n]ce Nece[s]sary for the U[s]e of the Said Ship Su[c]ce[s]s, and the [P]er[s]ons belonging As Nominated in the Li[s]t Inclo[s]ed; If [P]a[s]sengers a further Supply A[c]cording as you Gentlemen may think Convenient; In which I am as Afore[s]aid Yo[r] humble Servt[t]: to Comand Thomas Clapham Ship Su[c]ce[s]s in S[t] Helena Road February [the] 14 17 11[/]12	goods consigned to the council from Madras, as soon as was practicable. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. Petition from Captain Clapham to the Governor and Council, dated 14 February 1712, aboard the <i>Success</i> in St Helena Road. The humble petition or request of Captain Thomas Clapham, commander of the Honourable Company's ship <i>Success</i>, was laid before the Governor and Council. Supply of provisions was requested during the ship's stay at St Helena, together with the renewal of stores for the voyage to England. The provisions presently aboard were stated to be five bags of fine rice, about ten bags of coarse rice, three puncheons and a [half-puncheon] of beef amounting to about three hundred and fifty [pieces], and about two [casks] of flour. For the period of the stay, the request was made for yams or beans, beef every other day at the usual allowance of eight [pounds] to the mess, with greens for pottage, and fish on the remaining days where the same could be obtained. For the departure, about ten hogs and four beasts salted up were requested, together with yams or beans sufficient for a month's store. Such other provisions as the council was pleased to grant for the captain's own table were also sought. All such supply was reported necessary for the use of the ship <i>Success</i> and the persons belonging to her, as set out in the enclosed list. Should passengers be embarked, a further supply was sought as the council thought convenient. Signed Thomas Clapham. Interpretations The captain's careful enumeration of provisions remaining aboard, distinguishing fine from coarse rice and giving precise counts of casks and bags, demonstrates the rigorous victualling practices expected of a Company commander, with stocks routinely inventoried so that requests for resupply could be supported by accurate statements of what already lay in the hold. The request for fresh meat every other day, with fish to fill the alternate days, reveals the calibrated dietary expectations that governed shipboard victualling during port stays, with a deliberate alternation designed to preserve salted provisions for the voyage while taking advantage of the locally available fresh foods. The specific request for ten hogs and four beasts to be salted up, together with a month's supply of yams or beans, illustrates the standard departure provisioning expected for the Atlantic passage to England, with the council expected to supply both the meat and the vegetables necessary for the homeward leg. The polite formula by which the captain solicited "such other provisions as you Gentlemen may think convenient" for his own table indicates the personal stocks that commanders customarily received over and above the crew's allowance, with the council's discretion in granting these supplies recognising the captain's separate dietary expectations and the social distance between officers and men aboard. Speculations The arrival of the <i>Success</i> with consignments from both Bengal and Madras suggests that the ship was returning home from an extended voyage that had touched at multiple Asian factories, with the council expected to receive and forward goods that had been sent under the directors' orders from different presidencies through a single carrier. The condition of the <i>Success</i>'s remaining stores, with substantial rice but only modest quantities of beef and flour, hints that the long Asian voyage had depleted the European-style provisions more rapidly than the rice procured in India, with the captain now seeking to rebalance the ship's larder for the Atlantic crossing.

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			The provision for "passengers" mentioned at the end of the petition, with the captain leaving the quantity to the council's judgement, indicates either that passengers were expected to embark at St Helena or that some were already aboard whose numbers might increase before departure, with the open-ended request reflecting uncertainty about final complement. The naming of the ship as the Honourable Company's <i>Success</i> suggests a directly Company-owned vessel rather than a chartered ship, with the captain's mode of address to the council and his expectation of supply reflecting the closer institutional relationship that obtained between such ships and the island administration than was the case for charter-party vessels operating under more contractual arrangements.
80	80	A Li[s]t of the Packett Sent to the Hon[ble] Court of D[i]re [c]ton for affairs of the Hon[ble]: United Ea[s]t India Comp[a] [n]ly [P] Ship Mead Trigall N[o] 1 Coppy of [C]onsultations from the 19 of July 1711 to the 27[th] Novem[r] follow[ing] 2 Coppy of Governour and [c]ouncil Letter [P] Ship [C]oncord and Fleet Frigatt 3 Coppy of Governour and Council Letter about the Portugeeze Ship [...] 4 Coppy of Governour and Council Letter [P] Ship Frederick 5 Coppy of Letters to and from Cap[tn] Blow & Cap[tn] Small and Likewi[s]e Coppy of their [P]rote[s]ts and their An[s]wers 6 Coppy of Governour and [c]ouncil Letter to Bengall 7 Coppy of Governour and Council Letter to Bencoolen 8 Mu[s]ter Role of the Garri[s]on taken the 6[th] of September 9 Mu[s]ter Role of the Planters and Youths taken D[o] time 10 A Li[s]t of the Hon[ble] Compa[n]ys Blacks and how Imployd 11 M[r] Marrdens An[s]wer about Cap[tn] Cason 12 Cap[tn] Boys Letter and [C]erti[fi]cate about the four Si[c]k Men that were left here 13 Ship Tilberys Second Bill of Exchange 14 Ship Oxfor[d]s Second Bill of Exchange 15 Ship Swallows Second Bill of Exchange 16 Cap[tn] Frips Second Bill of Exchange 17 The Portugeeze Gentlemen Second bill of Exchange 18 Ship Toddingtons Account 19 Ship Thi[s]tleworths Account 20 Ship Mead Frigatts Account 21 Indent of Stores 22 The Chaplain of S[t] Helena Cert[i]ficate Concerning the Church Reg[i]ster The Generall Letter was Sent apart from this [P]ackett and the Governo[urs] [O]n[e] gen[ll] Letter Dire[c]ted to the Hon[ble] Court of Directors was Inclo[s]ed in the Generall Letter	A list of the contents of the packet despatched by the <i>Mead Frigot</i> to the Honourable Court of Directors for the affairs of the Honourable United East India Company. The first item was a copy of the consultations covering the period from 19 July 1711 to 27 November of the same year. The second was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter sent by the <i>Concord</i> and the <i>Fleet Frigot</i>. The third was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter concerning the Portuguese ship. The fourth was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter sent by the <i>Frederick</i>. The fifth was a copy of the letters exchanged with Captain Blow and Captain Small, together with copies of the protests issued and the answers returned. The sixth was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter to Bengall. The seventh was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter to Bencoolen. The eighth was the muster roll of the garrison, taken on 6 September. The ninth was the muster roll of the planters and youths, taken on the same date. The tenth was a list of the Honourable Company's slaves and the work upon which they were employed. The eleventh was Mr Marsden's answer concerning Captain Cason. The twelfth was Captain Boys' letter and certificate concerning the four sick men left at the island. The thirteenth was the <i>Tilbury's</i> second bill of exchange. The fourteenth was the <i>Oxford's</i> second bill of exchange. The fifteenth was the <i>Swallow's</i> second bill of exchange. The sixteenth was Captain Phrip's second bill of exchange. The seventeenth was the Portuguese gentlemen's second bill of exchange. The eighteenth was the <i>Toddington's</i> account. The nineteenth was the <i>Thistleworth's</i> account. The twentieth was the <i>Mead Frigot's</i> account. The twenty-first was the indent of stores. The twenty-second was the chaplain's certificate concerning the church register at St Helena. The General Letter was despatched separately from this packet. The Governor's particular letter directed to the Honourable Court of Directors was enclosed within the General Letter. Interpretations The systematic numbering of twenty-two items in the packet illustrates the comprehensive documentary practice by which the colonial administration accounted for itself to the directors, with consultations, correspondence with other Company presidencies, financial instruments, ships' accounts, muster rolls, and ecclesiastical certificates all bundled for review.

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			The inclusion of muster rolls for both the garrison and the planters and youths, taken on the same date, demonstrates the careful enumeration of the island's population that the administration was expected to maintain, with the directors evidently requiring regular census-style returns to monitor the human resources available for both defence and cultivation. The separate list of the Company's slaves and the work upon which they were employed reveals that enslaved labour was tracked as a distinct category of Company asset, with the directors expected to know not only how many slaves were held but also how their labour was being deployed across the various enterprises of the island. The chaplain's certificate concerning the church register, included alongside the more obviously administrative documents, illustrates the formal integration of ecclesiastical record-keeping into the Company's overall governance of the island, with births, marriages, and burials apparently treated as matters of official Company concern. Speculations The presence of Mr Marsden's answer concerning Captain Cason hints at an unresolved dispute or inquiry from an earlier voyage, with the former councillor evidently required to provide a written response that the new administration considered worth forwarding to London, perhaps in connection with the audit of accounts or the investigation of conduct on a previous occasion. The certificate from Captain Boys concerning the four sick men left at the island indicates that the <i>Fleet</i> Frigot or another vessel had landed crew members at St Helena for medical care, with the certificate establishing the captain's compliance with whatever obligations attached to leaving men ashore and the council's acceptance of responsibility for their treatment. The inclusion of the <i>Toddington's</i> and <i>Thistleworth's</i> accounts in the packet, after the formal protests had been issued against their captains for excessive time in port, suggests that the demurrage dispute was being carried forward to London for resolution, with the accounts providing the factual basis upon which the directors would be able to calculate any charges due. The Governor's separate letter to the directors, enclosed within the General Letter rather than included in the packet, indicates that Boucher reserved certain matters for private communication with the Court of Directors, possibly concerning the conduct of his predecessors, the personalities of his colleagues on the council, or other sensitive subjects unsuited to the formal record of the council's joint correspondence.
81	81	A Li[s]t of Mens Names belong[ing] to the Hon[ble] Compan[is] Ship Su[c]ce[s]s in S[t] Helena road February y[e] 14 17[11]/12 18 Thomas H[s]etchin[g]s Seaman 19 George Lu[s]ee D[o] 20 John Roodes D[o] 21 James Macke[n]to[s]h D[o] 22 John Newman D[o] 23 John Wadell[e] D[o] 24 Francis Jacobs D[o] 25 Jacob Phelle[p]s D[o] 26 W[m] Naylor D[o] 27 Jn[o] Barns D[o] 28 Robert Trumball D[o] 29 Abraham John[s]on D[o] 30 Eldred Rogers D[o] 31 John Derugada Cook 32 Francis Cor[e]day Cooks Mate 33 [P]roclus [...] [Lieut]t[n]t 34 Gu[s]man Cap[ts] Serv[t] 1 Thomas Clapham Commander Henry [P]erbutt 1[st] Mate 2 Era[s]mus Evans 2 Mate 4 Thomas Lan[g]ton 3 Mate 5 John Bo[u]rl[e]a[u] Carpenter 6 John Britton Boat[s]wain 7 Archebald Liffon Surgeon 8 W[m] Heele Boat[s]: Mate 9 Richard O Hare Carpent[er]: Mate 10 Gilbert H[el]ft Steward 11 Arnold Van [c]a[l]cart Cooper 12 Robert Corry Mid[s]hipman 13 W[m] Cro[s]song D[o] 14 W[m] We[s]terbane D[o] 15 Wilfred Sturb D[o] 16 Samuel Lacey Seaman 17 Alexander Green D[o]	Three documents related to the <i>Success</i> under Captain Thomas Clapham at St Helena Road, February to March 1712. The first was a list of the men belonging to the Honourable Company's ship <i>Success</i>, dated 14 February 1712. The commander was Thomas Clapham. The first mate was Henry Perbutt. The second mate was Erasmus Evans. The third mate was Thomas Langton. The carpenter was John Bourleau. The boatswain was John Britton. The surgeon was Archibald Liffon. The boatswain's mate was William Heele. The carpenter's mate was Richard O'Hare. The steward was Gilbert Heff. The cooper was Arnold Van Calcart. Three midshipmen were listed: Robert Corry, William Crossong, William Westerbane, and Wilfred Sturb [making four]. The seamen were Samuel Lacey, Alexander Green, Thomas Hetchings, George Lusee, John Roodes, James Mackintosh, John Newman, John Wadelle, Francis Jacobs, Jacob Phellips, William Naylor, John Barns,

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		Cap[tn] Thomas Clapham This day We have Receiv[e]d yours, and A[c]cording to your Reque[s]t it is Ordered that you Shall have all things Nece[s]sary for your Ship and Company We are Yo[r] Loving Friends United Castle S[t] [H]elena Febru[ar]y 14 17[11/12] Be[n]jmn Boucher Jo[hn] Pack Daniel Griffith Matthew Bazett Cap[tn] Thomas Clapham Att Sight hereof you are to Saile and make the be[s]t of your way for England Wee wi[s]h you good Voyage and are your A[ff]ectionate Friends Be[n]jmn Boucher John Pack Daniel Griffith Matthew Bazett United Castle S[t] Helena March 11 1711/12	Robert Trumball, Abraham Johnson, and Eldred Rogers. The cook was John Derugada, and the cook's mate was Francis Cordey. A further officer designated [Lieutenant] was named Proclus [...], and Gusman was listed as the captain's servant. The second document, addressed to Captain Clapham, was dated 14 February 1712. The captain's letter of the same date had been received. In accordance with his request, it was ordered that all things necessary for the ship and the ship's company were to be provided. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. The third document, addressed to Captain Clapham, was dated 11 March 1712. Upon sight of the order, the captain was to sail and make the best of his way for England. A good voyage was wished, and the council subscribed itself as affectionate friends. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack, Daniel Griffith, and Matthew Bazett. Interpretations The careful enumeration of every man aboard the <i>Success</i>, from commander to captain's servant, illustrates the bureaucratic practice by which the council documented the composition of visiting vessels, with the muster role providing the basis on which provisions were to be allocated and accounts settled. The presence of names suggesting a range of national origins among the crew, including Van Calcart, Derugada, Bourleau, and others, reveals the multinational character of early 18th-century Company shipping, with English vessels routinely manned by sailors drawn from across the maritime communities of northern Europe. The interval of nearly four weeks between the order to supply the ship on 14 February and the order to sail on 11 March demonstrates the extended port stays that visiting Company ships customarily required at St Helena, with watering, victualling, repairs, and the rest of the crew taking the better part of a month even for a relatively well-found vessel. The formula "make the best of your way for England" reveals the standard sailing instruction by which Company captains were released from administrative detention at intermediate ports, with the open commission allowing the commander discretion as to convoy, route, and timing while requiring expedition rather than delay. Speculations The relatively small ship's company of around thirty-four men, including officers, suggests that the <i>Success</i> was a vessel of moderate size, perhaps a smaller frigate or armed merchant ship rather than one of the larger East Indiamen, with the modest crew sufficient for the homeward leg from St Helena but unlikely to have supported extensive trading activity at multiple Asian factories. The names of two senior officers carrying potentially foreign origins, including Van Calcart as cooper and Derugada as cook, hint at the routine integration of Dutch and Portuguese seamen into Company service, with skilled craftsmen recruited wherever suitable men could be found regardless of national background. The four-week stay before the captain was ordered to sail may reflect either the standard time required to provision a homeward-bound ship for the Atlantic crossing, the wait for favourable winds and weather for the long voyage to England, or possibly some delay associated with the resolution of cargo matters or the awaiting of convoy with other ships likely to sail in company.

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			The cordial tone of the sailing order, wishing the captain a good voyage and signing as affectionate friends, contrasts markedly with the formal protests issued against Captains Blow and Small a few months earlier, indicating that Captain Clapham's conduct during his stay had satisfied the council and that no demurrage or other dispute had arisen to mar his departure.
82	82	Hon[ble]: Masters Our la[s]t from this place was the Foirt of December by the Mead Frigott who Say[ed] from hence the Same day which We hope is Safely Arrived with you Foirt Concerning Shipping Since that Arrived here your Hon[rs]: Ship Succe[s]s Cap[tn] Thomas Clapham [c]ommander February 11[th] with [P]lentyfall Stores from Bengall and Madra[s]s, which were very much wanted, the I[s]land being in great Di[s]tre[s]s for want of L[i]nnen &c[a] for which We Return your Hon[rs] hu[m]ble thanks, and don't doubt but will turn to your advantage We hear by this Ship Su[c]ce[s]s that the S[t] George, Dartmouth, Anarill[a] S[t]rongzele, and Sherbourn were Safely Arrived at Bengall, and the Hall[i]face, De[s] Bouvery, Tankerfield were at the Cape of good hope, January the 28 and de[s]igned home with the Dutch Fleet, and the Sane Frigoll bound for Madra[s]s and Bencoolen was Arrived at the [c]ape The Governour Says that your Hon[rs] Ship Succe[s]s has had all Immenable Di[s]patch Con[s]idering the [Q]uantaty of Ballast She has taken in V[i]z[t] Near Forty Tonn the Captain A[ff]irming to him the Ships would not bare her Self with le[s]s, The Rains have ben So Violent in the Country that the Water has not for Some time ben fitt to fell, her Wood to fetch from Ruperts which is Neare[s]t has employed Ten blacks Three days his Ships Crew being employ[e]d on board We Send your Hon[rs] herewith Coppys of Letters Con[s]ultations, and all Tran[s]actions Sent by the Mead Frigott As all Con[s]ultations hitherto Likewi[s]e Coppys of the Invoices and Letters Received from Bengall and Madra[s]s Secondly Concerning Stores Your Hon[rs] will finde by Our Con[s]ultations that the Storekeeper has brought in No Monthly Account as U[s]ual Since he has taken po[s]se[s]sion but [P]romi[s]es to get all things Ready by Next Summer Fleet We Send herewith Coppy of Our Indent of Stores Sent by the Mead Frigott, which We hope your Hon[rs] will be [P]lea[s]ed to Supply Us with: Their is a generall Complaint for want of [P]aper and Stationery Ware, having Scarce any to go on with Our Hon[ble] Ma[s]ters Affairs and None to Spare to the Inhabitants for their [c]hildren and Youth to learn to Write, wherefore [I] [P]ray your Hon[rs] to Send Us a [c]ompetent Supply by the foirt Oppertunity	Honourable Masters, The previous despatch was made on 1 December by the <i>Mead Frigot</i>, which sailed the same day. It was hoped the same had reached the directors safely. First, concerning shipping. Since that despatch, the directors' ship <i>Success</i> under Captain Thomas Clapham arrived on 11 February, bringing plentiful stores from Bengal and Madras. Such supplies were very much wanted, the island being in great distress for want of linen and other goods. Humble thanks were returned to the directors. The supply was not doubted to turn to the directors' advantage. Intelligence received by the <i>Success</i> advised that the <i>St George</i>, <i>Dartmouth</i>, <i>Anarilla</i>, <i>Strongzele</i>, and <i>Sherbourn</i> were arrived safely at Bengal. The <i>Hallifax</i>, <i>Des Bouvery</i>, and <i>Tankerfield</i> lay at the Cape of Good Hope on 28 January, intending to return home in company with the Dutch fleet. The <i>Sane Frigot</i>, bound for Madras and Bencoolen, also lay at the Cape. The Governor reported that the <i>Success</i> was despatched with all imaginable expedition, considering the quantity of ballast taken in - near forty tons. The captain affirmed to the Governor that the ship was not to bear herself with less. The rains in the country were so violent that for some time no water was fit to fill. Wood for the ship was obtained from Ruperts, the nearest source. The task employed ten slaves for three days, the ship's crew being engaged aboard. Copies of the letters, consultations, and other transactions sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i> were forwarded herewith, together with all consultations made since that despatch, and copies of the invoices and letters received from Bengal and Madras. Secondly, concerning stores. From the consultations the directors were to find that the storekeeper, since taking possession of his office, brought in no monthly account as was customary. He promised nonetheless to have all things ready by the next summer fleet. A copy of the indent of stores sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i> was forwarded with this despatch. It was hoped the directors were to supply accordingly. A general complaint was raised for want of paper and stationery ware. Scarcely any remained for the conduct of the directors' affairs, and none was to be spared to the inhabitants for the use of their children and youth in learning to write. A competent supply was requested at the first opportunity. Interpretations The detailed report of vessels at Bengal and at the Cape of Good Hope demonstrates the established role of St Helena as a clearing house for intelligence concerning Company shipping, with each arriving vessel adding fresh information about the disposition of the wider fleet, which the council then collated for the directors' use. The reported intention of the <i>Hallifax</i>, <i>Des Bouvery</i>, and <i>Tankerfield</i> to return home in company with the Dutch fleet reveals the continuing wartime practice of cooperative convoy with allied shipping, with English and Dutch East India ships frequently sailing together for mutual protection on the most dangerous legs of their voyages. The specific record that the <i>Success</i> took in nearly forty tons of ballast, on the captain's affirmation that the ship would not bear herself with less, illustrates the

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			careful technical accounting that governed port stays at St Helena, with the duration of each ship's stay justified by reference to measurable requirements that the council could verify and document. The candid acknowledgement that the storekeeper had failed to render monthly accounts since taking office reveals the administrative discontinuity attending the change of government, with even routine bookkeeping disrupted by the personnel changes that followed the dismissal of the previous council and the installation of new officers. Speculations The captain's insistence on a substantial ballast of near forty tons may reflect particular concern about the homeward passage, given the season and the loss of the <i>Albemarle</i> and other vessels in recent years, with experienced commanders increasingly cautious about under-ballasted ships attempting the long return to England. The violent rains rendering the water unfit to fill suggest that an exceptional weather event, possibly an extended tropical storm, had disturbed the island's normal water supply, with the cumulative delays from rain, ballast, and wood-gathering perhaps explaining why the <i>Success</i> required nearly a month at the island before being released to sail. The complaint regarding paper, framed in terms of the inability to educate the inhabitants' children and youth, hints at the existence of a small schooling tradition on the island that depended on imported supplies, with the failure of the directors' provisioning constituting an interruption not only to administrative business but to the cultural reproduction of the settler community itself. The storekeeper's promise to have all things ready by the next summer fleet, rather than for the present despatch, indicates that the new administration was operating on an extended timeline for institutional consolidation, with several months evidently considered necessary before normal record-keeping practices could be restored.
83	83	The Governour Says that Since he has Such a Supply of Lime and full Stone at Sandy bay as will for Ever Serve Our Ma[s]ters for Forti[fi]cations and Other Buildings He hopes they will not delay to Supply Us with [P]roper Ve[s]sels which he thinks Cant be Le[s]s then a Sloop of Thirty Ton another good Long Boat of about Ten Tum, and a good Ten Oar[d] boat, He hopes tis Ea[s]ely demon[s]trated that One Years Expence of Land Carriage by blacks to bring Lime and Stone Nece[s]sary for Buildeings the Hon[ble] Company Cant be without will more then pay for the three Ve[s]sels Thirdly [c]oncerning affairs in Generall Your Hon[rs] will finde by Our Con[s]ultation of the 23 of Novem ber La[s]t, that We [P]urchased for your Hon[rs] U[s]e the Lands and Plantati [z]ion of William Ma[s]h Planter, who had a de[s]jire to go Off with his Wife and Family for England, and A[c]cording to his Reque[s]t We have given him Leave and Licence to take their Pa[s]sage on board this Ship Your Hon[rs] will al[s]o finde by Our Con[s]ultation of the 20[th] of December La[s]t that We bought of Leon[a]rd Hum[s] [P]lanter his Land and Plantation being de[s]jirous to go Off with his Wife and Family and at his Reque[s]t have given them Leave and Lice[n]ce to take Pa[s]sage in this Ship We have al[s]o bought as your Hon[rs] will finde by Our Con[s]ultation of the 7[th] March the Hou[s]es, Land, [P]lantation, Blacks, Cattle, &c[a] of Wal[t]er Belvard Planter being de[s]jirous to go Off with his Wife and Family and A[c]cording to his Reque[s]t have given him Leave and Licence to go Off in this Ship M[r] [C]arne formerly Governour Keelings Widow (Married to M[r] George [C]arne) dyed the 14[th] of	The Governor reported that the supply of lime and good stone at Sandy Bay was now of such abundance as to serve the directors' fortifications and other buildings for the foreseeable future. The directors were entreated not to delay in providing proper vessels for the conveyance of these materials. The vessels required were not to be less than a sloop of thirty tons, a long boat of about ten tons and a good ten-oar boat. It was easily demonstrated that one year's expense of land carriage by slaves, to bring the lime and stone necessary for buildings the Company was not to be without, was to exceed the cost of all three vessels. Thirdly, concerning affairs in general. By the consultation of 23 November last, the directors were to find that the lands and plantation of William Mash, planter, were purchased for the Company's use. Mash desired to go off with his wife and family for England. At his request, leave and licence were granted for the family to take passage aboard the present ship. By the consultation of 20 December last, the lands and plantation of Leonard Hum, planter, were likewise purchased, Hum being desirous to go off with his wife and family. At his request, leave and licence were granted for them to take passage aboard the same vessel. By the consultation of 7 March, the houses, lands, plantation, slaves, cattle and other effects of Walter Belvard, planter, were purchased. Belvard being desirous to go off with his wife and family, leave and licence were granted at his request for the family to depart aboard the present ship.

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		January la[s]t, and Forty Three Acres of Land which he po[s]se[s]t in Right of his Wife dureing her Life falls Now to the Heir at Law who is in England on board [C]omodore L[e]ttelow as We under[s]tand, Their is al[s]o a Daughter here of Governour Keelings Named E[le]nor about Sixteen Years of Age under the Governanments [c]are who Lives and boards at M[r] [C]arnes, the Land is very Convenient to your Hon[rs] great [P]lantation if your Hon[rs] think fitt to Engui[r]e after the Heir who is of Age and may Di[s]po[s]e of it, M[r] [C]arne [P]referred a [...] [P]etition as by Con[s]ultation of the 5 day of February [P]raying to hire it by the Year, tell he hears from your Hon[rs] haveing a de[s]ire to Sell all her E[ff]ects to you and to go Off the I[s]land if he makes any Such [...] [P]ropo[s]ells to your Hon[rs] We de[s]ire to grant him his Reque[s]t hoping [...] [...] will be for your Hon[rs] Inte[r]e[s]t and the Peace and Wel[f]aire of the I[s]lan[d] We	The widow of the former Governor Keeling, lately married to Mr George Carne, died on 14 January last. The forty-three acres of land which Carne possessed in his wife's right during her life now fell to the heir at law. The heir was in England, aboard Commodore Lettelow's ship, as was understood. A daughter of the late Governor Keeling, named Eleanor and about sixteen years of age, was at the island under the government's care. She lodged and boarded at the house of Mr Carne. The land was very conveniently situated for the directors' great plantation. The heir being of age and at liberty to dispose of the property, inquiry was to be made after him in England if the directors thought fit. Mr Carne preferred a petition, recorded in the consultation of 5 February, praying to hire the land by the year until he heard from the directors. His desire was to sell all his late wife's effects to the directors and to go off the island. If such a proposal was made, the council entreated the directors to grant his request, in the hope that the same was to serve the directors' interest and the peace and welfare of the island. Interpretations The Governor's argument that maritime vessels were to pay for themselves within a single year through saved land-carriage costs demonstrates the sophisticated cost-accounting that informed colonial infrastructure decisions, with the labour of enslaved people treated as a calculable expense rather than as a free resource available without constraint. The clustering of three planter departures within four months, each conducted through the same formal mechanism of council consultation, Company purchase and grant of leave to depart, suggests a systematic approach by the new administration to consolidating landholdings, with each transaction processed through identical bureaucratic steps that reduced individual cases to instances of a single procedure. The complex inheritance situation surrounding the late Governor Keeling's widow illustrates the legal entanglements characteristic of small colonial societies, where remarriage, dower rights, absentee heirs and minor dependants created intricate property questions that the council was obliged to adjudicate within the framework of English property law. The presence of the sixteen-year-old Eleanor Keeling under the government's care indicates that the colonial administration assumed welfare obligations toward orphans of former officers, with the late Governor's daughter lodged at the home of her stepfather but acknowledged as a ward of the government rather than as a private dependant of the Carne household. Speculations The departure of three established planters in close succession may reflect either disillusionment with prospects on the island following the change of administration, or an active policy by the new council to encourage and finance such departures as a means of consolidating land into Company hands at terms favourable to the directors. The Governor's emphasis on Sandy Bay as a source of building materials sufficient for the foreseeable future, combined with the request for purpose-built transport vessels, points to ambitious plans for further fortification and construction works that the previous administration had been unable to pursue for want of materials, with the new Governor evidently determined to overcome that obstacle through direct provision of maritime infrastructure. The careful framing of Mr Carne's situation, with the council pressing the directors to grant his request in the interests of the peace and welfare of the island, suggests that the resolution of the Keeling-Carne property dispute was perceived as politically sensitive,

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			with the council eager to avoid an unresolved estate matter that might generate local discord or competing claims from other parties. The reference to the Keeling heir being aboard Commodore Lettelow's ship indicates a level of detailed personal intelligence that the council possessed about the whereabouts of relevant parties in England, with such information likely conveyed by the very ships that carried the present correspondence, weaving together the personal and the administrative across the long sea routes that bound the Company's settlements to London.
84	84	The Governour Says that Since he has Such a Supply of Lime and full Stone at Sandy bay as will for Ever Serve Our Ma[s]ters for Forti[f]ications and Other Buildings He hopes they will not delay to Supply Us with [P]roper Ve[s]sels which he thinks Cant be Le[s]s then a Sloop of Thirty Ton another good Long Boat of about Ten Tum, and a good Ten Oar[d] boat, He hopes tis Ea[s]ely demon[s]trated that One Years Expence of Land Carriage by blacks to bring Lime and Stone Nece[s]sary for Buildeings the Hon[ble] Company Cant be without will more then pay for the three Ve[s]sels Thirdly [c]oncerning affairs in Generall Your Hon[rs] will finde by Our Con[s]ultation of the 23 of Novem ber La[s]t, that We [P]urchased for your Hon[rs] U[s]e the Lands and Plantati [z]ion of William Ma[s]h Planter, who had a de[s]ire to go Off with his Wife and Family for England, and A[c]cording to his Reque[s]t We have given him Leave and Licence to take their Pa[s]sage on board this Ship Your Hon[rs] will al[s]o finde by Our Con[s]ultation of the 20[th] of December La[s]t that We bought of Leon[a]rd Hum[s] [P]lanter his Land and Plantation being de[s]irous to go Off with his Wife and Family and at his Reque[s]t have given them Leave and Lice[n]ce to take Pa[s]sage in this Ship We have al[s]o bought as your Hon[rs] will finde by Our Con[s]ultation of the 7[th] March the Hou[s]es, Land, [P]lantation, Blacks, Cattle, &c[a] of Wal[t]er Belvard Planter being de[s]irous to go Off with his Wife and Family and A[c]cording to his Reque[s]t have given him Leave and Licence to go Off in this Ship M[r] [C]arne formerly Governour Keelings Widow (Married to M[r] George [C]arne) dyed the 14[th] of January la[s]t, and Forty Three Acres of Land which he po[s]se[s]s in Right of his Wife dureing her Life falls Now to the Heir at Law who is in England on board [C]omodore L[e]ttelow as We under[s]tand, Their is al[s]o a Daughter here of Governour Keelings Named E[le]enor about Sixteen Years of Age under the Governanments [c]are who Lives and boards at M[r] [C]arnes, the Land is very Convenient to your Hon[rs] great [P]lantation if your Hon[rs] think fitt to Engui[r]e after the Heir who is of Age and may Di[s]po[s]e of it, M[r] [C]arne [P]referrd a [...] [P]etition as by Con[s]ultation of the 5 day of February [P]raying to hire it by the Year, tell he hears from your Hon[rs] haveing a de[s]ire to Sell all her E[ff]ects to you and to go Off the I[s]land if he makes any Such [...] [P]ropo[s]ells to your Hon[rs] We de[s]ire to grant him his Reque[s]t hoping [...] [...] [...] will be for your Hon[rs] Inte[r]e[s]t and the Peace and Wel[f]aire of the I[s]lan[d] We	The Governor reported that the supply of lime and good stone at Sandy Bay was now of such abundance as to serve the directors' fortifications and other buildings for the foreseeable future. The directors were entreated not to delay in providing proper vessels for the conveyance of these materials. The vessels required were not to be less than a sloop of thirty tons, a long boat of about ten tons and a good ten-oar boat. It was easily demonstrated that one year's expense of land carriage by slaves, to bring the lime and stone necessary for buildings the Company was not to be without, was to exceed the cost of all three vessels. Thirdly, concerning affairs in general. By the consultation of 23 November last, the directors were to find that the lands and plantation of William Mash, planter, were purchased for the Company's use. Mash desired to go off with his wife and family for England. At his request, leave and licence were granted for the family to take passage aboard the present ship. By the consultation of 20 December last, the lands and plantation of Leonard Hum, planter, were likewise purchased, Hum being desirous to go off with his wife and family. At his request, leave and licence were granted for them to take passage aboard the same vessel. By the consultation of 7 March, the houses, lands, plantation, slaves, cattle and other effects of Walter Belvard, planter, were purchased. Belvard being desirous to go off with his wife and family, leave and licence were granted at his request for the family to depart aboard the present ship. The widow of the former Governor Keeling, lately married to Mr George Carne, died on 14 January last. The forty-three acres of land which Carne held in his wife's right during her life now fell to the heir at law. The heir was in England, aboard Commodore Lettelow's ship, as was understood. A daughter of the late Governor Keeling, named Eleanor and about sixteen years of age, was at the island under the government's care. She lodged and boarded at the house of Mr Carne. The land was very conveniently situated for the directors' great plantation. The heir being of age and at liberty to dispose of the property, inquiry was to be made after him in England if the directors thought fit. Mr Carne preferred a petition, recorded in the consultation of 5 February, praying to hire the land by the year until he heard from the directors. His desire was to sell all his late wife's effects to the directors and to go off the island. If such a proposal was made, the council entreated the directors to grant his request, in the hope that the same was to serve the directors' interest and the peace and welfare of the island. Interpretations The Governor's argument that maritime vessels were to pay for themselves within a single year through saved land-carriage costs demonstrates the sophisticated cost-accounting that informed colonial infrastructure decisions, with the labour of slaves treated as a calculable expense rather than as a free resource available without constraint.

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			The clustering of three planter departures within four months, each conducted through the same formal mechanism of council consultation, Company purchase and grant of leave to depart, suggests a systematic approach by the new administration to consolidating landholdings, with each transaction processed through identical bureaucratic steps that reduced individual cases to instances of a single procedure. The complex inheritance situation surrounding the late Governor Keeling's widow illustrates the legal entanglements characteristic of small colonial societies, where remarriage, dower rights, absentee heirs and minor dependants created intricate property questions that the council was obliged to adjudicate within the framework of English property law. The presence of the sixteen-year-old Eleanor Keeling under the government's care indicates that the colonial administration assumed welfare obligations toward orphans of former officers, with the late Governor's daughter lodged at the home of her stepfather but acknowledged as a ward of the government rather than a private dependant of the Carne household. Speculations The departure of three established planters in close succession may reflect either disillusionment with prospects on the island following the change of administration, or an active policy by the new council to encourage and finance such departures as a means of consolidating land into Company hands at terms favourable to the directors. The Governor's emphasis on Sandy Bay as a source of building materials sufficient for the foreseeable future, combined with the request for purpose-built transport vessels, points to ambitious plans for further fortification and construction works that the previous administration had been unable to pursue for want of materials, with the new Governor evidently determined to overcome that obstacle through direct provision of maritime infrastructure. The careful framing of Mr Carne's situation, with the council pressing the directors to grant his request in the interests of the peace and welfare of the island, suggests that the resolution of the Keeling-Carne property dispute was perceived as politically sensitive, with the council eager to avoid an unresolved estate matter that might generate local discord or competing claims from other parties. The reference to the Keeling heir being aboard Commodore Lettelow's ship indicates a level of detailed personal intelligence that the council possessed about the whereabouts of relevant parties in England, with such information probably conveyed by the very ships that carried the present correspondence, weaving together the personal and the administrative across the long sea routes that bound the Company's settlements to London.
85	85	[Li]st of the Pacquett Sent [t]o y[e] Hon[ble] [Co]urt of Directors of y[e] U[nited] Company of [Me]rchants of England Trading to the Ea[s]t Indies [P] Shipp Catharine Cap[t] Edw[d] G[...] [c]omander v[i]z[t] N[o] 1 Govern[r] and Coun[il] Gen[al] Letter dated y[e] 19 July 1712 2 Copy of Govern[r] and Coun[il]s Gen[al] by Shipp [...] dated y[e] 11[th] March 17[11/12] 3 Copy of [c]on[s]ultations [...] [P] D[itt]o Shipp 4 Copy of D[itt]o from March y[e] 17[th] 17[11/12] to y[e] 7[th] June 1712 5 An A[c]c[t] of Familees Land & [c]attle on S[t] Helena a[s] y[e] year 1711 6 Copy of Revenues & Rent for y[e] year 1711 7 A Li[s]t of Officers & Sold[i]ers w[th] Salary & Pay 8 An A[c]c[t] of [...] Hon[ble] [c]ompany's [Negro]es & a[gle] Employm[ts] 9 An A[c]c[t] of [...] Hon[ble] [c]ompany's Cattle & L[i]ve P[r]ovi[s]ions 10 Copy of Letters to & from Cap[t] Clapham 11 Copy of M[r] Jn[o] Cou[r]tneys [...] to	A list of the contents of the packet despatched to the Honourable Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, by the ship <i>Catharine</i> under Captain Edward G[...] commander. The first item was the Governor and Council's General Letter, dated 19 July 1712. The second was a copy of the Governor and Council's General Letter sent by the ship [...], dated 11 March 1712. The third was a copy of the consultations forwarded by the same ship. The fourth was a copy of the consultations covering the period from 17 March 1712 to 7 June 1712. The fifth was an account of the families, lands and cattle at St Helena for the year 1711.

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		G[ov] [...] [...] from Bombay 12 Copy of Govern[r] and Coun[ll] Gen[al] from S[t] William [...]m[...]o 13 Copy of [c]ouncil from Fort William [P] D[itt]o Shipp 14 Copy of Govern[r] & Coun[ll] Gener[al] from F[ort] S[t] George [P] Shipp K[i]ng George 15 Copy of [c]ouncil from [P] D[itt]o Shipp 16 Copy of Gov[r] and Coun[ll] L[t]r from Fort William [P] Shipp King[s] 17 Copy of [c]ouncil from Ditto [P] D[itt]o Shipp 18 A L[i]st of Marriages, Buriells & Baptisms 19 Copy of Invoice from Fort S[t] George [P] [...] Stack 20 Cap[t] Sam[ll] Goodmans fir[s]t Bill of Exc[h]ge [for] 200 16[s] Sterl[g] 21 Cap[t] Nicholas [L]horns fir[s]t Bill D[o] for 52[...] 11[s] 9[d] Sterl[g] 22 Her Maje[s]ts Shipp Liopard fir[s]t Bill D[o] 23 M[r] Harry Sheffields [...] Bill D[o] 24 Li[s]t of y[e] Pacquett	The sixth was a copy of the revenues and rents for the year 1711. The seventh was a list of the officers and soldiers, with their salaries and pay. The eighth was an account of the Honourable Company's slaves and the work upon which they were employed. The ninth was an account of the Honourable Company's cattle and live provisions. The tenth was a copy of the letters exchanged with Captain Clapham. The eleventh was a copy of Mr John Courtney's [letter] from Bombay, addressed to the Governor. The twelfth was a copy of the Governor and Council's General Letter from [Fort William]. The thirteenth was a copy of the council letter from Fort William, sent by the same ship. The fourteenth was a copy of the Governor and Council's General Letter from Fort St George, sent by the ship <i>King George</i>. The fifteenth was a copy of the council letter, sent by the same ship. The sixteenth was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter from Fort William, sent by the ship <i>Kings</i> [...]. The seventeenth was a copy of the council letter from the same place, sent by the same ship. The eighteenth was a list of the marriages, burials and baptisms. The nineteenth was a copy of the invoice from Fort St George, sent by [...] Stack. The twentieth was Captain Samuel Goodman's first bill of exchange, for two hundred pounds and sixteen shillings sterling. The twenty-first was Captain Nicholas Lhorn's first bill of exchange, for fifty-two pounds [...], eleven shillings and ninepence sterling. The twenty-second was the first bill of exchange relating to Her Majesty's Ship <i>Leopard</i>. The twenty-third was Mr Harry Sheffield's [first] bill of exchange. The twenty-fourth was the list of the contents of the packet itself. Interpretations The presence of correspondence forwarded from Fort William in Bengal, from Fort St George at Madras and from Bombay through Mr Courtney's letter, all enclosed within a single St Helena packet bound for London, demonstrates the role of the island as a relay point in the Company's inter-presidency communications network, with each homeward-bound ship gathering the accumulated correspondence of the Asian factories for delivery to the directors. The inclusion of the marriages, burials and baptisms list among the administrative documents illustrates the integration of ecclesiastical record-keeping into the secular governance of the island, with the chaplain's register treated as a Company document rather than as a purely religious record. The grouping of demographic and economic returns - families, lands, cattle, slaves and revenues - reveals the comprehensive statistical surveys that the colonial administration was expected to maintain, with the directors evidently requiring a clear picture of the island's human resources, agricultural capacity and financial yield as a basis for policy decisions in London. The careful separation of bills of exchange relating to four different commanders, ships and individuals into discrete numbered items demonstrates that each financial instrument was handled as an independent document, with its identity preserved against any subsequent dispute or audit through inclusion in the formal packet inventory. Speculations

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			The substantial volume of correspondence routed through St Helena from the three Asian presidencies, all bound for the same Court of Directors, suggests that ships departing Bengal, Madras and Bombay for England routinely called at the island both for victualling and to consolidate their outbound mailbags, with the council acting as a clearing house that processed and forwarded the accumulated paper. The presence of two separate sets of letters from Fort William, sent by different vessels and separately enumerated in the packet, hints at the Company's practice of redundant despatch for important Bengal correspondence, with the same intelligence sent by multiple ships to guard against the loss of either at sea. The bill of exchange relating to Her Majesty's Ship <i>Leopard</i>, set alongside those from merchant commanders, indicates ongoing financial entanglement between the Royal Navy and the Company at St Helena, with naval ships drawing on Company stores and the resulting accounts settled through bills payable in London on the same instruments used for civilian commerce. The cumulative weight of twenty-four enumerated items in a single packet suggests either an unusually rich period of administrative business at St Helena or a deliberate strategy of comprehensive reporting by the new administration, with Governor Boucher perhaps determined to demonstrate to the directors that his stewardship was more orderly than that of the predecessors he had displaced.
86	86	Cap[tn] John Le[s]ley S[r] You are hireby de[s]ired and ordered, To Send on Shoar the Severall Goods and Merchandiz[e] Laden on board your Shipp Abingdon By the Honour[ble] Court of Directors Con[s]igned to the Govern[r] & Councill of this place a[s] Soon as Po[s]sible And if you'l order a [P]idka on Shoar to Caulk our Lanch She Shall be ready to Aid and A[s]si[s]t you in bringing Said goods on Shoar We are Yo[r] Loving Friends United Ca[s]tle S[t] Helena Novemb[r] y[e] 3[d] 1712 Ben[jmn] Boucher Tho[s] Cason Jn[o] French Gentlemen Our la[s]t to you was [Pr] the Toddington and Thi[s]tleworth[s] Dated the 22 Augu[s]t 1711 The La[s]t of which Arrived here Homeward bound on the 2[d] of June La[s]t, but brought us not one word from you, and therefore Shall only Add That According to the Honourable Cou[r]t of Directors orders have Sent you Inclo[s]ed the Shipp Abingdons Charter Party, She Arrived with us the 2[d] In[s]tant and refer to Cap[t] Le[s]ley for farther news We are Gentlemen Yo[r] Humble Servants United Ca[s]tle S[t] Helena Novemb[r] y[e] [1]2 1712 [Pr] Sh[ip] [...] By this Shipp Abingdon Comes one Anthony A Mer[i]niy[a] who Lived formerly at Bencoolen [a]nd Sent home from Madra[s]s but for what dont know He hath Behaved him[s]elf very well & R[e]a[s]on Civilly [u]sed by all Govern[rs] of wh[i]ch Shall a[c]quaint the Hon[ble] [c]ompany being of u[s]e to them here and [a]ble to do any harme with you Ben: Boucher Jn[o] Pack Tho[s] Cason Jn[o] French Margin Notes: Al[s]o to Bencoo [L]en Bem	Order to Captain John Lasly of the ship <i>Abingdon</i>, dated 3 November 1712. Captain Lasly was directed and ordered to send ashore the several goods and merchandise laden aboard his ship by the Honourable Court of Directors, the same being consigned to the Governor and Council of the island, as soon as was practicable. Should the captain order [a caulker] ashore to caulk the council's launch, the same launch was to be made ready to aid and assist in bringing the goods on shore. Signed Benjamin Boucher, Thomas Cason and John French. Letter to Gentlemen, dated 12 November 1712. The previous communication was sent by the <i>Toddington</i> and the <i>Thistleworth</i>, dated 22 August 1711. The <i>Thistleworth</i> arrived at St Helena homeward bound on 2 June last, but brought not a single word from the addressees. In accordance with the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors, the charter party of the ship <i>Abingdon</i> was forwarded herewith enclosed. The <i>Abingdon</i> arrived at the island on 2 November. For further intelligence, reference was made to Captain Lasly. Issued from United Castle, St Helena. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack, Thomas Cason and John French. A postscript was added. By the <i>Abingdon</i> came one Anthony A Meriniya, formerly resident at Bencoolen and sent home from Madras, the reasons being unknown to the council. He behaved very well at the island and was civilly used by all governors. The Honourable Company was to be acquainted with his presence, as he was reported to be of use at the island and not able to do any harm to the directors. The margin notes indicated that the letter was also directed to Bencoolen, and the document was endorsed [Bombay]. Interpretations The reciprocal arrangement proposed in the order to Captain Lasly, by which a caulker was to be sent ashore in exchange for the launch's assistance in unloading goods, illustrates the practical bartering of services that characterised relations between visiting ships and the colonial administration, with mutual needs

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			balanced through informal exchange rather than monetary payment. The complete absence of any communication from the addressees, despite the <i>Thistlenorth's</i> return voyage, reveals the fragility of inter-presidency correspondence, with even direct sailings between Company settlements no guarantee that letters would actually be carried, much less delivered to their intended recipients. The forwarding of the <i>Abingdon's</i> charter party in accordance with the directors' orders demonstrates the routine bureaucratic compliance expected of colonial administrators, with formal documents transmitted between settlements as part of the audit trail that allowed the directors in London to track contractual arrangements across the Company's network. The careful documentation of Anthony A Meriniya's status, including his prior residence at Bencoolen, his transit through Madras, his conduct at St Helena, and the council's recommendation regarding his future, illustrates how the colonial administration tracked the movement of individuals across the Company's possessions, with each person of note generating a documentary record that followed them between settlements. Speculations The change in council composition, with John Pack, Thomas Cason and John French now signing alongside Governor Boucher, while George Hoskison, Daniel Griffith and Matthew Bazett no longer appear, suggests that further personnel changes had occurred since the previous correspondence, with Hoskison's restoration to the council apparently brief and the membership reshaped once again. The Mr Meriniya case, with his being "sent home from Madras" for reasons unknown to the council and now being recommended for retention at St Helena rather than onward transit to London, hints at a person whose status was politically or commercially sensitive, with the council perhaps suspecting that his return to England was undesirable for reasons that the Madras authorities had not seen fit to share. The council's curious phrasing that Meriniya was "not able to do any harm" to the directors, paired with the affirmation that he was useful at the island, suggests an implicit assessment that he might have caused difficulties had he proceeded to London, with St Helena offering both a sanctuary and a containment for individuals whose presence elsewhere was problematic. The brevity of the correspondence, with the council apologetically explaining that little could be added beyond enclosed documents and a reference to Captain Lasly for further news, indicates either an unusually quiet period of administrative business or a deliberate restriction of written communication pending the resolution of unspecified matters that the council preferred not to commit to paper.
87	87	Honour[ble] Masters Our La[s]t from this place was by y[e] Hono[rs] [c]o[mpanies] Shipp[s] Su[c]ce[s]s dated y[e] 11[th] of March 17[11/12] who Sa[i]lled Hence the Same day and hope is Safely Arriv[e]d with You First concerning Shiping On the 29[th] March we had an Alarum for a Large Ship who came in Sight of y[e] [c]a[s]tle in Dav[i]es Collins, but Did not come to Anchor Standing Direct[l]y of[f] About three in [the] afternoon, Since that Arrived the following Shipp[s] V[i]z[t] The Catharine Cap[t] Edward Godfrey Comand on y[e] 1[st] of Apri[l] from Bombay The Averilla Capt Robert Hea[s]t, on y[e] 22 Apri[l] from Bengall The He[s]ter Cap[t] Charles Re[s]ar, on Ditto from Canton & Madra[s]s The Thi[s]tleworth Cap[t] Dan[el] Small, on y[e] 5[th] June from Bencoolen The Leopard Man of Warr Cap[t] Jane Cook on June y[e] 26[th] from	Honourable Masters, The previous communication from St Helena was conveyed by the directors' ship <i>Success</i> on 11 March 1712. The ship sailed the same day, and the hope was entertained that the same was to reach the directors in safety. First, concerning shipping. On 29 March an alarm was raised. A large ship came in sight of the castle in Davies' [Collins], but did not come to anchor. About three in the afternoon she stood directly off. Since that date, the following ships arrived at the island. The <i>Catharine</i>, under Captain Edward Godfrey, came in on 1 April from Bombay. The <i>Averilla</i>, under Captain Robert Hearst, came in on 22 April from Bengal. The <i>Hester</i>, under Captain Charles Resar, came in on the same date from Canton and Madras.

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		England The Lenox Man of Warr Comadore Bennitt &c The S[t] Albons Man of Warr Cap[t] Tho[s] Lawrence on y[e] 3[d] of July from England &c[a] The Roche[s]ter Cap[t] [...] Maries from China The S[t] George Cap[t] Sam[l] Goodman from Bengall who touch[e]d at S[t] J[ago] & arrived here y[e] 18 [the] The Aurengzeb Cap[t] Nicholas Lihorn[s] (his Succe[s]s le[s]s Last Men of Warr Cap[t] Maxy Jo[hn] from Bengall The two La[s]t Named Ships S[t] George and Aurengzeb brought us as [P]er[s]ons in the Generall [P]aquetto Each two Lega[r]s of Batavia Arrack 15 Baggs of Sugar and then [Q]uantaty of Rice (which Could ru[m] had been Tribble that Number of Baggs being very u[s]eful and Nece[s]sary for Sick people as well as to So[m]e your Hon[rs] and others [P]lantation of [...] Mile bett[e]r [G]reane The Arrack is Indifferent good Rub Look up Near half One Lega[r] Spo[ile] [T]he those two rec[d] by the Aurengzeb, is the Capt Says to all but kind of Rice it [...] [P]rovi[s]e them that by the Su[c]ce[s]s We hear by these Ships, that the Sherborne Cap[t] [c]ornwall [c]omand Lo[s]t the S[t] [...] in 13 degrees S[t] La[t]: the 14[th] of February La[s]t in a Horine of Winde Herewith Tran[s]mit y[ou]e Hono[rs] [C]oppy of our Gen[er]al[l] [t]o the Su[c]ce[s]s, to [a]ll [...] [t]ho[s]e [a]s Invoices &c by ho[r] from Indi[a] a[s] Sett by Shippes S[t] George two [...] al[s]o a Letter from Cap[t] Godfrey to the Govern[r] with a Reque[s]t to [...] [...] [Sai]d Ship Catharine[s] La[s]t foot thereof Dated y[e] 8[th] of April 1712 which [...] for in England [S]econdly concerning Stores [By the] Su[c]ce[s]s we adv[is]ed your Hono[rs] that the Sto[re] [ke]ep[er] M[onthly] A[c]c[t] is u[s]ual but [P]romi[s]es to gett [...] [Summ]er Fleet which is Not yet [c]omple[te] [...] [...]ths before he could [t]a[k]e any An[...] [...] there of [s]ureing which tume[...]	The <i>Thistlenorth</i>, under Captain Daniel Small, came in on 5 June from Bencoolen. The <i>Leopard</i>, Man of War, under Captain Jane Cook, came in on 26 June from England. The <i>Lenox</i>, Man of War, under Commodore Bennett, also came in around the same time. The <i>St Albans</i>, Man of War, under Captain Thomas Lawrence, came in on 3 July from England. The <i>Rochester</i>, under Captain Maries, came in from China. The <i>St George</i>, under Captain Samuel Goodman, came in from Bengal, with a call at St Jago, on the 18th. The <i>Aurengzeb</i>, under Captain Nicholas Lihorn, came in from Bengal. The [Man of War] under Captain Maxy John also came in from Bengal. The two last-named ships, the <i>St George</i> and the <i>Aurengzeb</i>, brought two leagers of Batavia arrack each, fifteen bags of sugar each, and a quantity of rice from the persons named in the general packet. The rice was very useful for sick people and for the plantations of the directors and others, three times the quantity being needed. The arrack was of indifferent quality. Upon inspection, nearly half of one leager was found spoiled. As for the two leagers received by the <i>Aurengzeb</i>, the captain reported them all of one [kind of rice], distinct from those provided by the <i>Sucess</i>. Intelligence was received by these ships that the <i>Sherborne</i>, under Captain Cornwall, lost her [main mast] at 13 degrees south latitude on 14 February last, in a hurricane of wind. Herewith were transmitted a copy of the General Letter relating to the <i>Sucess</i>, together with all the invoices and other papers received from India by her, as were sent by the <i>St George</i> and other ships. Also forwarded was a letter from Captain Godfrey to the Governor, containing a request concerning the <i>Catharine</i>, dated at its foot 8 April 1712, which was to be applied for in England. Secondly, concerning stores. By the <i>Sucess</i>, the directors were advised that the storekeeper's monthly account, as was customary, was promised by the next summer fleet. The summer fleet was not yet complete. Several months were to elapse before any account was to be rendered. The work of surveying [the stores remained to be completed]. Interpretations The detailed enumeration of ten vessels arriving over a four-month period, drawn from Bombay, Bengal, Madras, Canton, Bencoolen, China and England, confirms St Helena's central role as a clearing house for Asian shipping intelligence, with each ship contributing fresh information that the council collated into a comprehensive picture of the wider Company fleet. The presence of three Royal Navy Men of War - the <i>Leopard</i>, the <i>Lenox</i> and the <i>St Albans</i> - arriving directly from England within a span of weeks, reveals the substantial naval escort accorded to wartime fleet movements, with the small island anchorage briefly hosting a concentrated military presence. The careful documentation of arrack and rice quantities, including the spoilage of nearly half a leager, demonstrates the rigorous quality assessment of incoming supplies, with each cargo item evaluated against its intended uses for the sick, the plantations and the wider population. The continuing failure of the new storekeeper to render monthly accounts, with promises now extending to the next summer fleet, illustrates the administrative dysfunction that persisted under the new administration despite the change of personnel, with even routine bookkeeping disrupted for an extended period. Speculations The unidentified large ship that came within sight of the castle on 29 March but stood off without anchoring may have been an enemy reconnaissance

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			vessel, with the failure to approach suggesting either French or Spanish interest in the island's defences during a period when the War of the Spanish Succession was still active. The substantial cargo of arrack from Batavia, in which nearly half of one leager was found spoiled, hints at persistent problems with the cooperage and storage of spirits during the long voyage from the East Indies, with the council's repeated complaints about Indian-shipped arrack receiving fresh confirmation by each new arrival. The reference to the <i>Sherborne's</i> misfortune at 13 degrees south latitude in February places the incident in the South Atlantic on the homeward route from the Cape, with the news travelling north and west through successive arrivals to reach St Helena before reports could have arrived in London by any other route. The detailed account of the <i>Aurengzeb's</i> rice being of a different kind from that supplied by the <i>Success</i> suggests a continuing concern about the variety and suitability of provisions sent from different Asian factories, with the council perhaps building a case for more standardised supply arrangements across the Company's presidencies.
88	88	not avoid Deliver[ing] abundance of Goods which with the Con[s]tant Deliver[y] Ever Since Makes the Au[c]t[s] So Vollumin[i]ous that it is Impo[s]sible to Make Such monthly Au[c]t[s] without one Good hand more When we came to open the Bale Goods brought by the Su[c]ce[s]s found Severall very much Damaged the Chints Rotten in many [P]laces and the [P]lain white [c]loth E[s]peccially the fine[s]t Sort Called Saunoss full of Holes and [...].te[d] for no Manner of u[s]e So that your Hono[r]s are great[ly] [w]ronged thereby a[s] well as the People here Wherefore begg y[e] Hono[r]s to A[s]su[r]e your agents in India of y[e] Same that y[e] Like fraud may be [P]revented for the future We hope your Hono[r]s will [P]lea[s]e to Supply us with what Nece[s]saries Indented for by La[s]t Shipping a[s] al[s]o the Sloop, another good Long Boat and Ten oar[d] Boat mentioned more at Large in the 8[th] [P]arrigra[ph] of afore[s]aid Letter and are Extreemly wanted for U[s]es therein Expre[s]sed So Shan't [P]re[s]ent for any more Now There hath been no Wine in your Stores for Some Time [P]ast and a Lequer much de[s]ired by the Beople have bought Seven [P]ipes of Modera Wine of [c]ap[t] Cook at Seventy [P]ounds [P]ipe and Six [P]ipes more of [c]omadore Bennitt at the Same [P]rice which is the Lowe[s]t Rate we could gett it at and hope twill be [for] your Hono[r]s [P]ro[ff]itt Notwith[s]tanding the Supply of Arrack from India which being a vendable and [P]rofitable [c]omodity have Taken the [Q]uantity of 467 [Gall]l[s] from Cap[t] Godfrey and 132 Gallon[s] of Cap[t] Small for Beef and other [P]rovi[s]ions as [P] Ships A[c]c[t]s herewith Sent will Appear Thirdly concerning affairs in Generall In the 12 [P]arragra[ph] of our afore[s]aid Letter we Informed your Hono[r]s Forty three Acres of Land [F]ell to the Heir of Govern[r] Keling now in England [c]omadore Littleton and that the Same as L[an]d very Convenient to your [P]lan tation, for which rea[s]on Beggd your Hono[r]s would Enquire after Said of age to Di[s]po[s]e of it, on which Errors your An[s]wer, as well co[u]ld [...] [c]arne in the Same [P]aragraph Our nece[s]sity Stell obliges us to repeat the great Want [...] Blacks to Carry on the Forti[fi]cations and the Improvem[en]t[s] [P]lantations, to be the will be Impo[s]sible to do with the [...] althe Seventy odd, yet mo[s]t very Ancient, Severall b[...] as [P] Li[s]t of their Ages and Employments will Sa[s]isfy are Said to be in [P]lantations are very often Employed be[s]ides Killing of Cattle and bringing the Reef Don[...] and Fishing	The storekeeper was obliged to deliver large quantities of goods, and the constant deliveries ever since rendered the accounts so voluminous that no monthly account was to be drawn up without the addition of one good hand to assist. Upon the opening of the bale goods brought by the <i>Success</i>, several items were found greatly damaged. The chintz was rotten in many places. The plain white cloth, particularly the finest sort called Saunoss, was full of holes and rotted, fit for no manner of use. The directors were greatly wronged thereby, as were the people of the island. The directors were entreated to caution the agents in India accordingly, that the like fraud was to be prevented in the future. It was hoped the directors were to supply the necessities indented for by the last shipping, including the sloop, the long boat and the ten-oar boat mentioned in the eighth paragraph of the previous letter. The same were extremely wanted for the purposes there expressed. No further request was therefore presented at this time. No wine was to be found in the directors' stores for some time past. The same liquor being much desired by the people, seven pipes of Madeira wine were purchased from Captain Cook at seventy pounds the pipe, and six pipes more from Commodore Bennett at the same price. This was the lowest rate at which the wine was to be obtained. The hope was entertained that the purchase was to prove for the directors' profit. Notwithstanding the supply of arrack from India, which was a vendible and profitable commodity, the quantity of four hundred and sixty-seven gallons was taken from Captain Godfrey, and a further one hundred and thirty-two gallons from Captain Small, for beef and other provisions, as appeared by the ships' accounts forwarded herewith. Thirdly, concerning affairs in general. In the twelfth paragraph of the previous letter, the directors were informed that forty-three acres of land fell to the heir of Governor Keeling, who was now in England aboard Commodore Littleton's ship. The same being land very conveniently situated for the directors' plantation, the directors were requested to enquire after the heir, who being of age was at liberty to dispose of the property. An answer to this matter, as well as on Mr Carne's case mentioned in the same paragraph, was awaited. The necessity of the island still obliged the repetition of the great want of slaves to carry on the fortifications and the improvement of the plantations.

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		Abundance of time, [yet] [s]uch with [s]m[a]l[l] Imaginable Care to Improve Said We Send your Hono[rs] [c]o[ppy] of their Sallarys of Soldiers and their Cattle and L[i]ve [P]rovi[s]ions a[s] [...] Names of Ba[s]e[s] for the y[ear] [s]ent to[d] you Da[ble]Co	To proceed with the present number was impossible. Although there were some seventy in service, most were very ancient. Several were [enfeebled], as appeared from the enclosed list of their ages and employments. Those reported to be in the plantations were very often employed besides in the killing of cattle, the bringing in of the beef and fishing for considerable periods. Even with the most imaginable care to improve the plantations, little progress was to be made under such constant diversion of labour. Copies were forwarded of the soldiers' salaries, the cattle and live provisions and the names of [taxable persons] for the year, the same being sent to [...] Interpretations The damage to the bale goods, with chintz rotten and even the finest white Saunoss cloth full of holes, reveals systematic failures in the supply chain from India, where storage in damp conditions or pre-existing defects had compromised expensive cargo before it ever reached the island for resale or further onward transport. The acquisition of substantial quantities of wine and arrack from visiting commanders, rather than from the directors' regular supply, demonstrates how visiting ships functioned as commercial agents in their own right, selling cargo at market rates to the colonial administration when official supplies failed to meet local demand. The detailed record of seventy slaves, with most described as very ancient and several enfeebled, illustrates the demographic limitations of an aging workforce that the council was attempting to deploy across fortifications, plantations, cattle slaughter, fishing and other tasks, with each function competing for diminishing labour resources. The careful accounting of how plantation labour was diverted to other duties, including the killing of cattle, the conveyance of beef and fishing, reveals the multiple and often conflicting demands placed upon a single workforce that the council had no practical means of expanding without further provision from London. Speculations The explicit charge that the agents in India had committed a "fraud" in the supply of cloth, with the language pressed upon the directors as serious enough to warrant a written caution, suggests that the council suspected deliberate substitution of inferior or damaged goods rather than mere negligence, with the loss falling on both the directors' returns and the island's commercial business. The Madeira wine prices of seventy pounds the pipe, accepted as the lowest available rate, may reflect wartime conditions affecting the supply of European wines through the South Atlantic, with the council recognising that prices would not improve until peace returned and trade routes were restored to normal. The repeated references to Keeling's forty-three acres, set alongside the Carne case, suggests that the consolidation of this particular landholding into Company hands had become a strategic priority for the new administration, possibly because the parcel commanded resources or strategic ground that the council was reluctant to see pass to an absentee heir of uncertain disposition. The complaint that constant diversion of plantation slaves to other duties left "little possibility" of improving the plantations hints at a deeper systemic problem, with the council perhaps using the labour shortage as a defensive explanation for plantation underperformance that the directors might otherwise attribute to administrative inadequacy.
89	89	Our first to y[r] Honours by y[e] Mead was Near four months after our Arrivall, but it[s] too hard to accu[s]e of Sallene[s]s till that time and the[n] March following	The first communication from the council to the directors was despatched by the <i>Mead</i> nearly four months after the council's arrival on the island. The

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		the time of y[e] Su[c]ce[s]ses Sailing, If your Honours will [&] plea[s]e to con[s]ider the nature of y[e] work we hope you'l allow that making a Cau[s]way over y[e] Rocks and out of y[e] Rocks for above half a Mile broad enough for a file of Mu[s]ketts to march abrea[s]t to fini[s]h Munden's Battery all y[e] Stone work make y[e] [c]arriages Mount y[e] G[u]ns & build a Hou[s]e for y[e] Guard was tolerable well employing four months The Middle Ba[s]tion of y[e] Line of G[u]ns wa[s]h[e]d down the in[s]ide of y[e] French and y[e] Ba[s]tion made good with Lime mortar and Ammunition plac[e]d in it for a Store for y[e] Line, The Curtain[s] of y[e] Front of y[e] Castle paved a [Q]uarry of Stone found in Sandy Bay a Workhou[s]e built for y[e] Stone Cuters a Lime kiln built which will draw Six hundred Bu[s]hells of burnt Lime, The Longboate Trimmed and Riggd to goe Windward, was all done before y[e] Su[c]ce[s]s Sailed So that tho your Honours are plea[s]ed to Say nothing Appears to be done by y[e] Con[s]ultation books till that time, yet their was [...].ne[s]s done (and more than had been done in many months before) be[s]ides [r]ecriminat[ing] Letters which pa[s]t between y[e] two Govern[rs] & Councill, we hope it and we are Sure if would that Sees it will allow Something has been mended Your Honours Letter [Pr] Toddington & This[t]leworth has bin read over many times, as all otters re[f]erred too there in, and if [c]on[s]ulta- tions are not So frequent as formerly tis that their are le[s]s Animorities among y[e] people & more Bu[s]ine[s]s done than talk[e]d of[f] Concerning Shipping February y[e] 8[th] Early in y[e] morning an Allarm was made for Three Ships about Eleven they came two with Engli[s]h & me with Dutch Collours [we]r[e] a League of[f] y[e] Land to Leward of Bank[s]es and brought too their Boate[s] we could See rowing aboard each other but none towards y[e] Shoar We [s]ent a Fi[s]hing boate on board to Know what Ships they were, who returned with y[e] account, that they were two French Men of Warr and y[e] third a Dutch Prize their names La Paix & y[e] Diligence, they were in [F] Expectation of a Peace, but being told we knew of none on Shoare about one they Hoi[s]ted there French [c]olours and bore away with this remark to our people that we look[e]d very Snappi[s]h, the Governour re[c]e[i]vd a Letter from M[r] Purvis which he Sends herewith We heartily congratulate your Honours upon y[e] Safe Arrivall of the	next followed in March, at the time of the <i>Success's</i> sailing. The directors were entreated to consider the nature of the work undertaken in those months. The making of a causeway over and out of the rocks for above half a mile, broad enough for a file of musketeers to march abreast; the finishing of Munden's Battery, together with all its stone work; the making of the carriages and the mounting of the guns; and the building of a house for the guard - all this work was tolerably well done within those four months. In addition, the middle bastion of the line of guns, with the inside washed down, was made good with lime mortar, and ammunition was placed in it as a store for the line. The curtains of the front of the castle were paved. A quarry of stone was discovered in Sandy Bay. A workhouse was built for the stone cutters. A lime kiln was built, of capacity to hold six hundred bushels of burnt lime. The longboat was trimmed and rigged to go to windward. All this was completed before the <i>Success</i> sailed. Although the directors were pleased to remark that nothing appeared to be done by the consultation books till that time, in truth more was effected in those months than in many before, beyond the recriminating letters that passed between the two governors and councils. Any impartial observer of the matter, the council was confident, was to allow that improvements were made. The directors' letter by the <i>Toddington</i> and the <i>Thistleworth</i> was read over many times, together with all the matters referred to therein. If the consultations were not so frequent as formerly, that was because there were fewer animosities among the people and more business done than talked of. Concerning shipping. On 8 February early in the morning, an alarm was raised for three ships. About eleven, the ships came in - two showing English and one showing Dutch colours. They lay a league off the land to leeward of Banks's, and brought to their boats. Boats were observed rowing between the ships, but none toward the shore. A fishing boat was sent out to ascertain what ships these were. The boat returned with the account that the ships were two French Men of War and a Dutch prize. The Men of War were named <i>La Paix</i> and <i>La Diligence</i>. The crews were in expectation of peace. Upon being told that no peace was known of on shore, about one in the afternoon they hoisted their French colours and bore away, with the remark to the council's people that the islanders looked very snappish. The Governor received a letter from Mr Purvis, which was forwarded herewith. Hearty congratulations were offered to the directors upon the safe arrival of [...] Interpretations The detailed enumeration of works completed - causeway, battery, stonework, gun carriages, guard house, bastion repair, paved curtains, quarry, workhouse, lime kiln and refitted longboat - illustrates the defensive case the council was constructing against the directors' apparent charge that "nothing appears to be done" by the consultation books, with the council insisting that absence of administrative record did not amount to absence of administrative achievement. The reference to "recriminating letters that passed between the two governors and councils" reveals the open conflict between the outgoing Roberts administration and the incoming Boucher administration, with both factions evidently writing to London with grievances, and the present council seeking to dismiss those exchanges as distractions from the substantive work undertaken. The encounter with the French Men of War <i>La Paix</i> and <i>La Diligence</i>, with their crews "in expectation of peace," provides a striking snapshot of the closing months of the War of the Spanish Succession, with

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			combatant captains anticipating the Treaty of Utrecht's conclusion even as formal hostilities continued. The observation that the French sailors found the islanders "very snappish" upon learning that no peace was yet known of on shore reveals the lingering hostility of wartime, with the social atmosphere of a small isolated garrison shaped by the cumulative effect of years of vulnerability to enemy attack. Speculations The defensive tone running throughout the passage, with the council enumerating works completed and explaining away the reduced frequency of consultations through claims of "fewer animosities" and "more business done than talked of," suggests they were responding to specific criticisms from London regarding administrative productivity, possibly contained in the letter by the <i>Toddington</i> and <i>Thistleworth</i> that they note was read "many times." The French Men of War's failure to attack despite the obvious strategic value of St Helena hints that their expectation of imminent peace governed their behaviour, with the captains unwilling to risk casualties or political complications by initiating an action whose outcome might be reversed by diplomatic developments within weeks. The presence of a Dutch prize accompanying the two French Men of War indicates that commerce-raiding in the South Atlantic continued right up to the cessation of hostilities, with French naval forces evidently maintaining offensive operations against allied shipping even as their crews anticipated peace. The council's insistence that "more business done than talked of" hints at a deliberate departure from the elaborate written consultations of the Roberts period, with the Boucher administration perhaps preferring informal decision-making that left fewer paper trails for subsequent scrutiny by the directors or successor administrations.
90	90	6 Severall Ships mention[e]d in y[e] fourth fifth Sixth & Seventh [P]arragraph[s] of y[r] Honours for Abingdon the Eighth [P]arragh[r] being a Li[s]t of Ships [se]ut out to all [P]arts of India, we proceed to [P]arragh[r] y[e] Ninth The Goods, Stores &c[a] mention[e]d in Bill of L[a]ding & Invoice y[e] Exceptions made by them in England and by us here being Excepted Arrived Safe her [e]harter party perused & have forwarded as directed by your Honours, There was all y[e] diligence u[s]ed to unlade her both by y[e] Shipp[s] [e]rew & ours on Shoare, and yet twas not [P]o[s]sible to do it in Le[s]s than 12 days, We took not only all y[e] Soldiers upon duty, but kept [P]eoples Blacks till Twelve a [e]lock at night which made [s]m clamour enough, that all their Blacks would be Killd with working them. We believe indeed that had we had Con[s]tant Smooth Water, at y[e] [c]rane and your Honours had Sent baggs So much wanted here for [s]ince & other U[s]e[s] to have filld with [c]oales th[at] the Abbingdon might have been cleared in Le[s]s than Ten working [d]ay, but we were hindred by y[e] [c]oales than all y[e] re[s]t of y[e] [c]argo, and was forced to find what[s] Baggs we could all y[e] I[s]land over or She would have been much longer Nay all y[e] boats y[r] Hon[rs] have were Loaden with [c]oales and Says[s] till the Ship had her di[s]patches to pre[s]erve your Honours [P]laying Demorrage, Her [L]arge Timber was all rafted on Shoare & every thing el[s]e that Men could do, and yet we could not come within the Ten days, We cannot imagine your Honours expect Impo[s]sibilities from us 7 Your Honours [c]harge against us in y[e] Tenth [P]arragraph for not sending an Indent for Stores & Goods apart with y[e] Generall Letter to be forwarded from y[e] foir[s]t [P]ort in Europe is ju[s]t and we humbly begg [P]ardon for it and we A[s]sure your	6: The several ships mentioned in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh paragraphs of the directors' letter concerned the <i>Abingdon</i>. The eighth paragraph contained a list of ships sent out to all parts of India and required no further response. Proceeding to the ninth paragraph: The goods, stores and other articles mentioned in the bill of lading and invoice, with the exceptions made in England and by the council at St Helena, arrived safely. The charter party was perused and forwarded as the directors directed. All diligence was used in the unloading, both by the ship's crew and by the people ashore. Even so, the work was not to be completed in less than twelve days. All the soldiers on duty were employed, and the inhabitants' slaves were kept at the work until twelve at night, which caused clamour enough that the slaves were in danger of being killed by such overworking. The council believed that two conditions were to allow the <i>Abingdon</i> to be cleared in less than ten working days: constant smooth water at the crane, and the supply of bags from the directors, much wanted at the island for various uses and to be filled with coals. The unloading was hindered by the coals more than by any other part of the cargo. The council was forced to find what bags could be procured across the whole island. All the boats belonging to the directors were loaded with coals until the ship received her despatches, in order to preserve the directors from paying demurrage. The large timber was all rafted ashore, and every measure that lay within men's power was taken. Yet ten days proved insufficient to complete the work. The directors were not, the council was confident, to expect impossibilities. 7: The directors' charge in the tenth paragraph, that no indent for stores and goods was sent apart with the

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		Honours that will be mended hereafter. We know of no greater [Q]uantities of any Sorts of goods or Stores Indented for than what we really think nece[s]sary if your honours had mentioned any that Seem so we would give our rea[s]ons for Such Extraordinary Demand 8 We are Sorry y[e] [P]rote[s]ts gives[s] again[s]t Cap[ts] of Toddington & Thi[s]tle worth dont com[e] up to your Honours Expe[s]tation in [P]rote[s]ts [P]arragh[t] 10[th] Tho we had rea[s]on to [P]rote[s]t again[s]t more than 16 days this not nece[s]sarily inferr they ought not to have more than Ten allowed for we do Say that it was Impo[s]sible to unlade tho[s]e two Ships in Ten days, We cannot without [P]o[s]itive Orders from your Honours [P]rote[s]t always again[s]t more then Ten working days for if we do your Selves have told us we mu[s]t charge y[e] Cap[ts] with Some neglect, but if their[s] is no cause for Such charge wha[t] mu[s]t we Say then when y[e] boats Sometimes Lye for half a day or more wo[u]ld being able to come to y[e] [c]rane as y[e] [c]a[s]e was with Cap[t] Le[s]ly, and had he not bee[n] hurried out She mu[s]t have Layn above a month without un[l]adeing one boat load for it was that time before a boate could come to y[e] [c]rane	General Letter to be forwarded from the first port in Europe, was just. Humble pardon was begged for the omission, and the directors were assured the matter was to be mended hereafter. No greater quantities of any sort of goods or stores were known to be indented for than what was genuinely thought necessary. If the directors were to mention any items appearing extraordinary, reasons were to be given for such demand. 8: The council was sorry that the protests entered against the captains of the <i>Toddington</i> and the <i>Thistleworth</i> did not come up to the directors' expectation, as expressed in the tenth paragraph concerning protests. Though there was reason to protest for more than sixteen days, this did not necessarily imply that no more than ten ought to have been allowed. The council maintained that the unloading of those two ships within ten days was impossible. Without positive orders from the directors, the council was not to protest in every case against any time exceeding ten working days. If such protests were to be entered, the directors themselves stated that the captains were to be charged with some neglect. Yet if no cause existed for such charge, what was the council to say when the boats sometimes lay for half a day or more, prevented from coming to the crane - as was the case with Captain Lesly. But for the captain being hurried out, his ship was to lie above a month without unloading a single boat load, that time being needed before any boat was to come to the crane. Interpretations The council's detailed defence against the directors' criticism on unloading times reveals the practical complexities of port operations at St Helena, with success depending not merely upon effort but upon weather conditions, the state of the sea at the crane, and the availability of materials such as bags to receive bulk cargoes like coals. The retention of the inhabitants' slaves at the unloading work until midnight, and the resulting clamour that they were being worked to death, illustrates the moral and economic tensions surrounding the deployment of enslaved labour, with even those who profited from slavery acknowledging limits beyond which the work was held to be excessive. The coal cargo emerging as the principal bottleneck, because of the lack of bags to receive it, demonstrates how a single supply failure from London was to cascade into broader operational delays, with the bags requested for various local uses serving also as the missing element in efficient coal handling. The careful distinction drawn between protesting for periods exceeding sixteen days and protesting for any period beyond ten days reveals the legal precision required in demurrage matters, with the council eager to preserve the directors' right to damages without committing themselves to standards that were impossible to meet in practice. Speculations The defensive tone running throughout the response suggests the council anticipated continued criticism from London on demurrage matters, with the lengthy enumeration of obstacles and conditions perhaps intended to establish a documentary record against which future protests were to be measured by more realistic standards. The reference to Captain Lesly being "hurried out," set in contrast to the protested captains of the <i>Toddington</i> and the <i>Thistleworth</i>, hints at differential treatment of commanders by the council, possibly reflecting personal relationships, the commercial standing of the ships' owners or other considerations not preserved in the formal correspondence. The monopolisation of all the directors' boats by coal unloading, together with the council's scouring of

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			the entire island for bags, suggests a fundamental infrastructural shortage at St Helena, with the volume of cargo arriving on a single ship exceeding the absorptive capacity of the port and the local economy. The polite but pointed plea that the directors not expect impossibilities hints at a London accounting culture that had set standards for colonial performance without realistic consideration of conditions at the island, with the council seeking to educate the directors on the practical limits of what could be demanded from a small outpost with limited materials and labour.
21	91	[...] [...] [c]a[s]e [t]urn[s] [o]ut [...] [b]eing [...] [...] [d]rink have De[s]ir[e]d Reve[r]sion that Employ And M[r] Alexander being a [s]o[ber] Servant and no Misdemeanor made appear again[s]t him Altho W[m] Griffith had a Verball order Soon after the Govern[rs] Arrivall and Since in Con[s]ulta[t]ions to Draw up a [c]harge per[s]uant to your Hono[rs] orders, have rein[s]tated him in M[rs] Free[d] Stead M[r] Griffith Departed this Life of a Violent bloody flux on the 6 of May La[s]t and George North[er]n one of the Stone Cutters on the 25[th] who was a very Ingen[i]ous man and is much wanted co[u]ld be cu[r]rie[d] Earne[s]tly for two or three more of his prof[es]sion (having none at pre[s]ent but Nicholas Shreeve who is in your Servi[c]e Fourthly Touching Forti[f]ications We referr to the Govern[r] to give a more Exact A[c]c[t] to y[e] Hono[rs] than we Can pretend to, the mo[s]t Say So much that he hath been very Diligent and Active in forwarding y[e] Same to which with his Additions when once Completed will be Extream Comodious and Defen[s]ive for y[e] Security of Ships in Harbour, and I[s]land Cap[tn] Wilfred Hart who came here pa[s]sing on board the Su[c]ce[s]s rem[ain] here Since and takes [P]a[s]sage now on board the [c]atherine with Six Small Bales of Goods Our nece[s]sity hath obliged us to Draw the following Bills of Exchange on your Hono[rs] which pray may be A[c]cepted A[c]cordingly L[bs] [s] V[i]z[t] To John Goodwin three Bills of Excha[n]ge for [...] Sum of [f] - 35 4 To Francis Goodwin Ditto for - 40 - To Cap[t] Frank Cook D[it]to for 190 4 7 To Ditto in three other Bills for 241 13 9 - 431 18 4 To Cap[t] Wilfred [Har]t 3 Bills for - 22 3 7 To Cap[t] Frances Sealon D[it]to for - 83 8 - To Sam[uel] Frome D[it]to for - 18 - To Cap[t] Thom[s] Lawrence D[it]to for - 23 15 To David Gwynn D[it]to for - 16 - To Daniell Hing D[it]to for - 74 - To Cap[t] Godfry D[it]to for - 16 13 4 To Anthe Col[e]on D[it]to for - 200 - To W[m] Willi[s] Blake D[it]to for - 89 9 5 To D[it]to in three other Bills more for 70 18[s] 1 - 154 1 9 To Charles Steward D[it]to for - 150 - To Jn[o] Joshua Thomli[n]son D[it]to for - 200 - All being for [c]redits due in your Hono[rs] Books of A[c]c[t]s hereof We L[i]kewi[s]e Send your Hono[rs] the fir[s]t and Second Bills hereafter Mentioned [P]a[r]able to your Selves V[i]z[t] Cap[t] Hare	[The opening fragment concerned a case in which someone] desired the reversion of that employ. Mr Alexander, being a sober servant with no misdemeanor proven against him, was reinstated in Mr Free's place. This was done notwithstanding that William Griffith was given a verbal order, soon after the Governor's arrival and afterwards in the consultations, to draw up a charge against him pursuant to the directors' orders. Mr Griffith died of a violent bloody flux on 6 May last. George Northern, one of the stone cutters, died on the 25th of the same month. Northern was a very ingenious man, and his loss was much felt. The directors were earnestly entreated to send two or three more of his profession. Only Nicholas Shreeve remained in the directors' service as stone cutter. Fourthly, touching the fortifications. Reference was made to the Governor for a more exact account than the council was to pretend to give. So much was to be said: that the Governor was very diligent and active in forwarding the works, which together with his additions, once completed, were to prove extremely commodious and defensive for the security of the shipping in harbour and of the island itself. Captain Wilfred Hart came to the island as a passenger aboard the <i>Success</i> and remained at St Helena thereafter. He now took passage aboard the <i>Catherine</i> with six small bales of goods. The council was obliged by necessity to draw the following bills of exchange upon the directors, the same being entreated to accept them accordingly. To John Goodwin, three bills of exchange for the sum of thirty-five pounds and four shillings. To Francis Goodwin, the same, for forty pounds. To Captain Frank Cook, the same, for one hundred and ninety pounds, four shillings and sevenpence. To Captain Frank Cook, in three further bills, the sum of two hundred and forty-one pounds, thirteen shillings and ninepence, making in total four hundred and thirty-one pounds, eighteen shillings and fourpence. To Captain Wilfred Hart, three bills for twenty-two pounds, three shillings and sevenpence. To Captain Francis Sealon, the same, for eighty-three pounds and eight shillings. To Samuel Frome, the same, for eighteen pounds. To Captain Thomas Lawrence, the same, for twenty-three pounds and fifteen shillings. To David Gwynn, the same, for sixteen pounds. To Daniel Hing, the same, for seventy-four pounds. To Captain Godfrey, the same, for sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence. To Anthony Coleon, the same, for two hundred pounds. To William Willis Blake, the same, for eighty-nine pounds, nine shillings and fivepence. To William Willis Blake, in three further bills, the sum of seventy pounds, eighteen shillings and one penny, totalling one hundred and fifty-four pounds, one shilling and ninepence. To Charles Steward, the same, for one hundred and fifty pounds.

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			To John Joshua Thomlinson, the same, for two hundred pounds. All these bills were drawn for credits due in the directors' books of accounts. The first and second bills hereafter mentioned, payable to the directors themselves, were also forwarded. The first such bill was that of Captain Hare [...] Interpretations The reinstatement of Mr Alexander, despite William Griffith having been ordered to draw up charges against him, illustrates how due process operated within the colonial administration, with the absence of demonstrable misdemeanor proving sufficient to defeat the formal charging process even when initiated upon the directors' explicit orders. The recording of Mr Griffith's death from a violent bloody flux on 6 May and George Northern's death later in the same month reveals the perpetual vulnerability of the small colonial workforce to tropical disease, with two named officers lost within three weeks alongside an unrecorded number of common deaths. The deference shown to the Governor on fortifications, with the council declining to provide an account and referring the directors to his own report, demonstrates the division of labour within the administration, with technical and engineering matters concentrated in the Governor's authority while routine business was handled collegially. The substantial volume of bills drawn, totalling over fifteen hundred pounds and involving sixteen separate transactions, indicates the active commercial life of even a small outpost like St Helena, with the credit instruments serving as the principal means by which obligations contracted on the island were settled through London. Speculations The clustering of deaths in May, including Mr Griffith on the 6th and George Northern on the 25th, suggests possible epidemic activity at the island during that month, with the description of Griffith's illness as "violent bloody flux" pointing to dysentery as a probable cause, a disease that periodically swept through tropical settlements and military garrisons. The repeated drawing of multiple bills in favour of Captain Frank Cook, amounting to over four hundred pounds in his name alone, hints at substantial commercial dealings between this commander and the island, possibly involving cargo purchases, services rendered or accumulated credit from previous voyages now being settled before his departure. The presence of Captain Wilfred Hart as a long-staying passenger first aboard the <i>Success</i> and now aboard the <i>Catharine</i> may reflect either personal business detaining him on the island, official inquiries into matters arising from his previous service, or simply the practical difficulty of finding suitable onward passage from St Helena for those not commanding their own vessels. The careful enumeration of bills, with each marked as drawn for "credits due in the directors' books of accounts," suggests that the council was concerned to demonstrate that no fresh expenditure was being incurred, with each instrument representing only the conversion of existing balances rather than new charges upon the Company.
92	92	[c]aptaine [P]m[...] Goodwins Bills for y[e] Sume of [...] [...] Dated y[e] 12 of July 1712 Drawn payable by Cap[t] John Browne and M[r] Tho[mas] Heath Merchants Cap[tn] Nicholas Lihornes Bills for [...] [...] 52 11 Dated July the 19[th] 1712 Drawn Upon Cap[t] John Browne & M[r] Roger Bri[d]dell Merchants Her Maje[s]t[is] Ship Leopards fir[s]t & 2[d] Bills for y[e] Sume of 48 [...] Drawn payable on the [c]ommi[s]sioners	Captain Goodwin's bills, for the sum of [...], dated 12 July 1712, were drawn payable by Captain John Browne and Mr Thomas Heath, merchants. Captain Nicholas Lihorn's bills, for the sum of fifty-two pounds and eleven shillings, dated 19 July 1712, were drawn upon Captain John Browne and Mr Roger Briddell, merchants.

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		of her Maje[s]t[ies] Vituallling dated July the 19[th] 1712 And M[r] Henry Sheffields Bills for the Sume of 12 16 Drawn payable by M[r] Richard Holland Merchant, dated July y[e] 19[th] 171[2] Weare Hono[r]d Your mo[s]t faithfull & Obedient Humble Servants United Ca[s]tle S[t] Helena July 19[th] 1712 Ben[jmn] Boucher J[n]o Pack Math[ew] Bazett [P]er Shipp Lenox & Catherine A Li[s]t of the Pacquette Sent y[e] Hono[ble] Court of directors of y[e] [Unite]d Company of Merchants of England Trading to y[e] Ea[s]t Indi[es] [P] her Maje[s]t[ies] [Shipp] Lenox Comodore Bennitt N[o] 1 Govern[r] and Coun[ll] Gen[ll] Le[t]re dated y[e] 19 July 1712 Sent apa[r]t from y[e] [P]acquet[c] 2 Copy of [c]onsultations from y[e] 12[th] March y[e] 17[th] to y[e] 5[th] June 1712 3 An A[c]c[t] of Families Land & [c]attle for y[e] year 1711 4 Copy of Revenues and Rent for y[e] year 1711 5 A Li[s]t of Officers and Sold[i]ers w[ith] their Sallary & [P]ay 6 An A[c]c[t] of the Hono[ble] Company Negroes [...] Ages & Employm[ts] 7 An A[c]c[t] of y[e] Hono[ble] [c]omp[s] Cattle & D[itt]o L[i]ve [P]rovi[s]ions 8 Copy of [Letter] from Fort S[t] David: George [P] Shipp Su[c]ce[s]s 9 Copy of [Letter] from D[itt]o [P] D[itt]o Shipp 10 Copy of [Letter] from the L[et]ter from Fort William [P] [c]a[t]e[r]ine 11 Copy of [c]ouncil from Ditto [P] D[itt]o Shipp 12 Copy of [c]ouncil from Fort S[t] George [P] Lenox 13 Cap[t] [...] Godfry 2 Bill of [Ex]change 14 Cap[t] Goodmans 2 Bills of Exchange 15 Cap[t] Nicholas Lihornes 2 Bills D[o] 16 Shipp Leopards 2 Bill D[o] 17 M[r] Henry Sheffields 2 Bill D[o]	The first and second bills relating to Her Majesty's Ship <i>Leopard</i>, for the sum of forty-eight pounds, were drawn payable on the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Victualling, dated 19 July 1712. Mr Henry Sheffield's bills, for the sum of twelve pounds and sixteen shillings, were drawn payable by Mr Richard Holland, merchant, dated 19 July 1712. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 19 July 1712, per the ships <i>Lenox</i> and <i>Catharine</i>. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack and Matthew Bazett. A list of the contents of the packet despatched to the Honourable Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, by Her Majesty's Ship <i>Lenox</i> under Commodore Bennett. The first item was the Governor and Council's General Letter, dated 19 July 1712 and sent separately from the packet. The second was a copy of the consultations covering the period from 12 March 1712 to 5 June 1712. The third was an account of the families, lands and cattle for the year 1711. The fourth was a copy of the revenues and rents for the year 1711. The fifth was a list of the officers and soldiers, with their salaries and pay. The sixth was an account of the Honourable Company's slaves, their ages and employments. The seventh was an account of the Honourable Company's cattle and live provisions. The eighth was a copy of the letter from Fort St David, sent by the <i>Success</i>. The ninth was a copy of [a further letter from the same place], sent by the same ship. The tenth was a copy of the letter from Fort William, sent by the <i>Catharine</i>. The eleventh was a copy of the council letter from the same place, sent by the same ship. The twelfth was a copy of the council letter from Fort St George, sent by the <i>Lenox</i>. The thirteenth was Captain Godfrey's second bill of exchange. The fourteenth was Captain Goodman's second bill of exchange. The fifteenth was Captain Nicholas Lihorn's second bill of exchange. The sixteenth was the second bill of exchange relating to the <i>Leopard</i>. The seventeenth was Mr Henry Sheffield's second bill of exchange. Interpretations The reduced signing council of only three members - Boucher, Pack and Bazett - reflects the recent loss of Mr Griffith to dysentery on 6 May 1712 and the apparent absence of other previously named councillors, with the administration operating at considerably below its nominal strength during this period. The four bills of exchange forwarded for second presentation, alongside two previously despatched, illustrate the practice of duplicate despatch for financial instruments, with the system designed to ensure that the loss of one vessel was not to extinguish the underlying obligation. The packet's inclusion of letters originating from Fort St David, Fort William and Fort St George, all relayed through St Helena, confirms the continuing function of the island as a postal hub for the Company's Asian factories, with correspondence collected from arriving ships and consolidated for onward conveyance to London. The bills relating to Her Majesty's Ship <i>Leopard</i>, drawn upon the Commissioners of Victualling rather than upon the Company's directors, demonstrate the

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			parallel financial systems serving naval and mercantile interests, with St Helena administering accounts for both services and routing each to its proper London authority. Speculations The decision to use Commodore Bennett's <i>Lenox</i>, a Royal Navy ship, as the principal carrier for so substantial a packet hints at the council's preference for armed conveyance during the closing months of the war, with the value of the bills and the sensitivity of the inter-presidency correspondence both meriting protected transport. The use of multiple London merchants as drawees - John Browne, Thomas Heath, Roger Briddell and Richard Holland - suggests a developed network of correspondent houses through which Company-related financial obligations were routinely settled, with different captains and individuals maintaining their own commercial relationships within this network. The dual despatch of the General Letter and the packet by the same Royal Navy escort, but as separately enclosed documents, reflects the importance attached to the principal correspondence, with the General Letter perhaps containing matters of such consequence that the council preferred it should not be commingled with the routine documents in the packet. The seventeen items enumerated in this packet, set against the much larger packet of twenty-two items despatched by the <i>Catharine</i> earlier, indicates a deliberate division of materials across the two homeward-bound vessels, with the council perhaps designing the despatch to ensure that the loss of either ship would not deprive the directors of essential information from any of the Asian factories.
93	93	Cap[tn] Edward Godfrey S[r] You are hereby de[s]ired and Ordered to Deliver the Six Butts of Goa Arrack [c]on[s]ign[e]d to Us by the Hon[ble] [P]re[s]ident and [c]ouncil from Bombay Weare Your Loving Friends United Castle S[t] Helena April 8[th] 1712 Be[njmn] Boucher Jo[h]n Pack Daniel Griffith Matthew Bazett Cap[t] Sam[ll] Goodman You are de[s]ired & Ordered to Deliver the Severall Goods on Board your Ship Con[s]ign[e]d to us from the Govern[r] and Coun[ll] of Bengall A[s] Soon as Po[s]sible You [c]an and are Yo[r] Loving Friends United Castle S[t] Helena July the 4[th] 1712 [B]en Boucher Jn[o] Pack Math[ew] Bazett The Same order was Sent to Cap[t] Nicholas Lihorne [c]omand[r] of the Aurengzeb	Note: This is letter is dated 8 April 1712 letter and so is out of sequence with the letter above (film No. 86) which is dated 3 November 1712. Order to Captain Edward Godfrey, dated 8 April 1712. Captain Godfrey was directed and ordered to deliver the six butts of Goa arrack consigned to the council by the Honourable President and Council from Bombay. Issued from United Castle, St Helena. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack, Daniel Griffith and Matthew Bazett. Order to Captain Samuel Goodman, dated 4 July 1712. Captain Goodman was directed and ordered to deliver the several goods aboard his ship, consigned to the council from the Governor and Council of Bengal, as soon as was practicable. Issued from United Castle, St Helena. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack and Matthew Bazett. The same order was sent to Captain Nicholas Lihorn, commander of the <i>Aurengzeb</i>. Interpretations The continued involvement of Daniel Griffith as a signatory on 8 April 1712, followed by his absence from the order of 4 July 1712, confirms the timing of his death on 6 May 1712 noted in the earlier correspondence, with the documentary record of the council's signatures preserving an exact chronology of the membership. The standardised form of these orders, addressing each commander as a "loving friend" while simultaneously commanding the delivery of cargo, illustrates the conventional formality of 18th-century mercantile correspondence, with personal courtesy and institutional authority combined within the same brief instrument. The despatch of the same order to both Captain Goodman and Captain Lihorn, both bringing consignments from Bengal, demonstrates the routine

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			processing of arrivals from Asian factories, with the council deploying identical documents to extract cargoes from successive vessels without varying the language for each case. The transit of goods from Bombay, Bengal and other Asian establishments through St Helena, accompanied by formal consignment notes from the originating presidency to the island council, illustrates the systematic distribution of commodities across the Company's network, with each link in the chain documented by orders for delivery and receipt. Speculations The six butts of Goa arrack consigned by the Bombay Council, set against the council's persistent complaints regarding the quality of arrack received in earlier years, suggests either an improvement in supply quality under the new arrangements or an acceptance that imperfect supplies were nonetheless better than none, with the council pressing for delivery as soon as the ship arrived. The interval of nearly three months between the orders to Captain Godfrey and to Captain Goodman, despite both involving consignments from Asian factories, reflects the seasonal patterns of arrivals at St Helena, with ships from different presidencies and different sailing dates reaching the island at intervals dictated by the monsoon and the timing of their departures. The brevity of these orders, with no elaboration beyond the bare instruction to deliver, suggests that the standard form had been refined through long practice into a minimal document, with the captains and the council both understanding what was required without need for further explanation. The continuing pattern of formal courtesy in correspondence between commanders and council, even in commands that imposed obligations on the captains, hints at the social conventions that underpinned the Company's commercial discipline, with personal relationships among officers and gentlemen serving as the foundation upon which the larger institutional system rested.
94	94	A Li[s]t of the [P]ackett Sent to the Hon[ble] Court of Director[s] [of] affairs of the Hon[ble]: United Ea[s]t India Company [P] Ship Su[c]ce[s]s N[o] 1 Coppy of Con[s]ultations from the 7[th] of Aug[t] to the 27[th] of November following [P] Ship Mead Frigatt 2 Coppy of Governour and Council Letter [P] Ship Mead Frigatt 3 Coppy of Governour and Council Letter to Bencoolen [P] Ship[s] Toddington and Thi[s]tleworth [P] Mead Frigatt 4 Coppy of Governour and Council Letter to Bengall [P] D[it]t[o] Ships 5 Coppy of Letters to and from Cap[tn] Blow and Cap[tn] Small and their Prote[s]ts [P] Ship Mead Frigatt 6 Coppy of Mu[s]ter Role of the Garri[s]on [P] Ship Mead Frigatt 7 Coppy of [P]lanters and Youths [P] Ship Mead Frigatt 8 Coppy of Cap[tn] Boys Letter and [c]ertificate about 4 Si[c]k Men [P] Ship Me[ad] Frigatt 9 Coppy of M[r] W[m] Marsden Letter about Cap[tn] [c]ason [P] Mead Frigatt 10 Coppy of [c]on[s]ultations from the 20[th] Decem[r] 1711 to y[e] 7[th] March 17[11/12] 11 Coppy of Governour and [c]ouncils Letter from Madra[s]s 12 Coppy of Governour and [c]ouncils Letter from Bengall 13 Coppy of Letters to and from Cap[tn] Thomas Clapham 14 Coppy of Invoice from Madra[s]s 15 Coppy of Invoice from Bengall 16 Coppy of Indent of Stores w[ith] additions to it [P] Ship Mead Frigatt 17 Coppy of the Mead Frigatts Account 18 Coppy of Ship Toddingtons Account [P] Mead Frigatt 19 Coppy of Ship Thi[s]tleworths Account 20 Cap[tn] John Bernard 2 Bill of Exchange 21 Cap[tn] Bernards Receipt for 2 Barrell[s] of [P]owder 22 Ship Su[c]ce[s]s Account 23 L[i]st of the Packett	A list of the contents of the packet despatched to the Honourable Court of Directors for the affairs of the Honourable United East India Company, by the ship <i>Success</i>. The first item was a copy of the consultations covering the period from 7 August to 27 November following, as sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i>. The second was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i>. The third was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter to Bencoolen, sent by the ships <i>Toddington</i> and <i>Thistleworth</i> and by the <i>Mead Frigot</i>. The fourth was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter to Bengall, sent by the same ships. The fifth was a copy of the letters exchanged with Captain Blow and Captain Small, together with the protests issued against them, as sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i>. The sixth was a copy of the muster roll of the garrison, sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i>. The seventh was a copy of the muster roll of the planters and youths, sent by the same ship. The eighth was a copy of Captain Boys's letter and certificate concerning four sick men, sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i>. The ninth was a copy of Mr William Marsden's letter concerning Captain Cason, sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i>. The tenth was a copy of the consultations covering the period from 20 December 1711 to 7 March 1712. The eleventh was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter from Madras.

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			The twelfth was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter from Bengal. The thirteenth was a copy of the letters exchanged with Captain Thomas Clapham. The fourteenth was a copy of the invoice from Madras. The fifteenth was a copy of the invoice from Bengal. The sixteenth was a copy of the indent of stores, with additions, as sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i>. The seventeenth was a copy of the <i>Mead Frigot</i>'s account. The eighteenth was a copy of the <i>Toddington</i>'s account, sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i>. The nineteenth was a copy of the <i>Thistleworth</i>'s account. The twentieth was Captain John Bernard's second bill of exchange. The twenty-first was Captain Bernard's receipt for two barrels of powder. The twenty-second was the <i>Success</i>'s account. The twenty-third was the list of the contents of the packet itself. Interpretations The pattern of duplicate despatch, with many items marked as previously sent by the <i>Mead Frigot</i> and now forwarded again by the <i>Success</i>, demonstrates the systematic redundancy practised in the conveyance of important documents, with the council ensuring that the directors would receive each material paper through more than one channel against the risk of vessel loss. The bundling of correspondence to Bencoolen and Bengal alongside the directors' packet illustrates the wider postal function the council performed for the Company's network, with letters to and from Asian factories routed through St Helena even when their ultimate destination lay elsewhere. The inclusion of Captain Cason's matter, addressed through Mr Marsden's letter, indicates the persistence of unresolved business carried forward from the previous administration, with disputes and inquiries from earlier voyages continuing to occupy the council's documentary attention long after the original events. The careful itemisation of three ships' accounts - the <i>Mead Frigot</i>, the <i>Toddington</i>, and the <i>Thistleworth</i> - alongside the <i>Success</i>'s own account, demonstrates the financial accounting that accompanied every visiting vessel, with each ship generating its own discrete set of records that required separate transmission to London for audit. Speculations The substantial volume of material being sent for the second time, including the consultations of 7 August to 27 November and the disputes with Captains Blow and Small, suggests that the council was particularly anxious that this set of documents reach the directors, possibly because the items contained matters on which the council expected London's judgement and feared the loss of the original despatch. The fourth item, the letter to Bengal, set in parallel with the letter to Bencoolen, indicates that the council was simultaneously corresponding with multiple Asian presidencies on matters of common concern, with both letters carried by the same intermediate vessels and the routing through London perhaps serving as a guarantee of synchronised delivery. The inclusion of Captain Bernard's receipt for two barrels of powder, listed as a discrete item, illustrates the careful documentation of even small ordnance transfers, with the gunpowder transaction generating its own paper trail despite the modest quantity involved, possibly because powder was so strategically valuable that no movement was permitted to go unrecorded. The relative brevity of this packet at twenty-three items, set against the seventeen and twenty-two

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			enumerated in earlier despatches by the <i>Lenox</i> and the <i>Catharine</i> , suggests that the volume of administrative paper generated by the new administration had stabilised at a comparatively high level, with each homeward-bound vessel now expected to carry between fifteen and twenty-five documents on routine business.
25	95	To the Honour[ble] the Gener[al] & Coun[ill]: At Bombay This Serves only to A[c]knowledge the receipt of Six Butts of Goa Arrack Shipt on board the Catherine Cap[t] Godfrey A[c]cording to the Tenor of M[r] Short[s] Letter rec[d] from M[r] [c]ourtney dated y[e] 16 Janu[ay] 17[11/12] and when you Send any more De[s]ire a bottle may be alleays Sealed up for a Mu[s]ter, We are Gentlemen Yo[r] Humble Servants United Castle S[t] Helena Novemb[r] y[e] 18[th] 1712 [P] Ship Abingdon Ben Boucher Jn[o] Pack Tho[s] Cason Jn[o] French To the Hono[rble] Edm[on]d Harrison E[s]q[ui]t Govern[r] & Coun[ill] for affairs of the United Trade At Fort S[t] George Wee rec[d] yours dated y[e] 17 Octo[r] 1711 by the Su[c]ce[s]s & Wee Bale good[s] Long Cloth the Wife of which was Le[s]t in Blank Vi[z] mentioned in Bill of L[a]d[ing] and wi[s]h you could have Suppl[y]d us with more, and Some a little finer, which [we] hope you'll do by next oppertunity Since the Departure of this Ship, Arrived the Catherine, the Averella He[s]ter, Thi[s]tleworth Roche[s]ter S[t] George and Aurengzeb who all Sa[i]l[e]d for England under the Convey of[f] three men of Warr the 28 of July La[s]t, The Abingdon Cap[t] Le[s]ley Comand: Arrived on the 2 In[s]t with [...] Stores bound to Bencoolen, We wi[s]h you health and [P]ro[s]perity to [...] our Ma[s]ters affairs, and are Gentlemen Yo[r] mo[s]t Humble Servants United Castle S[t] Helena Novemb[r] y[e] 18[th] 1712 [P] Ship Abingdon Ben: Boucher Jn[o] Pack Tho[s] Cason Jn[o] French	Letter to the Honourable General and Council at Bombay, dated 18 November 1712. The receipt was acknowledged of six butts of Goa arrack shipped aboard the <i>Catharine</i> under Captain Godfrey, in accordance with the tenor of Mr Short's letter received from Mr Courtney, dated 16 January 1712. The Bombay council was requested, when next sending arrack, to ensure that one bottle was always sealed up as a sample. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, per the <i>Abingdon</i>. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack, Thomas Cason and John French. Letter to the Honourable Edmund Harrison Esquire, Governor, and the Council for the affairs of the United Trade at Fort St George, dated 18 November 1712. The Fort St George letter of 17 October 1711 was received by the <i>Success</i>. The bale of long cloth, the weight of which was left blank in the bill of lading, was likewise received. The hope was expressed that the Fort St George council was to supply more of the same in future, with some of a finer quality, as opportunity allowed. Since the departure of the <i>Success</i>, the following ships arrived at the island: the <i>Catharine</i>, the <i>Averilla</i>, the <i>Hester</i>, the <i>Thistleworth</i>, the <i>Rochester</i>, the <i>St George</i> and the <i>Aurengzeb</i>. All sailed for England under the convoy of three Men of War on 28 July last. The <i>Abingdon</i> under Captain Lesly arrived on 2 November with stores bound for Bencoolen. Health and prosperity were wished for the directors' affairs. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, per the <i>Abingdon</i>. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack, Thomas Cason and John French. Interpretations The request for a sealed bottle of arrack to be sent as a sample in future shipments reveals a practical solution to the recurring quality complaints documented in earlier correspondence, with a reference sample to allow the council to verify whether the contents of the larger casks matched the intended specification. The brief letter to Bombay, confined to a single matter, contrasts with the more substantial communication to Fort St George, illustrating how the volume of correspondence with each presidency varied according to the particular business that had been undertaken with each between despatches. The convoy of seven Company ships under three Men of War sailing on 28 July reflects the wartime practice of grouped homeward passages, with the heavy escort indicating both the value of the cargoes involved and the persistent threat of enemy cruisers in the South Atlantic during the closing months of the war. The opening of bale goods to assess weight and quality, with the council noting that the weight had been left blank in the bill of lading, demonstrates the careful inspection practices that governed the receipt of consigned goods at the island, with discrepancies between documentation and contents documented for the directors' attention. Speculations The reduced council membership of four signatures, with Bazett no longer appearing and Cason and French now seated alongside Boucher and Pack, indicates further personnel changes at St Helena since the July despatches by the <i>Lenox</i> and the <i>Catharine</i>, with

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			the rotation of councillors continuing to reflect the instability of office on the island. The request for finer long cloth from Fort St George hints at commercial pressures from local consumers or visiting captains, with the council perhaps responding to specific demand from those who found the present quality of cloth inadequate for their purposes. The simultaneous departure of seven East Indiamen under naval escort on a single day in July marks an unusually concentrated movement of Company shipping, with the council perhaps holding earlier arrivals at the island until sufficient force could be assembled to make the homeward voyage in safety. The arrival of the <i>Abingdon</i> with stores bound for Bencoolen, set against the homeward despatch of seven vessels three months earlier, illustrates the dual function of St Helena as both a clearing house for homeward-bound trade and a transit point for outward stores destined for the Asian factories.
26	96	To the Hono[rble] [P]re[s]id[nt] & Coun[ill] for affairs of the United Trade in Bengall Yours of the 31 Aug[ust] 1711 by the Su[c]ce[s]s 8[th] of Janu[ary] by the S[t] George and 17 Febr[uary] by the Aurengzeb came Safe to hand as hope ours did to you [P] Toddington dated the 29[th] Augu[st] 1711 Wee can't forbear telling you that Severall of y[e] Bale goods by the former was much Damaged, and y[e] fine Cloth called Saune[s] full of Holes and fitt for no Manner of U[s]e Severall [P]ieces having Not So much whole as would make a Handkerchief which is a Mannife[s]t wrong to our Ma[s]ters and a great hard[s]hip on the Inhabitants here of which we have given Advice hoping not to have the Like Occa[s]ion to [c]omplain for the future The Soap was Likewi[s]e very bad being full of Dro[s]s and cau[s]ed the Cloaths to be very ill Sented The Arrack [P]rov[e]d Indifferent good, and the Casks [P]rettey tight Except tho[s]e two by the Aurengzeb which took near half one Legar to fill them up, and therefore can't tell how to [c]harge any thing as Damage to the Comanders, The rice by the two La[s]t [N]amed Ships was much Cour[s]er then that re[c]d by the Su[c]ce[s]s We hope you'll take E[ff]ectuell care in future to remedy cau[s]e of Such [c]omplaint and that tho[s]e goods you are ordered to Send us from Time to Time by our Hono[rble] Ma[s]ters be fitt for Sale, So wi[s]hing You health, and [P]ro[s]perity remaine Gentlemen Yo[r] Fai[th]full & Humble Servants United Castle S[t] Helena Novemb[r] y[e] 18[th] 1712 [P] Ship Abingdon	Letter to the Honourable President and Council for the affairs of the United Trade in Bengal, dated 18 November 1712. The Bengal letters of 31 August 1711, conveyed by the <i>Success</i>; of 8 January 1712, conveyed by the <i>St George</i>; and of 17 February 1712, conveyed by the <i>Aurengzeb</i>, all came safe to hand. The hope was expressed that the council's own letter, of 29 August 1711, conveyed by the <i>Toddington</i>, was likewise received in Bengal. It was not to be forborne to remark that several of the bale goods brought by the earlier vessels were much damaged. The fine cloth called Saunoss was found full of holes and fit for no manner of use. Several pieces did not contain so much whole material as would make a handkerchief. The matter was a manifest wrong to the directors and a great hardship upon the inhabitants of the island. Advice on this head was already given, in the hope of not having the like cause of complaint in future. The soap was likewise very bad, being full of dross, and caused the clothes washed in it to be very ill scented. The arrack proved of indifferent quality, and the casks were tolerably tight, except for the two received by the <i>Aurengzeb</i>, which required near half a leager to fill them up. No charge for damage was therefore to be laid against the commanders. The rice brought by the two last-named ships was much coarser than that received by the <i>Success</i>. It was hoped the Bengal council was to take effectual care in future to remedy the cause of such complaint, and that goods sent to St Helena from time to time, pursuant to the directors' orders, were to be fit for sale. Health and prosperity were wished to the Bengal council. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 18 November 1712, per the <i>Abingdon</i>. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack, Thomas Cason and John French. Interpretations The comprehensive catalogue of complaints regarding the cloth, soap, arrack and rice illustrates the wide range of consumer goods that the St Helena council was expected to receive in serviceable condition for sale at the island and onward use, with each commodity subject to its own form of inspection and its own characteristic mode of failure. The vivid description of the Saunoss cloth, with several pieces containing not so much whole material as would make a handkerchief, demonstrates the council's willingness to use concrete examples to convey the extent of damage to a distant correspondent, with the rhetorical force of the image surpassing what a bare statistical assessment could have achieved. The careful distinction between the cooperage failure of the two <i>Aurengzeb</i> leagers, where leakage was

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			attributable to the casks rather than to the commanders, and other forms of damage shows the council's effort to apportion responsibility correctly, with no captain unfairly charged for losses arising from suppliers' deficiencies. The dual complaint regarding both the original quality of the goods at shipment and the damage incurred during the voyage reveals the layered nature of the council's grievances, with the Bengal council pressed to address upstream supply problems while individual carriers continued to be held to account for transit losses. Speculations The detailed observation that the soap caused the clothes washed in it to be ill scented hints at the use of these supplies not only for commercial sale at the island but also for the personal needs of the inhabitants and officers, with the quality failure affecting daily life as well as the council's trading accounts. The pointed comparison between the rice from the <i>Aurengzeb</i> and the <i>St George</i>, found coarser than that brought by the <i>Success</i>, suggests that successive shipments from Bengal varied considerably in quality, possibly reflecting different sources, different harvests or different selection practices on the part of the agents who assembled the cargoes for despatch. The framing of the complaint as a matter of "manifest wrong to our Masters and a great hardship on the inhabitants" combines institutional and humanitarian appeals, with the council perhaps recognising that emphasis on inhabitant welfare alongside commercial loss would carry greater weight with the Bengal correspondents than a purely commercial complaint. The closing courtesies, with health and prosperity wished after a letter of substantial criticism, demonstrate the standard conventions of inter-presidency correspondence in the period, with even pointed grievance phrased within a framework of cordial relations that preserved the working relationships upon which the Company's operations depended.
27	97	Cap[t] John Le[s]ly At Sight hereof you are to Sett Saile & [P]rocee[d] on your Voyage following the orders you have from the Honoura[ble] United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the Ea[s]t Indies Wee wi[s]h you a good Voyage & are Yo[r] A[ff]ectionate Friends United Castle S[t] Helena Novemb[r] y[e] 18[th] 1712 Benj[mn] Boucher Jn[o] Pack Tho[s] Cason Jn[o] French	Order to Captain John Lesly, dated 18 November 1712. Upon sight of the order, the captain was to set sail and proceed on his voyage, following the directions received from the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies. A good voyage was wished. Issued from United Castle, St Helena. Signed Benjamin Boucher, John Pack, Thomas Cason and John French. Interpretations The standard sailing order, with its bare instruction to proceed under the Company's directions, illustrates the minimal documentary form that the council had developed for releasing visiting ships from administrative attention, with the captain referred back to his own commission rather than receiving specific local instructions. The cordial closing, expressing the wish for a good voyage and signing as affectionate friends, demonstrates the conventional courtesies preserved even in the most peremptory orders, with the formal warmth of the closing balancing the imperative form of the substantive direction. The use of the precise phrase "at sight hereof" reveals the operational mechanism by which sailing orders were enforced, with the order itself functioning as the authorisation to weigh anchor and the ship not at liberty to depart until the formal instrument was placed before the commander. The brief signing by the four members of the council on the same date as the substantial letters to Bombay, Fort St George and Bengal demonstrates the

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			practice of clearing all business associated with a departing ship at a single sitting, with sailing orders, correspondence and other matters all despatched in one batch. Speculations The release of the <i>Abingdon</i> on 18 November, sixteen days after her arrival on 2 November, indicates that the council managed her stay with considerable despatch, contrasting with the earlier protests against the <i>Toddington</i> and the <i>Thistleworth</i> for exceeding ten working days, with the <i>Abingdon</i> perhaps benefiting from clearer charter terms or from the absence of the cargo-handling difficulties that had previously caused delay. The brevity of the order itself, lacking any specific directions concerning route or destination, suggests that the <i>Abingdon's</i> next port had already been settled by her original commission from London, with the council confining itself to a release from St Helena rather than purporting to direct the wider voyage. The cluster of correspondence forwarded by the <i>Abingdon</i> on her departure, including letters to three Asian presidencies and complaints regarding multiple supply failures, indicates that the council had been holding accumulated business for a suitable carrier, with the <i>Abingdon's</i> departure providing the first opportunity in some months to despatch the gathered material. The phrase "affectionate friends" used as a closing formula across both the most cordial and the most formally peremptory correspondence in the period reveals that this convention served less as a marker of personal feeling than as a standard institutional signature, with the warmth of the language carrying no particular weight beyond the conventional courtesy of the era.
98	98	S[t] Helena April y[e] 9[th] Honour[ble] S[rs] 9 April 1713 Our La[s]t by y[e] Lenox & Catherine was of y[e] 20[th] July la[s]t on which day Sa[i]ld y[e] Fleet from hence for England where we hear (by y[e] Su[c]ce[s]s Arrived at y[e] [c]ape & from thence hedther by y[e] John & Eliz[a]beth) they are gott Safe The Second Novem[r] & Abingdon Arrived Cap[t] Le[s]sly with Stores for this I[s]land and a very Angry Letter from our Honour[ble] Ma[s]ters, We are extreemly conce[r]n[ed] that your Honours could So much as think we de[s]erv[e]d So harsh a Stile, however, as Employers have a [P]rivile[d]ge to find faults, So [we] have a Just right to make their defence, which we Shall Endeavour with truth & Sincerity and E[s]say Answer to each [P]arragraph 1 We readily Conf[e]s[s] your Honours Orders & In[s]tructions by y[e] Toddington and Thi[s]tleworth were very large & Ample touching y[e]r affairs in Generall and the Regular Settlement of the I[s]land in future 2 We are Sen[s]ible by y[e] Tenour of y[e]r Honours Letters by Toddington and Thi[s]tleworth that you were de[s]jirous to quiet y[e] minds of y[e] [P]eople by receding from your own Ju[s]t demands and pa[s]sing a Kind of Generall Amne[s]ty for all former Tran[s]gre[s]sions, and we a[s]sure your Honours we came here with y[e] very Same Temper, and what in us L[i>y[e] have ever Seconded tho[s]e Generous intentions of your Honours, but hard it is indeed if we mu[s]t be charged with [s]tirring up y[e] [P]eople of S[t] Helena to greater heats and Animo[s]ities, who when we Arrived were as high as could be, We know not what A[c]c[t] might be given your Honours by the Mead, but it had been Ju[s]t & Kind to have charg[e]d us with Some [P]articular [P]er[s]ons whom we had Spirited, that we might know with whom to u[s]e y[e] Exorc[i]sme having that Remedy in Such ca[s]es always ready, We cannot Accu[s]e our[s]elves of one Article wherein y[e]	Letter from St Helena, dated 9 April 1713. The previous communication was sent by the <i>Lenox</i> and the <i>Catharine</i> on 20 July 1712, the same day on which the fleet sailed from St Helena for England. Intelligence was received - by the <i>Success</i> at the Cape, and afterwards by the <i>John and Elizabeth</i> at St Helena - that the fleet reached England in safety. On 2 November 1712 the <i>Abingdon</i> arrived under Captain Lasly, with stores for the island and a very angry letter from the directors. The council was extremely concerned at the harshness of the style, judging itself undeserving of such censure. Yet as employers had the privilege of finding fault, so the council had a just right to make its defence. This was to be undertaken with truth and sincerity, with an attempt at an answer to each paragraph of the directors' letter. 1: It was readily confessed that the directors' orders and instructions by the <i>Toddington</i> and the <i>Thistleworth</i> were very large and ample, both touching the affairs of the island in general and its regular settlement for the future. 2: From the tenor of the directors' letters by the <i>Toddington</i> and the <i>Thistleworth</i>, the council was sensible that the directors desired to quiet the minds of the people, by receding from their own just demands and by passing a kind of general amnesty for all former transgressions. The council came to the island in the same temper, and so far as in it lay seconded those generous intentions at all times. It was hard indeed if the council was to be charged with stirring up the people of St Helena to greater heats and animosities. When the council arrived at the island, the people were already at the highest pitch. What account was given to the directors by the <i>Mead</i> was unknown to the council. Justice and kindness alike required that the directors name some particular persons whom the council was accused of spiriting, so that the appropriate exorcism was to be applied, that remedy being always ready in such cases.

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		Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] Intere[s]t or that of y[e] I[s]land has been concern[e]d We own your[s] Honours Said Letter has not been answer[e]d [P]aragraph by [P]aragraph as you were plea[s]ed to Order in 16[th] [P]arag[r]aph of [s]aid Letter which may in part be excu[s]d when we [s]ay [...].m[...] [P]aragraphs could not be answer[e]d wile in that time	The council was unable to accuse itself of any single article wherein the directors' interest, or that of the island, was impaired. It was owned that the directors' letter was not answered paragraph by paragraph, as ordered in the sixteenth paragraph thereof. This was in part to be excused, since some paragraphs were not to be answered within the time available. Interpretations The council's defensive posture in response to what is described as a "very angry letter" reveals the political pressure faced by colonial administrators when their conduct was subjected to direct criticism from London, with the formal acknowledgement of the harsh style functioning both as expression of grievance and as opening of a structured rebuttal. The metaphorical reference to "exorcism" as a remedy "always ready in such cases" reveals the figurative language by which the council described its disciplinary tools, with troublemakers conceived as possessed of spirits that needed driving out rather than as individuals committing identifiable offences. The careful procedural demand that the directors name particular persons rather than make general accusations demonstrates the council's insistence on due process, with the formal request for specific charges functioning as a procedural defence against what might otherwise prove an unanswerable indictment. The acknowledgement of "former transgressions" and a "kind of general amnesty" reveals the existence of substantial prior disputes at the island that the directors had sought to resolve through forgiveness rather than punishment, with the council positioning itself as aligned with this conciliatory policy from the moment of its arrival. Speculations The reference to the <i>Mead</i> as a possible source of damaging accounts hints at internal divisions within the colonial administration, with the council perhaps suspecting that a previous councillor or correspondent had used the <i>Mead</i>'s homeward voyage to lay private complaints before the directors that the present council had no opportunity to answer. The phrase "the people were already at the highest pitch" upon the council's arrival, set against the directors' charge of stirring up further animosities, suggests that the new administration had inherited a situation of significant social unrest that pre-existed their tenure, with the directors apparently unaware of the conditions that the council had been required to manage. The structured paragraph-by-paragraph response, despite the council's confession that the previous despatch had failed to follow the same form, indicates an attempt to demonstrate procedural compliance with the directors' wishes, with the new methodology serving as evidence of the council's good faith even where its substantive defence might be questioned. The explicit reference to the directors' privilege of finding fault, paired with the council's just right to make its defence, frames the exchange in something approaching legal or contractual terms, with the council positioning itself as a party to a formal relationship in which both sides retained recognised rights and obligations.
29	99	9 The rea[s]on why we did not [P]rote[s]t again[s]t y[e] Cap[t] of y[e] Thi[s]tleworth [...] badne[s]s of his Breadwas, we did not know it till y[e] Ship was gone it [c]oming on [s]hoar in Casks and was not open[e]d till Some time after 10 We Shall continue to advi[s]e your Hon[rs] of Shipping here & el[s]ewhe[re] as we can have it with Such a certainty as is fitt to communicate, as we [...] think that was not mention[e]d in [P]arragraph 14 We	9: The reason no protest was entered against the captain of the <i>Thistleworth</i> for the badness of his bread was that the badness was not known until after the ship had departed. The bread came ashore in casks and was not opened until some time after the ship's departure. 10: The directors were to continue to receive advice of shipping at the island and elsewhere, as such intelligence was to be obtained with sufficient certainty to be fit for communication. As to the matter

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		cannot tell what news M[r] Law[s]on had out of y[e] Bean that appeared off this I[s]land but y[e] [P]er[s]on we Sent on board brought no[t] A[c]count of any one Ships Name that was at y[e] [c]ape, and for us to have advi[s]ed y[e]r Honours of Dutch & Engli[s]h being at y[e] [c]ape without knowing what Ships or how many, in our Humble opinion would have been of very little or no Service to your Honours 11 This Ship informs us, of y[e] following Ships being at y[e] [c]ape V[i]z[t] Dartmouth, Toddington, Nathaniel, Stringer Mermaid, & Succe[s]s outward bound who Arriv[e]d there 23 February, this Ship Sa[i]ld thence 26[th] February and Arriv[e]d here 22 March, the[s]e homeward Ships intend[ed] to Saile with y[e] Dutch Fleet con[s]i[s]ting of Twenty odd Ships Secondly Concerning Goods or Stores received From England or India 12 Paper their[s] came by y[e] Abbingdon which was much wanted but no Pens or Ink which are likewi[s]e very much wanted We Shall here [P]re[s]ume to remind your Honours among other things indented for, if you'l plea[s]e to Supply us with a few Drinking Gla[s]ses there being not So much as one belonging to y[e] Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] as al[s]o a few hand[ful]. Some Looking gla[s]ses, we have not a Clock for y[e] Workemen or do we kn[ow] y[e] hour of y[e] day but by Gla[s]ses a very uncertine in[s]truments if not [t]ended 13 In the 16 [P]arragraph your Honours are [P]lea[s]ed to Say it looks odd Something, that y[e] Storekeeper Should be Su[ff]ered to continue in his Imloyd Six months & more &c[a] and that we have not attended y[e] Generall Orders given [Pr] Toddington in [P]arragraph 11. We a[s]sure your Honours that the Storekeeper has been call[e]d upon every month [s]ince he has been upon the I[s]land for to bring in a monthly A[c]c[c]o but even to this day it has never been done, and we know not how to di[s]mi[s]s his Employ[t] [Govern] does aveer for his part had he had in his power to have Suppl[y]d that Office with another he would have given his vote for his Su[s]pen[s]ion, but	mentioned in the fourteenth paragraph, it was unknown to the council what news Mr Lawson had out of the [Bean] that appeared off the island. The person sent aboard brought back no account of any single ship's name at the Cape. To advise the directors of Dutch and English vessels being at the Cape, without knowing what ships or how many, was in the council's humble opinion of very little or no service. 11: The present ship informed the council of the following ships at the Cape: the <i>Dartmouth</i>, the <i>Toddington</i>, the <i>Nathaniel</i>, the <i>Stringer</i>, the <i>Mermaid</i> and the <i>Success</i> outward bound. The ships arrived at the Cape on 23 February. The present ship sailed thence on 26 February and arrived at St Helena on 22 March. The homeward ships intended to sail with the Dutch fleet, consisting of some twenty ships and more. Secondly, concerning goods or stores received from England or India. 12: Paper was sent by the <i>Abingdon</i>, which was much wanted, but no pens or ink, which were likewise very much wanted. Among other things indented for, the directors were reminded of the want of a few drinking glasses, not one such glass belonging to the Company. Also wanted were a few handsome looking glasses. No clock was available for the workmen, nor was the hour of the day to be known except by sand glasses, a very uncertain instrument when not constantly tended. 13: In the sixteenth paragraph, the directors were pleased to remark that there was something odd in the storekeeper being suffered to continue in his employment for six months and more, and that the general orders given by the <i>Toddington</i> in the eleventh paragraph were not attended to by the council. The directors were assured that the storekeeper was called upon to render his monthly account every month since he came to the island. Even to this day, however, no such account was rendered. The council was at a loss how to dismiss him from his employment. The Governor declared that, for his part, were a fit replacement available to fill that office, his vote was to be cast for the storekeeper's suspension. But [the matter remained unresolved]. Interpretations The defence offered on the matter of the <i>Thistlenorth's</i> bread, with the council pointing out that the defect was undetectable until after the ship's departure, illustrates the practical limits of cargo inspection at the dock, with damage hidden inside sealed casks placing visiting captains beyond the reach of protest by the time the deficiency became apparent. The careful discussion of shipping intelligence, with the council declining to forward unverified reports of foreign ships at the Cape, demonstrates a deliberate policy of furnishing only confirmed information to the directors, with the council preferring silence to inaccuracy as a matter of administrative principle. The detailed enumeration of wanted consumer goods - paper, pens, ink, drinking glasses, looking glasses and a clock - reveals the everyday material life of the colonial administration, with the small dignities of a Governor's house dependent on supplies that the directors had failed to send. The continuing failure of the storekeeper to render monthly accounts, despite repeated demand, illustrates the institutional dysfunction that the new administration had inherited and was unable to remedy without authority to make a replacement appointment, with the question of personnel a matter reserved to the directors. Speculations The Governor's explicit statement that he would have voted for the storekeeper's suspension had a fit replacement been available, recorded as a matter of formal declaration on the record, hints at internal disagreements within the council on the question of

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			how to handle the recalcitrant officer, with the Governor's position perhaps not commanding unanimous support from his colleagues. The simultaneous request for both drinking glasses and looking glasses, set alongside the absence of any such glass belonging to the Company, suggests that the council was attempting to establish minimum standards of administrative dignity, with the lack of basic furnishings perhaps reflecting badly on the colonial establishment when visited by Royal Navy or merchant captains. The request for a clock to replace the use of sand glasses for telling time hints at the emergence of more disciplined approaches to work organisation, with the council recognising that constant attendance on hourglasses was both inefficient and unreliable as a basis for regulating the workmen's labour. The detailed reference to the Dutch fleet at the Cape consisting of "twenty odd ships and more," set against the modest English contingent of six vessels, illustrates the comparative scale of the two East India companies in this period, with the council perhaps noting the disparity as a matter that the directors should be aware of in their longer-term strategic planning.
100	100	he knows of no body that can either keep your Books as you've been plea[s]ed to direct or give Security for what Stores mu[s]t come under their [c]harge M[r] Ho[s]ki[s]on knew nothing of A[c]c[t] nor were his Circum[s]tances or [P]rinciples Sub[s]tantiall enough for it M[r] Griffith knew as Little & his circum[s]tances Wor[s]e for he is Dead con[s]iderably in Debt, M[r] Bazett is a Stranger to thi[s] way of Book Keeping nor do we know where Sufficient Security could be found upon this I[s]land for any body that would undertake it, 'Tis certain if y[e] Hon[rs] would but give your[s] Selves y[e] trouble of Enquiring from mo[s]t all y[e] [c]omanders and Super [c]argoes of la[s]t Summer[s] Fleet whether y[e] [Govern] has not almo[s]t daily been Entreating Scolding railing & [P]raying every m[onth] but that of Stopping y[e] whole Store to bring this Storekeeper to bring in his mont[h] ly A[c]c[t] and fini[s]h his books, he has been I believe very Hone[s]t, but there Se[em]s Something more then that, nece[s]sary for y[e] Man that mu[s]t be both A[c]comp[t] tant and Store keeper at S[t] Helena 14 We are very willing to follow y[e] [P]re[s]ident of y[e] late Govern[r] & Council in any thing your Honours approve and think for your Service, but we are yet to Seek what [P]art of [...] Con[s]ultation is to be Such mentioned in y[e]r Hon[rs] Sixt[ee]nth [P]arragraph 15 Your Honours are [P]lea[s]ed to be very Severe with us in your 17[th] [P]arra graph and condemn us with want of attention nay even Indecency y[e] Lethargy of y[e] Soul, Your Honours dire[c]tions in y[e] 37[th] [P]arragraph [Pr] Toddington was read and Followed, how y[e] [P]rizes Sett on y[e] two Stone Ships from England were forgot to be Tran[s]mitted to your Honburs in both Letters [Pr] Mead & Su[c]ce[s]s We cannot well Imagin but [s]ince it were So we mo[s]t heartily a[s]k your Honours [P]ardon, The Succes[s]es [c]argoe was not [P]ric[e]d Dureing the Stay out y[e] Hono[rs] had an A[c]c[t] of that, by y[e] following [c]onveyance, We Shall during y[e] remaining [P]art of our Servi[c]es Endeavour by double diligence & cau[s]ion to A[t]tone for any neglects of this Kind, Your Honours need be under no mannor of concern for the Generall di[s]cretion given Your 35 [P]arragraph [Pr] Toddington we [s]ha[v]eing made as yet no demands of any goods from any Ship nor Shall we without unavoidable nece[s]sity [...] [...] [...] We are Sen[s]ible this I[s]land is a[s] [y]et a deal Charge, but we hope and have rea[s]on to believe twill not always or very long be So Your Forti[fi]cations & buildings being fini[s]hed, The Governour as [for] here for him[s]elf entreat your	The Governor knew of no person who was to keep the books as the directors directed, or to give security for the stores that came under such a charge. Mr Hoskison knew nothing of accounts, and his circumstances and principles were not sufficient for the position. Mr Griffith knew as little, and his circumstances were worse, for he died considerably in debt. Mr Bazett was a stranger to that way of book-keeping. Nor was there any person on the island for whom sufficient security was to be found, were such a one to undertake the work. It was certain that, if the directors were to take the trouble of inquiring of nearly all the commanders and supercargoes of the last summer's fleet, they were to learn whether the Governor did not almost daily entreat, scold, rail and pray every month - short only of stopping the whole store - to bring the storekeeper to render his monthly account and finish his books. The storekeeper was, the council believed, very honest. Yet something more than honesty was required for one who was to be both accountant and storekeeper at St Helena. 14: The council was very willing to follow the precedent of the late Governor and Council in any matter the directors approved and thought for their service. The council was yet to seek, however, what part of the consultations was meant by such reference in the directors' sixteenth paragraph. 15: The directors were pleased to be very severe with the council in the seventeenth paragraph, condemning the council with want of attention, nay even indecency and "the lethargy of the soul." The directors' directions in the thirty-seventh paragraph by the <i>Toddington</i> were read and followed. How the prices set on the two stone ships from England came to be forgotten in both the letters by the <i>Mead</i> and the <i>Success</i> was hardly to be explained. Yet since it was so, the directors' pardon was most heartily asked. The <i>Success</i>'s cargo was not priced during her stay at the island, of which the directors had an account by the following conveyance. During the remaining part of the council's service, double diligence and caution were to be employed to atone for any neglects of this kind. The directors need be under no manner of concern for the general discretion given in their thirty-fifth paragraph by the <i>Toddington</i>. The council was yet to make any demands of goods from any ship, nor was it to do so without unavoidable necessity. The council was sensible that the island was as yet a considerable charge. Yet there was hope - and reason to

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		Honours not to reproach him with Crimes to wh[ic]h his bery [c]on[s]titution is it Self a Stranger he is very different in his behavi[our] to all if would, from a Hotheaded Man, he is not a[s]hamed to confe[s]s to y[e] Cou[rt] of Directors and to all mankind, that, he has warmth enough in his Heart to move re[s]entments for unju[s]t & di[s]honourable Actions o[ff]e[r]e[d] him, and Such if God gives him y[e] ble[s]sing of Seeing once more Dear England well mea[ns] to charge Cap[t] Roberts with	believe - that it was not always, or very long, to be so, once the fortifications and buildings were finished. The Governor for himself entreated the directors not to reproach him with crimes to which his very constitution was a stranger. His behaviour, by any fair observation, was far from that of a hot-headed man. He was not ashamed to confess, to the Court of Directors and to all mankind, that he had warmth enough in his heart to feel resentments for unjust and dishonourable actions offered him. He intended - if God were to give him the blessing of seeing dear England once more - to charge Captain Roberts with [...] Interpretations The detailed enumeration of why each available councillor was unsuitable for the storekeeper's role - Hoskison ignorant and unprincipled, Griffith ignorant and dead in debt, Bazett unfamiliar with the bookkeeping system - illustrates the practical difficulties of administering a small colony where the pool of qualified candidates was vanishingly thin, with the council essentially forced to retain a defective officer for want of any alternative. The Governor's striking appeal to the directors to inquire of "nearly all the commanders and supercargoes of the last summer's fleet" reveals a strategy of mobilising the testimony of disinterested witnesses, with the council relying on the network of mariners who had visited the island to corroborate its account of internal administrative struggles. The directors' phrase "the lethargy of the soul," preserved in quotation as part of their criticism, reveals the elevated rhetorical register sometimes employed in commercial correspondence, with what might otherwise be charges of mere administrative negligence escalated into something approaching moral and spiritual accusation. The shift in voice at the end of the passage, where the Governor speaks for himself rather than as part of the council, marks an unusually personal moment in the institutional correspondence, with the official register giving way briefly to a first-personal defence of character before reverting to the discussion of charges against Captain Roberts. Speculations The phrasing that Mr Griffith "died considerably in debt," set alongside the council's earlier praise of his diligence in office, hints at the financial difficulties that even respected colonial officers faced, with the modest salaries and high cost of island life perhaps leaving conscientious servants exposed to insolvency upon their deaths. The Governor's emphasis on the storekeeper's honesty, despite his refusal or inability to render accounts, may reflect a calculated separation of moral character from administrative competence, with the council careful not to accuse the man of fraud while simultaneously documenting his unfitness for the position. The Governor's promise to charge Captain Roberts upon his return to England, recorded as a personal pledge in formal correspondence, suggests that the personal grievances arising from the transition between administrations remained unresolved, with the new Governor evidently nursing specific complaints against his predecessor that he was preparing to prosecute in London. The repeated insistence that the island would not always be a charge, once fortifications and buildings were completed, reflects a continuing argument by colonial administrators that capital investment would eventually yield self-sufficiency, with the directors apparently impatient for that day to arrive and the council perpetually defending the timeline of their projects.

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101	101	17 In your 18th [P]arragra[ph] your Honours are [P]lea[s]ed to approve of [a] a new Store Hou[s]e being built, we Shall have O[c]ca[s]ion to mention th[at] when we come to y[er] Forti[fi]cation, So Shall [P]roceed to [P]arragraph 19th under the Head of The Hon[ble]: [c]ompanys Servants Civil and Military, the A[c]co[s] of S[t] Helena in General and al[s]o touching there Slaves Cattle Land and Revenues 18 We do not find any money advanced in England to any but the Governour a Hundred pound long Since charg[e]d to his A[c]co[s] he hopes y[er] Hon[ble] Court cannot have So mean a thought of him as to think had no body el[s]e but him[s]elf been of [c]ouncil he would have Defrauded his Hon[ble] Ma[s]ters, and Thirty five pound to M[r] Pack which he has likewi[s]e charg[e]d him[s]elf with both which your Honours will ea[s]ily See when A[c]co[s] are tran[s]mitted England 19 Your Honours 20th [P]arragraph relat[es] chiefly to M[r] Pack who tho M[r] Ho[s]ki[s]on might not and indeed, we think did not de[s]erve Such favou[r]s as were Shelon him, we hope if he lives he will by an Extraordinary diligence atbone for pa[s]t neglects, and let your Honours See what gratefull return[s] he thinks are owing his generous and Honour[ble] Ma[s]ter 20 We have ever under[s]tood y[er] Scheme of Government for S[t] Helen[a] as y[er] Honours have been plea[s]ed to explain your[s] Selves, in your[s] la[s]t [Pr] Parragraph, Save one in Toddingtons Letter and again hinted ab[t] 21st [P]arragraph of Abbingdons Whoever has inform[e]d you that y[er] di[s]sent of two of y[er] [c]ouncil to Sign y[er] Groundle[s]s charge (as you are plea[s]d to have it, becau[s]e not an[s]wered) of the 2^d Octo[r] was ever denied to be enterd, as a[s]k[e]d to be enter[e]d in [c]on[s]ultation or y[er] General Letter, is an utter enemy to truth, we Shall always condemn Such proceedings as very unju[s]t As to y[er] charge being groundle[s]s we yet believe it is not Ho[s]ki[s]ons than affirming he could & would produce Several people of good repute [for] [...] [Helen]a to make oath, that his Stock of Cattle was demmi[s]hed that very con[s]iderably by that S[u]rgery Gov[r] does a[c]knowledge he di[s]wad[ed] M[r] Ho[s]ki[s]on from going any farther in that affaire, Since he thought are doe	17: In the eighteenth paragraph the directors were pleased to approve the building of a new storehouse. This matter was to be addressed when the fortifications came under discussion, and the council proceeded to the nineteenth paragraph, falling under the head of "the Honourable Company's Servants Civil and Military, the Accounts of St Helena in General and also touching the Slaves, Cattle, Lands and Revenues." 18: No money was found advanced in England to any person except the Governor, the sum of one hundred pounds, which was long since charged to his account. The Governor hoped that the Honourable Court was not to entertain so mean an opinion of him as to think him capable of defrauding the directors, were nobody else of the council to restrain him. A further sum of thirty-five pounds was advanced to Mr Pack, with which he likewise charged himself. Both these advances were to be easily seen when the accounts were transmitted to England. 19: The directors' twentieth paragraph related chiefly to Mr Pack. Although Mr Hoskison in the council's view did not deserve such favours as were shown to him, it was hoped that Mr Pack, if he lived, was to atone for past neglects by extraordinary diligence, and to show the directors what grateful returns he thought owing to his generous and honourable masters. 20: The council ever understood the scheme of government for St Helena as the directors explained themselves in the last paragraph but one of the <i>Toddington's</i> letter, and again hinted in the twenty-first paragraph of the <i>Abingdon's</i> letter. Whoever informed the directors that the dissent of two of the council to the signing of the "groundless charge" of 2 October - as the directors were pleased to style it, because it remained unanswered - was ever denied entry, either as asked to be set down in the consultation or in the General Letter, was an utter enemy of truth. Such proceedings were always to be condemned by the council as very unjust. As to the charge being groundless, the council yet believed it was not so. Mr Hoskison was affirmed to be ready to produce several people of good repute at St Helena to make oath that his stock of cattle was very considerably diminished by that [surgery]. The Governor did acknowledge that he dissuaded Mr Hoskison from going any further in that affair, since he thought [the matter was to do more harm than good]. Interpretations The Governor's emphatic protestation that no money was advanced in England except the hundred pounds long since charged to his account, paired with his appeal to the directors not to think him capable of defrauding them, reveals the considerable personal stake the Governor felt in answering financial accusations, with his honour evidently held to be at issue alongside his administrative competence. The careful distinction drawn between Mr Pack and Mr Hoskison in the response to the twentieth paragraph illustrates how the council attempted to discriminate between councillors of varying merit, with the directors' general favour for the council as a body subjected to internal calibration that distinguished those worthy of continued support from those whose conduct could not be defended. The fierce rejection of an unnamed informant as "an utter enemy of truth," coupled with the insistence that the dissent of two councillors had been properly entered in the records, demonstrates the council's recognition that internal disputes were being communicated to London by parties other than themselves, with the formal correspondence engaged in a parallel struggle for narrative control with private intelligence networks.

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			The Governor's acknowledgement that he had dissuaded Mr Hoskison from pressing his complaint about cattle further, set alongside the formal restatement of the underlying grievance, reveals the delicate political work of managing internal conflict within the small council, with prudential considerations weighed against the formal merits of individual claims. Speculations The directors' use of the phrase "groundless charge," set in quotation by the council to flag their disagreement with the characterisation, suggests that the directors had taken a definite view of the 2 October matter and were now exerting pressure on the council to abandon their original complaint, with the council's resistance phrased as a defence of factual accuracy. The conditional reference to Mr Pack "if he lives" hints at serious health concerns, possibly related to the same epidemic conditions that took Mr Griffith earlier in the year, with the council perhaps anticipating further loss of senior personnel and the consequent disruption of an already understrength administration. The detailed defence of the Governor's personal financial conduct, with explicit appeal to the audit trail of accounts to be examined in England, suggests that specific allegations of pecuniary impropriety had been laid against him, with the response designed to forestall a particular accusation rather than merely to refute general criticism. The Governor's dissuasion of Mr Hoskison from pressing the cattle complaint, set against the council's continuing insistence that the charge was not groundless, may indicate that the Governor was attempting to dampen a dispute that the directors had begun to take seriously, with the formal record kept open while informal pressure was applied to restrain the original complainant.
102	102	[w]ee Still think y[e] Hon[ble] Court of Directors had determined y[e] Su[ff]iciently in his favour, if Cap[t] Roberts had been rightly informd or y[e] Hon[ble] Court [of] Director[s] in England with what calmne[s]s & moderation he endeavoured to keep things from runing into extreame[s] either would not accu[s]e him often a very hotheaded fellow and ranging him with y[e] mo[s]t pro[ff]ligate debauch[e] Scoundrels that any place but S[t] Helena ever [P]roduc[e]d It was his opinion he came hether to do bu[s]ine[s]s & Tho other people might make their A[c]counts by interrupting yet as much as in them Lay yet [it] had been certainly wrong in him to aide them in Such de[s]igne by enter[ing] into Cu[s]ts & Su[s]pi[c]ions about a matter already decided by tho[s]e who only could 21 Wee Shall ob[s]erve for y[e] future your Honours dire[c]tions in y[e] 22 [P]aragraph [P]r Abbingdon o[f] entering what Letters y[e] Gov[r] Shall do him[s]elf y[e] honour of writing except Such as purely relate to y[e] Secret [c]ommittee or other Secret negotia[t]ions and we take notice & on what A[c]c[t] Such Trash com[m]ands no[t] giv[en] e[ee] T[w]as urged is that an[s]wer of y[e] 23 [P]ar[gh] that no Mindes were to be foun[d] of [it]s being y[e] Opinion of y[e] [c]aptains of y[e] Men of Warr or any el[s]e, that S[ome] Cannon were to be mounted at Mundens [P]oint, your Honours are [P]lea[s]ed [to] incline to y[e] affirmative by refer[r]ing to [P]r Generall Letter, which imports y[e] [c]om manders ofred[s] to a[s]si[s]t him therein, We suppo[s]e their a[s]si[s]tance was nece[s]s [...] great advantage to him in y[e] [Q]uick performance whatever nature[s] [...] [...] [...] [...] do we think y[e] [c]aptains then had y[e] [Q]ue[s]tion fairly [...] [...] [...] [...]os[e]d it we were not of opinion then or are we now that [...] [...] degree Guns for Mundens Battery but to draw of[f] [...] [...] y[e] Line where they are to mount them at Mund[ens] [...] [...] again[s]t and are still	The council still believed that, were Captain Roberts rightly informed, or were the directors in England so informed, of the calmness and moderation with which the Governor endeavoured to keep matters from running to extremes, neither was to be heard accusing him as a very hot-headed fellow, nor ranking him with the most profligate and debauched scoundrels that any place but St Helena ever produced. It was his opinion that he came hither to do business. Though other people were to make their own accounts by interrupting him as much as in them lay, it was certainly wrong in him to aid such designs by entering into contests and suspicions about a matter already decided by those who alone were to decide it. 21: The directors' directions in the twenty-second paragraph by the <i>Abbingdon</i> were to be observed for the future. The Governor was to enter such letters as he did himself the honour of writing, except those purely relating to the Secret Committee or other secret negotiations. The council took notice on what account such [trash] commanded no [response]. It was urged in answer to the twenty-third paragraph that no minutes were to be found of its being the opinion of the captains of the Men of War, or of any other person, that any cannon were to be mounted at Munden's Point. The directors were pleased to incline to the affirmative by referring to the General Letter, which imported the commanders' offers to assist the Governor therein. The council supposed their assistance was necessary, and of great advantage to him in the quick performance of whatever was undertaken. The council did not think the captains then had the question fairly [proposed to them]. The captains were not of opinion then, nor were they now, that fresh guns were to be obtained for Munden's Battery, but rather that some were to be drawn off from the line where they were already mounted, and placed at Munden's

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		and we dare affirm it was ever wa[s] on [c]aptains opinion 22 Tho[t] there has been heart bu[r]nings & Annimo[s]ities among[s]t y[e] [c]ouncil is too true, God almighty has in part cured them by removing y[e] [s]ho[s]e violent, we think one good[s] means yor cool debates is for y[e] [c]ouncil to keep the heads So, 23 [P]aragh: [P]r Abbingdon y[e]r Hon[rs] are [P]lea[s]ed to give fre[s]h I[ns]tru tions how we are to behave our [s]elves to v[i]tious & poli[s]h [c]oun[s]il that neglect their bu[s]ine[s]s they mu[s]t be fairly warn[e]d and if that wo[n]'t reclaim e'm Lette[r]s Hon[rs] know it and you'l cure[s] it will &c[a] This Shall be followed and we heartily wi[s]h it may have a good A[ff]ect, the method with humble Submi[s]sion Seems wide of [P]robability & contrary to y[e] in[s]tru tions 23 The [P]romi[s]e made of having your Hon[rs] A[c]co[s] ready by la[s]t Sum [s]hipping has not been compl[y]ed with, the Storekeeper & Bookkeeper being Same Man his done m[an]y, It mu[s]t here be added that he is not at [...] in a Condition of health for my bu[s]ine[s]s, he has been depriv[e]d of his [s]peech	[Point]. The council remained of this view and dared affirm that it was ever the captains' opinion. 22: That there were heart-burnings and animosities among the council was too true. God Almighty in part cured them by removing the most violent. The council thought one good means of securing cool debates was for the councillors to keep their heads so. In the twenty-third paragraph by the <i>Abingdon</i>, the directors were pleased to give fresh instructions concerning how to behave toward vicious and [polished] councillors who neglected their business. They were to be fairly warned, and if that did not reclaim them, letters were to inform the directors, who were to cure the matter well. This was to be followed, and the council heartily wished a good effect was to follow. The method, with humble submission, seemed wide of probability and contrary to the instructions. 23: The promise made of having the directors' accounts ready by the last summer's shipping was not complied with. The storekeeper and bookkeeper being the same man, many tasks were left undone. It was further to be added that he was not at all in a condition of health for any business. He was deprived of his speech. Interpretations The Governor's careful defence against the charge of being a "hot-headed fellow," paired with his protest at being ranked among the most profligate scoundrels, illustrates the personal dimension of colonial administration, with reputational damage at London considered as injurious as any material loss to the directors' commercial interests. The Governor's distinction between his proper business at St Helena and the practice of "other people" who made their accounts by interrupting that business reveals an explicit theory of administrative purpose, with the Governor positioning himself as a man focused on the directors' service while others sought private advantage through obstruction. The phrase that "God Almighty in part cured" the council's animosities "by removing the most violent" is a striking euphemism for the death of Mr Griffith, with religious language framing what was essentially a political relief for the surviving administration. The intricate paragraph-by-paragraph response, with quotations from the directors' letter set in critical apposition to the council's interpretation, demonstrates how 18th-century administrative discourse could approach legal pleading in its precision, with each clause of the directors' criticism met with a corresponding clause of defence. Speculations The phrase "removing the most violent" applied to Griffith's death hints that he had been a particularly contentious presence on the council, with his violent disposition possibly contributing to the very animosities the directors had complained of, his loss thus simplifying the administrative situation for the surviving members. The storekeeper's loss of speech, recorded as a barrier to his rendering accounts, suggests a stroke or similar neurological event, with the council now compelled to defend itself for retaining an officer whose continued employment was a matter of physical necessity as well as administrative inertia. The dispute over whether the captains of the Men of War had ever supported mounting fresh cannon at Munden's Point, as against merely transferring existing guns from elsewhere, reveals a substantive disagreement over defensive policy that the directors had apparently misunderstood, with the council pressing the technical detail to vindicate its judgement. The Governor's reference to the directors having "only" the right to decide certain matters, and to his

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			refusal to enter into "contests and suspicions" about settled questions, suggests that he was being criticised for prematurely reopening matters that the directors considered closed, with the Governor defending his caution as constitutional propriety rather than as evasion.
103	103	[Tod]dingtons in[s]tructions your Honours had examin[e]d into y[e] werr[li]ts if y[e] [c]a[s]e [...] giving no di[s]cretionary orders in it to your [c]ouncil who made it a [P]arty [c]a[s]e he kn[ows] not[hin]g [P]o[s]sibly M[r] Ho[s]kison might and So might Some of his Opponents but he again declares for him[s]elf he is not nor ever was a [P]arty Man where Ju[s]tice and equity wa[s] not of that party he has never or never will [know] no di[ff]erences or Di[s]tinctions but where true Merit lu[s]tly challenges it Mercy Alexander now ([P]rigit tho put in [P]o[s]se[s]sion [...] never had a Lea[s]e, Bagley is dead and y[e] Widow Married to one Torey Schoolma[s]ter who with his Wife have di[s]po[s]ed of all that her Hu[s]band Bagley left her and have reque[s]ted leave to go off, will not be granted till we have y[e] Honour of further in[s]tru[c]tions how to an[s]wer people who have S[s]erv[e]d their Contracted time and are de[s]irous of going eather for India or England Bagley if alive his Widow now living knows y[e] Ca[s]e and he beleids Cap[t] Roberts knows it that he (Cap[t] Boucher) did Severall times tell Tho[s] Bagley that if he would [P]itch upon any Land belonging to y[e] Honcurable [c]ompany not imediatly Occupied by them[s]elves he Should have a grant of it, A[s] to his Fences that he fenced it all in is notor[i]ou[s]ly fal[s]: now half of it: but he was de[s]ired to State y[e] [c]harge with Yargen and it [s]hould be allowed him but he never heard whether that was done or not In y[e] Same 31 [P]arragra[ph] your Honour mention F[r]a: Alexander as being accu[s]ed of Vile [P]ractices in other [c]a[s]es and that he prevailed on the above named Mercy while a Widdow to Sign a [P]etition he drew up for her when She did not know what She Signd to nor had any intent to com[P]lain this is indeed a charge again[s]t Alexander but how y[e] men Should Sign to what She n[ei]ther read nor heard read is not of S[t] [P]iece with y[e] Common [c]luming of y[e] [P]eople of this I[s]land on of that [P]erticular woman Cap[t] Boucher does further crave leave to a[s]sure your Honours that he had not then nor did not in Severall months after See y[e] [P]er[s]on, of y[e] Said Alexander indeed when M[r] Free had twice attempted to hang him[s]elf who was Such an incorrigible Sot that [P]atience and forbearance was wholly lo[s]t upon him, he did then move that Alexander might have a [c]harge given him to an[s]wer to and your Honours will find M[r] Griffeth dire[c]ted by John Pill to draw up Said charge which on a [P]arity of Argiment he has rea[s]on to believe fal[s]ly Sugge[s]ted, Yo[r] Honour[s] 60[th] [P]arragr[a]ph [Pr] Todddington gave Encouragem[en]t to rein[s]tate him but Sh[ould] any new behaviour be prov[e]d upon him for y[e] future as has been in[s]inuat[ed] [...] [...] former heel find no favour from your[s] friend [c]ouncil That your Honours have supply[e]d this I[s]land with Stores from Europe And India every body gratefully a[c]knowledge[s], but how to avoid Drawing Bills of [...] upon your Honours at which you are plea[s]d to expre[s]s your di[s]like in [P]arragr[a]ph 8 [...] [P]r Abbingdon we cannot well See Many things are brought hi[ther] which your Honours have not Sent, Some Wine has been bought for your Honours u[s]e[s] which will always bring a [P]ro[fit]t Severall [P]eople have [c]redit[s] in your Honours Books of A[c]c[c]o here and de[s]irou[s] [ren]nitting it to their friends in England all which O[c]c[a]sions we humbly	The <i>Todddington's</i> instructions revealed that the directors examined into the merits of the case, while giving no discretionary orders to the council, who made it a party case. The Governor knew nothing of the matter himself. Possibly Mr Hoskison knew, and so possibly did some of his opponents. The Governor again declared for himself that he was not, and never was, a party man where justice and equity were not of that party. He never knew, nor was ever to know, any differences or distinctions save where true merit justly challenged them. Mercy Alexander, now [Prigit], though placed in possession, never held a lease. Bagley was dead. His widow was married to one Torey, a schoolmaster, who with his wife disposed of all the property her late husband left her, and they requested leave to go off. Leave was not to be granted until the council had the honour of further instructions concerning how to answer those who served out their contracted time and were desirous of going either for India or England. Bagley, if alive, was to tell the same case. His widow now living knew it, and Captain Boucher believed Captain Roberts knew it: that Captain Boucher did several times tell Thomas Bagley that, were he to pitch upon any land belonging to the Honourable Company not immediately occupied by themselves, a grant of it was to be made to him. As to any claim that Bagley fenced it all in, that was notoriously false. Not half of it was fenced. Bagley was desired to state the charge with Yargen, and the same was to be allowed him. Whether that was done or not, Captain Boucher never heard. In the same thirty-first paragraph, the directors mentioned Francis Alexander as being accused of vile practices in other cases, and as having prevailed upon the abovementioned Mercy, while a widow, to sign a petition he drew up for her, when she neither knew what she signed to, nor had any intent to complain. This was indeed a charge against Alexander. Yet how the men were to sign to what she neither read nor heard read was not of a piece with the common cunning of the people of the island, nor of that particular woman. Captain Boucher further craved leave to assure the directors that he did not see Alexander at that time, nor in several months afterwards. When Mr Free twice attempted to hang himself - being such an incorrigible sot that patience and forbearance were wholly lost upon him - the Governor did then move that a charge was to be drawn up for Alexander to answer. The directors were to find in the records that Mr Griffith was directed by John Pill to draw up the charge, which on a parity of argument the Governor had reason to believe was falsely suggested. The directors' sixtieth paragraph by the <i>Todddington</i> gave encouragement to reinstate him. Were any new misbehaviour to be proved upon him for the future, as was insinuated in respect of former actions, he was to find no favour from the council. The directors' supply of stores from Europe and India was gratefully acknowledged by every person. How to avoid drawing bills of exchange upon the directors - at which the directors were pleased to express their dislike in the eighth paragraph by the <i>Abbingdon</i> - was not well to be seen. Many things were brought to the island that the directors did not send. Some wine was bought for the directors' use, which was always to bring a profit. Several people had credits in the directors' books of

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		[P]re[s]ume your[s] [H]on[ours] will think[s] indu[ll] to Supply	accounts at the island and were desirous of remitting these to their friends in England. From all such occasions, the council humbly presumed, the directors were to incline to supply the want. Interpretations The Governor's careful declaration that he was not, and never was, a "party man" except where justice and equity were "of that party," frames his administrative conduct in terms of abstract principle, with personal integrity defined as alignment with the right rather than as freedom from all factional consideration. The complex marital history of Mercy, who appears under at least two surnames and possibly several more in different paragraphs of the correspondence, reveals the small and tightly bound social network of the island, with surviving spouses repeatedly remarrying and the same individuals appearing in multiple property disputes across different married identities. The episode of Mr Free's two suicide attempts, framed as evidence that "patience and forbearance were wholly lost upon him" as "an incorrigible sot," demonstrates how the council understood mental and emotional crises among the inhabitants in terms of moral failing rather than illness, with the Governor's intervention nonetheless framed as a protective response to a man clearly in distress. The careful narrative of the offer made to Thomas Bagley, with Captain Boucher repeatedly inviting him to pitch upon any unoccupied Company land for a grant, presents the Governor as a fair and generous administrator whose dealings with planters could be vouched for both by the surviving widow and by Captain Roberts, the predecessor whose other testimony the council had treated as suspect. Speculations The recurrent appearance of Mercy across multiple marriages, identified successively as Mercy Alexander, possibly Bagley's widow, possibly the present Mrs Torey, and possibly Priget, hints at the demographic reality of a society where men were lost to disease, accident and the perils of seafaring at rates that produced repeated widowhood for the women who outlived them. The reference to wine "bought for the directors' use" that was "always to bring a profit" hints at a routine commercial practice by which the council purchased liquor from visiting captains for resale on the island, with the profit serving both as revenue for the directors and possibly as a personal commercial opportunity for the councillors involved. The drawing of bills of exchange, despite the directors' expressed displeasure, suggests that the council faced operational necessities that London could not fully appreciate, with the credit system serving as the only practical means of meeting the cumulative obligations of stores, salaries and commercial accounts. The framing of the charge against Francis Alexander, and the Governor's careful distancing of himself from any personal involvement, suggests that the affair had political dimensions beyond a simple legal dispute, with the council perhaps reluctant to associate the Governor directly with proceedings that might prove embarrassing in retrospect.
104	104	Fourthly Touching Forti[fi]cations Build[ings] and Garison Stores 39 Your honours are [P]lea[s]ed to give leave in 33 [P]arragraph [...] Abbingdon to buy a good Long boate or [P]innace, T'will be a hard matter to good Long Boate a Ship outward bound will not care to part with one and on[e] bound have them Seldome good enough or large Enough A [P]innace we have bought of Cap[t] Le[s]ly which [P]roves a very good [...] entreat your Honours to	Fourthly, touching the fortifications, buildings and garrison stores. 39: The directors were pleased to give leave in the thirty-third paragraph by the <i>Abingdon</i> for the purchase of a good long boat or pinnace. It was to prove hard, however, to procure a good long boat. A ship outward bound was not to part with one, and ships bound homeward seldom had any good or large enough. A pinnace was bought from Captain Lesly, which proved very good. The directors were entreated to supply two

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		Supply us with two Gangs of good Oars for h[er] along eight [O]ar[e]d Boat 40 Your Honours are [P]lea[s]ed to com[m]and y[e] Gov[er]n to Send draughts of [the] works begun carrying on or completed, This tho Sooner than he expected readily complys with, but not with that Sati[s]faction to him[s]elf or he fears [...] as he wi[s]hes 41 The [P]lans with y[e] Scales by which he works he cannot po[s]sibly tran[s]mit not having time enough by this conveyance to draw others a Small contracts Draught and [P]ro[s]pect of y[e] whole when fini[s]hed and which he drew for own amu[s]ement he humbly o[ff]ers to his Hon[ble] Employers, it indeed h[a]s need[d] for many excu[s]es as to its performance but one or two is all he Shall venture Honours with, he had no tooles to work with but of his own making all tho[s]e he brought from England being [s]poiled by accident the di[ff]iculty of [t]a[k]i[ng] [P]ro[s]pects in a Little [P]loping boat and Tumbling Sea With it comes an explanation both which if they Serve to give your[s] an adequate Idea of y[e] whole works and tho[s]e works meet with your appro[bation] he Shall think him[s]elf very happy, The back part of all y[e] Warehou[s]es and [...] being already built y[e] expence will be only in Timber & Deales when [...] want of hands to cutt Stone mu[s]t be u[s]d or el[s]e y[e] Deales might be Sav'd] 42 Whatever he builds he promi[s]es his Honourable Ma[s]ters Shall b[e] Sub[s]tanti[a]ll and with all po[s]sible frugality 43 Your Honours [c]ommands in your 35 [P]arragraph [Pr] Abbing[don] Shall in every part be compl[y]d with 44 M[r] Joshua Thomlin[s]on having Credit due to him in your Hon[ours] Books of A[c]co[s] here, have at his reque[s]t drawn 3 Bills of Exchange [...] Honours for y[e] Sume of 281 Sterling which de[s]ire may be A[c]cepted [accor] dingly We are with due [r] Honourable Yo[r] mo[s]t Faithfull & m[ost] B[en]i[m]n Bo[ucher] Po[s]tscript[s] We have rec[e]i[v]ed a Tho[us]and Invoice [Pr] this Ship from Bengall for 3 Lcas[g] Arrack 30 Baggs Rice 15 Baggs Sugar 8 one Bale [s]hirts Laden on Board Ship Derby	gangs of good oars for the pinnacle, alongside the existing eight-oared boat. 40: The directors were pleased to command the Governor to send drafts of the works begun, carrying on or completed. This, sooner than the Governor expected, he readily complied with, although not with that satisfaction to himself, or, he feared, to the directors, as he wished. 41: The plans with the scales by which he worked were not to be transmitted, the Governor not having time enough by the present conveyance to draw fresh copies. A small contracted draught, with a prospect of the whole when finished, which he drew for his own amusement, was humbly offered to his honourable employers. The work had need of many excuses as to its performance. One or two were all the Governor ventured to lay before the directors. He had no tools to work with except those of his own making, the ones brought from England being spoiled by accident. The difficulty of taking prospects in a little [bobbing] boat and a tumbling sea was also pleaded. With the draught came an explanation. If both these served to give the directors an adequate idea of the whole works, and if those works met with the directors' approbation, the Governor was to think himself very happy. The back part of all the warehouses was already built. The expense was to fall only upon timber and deals. Where for want of hands to cut stone, deals were to be used. Otherwise, the deals were to be saved. 42: Whatever the Governor built, he promised the directors that the same was to be substantial and undertaken with all possible frugality. 43: The directors' commands in the thirty-fifth paragraph by the <i>Abingdon</i> were to be complied with in every part. 44: Mr Joshua Thomlinson having credit due to him in the directors' books of accounts at the island, three bills of exchange were drawn at his request upon the directors for the sum of two hundred and eighty-one pounds sterling. The directors were entreated to accept them accordingly. With all due respect. Signed Benjamin Boucher. Postscript: An invoice was received by the present ship from Bengal, for three leagers of arrack, thirty bags of rice, fifteen bags of sugar, eight [bags] and one bale of shirts, all laden aboard the <i>Derby</i>. An Account of the Guns and Carriages Wanting, with the Nature and Weight of the Guns They Were For. Two old carriages, from outside of the nuts to outside 25 inches, the inside of the nuts 19½ inches, for demy cannon weighing fifty-eight hundredweight and four pounds. Ship's carriages, from outside to outside twenty inches, from inside to inside 12½ inches, for demy culverins weighing twenty-four hundredweight, three quarters and twelve pounds. Ship's carriages, from outside to outside of the nuts 21½ inches, from inside to inside twelve inches, for demy culverins weighing twenty-six hundredweight, one quarter and twenty-four pounds. Four ship's carriages, from outside to outside 19¼ inches, from inside to inside of the nuts 12½ inches, for sakers weighing eighteen hundredweight and one quarter. Nine carriages, from outside to outside of the nuts 16½ inches, from inside to inside ten inches, for minions weighing ten hundredweight, three quarters and twenty pounds. Eight guns with field carriages for the new West Battery, of the nature of demy cannon. Certified by Matthew Bazett. Interpretations

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			The account lists requirements across the full range of ordnance then in service at the island, from demy cannon as the heaviest pieces, through demy culverins and sakers, down to minions as the lightest. The categorisation by weight in hundredweight, quarters and pounds reflects the standard British system for the assessment of heavy ordnance, with each gun's precise weight recorded against the appropriate carriage dimensions. The detailed dimensional specifications for each carriage - measured both outside to outside and inside to inside of the nuts - reveal the engineering precision required when matching guns to carriages, with the wheel-spacing and the axle bores needing to correspond exactly to the trunnions of the intended weapon. The reference to "the new West Battery" places this account squarely within the ongoing fortification works that featured so prominently in the council's correspondence, with the eight demy cannon required for that single position representing a substantial commitment of resources from the directors. The inclusion of both "old carriages" wanting and "ship's carriages" indicates that the council was attempting to make do with a mixture of land service and naval carriages drawn from various sources, with the indent designed to fill specific gaps in an existing inventory rather than to equip a complete new establishment. Speculations The combination of two old carriages, ship's carriages of multiple sizes, and field carriages for the new West Battery suggests a fortification scheme that was being assembled piecemeal as guns became available, with the council recording exactly what each gun in service required so that the directors could ship the correct supplementary equipment. The classification of guns by type rather than only by weight implies a tactical scheme in which different positions on the works were to be armed with different natures of ordnance, with the lighter sakers and minions perhaps serving flanking roles and the heavier demy cannon and culverins commanding the main approaches. The careful distinction between dimensions taken at the nuts and at the carriage's outside, combined with measurements for both inside-to-inside and outside-to-outside, hints that the council had personally measured each gun on the island and was specifying the requirement so precisely that London suppliers could not plausibly send equipment that failed to fit. The presence of this technical account within the wider correspondence demonstrates the integration of practical military engineering into the routine administrative paperwork of the colonial administration, with the council expected to produce both political defences and ballistic inventories as part of the same despatch to the directors.
105	105	Hon[ble]: S[rs] Since our foregoing dated y[e] 9[th] In[s]tan[t] Arrived here y[e] [A]rabella Cap[t] [P]lead who Sa[i]led from y[e] [c]ape y[e] 25 March la[s]t with y[e] Dutch Fleet of 15 Saile having Sever all wanting Expects to home this Summer) and 8 Engli[s]h Ships V[i]z[t] tho[s]e 5 mentio[n]d in [s]aid Letter y[e] Mary Cap[t] Houlden y[e] Derby Cap[t] Wootten another they Saw Joyn y[e] Fleet which Suppo[s]ed to be y[e] [s]totland the Concord and Joseph Galley Sperate Stock Ships was at y[e] [c]ape outward bound United Castle S[t] Helena April y[e] 15[th] 1713 We are S[rs] Honourable S[rs] Your mo[s]t humble & faithfull Servt[s] B[en]jmn] B[oucher] M[atthew] B[azett] Whereas The Gov[r] in y[e] 13[th] [P]arragraph Mentions my being a Stranger to y[e] Italian way of Book keeping, I Say that I am no Ignorant of that way	Honourable Sirs, Since the previous despatch dated the 9th instant, the <i>Arabella</i> under Captain Pead arrived at the island. She had sailed from the Cape on 25 March last in company with the Dutch fleet of fifteen sail (several of which were wanting, the rest expected home this summer) and eight English ships. The English ships consisted of the five named in the previous letter, together with the <i>Mary</i> under Captain Houlden, the <i>Derby</i> under Captain Wootten, and another seen joining the fleet, supposed to be the <i>Scotland</i>. The <i>Concord</i> and the <i>Joseph</i> Galley, Separate Stock ships, lay at the Cape outward bound. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 15 April 1713. Signed Benjamin Boucher and Matthew Bazett. A separate statement followed from Matthew Bazett.

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		and that was y[e] way formerly followed by us, But y[e] [c]ircum[s]tances of y[e] place will not admitt of that Tedious way Cap[t] [P]ack him[s]elf having had but too much experience of it, And did intend if he had Liv[e]d to follow y[e] former way, In which if your Hon[rs] think y[e] fitt to employ me y[e] bu[s]ine[s]s I Shall do my Endeavour to give y[e] Honours Sati[s]faction As for what y[e] Gov[r] An[s]wers on A[c]co[s] of Cap[t] Roberts I Know nothing of their private di[ff]erences I do not concerne my Self about it now I am Y[e]r Hono[r]s mo[s]t humble faithfull & obedient Servt Matthew Bazett An A[c]co[s] of Guns Carriages wanting w[th] y[e] Nature & W[th] of Guns they are for V[i]z[t]: [c]arriages with their Nature of Weight Carriages with their Nature of Weight of Dimentions Guns for of Guns Dimentions Guns for Guns C[wt] [Q] [tt] [2] Carriages 2 from [in]side of y[e] flute hundred Demy Cannon 58 0 0 - 4 4 Ships [c]arriages from out Sackers 18 - 1 - 00 [to] 154 Inches y[e] inside [s]ide to out[s]ide 19[s] Inches [to] flute 19[s] Inches from in[s]ide to in[s]ide y[e] Flute 12[s] Inches Ships [c]arriages from [the] out[s]ide to 21 Inches Demy [c]ulverin[g] 24 - 3 - 12 2 [c]arriages from out[s]ide to Minion[s] 10 - 3 - 20 in[s]ide to in[s]ide 12[s] out[s]ide of y[e] flute 18 5[s] inches [Sa]ke [...] from out[s]ide to in[s]ide 13 Inches Carriages from [in]side to out[s]ide of Demy [c]ulverin[g] 26 - 1 - 24 8 G[u]ns with Field [c]arriages Demy 21[s] Inches & out[s]ide for y[e] New We[s]t Battery Cannon [and] 12 inches	In the thirteenth paragraph the Governor mentioned Bazett being a stranger to the Italian way of book-keeping. Bazett declared that he was not ignorant of that way, and that the same was the method formerly followed at the island. The circumstances of the place, however, were not to admit of so tedious a way. Captain Pack himself had had too much experience of it, and had intended, if he had lived, to return to the former practice. Should the directors think fit to employ Bazett in that business, his endeavour was to be to give the directors satisfaction. As to the Governor's answer concerning Captain Roberts, Bazett knew nothing of those private differences, and was not to concern himself with the matter at present. Signed Matthew Bazett. An Account of the Guns and Carriages Wanting, with the Nature and Weight of the Guns They Were For. Two carriages, from inside of the flute to outside 15¼ inches, the inside of the flute 19½ inches, for demy cannon weighing fifty-eight hundredweight and four pounds. Four ship's carriages, from outside to outside 19¼ inches, from inside to inside of the flute 12½ inches, for sakers weighing eighteen hundredweight and one quarter. Ship's carriages, from outside to outside 21 inches, from inside to inside 12½ inches, for demy culverins weighing twenty-four hundredweight, three quarters and twelve pounds. Two carriages, from outside to outside of the flute 18½ inches, from outside to inside thirteen inches, for minions weighing ten hundredweight, three quarters and twenty pounds. Carriages from inside to outside of [the flute] 21½ inches, and outside [to inside] twelve inches, for demy culverins weighing twenty-six hundredweight, one quarter and twenty-four pounds. Eight guns with field carriages for the new West Battery, of the nature of demy cannon. Interpretations The arrival of the <i>Arabella</i> with intelligence of fifteen Dutch and eight English ships at or recently departed from the Cape illustrates the continuing role of St Helena as a clearing house for shipping news in the South Atlantic, with each new arrival adding fresh information to the picture of fleet movements that the council relayed to the directors. Matthew Bazett's separate statement, distinguished from the main council letter by its individual signature, marks an unusual moment of personal voice within the institutional correspondence, with one councillor stepping forward to answer specific charges that affected him by name rather than allowing the collective letter to speak for him. The defence of the Italian method of book-keeping as something Bazett was perfectly capable of practising, but as unsuited to the conditions of the island, reveals the tension between metropolitan accounting standards and colonial practical necessity, with the council operating in a working environment that did not allow the elaborate routines London might have wished. Bazett's pointed refusal to take sides in the dispute between the Governor and Captain Roberts, while answering the technical accusation against himself, demonstrates the careful political navigation required of councillors who wished to clear their own names without becoming entangled in the wider feud between successive administrations. Speculations The note that Captain Pack "if he had lived" was to return to the Italian method of book-keeping confirms that Pack was now dead, adding to the toll of councillors and senior officers lost since the new

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			administration's arrival, and explaining the further contraction of the signing council to just Boucher and Bazett. The careful phrasing by which Bazett distanced himself from the Governor's quarrel with Captain Roberts, while volunteering his own services to take on the book-keeping in the proper Italian fashion, hints at a man positioning himself as the responsible technical officer who could be relied upon by the directors regardless of the political turmoil around him. The reference to the <i>Mary</i> under Captain Houlden and the <i>Derby</i> under Captain Wootten, alongside an unidentified ship supposed to be the <i>Scotland</i>, illustrates how shipping intelligence was assembled from fragmentary observations, with vessels seen at a distance identified only by inference until positive confirmation could be obtained. The accumulating losses among the council - Griffith dead in May 1712, Pack now also dead, the storekeeper deprived of his speech, the Governor under attack from London - suggest an administration approaching the limits of its viable capacity, with the burden of routine business increasingly falling upon Boucher and Bazett alone.
106	106	Nece[s]sarys Wanting from England &c[a] Window Gla[s]s 6000 Squares 8 Inches one way 6 [t]other Large Looking Gla[s]ses 6 - 4000 - 10 - 8[s] Inches Small Ditto - 2000 - 12 - 8 to Ditto Drinking Gla[s]ses - A Doz[n] Convex Lamps fixed with Iron Such as in London Streets [c]a[s]e Knives and Forks 2 Clocks for Chambers and 1 for y[e] Fort Ten Thou[s]and Deals they being very much wanted, for y[e] people are about Facing their Hou[s]es very han[d]somely in y[e] Fort Vally, they have already bought good [Q]u[a]ntities of Lime 2 Dozen of Cain Chairs Nails 30[d] 20 Thou[s]and, Fitt-Locks 6 Dozen Ditto 2 D[it]t[o], [c]he[s]t Locks 12 or 16 Dozen Weight Nails 10000[lb] [c]upset Locks 6 Dozen Spikes Nails - 10000 [lb] H. Hinges Sorted 200 [pr] [c]a[s]p Hands 2 - 2[s] [...] [...] to - 20 Thou[s]and [...] [...] 24 [P]ieces Large Baulks 24 foot Long for Girders Large & Small Plate Bolts [...] [...] and [s]tuds L[i]st of the [P]acket Sent the Honourable Court of Directors for affaires of y[e] Hon[ble] United [c]omp[a] of Merch[ts] of England Trading to y[e] Ea[s]t [P] Ship Joh[n] & Eli[z]abet[h] 1 Gov[r] and Council General Letter dated y[e] 9[th] April 1713 2 An Explanation of [P]ro[s]pe[ct]ive Drought of Forti[f]ication &c[a] 3 Li[s]t of Lands already mea[s]ur[e]d & [P]lated enter[e]d in y[e] Regi[s]ter book 4 Li[s]t of Officers & Soldiers belonging to y[e] Garri[s]on 5 Li[s]t of Soldiers brought [Pr] Ship Abbingdon 6 An A[c]co[s] of [P]lantations bought & Sold by Govern[r] Boucher 7 An A[c]co[s] of Guns & [c]arriages wanting with Indent for severall other Nece[s]saries 8 M[r] William [P]urser's letter to y[e] Gov[r] 9 An A[c]co[s] of Land Letout by Govern[r] Boucher 10 Invoice of Med[i]cines wanting 11 Li[s]t of the [P]ackett	Necessaries Wanting from England, etc. Window glass: six thousand squares of eight inches one way and six inches the other, four thousand of ten by eight and a half inches, and two thousand of twelve by eight inches. Looking glasses, large: six. Small ditto: ditto. Drinking glasses: one dozen. Convex lamps fixed with iron, such as those used in the London streets. Case knives and forks. Two clocks for chambers and one for the fort. Ten thousand deals, the same being very much wanted. The people were about facing their houses very handsomely in the Fort Valley, and had already bought good quantities of lime. Two dozen cane chairs. Twenty thousand thirty-penny nails. Six dozen flitlocks. Two dozen ditto. Twelve or sixteen dozen chest locks. Ten thousand pounds weight of nails. Six dozen cupset locks. Ten thousand pounds of spike nails. Two hundred pairs of H hinges, sorted. Two pairs of casp hands, [...] [...] to twenty thousand [...] Twenty-four large baulks of twenty-four feet long, for girders. Large and small plate bolts [...] [...] and studs. List of the Packet Sent to the Honourable Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, per the Ship <i>John and Elizabeth</i>. The first item was the Governor and Council's General Letter, dated 9 April 1713. The second was an explanation of the prospective draught of the fortifications and other works. The third was a list of the lands already measured and plated, entered in the register book. The fourth was a list of the officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison. The fifth was a list of the soldiers brought by the ship <i>Abingdon</i>. The sixth was an account of the plantations bought and sold by Governor Boucher. The seventh was an account of the guns and carriages wanting, together with an indent for several other necessities. The eighth was Mr William Purer's letter to the Governor. The ninth was an account of the land let out by Governor Boucher. The tenth was an invoice of medicines wanting. The eleventh was the list of the contents of the packet itself.

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			Interpretations The detailed window glass order, with three distinct sizes specified to the half-inch, illustrates the precision required when ordering building materials from London, where the directors had to procure goods exactly matching the specifications of houses under construction at St Helena and ship them six thousand miles without breakage. The reference to the inhabitants "facing their houses very handsomely in the Fort Valley" reveals an active programme of domestic improvement among the settlers, with lime already purchased in good quantities and only the timber wanting to complete the work, indicating that civilian construction was advancing alongside the council's fortification projects. The request for "convex lamps fixed with iron, such as those used in the London streets" demonstrates the metropolitan reference points by which the council specified ironmongery, with the colonial administration framing its needs in terms of the urban infrastructure of the imperial capital rather than describing the objects in functional detail. The eleven-item packet, including a prospective draught of the fortifications, registers of measured lands, garrison rolls, accounts of plantation purchases and sales, and an indent of medicines, demonstrates the comprehensive documentary practice that the Boucher administration had now developed, with each despatch presenting the directors with a complete administrative picture of the island. Speculations The substantial scale of the glass and ironmongery order, with twelve thousand squares of window glass and over twenty thousand pounds of nails, hints at ambitions beyond mere maintenance, with the council apparently preparing for a significant expansion of building work that required materials on a wholly different scale from the modest repairs of earlier years. The detailed listing of nails by type and weight - thirty-penny nails, spike nails, weight nails - reflects the specialised vocabulary of 18th-century construction, with each nail type serving a particular structural purpose that the council was careful to specify so that the directors' suppliers in England were to send the right mixture. The inclusion of Mr William Purer's letter to the Governor among the formal enclosures suggests that Purer was a private correspondent whose communication was thought important enough to be forwarded to London, possibly relating to some commercial or political matter affecting the island's affairs. The accounts of "plantations bought and sold by Governor Boucher" and "land let out by Governor Boucher," each treated as a discrete enclosure, demonstrates the systematic land transactions the Governor had been conducting, with the council careful to present a complete record of these dealings against any future inquiry into the disposition of Company property.
107	107	To the Wo[r]ship full the Govern[s] & Council of S[t] Helena Wor[s]hip: S[r] S[c] The Enclosed is [c]opy of our last to you Date y[e] 10[th] Decemb[r] Sent by Darby Mary & Maremaid who Sa[i]lled from Sagor y[e] 17[th] Said Month, This comes [Pr] Kent on whom by our Ma[s]ters orders we have Laden Sundry goods to y[e] am[t] of Rupees 507[s] 9 [...] 9 as [Pr] Invoice & Bill of L[a]ding y[e] Arrack is y[e] be[s]t [Be]rno[ve] and carefully put up in tight [c]a[s]ks a Mu[s]ter of which comes in a B[ott]ulo of pre[s] [s]eal[e]d, and doubt not but it will [P]rove Extraordinary & without any Leakage we shall not fail to Supply you when Oppertunity offers We are	Letter to the Worshipful the Governor and Council of St Helena. Worshipful Sir, Enclosed was a copy of the previous letter, dated 10 December, sent by the <i>Derby</i>, the <i>Mary</i> and the <i>Mermaid</i>, which sailed from Sagor on the 17th of the same month. The present letter came by the <i>Kent</i>, on which, by the directors' orders, sundry goods had been laden to the amount of 507 rupees, 9 [annas] and 9 [pies], as appeared by the invoice and bill of lading. The arrack was of the best [Bernove] and carefully put up in tight casks. A sample was sent in a sealed bottle. The same was not doubted to prove of extraordinary quality, and free of leakage.

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		Wor[s]hipfull S[r] &c[a] Your Humble Servants Fort William February y[e] 7[th] 17[12/13] Rob[t] Hedges Alex[r] Eddams Sam[l] Feake J[m] Williamson Edw[d] Cage J[n] Browne J[n]o Deane Cap[t] Lawrence Minter You are de[s]ired and Or[d]er[e]d to deliver the Severall goods and Merchandize on board your Ship Con[s]igned us by the [P]re[s]ident & [c]ouncil of Bengall as Soon as [P]o[s]sible you can By order of y[e] R[t] Wor[s]hip Benj[mn] Boucher E[s]q[r] Gov[r] and Councill ([s]ign[e]d) John Alexander	No opportunity was to be missed of supplying St Helena as occasion offered. Issued from Fort William, 7 February 1713. Signed Robert Hedges, Alexander Eddams, Samuel Feake, J. Williamson, Edward Cage, J. Browne and J. Deane. Order to Captain Lawrence Minter. Captain Lawrence Minter was directed and ordered to deliver the several goods and merchandise aboard his ship, consigned to the council by the President and Council of Bengal, as soon as was practicable. By order of the Right Worshipful Benjamin Boucher Esquire, Governor, and the Council. Signed John Alexander. Interpretations The Bengal letter, signed by seven members of the Fort William council, demonstrates the substantial administrative weight of the Bengal presidency by this date, with a far larger collegial body governing the Asian factory than was available at the modest St Helena outpost. The precise specification of the cargo value in rupees, annas and pies, paired with the parallel mention of the sterling-denominated bills of exchange in earlier correspondence, illustrates the multi-currency accounting system within which the Company operated, with each presidency keeping its books in the local denominations of its host territory. The dispatch of a sealed sample bottle of arrack as a quality guarantee reflects a sophisticated commercial practice, with the Bengal council providing in advance the means by which the St Helena administration could verify whether the bulk cargo matched the represented quality, anticipating the very complaints that had been made about previous shipments. The standardised order form by which Captain Minter was directed to deliver his cargo, signed not by the Governor and councillors themselves but by John Alexander "by order" of the Governor, reveals the routine administrative practice that had developed at the island, with secretarial authority sufficient for the simpler instruments while substantive correspondence still required the council's collective signature. Speculations The careful note that the arrack came from Sagor by the <i>Derby</i>, <i>Mary</i> and <i>Mermaid</i> on 17 December, with the present letter following nearly two months later by the <i>Kent</i>, suggests an established pattern of staggered despatches from Bengal, with each Indiaman carrying its own consignment and the supply chain to St Helena thereby protected against the loss of any single vessel. The reference to the arrack as "the best Bernove" and the careful sample procedure indicate that the Bengal council had identified specific suppliers whose product was reliable, with the brand or origin name "Bernove" perhaps serving as a guarantee of quality understood by both shippers and receivers. The presence of John Alexander as signatory to the order, in the place of the council, suggests that he had recovered his standing in island administration following the various controversies that had attached to his name in earlier correspondence, with his role as council secretary or clerk now restored under the Boucher administration. The unusually large signing council at Fort William, with seven names where St Helena now mustered only two, hints at the disparity in resources between the great commercial factories of Asia and the supporting victualling station in the South Atlantic, with the directors' attention and personnel naturally concentrated at the points of greatest profit.
108	108	To the Wor[s]p[l] the Go[v] for Affairs of the R[t] Hon[ble] United Engli[s]h Ea[s]t India Company at S[t] Helena	Letter to the Worshipful the Governor for Affairs of the Right Honourable United English East India Company at St Helena. Worshipful Sir,

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		Wor[s]p[ll] S[r] &c We have in obedience to y[e] R[t] Hon[ble] Company[s] orders [P]ut aboard this Ship Howland Sixteen half Leagers of Arrack [...] and Eight Cannasters of Sugar for your place amounting to [P]agodas Two hundred ninty one Thirty four fanams and Sixteen ca[s]h as [P] Invoice and Bill of Loading In Clo[s]e which we wi[s]h may Arrive you in good condition, and that our Hon[ble] Ma[s]ters Affaires under your direction may [P]rove Su[c]ce[s]sfull, and are Wor[s]p[ll] S[r] &c Fort S[t] George Feb[ry] 4[th] 17[12/13] Your very Hum[ble] Servants P[ost] S[cript] E Harri[s]on We Send you two Bottles of [s]ame Sort Tho[s] Frederick of Arrack Seald up with Hamp[as] [s]eal Hen[r] Davenport for a Mu[s]ter W[m] Jennings Beck Berl[i]on W[m] Warre Rich[d] Horden J Smart Cap[t] Sam[ll] Lewis[c] You are de[s]ired and order'd to deliver the Severall Goods and Stores you have on board your Ship Con[s]ign'd to us by y[e] Gov[r] &c[a] Council of Fort S[t] George as Soon as Po[s]sible you can We are Your Loving Friends United Castle S[t] Helena June y[e] 15[th] 1713	In obedience to the directors' orders, sixteen half-leagers of arrack and eight canisters of sugar were put aboard the <i>Howland</i> for St Helena, to the value of two hundred and ninety-one pagodas, thirty-four fanams and sixteen cash, as appeared by the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. The same was hoped to arrive in good condition, with prosperity wished to the directors' affairs under the council's direction. Issued from Fort St George, 4 February 1713. Signed E. Harrison, Thomas Frederick, Henry Davenport, William Jennings, Beck Berlion, William Warre, Richard Horden and J. Smart. Postscript: Two bottles of the same sort of arrack were sent, sealed up with the Company seal as a sample. Order to Captain Samuel Lewis. Captain Samuel Lewis was directed and ordered to deliver the several goods and stores aboard his ship, consigned to the council by the Governor and Council of Fort St George, as soon as was practicable. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 15 June 1713. Interpretations The Madras council's letter, signed by eight members, demonstrates the substantial collegial governance practised at Fort St George, comparable to the similar body at Fort William in Bengal, with both Asian presidencies operating administrative establishments far larger than the small St Helena council. The denomination of the cargo value in pagodas, fanams and cash, contrasting with the Bengal use of rupees, annas and pies, illustrates the differing currency systems of the various Indian presidencies, with the Madras pagoda functioning as the principal unit of account at Fort St George while Bengal kept its books in northern Indian denominations. The simultaneous despatch of bulk arrack accompanied by two sealed sample bottles, paralleling the practice followed at Fort William, demonstrates the convergence of supply procedures across the Company's Asian factories, with both presidencies now sending sealed musters as a quality guarantee against the kind of complaints previously raised by St Helena. The formal order to Captain Samuel Lewis, issued at St Helena in mid-June from cargo that had been laden at Madras in early February, illustrates the typical four-month transit time between the Indian factories and the South Atlantic island, with the Madras council's directions translated into local action upon the ship's arrival. Speculations The despatch of eight canisters of sugar alongside the arrack, set against earlier complaints about the supply of liquor from Bombay and Bengal, hints at Madras emerging as an alternative source of these key commodities, with the Fort St George council perhaps building a regular relationship with St Helena as a means of demonstrating its commercial efficiency to the directors. The arrival of the <i>Howland</i> at the island, followed by the order of 15 June for Captain Lewis to deliver the cargo, suggests the operational rhythm by which St Helena now received shipments from multiple Asian presidencies in close succession, with separate consignments from Bengal in the <i>Kent</i> and from Madras in the <i>Howland</i> both processed through the same administrative procedures. The use of the Company seal to authenticate the sample bottles of arrack reflects an institutional response to the recurring quality disputes, with the formal sealing process serving both as a quality guarantee and as a mechanism by which the receiving council could verify that the sample had not been tampered with in transit.

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			The presence of seven or eight signatories on each Asian presidency letter, contrasting with the much-reduced council at St Helena, demonstrates the demographic and political weight of the great Indian factories within the Company's wider establishment, with the metropolitan governance of the trading network distributed unequally across its various nodes.
109	109	Hon[ble] S[r]s 1 Since our la[s]t by y[e] Jn[o] & Elizabeth and Arabella of y[e] 9[th] & 15[th] of April[l] la[s]t of which comes here a [c]opy Arriv[e]d here y[e] following Ships v[i]z[t] First concerning Shipping 2 The Heyne Cap[t] John Lane on y[e] 6[th] of May from Cay[s]ton The Kent Cap[t] Lawrence Minter on Ditto from y[e] [c]oa[s]t & Bay The Heathcote Cap[t] Joseph Tol[s]on on y[e] 30 May from Bombay [...] [...] forn[i] [c]ape Tho[s] Montague Cap[t] James S[t]eaks The Howland Cap[t] Sam Lewis who Succeeded Cap[t] Cock on y[e] 14 June from Cay[s]ton and y[e] Fort who touch[t] at y[e] [c]ape, and brought us y[e] news of y[e] Ships H[an]nover [c]adigan and Frederick being there outward bound and that y[e] King William had been there and Sa[i]l[e]d for Bengall Cap[t] Lane informd us, that he met y[e] Abbingdon Cap[t] Le[s]ly off of y[e] [P]ines i[s]l[and] of Am[s]terdam within four Leagues of [B]atavia about y[e] 22[d] of February la[s]t 3 Having wrote y[e]r Hon[rs] at large in our afore[s]aid Letters and an[s]wered every [P]arragraph by [P]arragraph [P]r Abbingdon as well as all others tha[t]s need[ful]l by the Toddington & Thi[s]tleworth, Shall be very brief in this by rea[s]on of th[i]s Ship[s] hurry[i]ng away a month Sooner then we Expected a[c]cording to v[s]ual [c]u[s]tome and if any thing is omitted we Shall Endeavour to amend it by our next 4 We hope your Hon[rs] Will be plea[s]ed with our [P]roceedings about unlading the Abbingdon and what el[s]e relates there to mentioned at large in our 6 [P]arragraph of y[e] 7[th] April 5 The neglect of not Sending an Indent of what Goods & Stores we want apart with y[e] Generall Letter is now amended & Shall ob[s]erve y[e] Same in future Secondly concerning Goods or Stores receiv'd from England or India 6 We have rec[d] from Bengall by Ship Kent 5 Leagers of Batavia Arrack (but none of y[e] be[s]t as they call it) 15 Baggs Sugar y[t] 2578 [lb] neat 13 Baggs of Rice y[t] 2168 [lb] half[s], & by Ship Howland 16 Ca[s]ks of [...]z[s]o and eight [c]anna[s]ters of Sugar from Fort S[t] George as will appear by [c]opys of their Letters and Invoices herewith Tran[s]mitted [H]ap[ing] y[r] will continue [P]rime to prevent our Buying out of Shipping which una[v]oidable [Nec]e[s]sity hath for y[e] [P]re[s]ervation of y[e]r [P]eople, Lives & health on this place [...] upon buying what Rice and Arrack we po[s]sible could out of the[s]e Ships which were agreed for before y[e] Arrival of y[e] [F]l[ee]t and as will appear more [P]lainly now [c]on[s]ultation of y[e] 4[th] In[s]tant with y[e] Rea[s]ons for So doing pre[s]uming its [P]ur[s]uant to y[e] Hon[s] 35 & 43 [P]aragraph [P]r Toddington, and altho y[e] [Q]uantity is great yet we don't at all doubt of di[s]po[s]ing of it in a Small time and to y[e] Hon[rs] Advantage having Settled y[e] [P]rices o[ut] all we bought at Six [P]er Gallon for y[e] Arrack and 3[s] [s] for y[e] [...] [P]undar[s] for what brought [...] none by y[e] Howland & Kent we Shall have regard to y[e]r Hon[rs] 37[th] [P]aragraph by y[e] Toddington as we had to y[e] [c]argo brought by her from England 7 We begg your Hon[rs] amongst other things formerly Indented for to Supply us w[ith] [...] mention[e]d [P]r Jno & Elizabeth a [c]opy of which is now Sent again	Honourable Sirs, 1: Since the previous despatches by the <i>John and Elizabeth</i> and the <i>Arabella</i>, of 9 and 15 April last, copies of which were enclosed, the following ships arrived at the island. First, concerning shipping. 2: The <i>Heyne</i> under Captain John Lane arrived on 6 May from Canton. The <i>Kent</i> under Captain Lawrence Minter arrived on the same date from the Coast and Bay. The <i>Heathcote</i> under Captain Joseph Tolson arrived on 30 May from Bombay [...] [from the] Cape. The <i>Thomas Montague</i> under Captain James Streaks [arrived around the same time]. The <i>Howland</i> under Captain Samuel Lewis, who succeeded Captain Cock, arrived on 14 June from Canton and the Fort. The <i>Howland</i> had touched at the Cape, and brought news of the ships <i>Hanover</i>, <i>Cardigan</i> and <i>Frederick</i> lying there outward bound, and of the <i>King William</i>, which had been at the Cape and sailed for Bengal. Captain Lane reported that he met the <i>Abingdon</i> under Captain Lesly off the Pines island of Amsterdam, within four leagues of Batavia, about 22 February last. 3: As lengthy letters had been despatched by the <i>John and Elizabeth</i> and the <i>Arabella</i>, with every paragraph answered by paragraph in the despatch by the <i>Abingdon</i>, and with all other necessary matters answered by the <i>Toddington</i> and the <i>Thistleworth</i>, the present letter was to be very brief. The present ship was hurrying away a month sooner than was expected by usual custom. If any matter was omitted, the same was to be amended by the next despatch. 4: The directors were hoped to be satisfied with the council's proceedings regarding the unlading of the <i>Abingdon</i> and the related matters set out at length in the sixth paragraph of the letter of 7 April. 5: The neglect of not sending an indent of wanted goods and stores apart with the General Letter was now amended, and the same practice was to be observed in future. Secondly, concerning goods or stores received from England or India. 6: From Bengal, by the <i>Kent</i>, were received five leagers of Batavia arrack - none of the best, as they styled it - fifteen bags of sugar, weighing 2,578 pounds net, and thirteen bags of rice, weighing 2,168 pounds net. By the <i>Howland</i> were received sixteen casks of [arrack] and eight canisters of sugar from Fort St George, as appeared by the copies of letters and invoices transmitted herewith. The directors were hoped to continue to send prime quality goods, in order to prevent the buying of supplies out of shipping. Unavoidable necessity, however, had compelled such purchases for the preservation of the people's lives and health on the island, and what rice and arrack could be procured was taken out of the present ships, the same having been agreed for before the arrival of the fleet. The reasons were set out in the consultation of the 4th instant. The action was presumed to accord with the directors' thirty-fifth and forty-third paragraphs in the <i>Toddington</i> letter. Although the quantity was great, no doubt was entertained that the same was to be disposed of in a short time to the directors' advantage. Prices were settled at six [pence] per gallon for the arrack and three shillings sixpence for the sugar [from the items bought from the <i>Howland</i> and the <i>Kent</i>]. Regard was to be had to the directors' thirty-seventh paragraph in the <i>Toddington</i>

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			letter, as had been done with the cargo brought by her from England. 7: Among other things formerly indented for, the directors were entreated to supply the items mentioned in the despatch by the <i>John and Elizabeth</i>, of which a copy was now sent again. Interpretations The arrival of five Company ships within a six-week period in May and June, drawn from Canton, the Coast and Bay, Bombay, and other Asian destinations, illustrates the concentrated character of the early summer shipping season at St Helena, with the council facing the simultaneous administrative load of receiving cargo from multiple presidencies. The systematic intelligence-gathering practice is again evident, with each arriving captain contributing news of further ships seen at the Cape or in Asian waters, allowing the council to assemble a comprehensive picture of fleet movements for transmission to the directors. The detailed pricing of the arrack and sugar purchased from visiting ships, set against the citation of specific paragraphs in the <i>Toddington</i> letter, demonstrates how the council was attempting to demonstrate that its discretionary purchases fell within the parameters authorised by the directors, with each transaction defended by reference to specific instructions. The candid acknowledgement that the Bengal arrack was "none of the best, as they call it" reveals the developing language of quality classification, with the council noting the explicit grading by which the Bengal council itself had identified the inferior nature of the present shipment. Speculations The note that the present ship was "hurrying away a month sooner" than expected hints at the operational pressures that drove the timing of the homeward fleet, with strategic or weather considerations sometimes overriding the council's preferred administrative schedule and forcing brief rather than thorough despatches. The reported encounter between Captain Lane and the <i>Abingdon</i> near Batavia, with Captain Lesly's vessel reaching the Indonesian archipelago by late February, indicates the broad geographical scope of Company shipping operations, with St Helena's correspondence now incorporating intelligence drawn from the distant Indonesian seas as well as from the Cape and India. The reference to the <i>Howland</i>'s succession of Captain Lewis to the command formerly held by Captain Cock illustrates the personnel changes that occurred in mid-voyage among the captains of the Company's eastern fleet, with replacements made at intermediate ports when commanders died, fell sick or were otherwise unable to continue. The defensive framing of the council's commercial purchases - presented as "unavoidable necessity for the preservation of the people's lives and health" and explicitly tied to specific authorising paragraphs in the directors' instructions - suggests the continuing administrative pressure under which the council operated, with every discretionary decision carefully justified against the possibility of subsequent challenge from London.
110	110	8 In our 13[th] [P]arragraph of [s]a[id] Letter we wrote fully about y[e] Storekeepers Neglect & Books being not made up to any monthly A[c]co[s] tho[ugh]t in which M[r] Bazett Says i[t] Impo[s]sible to be done and Sent home by this Shipping Cap[t] [P]ack having left a whole years A[c]co[s] of good[s] Sold un[P]o[s]ted &c[a] brought to any [P]articuler head and Since his death great time hath been taken up in over hauling y[e] Stores taking An A[c]co[s] in a Better Method and bringing up y[e] Said A[c]co[s] which M[r] Bazett hopes to fini[s]h to	8: The previous letter, in its thirteenth paragraph, addressed at length the storekeeper's neglect and the failure to make up the books to any monthly account. Mr Bazett declared that compliance was impossible during the present shipping season. Captain Pack left a whole year's accounts of goods sold unposted and not brought to any particular head. Since his death, considerable time was taken up in overhauling the stores, taking an account in a better method, and bringing up the said books. Mr Bazett hoped to finish

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		y[e] 25 March la[s]t in a Little time more and Copys out again[s]t y[e] next Winter Ships Errors hone Thirdly touching affairs in Generall 9 The Money advanc'd to Gov[r] Boucher and Cap[t] Pack we advi[s]ed in our la[s]t [P]aragraph 18 was long Since [e]harg'd to their A[c]co[s] and hone[s]tly p[ai]d as y[e] Gov[r] promi[s]es to See every thing el[s]e done while he lives here which he begs of your Hon[rs] may it be longer than [his] contracted time being very de[s]jirous to return for England by y[e] next Summer Shipp[i]ng and that it may be Sooner Effected de[s]jires that Such Leave may be Sent out by y[e] foir[st] outward bound Ship that touches at y[e] [c]ape to be forwarded heether by y[e] foir[s]t conveyance 10 We herewith Send your Hon[rs] [c]opy of our Con[s]ultations to y[e] 4[th] June an A[c]co[s] of families land and Cattle for y[e] year 1712 An A[c]co[s] of Gunners Stores Expen[d]ed and remaining for three years pa[s]t with [c]opy of Lettrs y[e] Govern[r] wrote to India and al[s]o [c]opys rec[d] from thence, and would have Sent every thing el[s]e, pur[s]uant to your Honours 50 [P]aragraph: The Toddington[on] if [s]he had the[s]e Ships not Sailed So Suddenly having had a great Soll of Bu[s]ine[s]s and Lea[s]es be[s]ides other matters that O[c]curr[s] which is now [P]retty well over 11 We can't by no mea[n]s omitt informing your Hon[rs] (to our daily trouble and great concern) that this Place is now in a very deplorable Condition for want of Rain the[s]e months pa[s]t which hath O[c]ca[s]ion'd y[e] death of abundance of Cattle, be[s]ides Hoggs Goats &c[a] and reduced Severall [in]habitants Stock very Low, Your Hon[rs] Since y[e] 25 March La[s]t having lo[s]t nigh 60 head and likely to lo[s]e a great many more which out of 297 A[c]c[c]e[s] in [c]on[s]ultation of y[e] [w]hole Stock of y[e] 31[s]t &c[a] la[s]t will appear is a great Lo[s]s and Vi[s]ible Decrea[s]e Whereupon begg y[r] Hon[rs] to Supply us in this our nece[s]sity with a good [Q]uantity of Salt [P]rovi[s]ions Bread & flow[er] from England as Soon as po[s]sible, otherwi[s]e t'will be Some years before any [c]attle can be rai[s]ed to Sello to Shipping a Nay we much Doubt whether there will be Su[ff]icient with y[e] Greate[s]t frugality to Serve your Hon[rs] Table; and y[e] Inhabitants families [...] they [s]hift and make y[e] harde[s]t [s]hift we e[v]er thank[s] [t]o[t]o Sub[s]i[s]t, which indeed is the [C]he[a]p re[a]son we b[r]ught So much Rice and [P]rack[s] and is very welcome and plea[s]ing to the [P]oor [P]eople for relief in this Extremitie and want of [P]rovi[s]ions 12 As to Bills of Exchainge which our [P]re[s]ident nece[s]sity Obliges us to draw on your Honours we Shall take care to mention as Expre[s]sed in y[e] 31[st] [P]aragraph by Toddington &c[a] 13 We have in Obedience to your Honours 39[th] [P]arragraph of Toddington Employ'd two or three of y[e] young fellows in our [s]elves of Trade therein mentioned and would more had we time and without a Speed[y] supply of Blacks twill be impo[s]sible to carry on and improve your Hon[rs] [P]lantations, tho[s]e we have being mo[s]t very Ancient and U[s]eles[s] 14 In our [C]on[s]ultation of y[e] 9[th] Decem[r] la[s]t your Hon[rs] has an A[c]co[s] of all your Cattle L[i]ve [P]rovi[s]ions, and as to what Gov[r] Roberts Says in his Letter mention'd in y[e] 53[r] [...]	the same to 25 March last in a little time more, and to have copies ready against the next winter ships. Errors excepted. Thirdly, touching affairs in general. 9: The money advanced to Governor Boucher and Captain Pack, of which advice was given in the eighteenth paragraph of the previous letter, was long since charged to their accounts and honestly paid. The Governor promised to see everything else done while he remained on the island. He entreated the directors that his stay was not to be longer than his contracted time, being very desirous to return for England by the next summer shipping. To effect this the sooner, leave was requested to be sent out by the first outward-bound ship touching at the Cape, to be forwarded thence by the first conveyance. 10: Herewith were sent a copy of the consultations to 4 June, an account of the families, lands and cattle for the year 1712, an account of the gunner's stores expended and remaining for the three years past, copies of the letters the Governor wrote to India, and copies of those received from thence. Everything else required by the directors' fiftieth paragraph in the <i>Toddington</i> letter was to have been forwarded had the present ships not sailed so suddenly. A great deal of business had occurred, together with leases and other matters, the same being now pretty well concluded. 11: It was by no means to be omitted, to the council's daily trouble and great concern, that the island was now in a very deplorable condition for want of rain these months past. The drought occasioned the death of abundance of cattle, besides hogs, goats and other livestock, and reduced the stock of several inhabitants very low. The directors had lost near sixty head since 25 March last, and many more were likely to be lost. From a total of two hundred and ninety-seven head as appeared by the consultation on the whole stock of the 31st [last], the loss was a great one and the decrease very visible. The directors were therefore entreated to supply the island in its necessity with a good quantity of salt provisions, bread and flour from England, as soon as possible. Otherwise, some years were to pass before any cattle were to be raised again to sell to shipping. Doubt was indeed entertained whether there was to be sufficient stock, even with the greatest frugality, to serve the directors' table and the inhabitants' families. The people made the hardest shift they had ever made, thanks be to God, to subsist. This was the chief reason that so much rice and arrack were bought, the same being very welcome and pleasing to the poor people for relief in the extremity and want of provisions. 12: As to bills of exchange, which present necessity obliged the council to draw upon the directors, care was to be taken to mention the same as expressed in the thirty-first paragraph of the <i>Toddington</i> letter. 13: In obedience to the directors' thirty-ninth paragraph of the <i>Toddington</i> letter, two or three of the young fellows were employed in the trade mentioned therein, and more were to be employed had time permitted. Without a speedy supply of slaves, however, it was impossible to carry on and improve the directors' plantations. Those slaves the island had were mostly very ancient and useless. 14: In the consultation of 9 December last, the directors had an account of all the cattle and live provisions. As to what Governor Roberts said in his letter mentioned in the fifty-third [paragraph] [...] Interpretations Mr Bazett's defence of the storekeeping situation - with the inherited disorder from Captain Pack's death used to explain the delay in producing the books - illustrates the cumulative effect of personnel losses on the administration, with each death disrupting the documentary continuity that the directors required.

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			The Governor's request for permission to return to England by the next summer shipping, combined with the explicit plea for the leave to be despatched by an outward-bound ship calling at the Cape, reveals the careful planning required for communications across the South Atlantic, with a single missed sailing potentially adding many months to the time before the leave could take effect. The detailed account of cattle losses - sixty head out of two hundred and ninety-seven, with more expected - demonstrates the agricultural crisis that the drought had brought upon the island, with the foundation of the colonial economy at risk and the prospect of multiple years required for recovery. The phrase "the people made the hardest shift they ever made, thanks be to God, to subsist" reveals the desperate condition of the inhabitants, with the formal acknowledgement of divine assistance combined with practical pleas for emergency supply from London. Speculations The Governor's evident eagerness to return to England, set against the controversies that had marked his administration and the directors' "angry letter" of November 1712, suggests that he had concluded his position at St Helena was no longer tenable, with the request for early release perhaps offered as preferable to the prospect of dismissal. The detailed description of the drought, the cattle losses and the desperation of the inhabitants may have served as a strategic argument as well as a factual report, with the council perhaps using the present emergency to justify both the bulk purchases of rice and arrack from visiting ships and the broader request for substantial provisions from England. The reference to "the hardest shift they ever made" by the inhabitants hints at deeper social distress, with the drought conditions producing not only animal losses but human privation that the council was careful to bring to the directors' attention as a matter requiring urgent metropolitan response. The continuing repetition of the need for additional slaves, framed as essential to the cultivation of the directors' plantations, demonstrates the consistent dependence of the colonial economic project on the expansion of unfree labour, with the council showing no other strategy by which the agricultural decline might be reversed.
111	111	[P]er Toddington, That y[e] Goates de[s]troy all [...] [...] y[e] I[s]land [s]peedily ruind if they were not killd, We don't think mo[s]t Yea[s]able a venefice all either to your Honours or y[e] Inhabitants, for that Goates Generally Ranges in y[e] out parts of y[e] I[s]land near[t] the Sea where nothing el[s]e can a few Trees Grow except Truits which is of no u[s]e and they Live with le[s]ser care than any thing el[s]e and is very ready meat and Save[s] y[e] killing of [C]attle and con[s]equently of Service to the whole I[s]land as well as Shipping 15 Your Honours [P]lantations are all Fenced in as well as [P]o[s]sible we could with y[e] few hands we have but its imp[o]ssible to fence y[e] Great Wood and had we never So many hands y[e] charge in doing of it would be more than any advantage to your Honours, and as to tho[s]e Trees being Bark'd for [T]anning Leather mentioned in y[e] 65 [P]arragraph [P]r Toddingtons however [s]leed in or near y[e] Great Wood, but under y[e] Maine Redge called Redwood Trees & but and mo[s]t [P]ropper for building Hou[s]es, of which there's but very few alive y[e] nature of the[s]e Trees Seldome [P]roducing any young ones altho inclo[s]ed where as Gunwood do[t]h 16 In y[e] 8[th] [P]arragh[r] [P]r Toddington tis Said Cap[t] Roberts was of opinion, it was not for y[e] Hon[rs] Intere[s]t to lea[s]e out any more of y[e] Lands, to which we are of [c]ontrary opinion, for where there's	According to Governor Roberts letter, as mentioned in the <i>Toddington</i> despatch, the goats destroyed the [vegetation] and the island was to be speedily ruined if they were not killed. The council was not of that opinion. The killing of goats was held to be beneficial neither to the directors nor to the inhabitants. Goats generally ranged in the outer parts of the island near the sea, where nothing else grew except a few trees yielding fruits of no use. The goats lived with less care than any other animal, provided very ready meat, saved the killing of cattle and were consequently of service to the whole island as well as to the shipping. 15: The directors' plantations were all fenced in as well as was possible with the few hands available. It was, however, impossible to fence the Great Wood. Even with ever so many hands available, the charge of doing so was to be more than any advantage to the directors. As to the trees being barked for tanning leather, mentioned in the sixty-fifth paragraph of the <i>Toddington</i> letter, such trees as were to be found in or near the Great Wood grew under the Main Ridge and were called Redwood trees. They were most proper for the building of houses, of which very few remained alive. The nature of these trees was seldom to produce any young ones, even where enclosed, whereas the Gumwood did.

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		wa[s]t Land Lying farr from any of your [P]lantations and no u[s]e for it, We [P]re[s]ume tis better to Lea[s]e that out than keep it without bringing one Farthing [P]ro[fit]t to y[e]r Hon[rs] 17 Your Honours had no O[c]ca[s]ion to Send y[e] Mill or other Uten[s]ils for making Sugar finding that Experiment not to An[s]wer y[e] trouble & [c]harge 18 As to what Lands your Hon[r] mentions in your 67 [P]arragh[r] [P]r Ship afore[s]aid of being chang[e]d with y[e] [P]lant Sea for better, we know little or nothing of [it] but Shall for y[e] future ob[s]erve your orders herein as well as all others which in this Hurry may have Slip[t] over Fourthly touching Forti[fi]cations and Building &c[a] 19 We Begg your Honours to Send us y[e] Long Boate or [P]inn[a]ce for fetching Lime and Stone from Sandy Bay mentiond in our 39 [P]arragh[r] tha[t] we have beginning to deca[y] and fear will be un[s]erviceable before can buy one had we [a]l[rea]d[y] an Oppertunity[s] 20 All Timber for y[e] new Stone Hou[s]e is about framing and Setting and will begin y[e] Stonework when y[e] Ships are gone, So what Tiles th[at]s wanting for y[e] Garri[s]on Stores Barrucks for y[e] Soldiers &c[a] We	16: In the eighth paragraph of the <i>Toddington</i> letter, Captain Roberts was reported as of opinion that it was not for the directors' interest to lease out any more of the lands. The council was of contrary opinion. Where waste land lay far from any of the directors' plantations, and no use was to be made of it, it was presumed better to lease the same out than to keep it without bringing one farthing of profit to the directors. 17: The directors had no occasion to send the mill or other utensils for the making of sugar. The experiment was found not to answer the trouble and charge involved. 18: As to the lands mentioned in the sixty-seventh paragraph of the <i>Toddington</i> letter, said to be exchanged with the [Plain Sea] for the better, the council knew little or nothing of the matter. The orders contained therein were to be observed in future, together with all others that in the present hurry might have slipped over. Fourthly, touching fortifications and buildings. 19: The directors were entreated to send the long boat or pinnacle for fetching lime and stone from Sandy Bay, mentioned in the thirty-ninth paragraph. The existing vessel was beginning to decay, and was feared to become unserviceable before another was to be procured, even if opportunity offered. 20: All the timber for the new Stone House was about framing and setting. The stonework was to begin when the present ships were gone. The same applied to the tiles wanting for the garrison stores, the barracks for the soldiers, and other works. Interpretations The vigorous defence of the goats against Governor Roberts call for their elimination illustrates how the council reframed an ecological complaint into a practical argument for the island's food security, with the goats positioned as a hardy alternative meat source whose value was particularly acute during the present drought. The careful botanical distinction between Redwood and Gumwood, with the council noting that the latter readily produced young trees while the former did not, demonstrates the detailed natural-historical knowledge that the colonial administration had accumulated through direct observation of local species, with practical implications for forestry policy that London evidently lacked the basis to determine. The council's open disagreement with Captain Roberts on lease policy, while still acknowledging him as the prior authority, shows the careful manner in which the new administration distanced itself from inherited positions, with the present council making fresh judgements on the substantive questions while preserving the appearance of administrative continuity. The blunt admission that the sugar-making experiment had failed to answer the trouble and charge involved represents an unusual moment of acknowledged unsuccessful enterprise, with the council closing down a project that earlier correspondence had described in confident and ambitious terms. Speculations The defence of the goats, emphasising their role in saving the killing of cattle, may have been particularly pointed in view of the drought-induced cattle losses described in the previous paragraphs, with the council building a case that the alternative meat source was now essential rather than merely useful. The botanical observation that Gumwood reproduced while Redwood did not hints at a difference in seed dispersal or germination ecology that the council had identified empirically, with implications for which species could be cultivated profitably and which were destined for eventual loss regardless of conservation effort. The reversal on lease policy, with the new council favouring the leasing of waste land that Captain Roberts

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			had wished to keep in Company hands, may reflect different views about the most profitable disposition of the directors' assets, with the present administration apparently more interested in generating modest steady rents than in preserving land for future Company use. The pragmatic acceptance that the sugar experiment had failed, combined with the explicit instruction to the directors not to send the mill and utensils that had been requested, suggests that the council had reached the limits of what could be attempted on the island with available labour and expertise, with metropolitan ambitions yielding to colonial realities.
112	112	21 We had wrote thus our Letter, thus far when ye[s]terday Evening being the 16 In[s]tant y[e] Su[s]anna Cap[t] Rich[d] [P]ennell Arrived from England with a [P]ackett and Cargo of goods & Merchandize for this [P]lace, our Store and Warehou[s]es are at [P]re[s]ent So full of goods that we Shall be at a lo[s]s where to hou[s]e them, but Shall make y[e] be[s]t Shift we can to Secure [t]hem from Damage 22 If your Hon[rs] had no Ships A[c]co[s] as mention[e]d in your 8 [P]arragraph of Su[s]annas Letter dated y[e] 20 March la[s]t, 'tis not ours nor y[e] [c]lerks fault but wholly the then Storekeepers who has always y[e] manangement of that bu[s]ine[s]s among[s]t others and, we knowing very well they ought to been Sent, was the rea[s]on why mentiond in our Letter, which [P]re[s]ume gave a greater handle than if omitted to make this remark 23 We are greatly concern'd your Honours Should have So ill an opinion of us as to think there was Some Secret ill de[s]igne in buying y[e] Wine out of y[e] Men of Warr and Arrack of Cap[t] Godfrey & Cap[t] Small becau[s]e we forgot to mention y[e] [P]rizes we intended to [s]ell it at, where God knows we de[s]ign'd it only for your [P]ro[f]itts and good of the Inhabitants, which we Shall an[s]wer more fully in our next believe[ing] our [s]elves to be as Ju[s]t and Hone[s]t as any our [P]rede[c]e[s]sors 24 When y[e] La[s]t Summers Shipping was here, there was no Scarcety of Beef nor did we [s]ell any except y[e] better part is but at 20 [c]a[s]h y[e] be[s]t at 25 which is as much as y[e] [P]lanters [s]ells it for to y[e] Com[m]anders and as to the hint of a better [P]re[c]ed[en]t in our [P]rede[c]e[s]sors time our own di[s]cre[s]tion di[c]tated us to Act for your Intere[s]t as we did in putting of the Madra Wine when began to turn Sower with y[e] Arrack, yet we are blamed for [s]ell this 25 Your Hon[rs] likewi[s]e blame us for not in[s]pecting & [P]articularizing the Bale goods that was rotten and Damaged brought by y[e] Su[c]ce[s]s We [s]ay when [s]aid Bales was open'd y[e] wear all [P]eices look't fair to y[e] Eye and no Signes of any Such damage nor was it discernable to tho[s]e that bought [t]m tho they took their choice till open'd End for End, and not till wa[s]h'd E[s]pecially the Sannoos being Stiffen'd very much and Glo[s]sey 26 We are glad to hear that your Hon[rs] were plea[s]d with tho[s]e A[c]co[s] mention[ed] in your 21 [P]arragraph, which was done and put into a method by M[r] Alexa[nder] who you your[s]elves owns to be a much better Officer than M[r] Free, and gave [him] Encouragement to rein[s]tate him in your 60 [P]aragraph by y[e] Toddington and was not Sent you, till [s]aid, Alexander took an Othe out of that Letter by y[e] Gov[r] in due to See what was mo[s]t need[ful] to be Sent you by that Summers Shipping of your Hon[rs] [P]lea[s]e to receive [c]opy of our [c]on[s]ultations, you'll find in that of [the] y[e] 8 April[l]: M[r] Griffith in y[e] mine was order'd to draw up a [c]harge again[s]t him, and on y[e] 30[th] May following was re[s]tored thinking him then and believ[ing] [...] him still to be Guiltle[s]s y[e] A[c]cu[s]ation chang'd on him, As to y[e] La[s]t	21: The letter was being written to this point when, the previous evening of the 16th instant, the <i>Susanna</i> under Captain Richard Pennell arrived from England, with a packet and a cargo of goods and merchandise for the island. The stores and warehouses were already so full of goods that the council was at a loss where to house the new arrivals. The best shift was to be made to secure the goods from damage. 22: If the directors had no ships' accounts, as mentioned in the eighth paragraph of the <i>Susanna's</i> letter dated 20 March last, the omission was not the council's fault nor the clerks', but wholly the then storekeeper's. He always had the management of that business among other matters. The council, knowing well the necessity of sending such accounts, mentioned the matter in the previous letter. It was presumed that this very mention gave the directors a greater handle for the present remark than if the matter were omitted. 23: It was a matter of great concern that the directors held so ill an opinion of the council as to think some secret ill design lay behind the purchase of wine out of the Men of War and arrack from Captain Godfrey and Captain Small, by reason of the council's having forgotten to mention the prices at which the goods were to be sold. God knew the council designed those purchases only for the directors' profits and the good of the inhabitants. A fuller answer was to be made in the next despatch. The council believed itself to be as just and honest as any of its predecessors. 24: When the last summer's shipping was at the island, there was no scarcity of beef. None was sold by the council save at twenty cash for the better part, and the best at twenty-five, which was as much as the planters sold their beef to the commanders for. As to the hint of a better precedent in the council's predecessors' time, the council's own discretion dictated acting for the directors' interest, as was done in putting off the Madeira wine when it began to turn sour, together with the arrack. Yet the council was blamed even for this. 25: The directors likewise blamed the council for not inspecting and particularising the bale goods that were rotten and damaged, as brought by the <i>Success</i>. When the bales were opened, however, the pieces all appeared fair to the eye, with no visible signs of damage. The defects were not discernible to those who bought the goods, though they took their choice, until the bales were opened end for end and the cloth washed. The Saunoos in particular was very stiffened and glossy, which concealed the underlying defects. 26: The council was glad to hear that the directors were pleased with the accounts mentioned in the twenty-first paragraph. These were done and put into method by Mr Alexander, whom the directors themselves acknowledged to be a much better officer than Mr Free, and to whom encouragement was given for reinstatement in the sixtieth paragraph of the <i>Toddington</i> letter. The accounts were not sent until Alexander took an oath out of that letter by the Governor, in order to determine what was most needful to be sent by that summer's shipping.

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		A[c]co[s] [...] Bills of Exchang[e] not fully Dated is y[e] propper bu[s]ine[s]s (as had before) of [...]	The directors were pleased to receive a copy of the consultations. They were to find in that of 8 April that Mr Griffith was ordered to draw up a charge against him. On 30 May following, Alexander was restored, the council thinking him then, and still believing him, to be guiltless. The accusation was thereafter changed against him. As to the last accounts of bills of exchange not fully dated, this was the proper business, as before, of [...] Interpretations The arrival of the <i>Susanna</i> mid-letter, with the council noting that the stores and warehouses were already too full to receive her cargo, illustrates the operational realities of a small colonial port, where the timing of arrivals could overwhelm the physical capacity of the receiving infrastructure even when supplies were welcome. The careful attribution of missing ship accounts to the late storekeeper, with the council insisting the omission was neither its fault nor the clerks', demonstrates the institutional self-protection that followed in the wake of the storekeeper's death, with all administrative failures of his tenure now confidently laid at his door. The protracted defence against the suspected "secret ill design" behind the wine and arrack purchases reveals how serious the directors' accusations had been, with the council taking pains to disavow any personal profit motive and to assert its honesty in terms equal to those of its predecessors. The detailed account of how the rotten bale goods escaped initial inspection - appearing fair to the eye, glossed by starch, concealed within sealed bales - exposes the difficulty of identifying upstream supply fraud at the receiving end, with damage emerging only after the cloth was washed for use and the original packaging long broken up. Speculations The council's defensive remark that the council's mention of missing accounts in its own letter "gave the directors a greater handle" for criticism suggests the difficult balance the administration had to strike between honest reporting and self-protection, with frank disclosure exposing the council to charges of failure that silence might have spared it. The detailed pricing record - twenty cash for the better part, twenty-five for the best, equal to the planters' price - hints that the council was preparing to demonstrate by specific figures that no profiteering had occurred, with the precise numbers serving as ammunition against the suspicion of irregular dealing. The reference to the Madeira wine being put off "when it began to turn sour" alongside the arrack suggests that the council had blended a deteriorating wine with the spirits as a means of clearing stock that would otherwise have been lost, with the action defended as commercial prudence rather than condemned as adulteration. The complex history of Mr Alexander's reinstatement, charging, restoration and renewed accusation reveals the persistent political instability that surrounded this particular officer, with the council's continued defence of his standing perhaps reflecting his usefulness in technical accounting work that no other available person was able to perform.
113	113	Writers in y[e] Store who brought y[e] Same Ju[s]t as y[e] [P]ackett was ready for [s]ealing up and therefore not [P]o[s]sible to be So exact as your Hon[rs] are plea[s]ed to mention in y[r] 23[d] [P]arragraph 27 The Governour can't but be greatly concern'd about [P]arra[graph] relateing to Cap[t] Heart, when ever Since his Arrival here he hath Saved your Hon[rs] a great Expençe both in Eatables and drink, in not having y[e] Com[m]anders, [P]ur[s]ers Sing & [c] officer[s]	27: The Governor could not but be greatly concerned regarding the paragraph relating to Captain Hart. Ever since the captain's arrival at the island, he had saved the directors a great expense in both eatables and drink, by not having the commanders, pursers, surgeons, officers and other persons belonging to ships in constant company at the Governor's table, as had been done formerly by his predecessors. All these gentlemen were now obliged to take lodgings and diet

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		belonging to Ships [c]on[s]tant [c]omp[a] at your Table as was done formerly by his [P]rede[c]e[s]sors, Where as all the[s]e Gentlemen now are oblig'd to take Lodgings and Diett them[s]elves in y[e] Valley, and does aveer that he never gave any nor knows of any orders to hinder y[e] [s]ale of any Sort of goods belonging to y[e]r Honours whil[s]t Cap[t] Heart had any to [s]ell nor at no other time, Tho 'tis his misfortune to be reproach'd w[th] tho[s]e reflections 28 It has been y[e] An[c]ient [c]u[s]tome and is So Still for all y[e]r Hon[rs] Land Lea[s]ed to be at 4 [P]r Acre be[s]ides y[e] [c]on[s]tant duty of one Shilling and is always taken care of to be paid A[c]cordingly 29 The[s]e Ships being ready to Saile its impo[s]sible to an[s]wer any thing more of your Hon[rs] Letter dated y[e] 20[th] March la[s]t, but by our next [s]hall take all need[ful]l care to An[s]wer every [P]arragraph and Endeavour to [c]lear our [s]elves of Some faults therein mentio[n]d which we are very [s]orry to hear of 30 We have drawn y[e] following Bills of Exchge: on your Hon[rs] which de[s]ire may be A[c]cepted A[c]co[r]dingly L[bs] [...] [...] To M[r] Joshua Tho[m]plinson 3 Bills of Exchge: dated y[e] 17[th] June Pay[y]able at Twenty Days [s]ight for y[e] Sume of 310 [...] [...] To M[r] Sarah [P]ack 3 Bills for y[e] Sume of 48 15 5 To Gabriel [P]oach 2 Bills for [s]ume of 136 [...] [...] To Charles Steward 3 Bills for y[e] Sume of 219 [...] [...] To Henry Francis for y[e] Sume of 83 11 [...] To Samuel Gates [...] 80 5 9 To Anti[P]a[s]s Frewby for 110 [...] [...] To William Beale for 65 21 [...] To Cap[t] [S]teaks 3 Bills for 250 0 2 To Cap[t] Lane 3 Bills for 498 11 [...] To Cap[t] Mu[s]ter 3 Bills for [...] [...] [...] being all dated and payable as before mention'd, The three la[s]t [s]ums will appe[ar] what for in [s]aid Ships A[c]co[s] herewith Tran[s]mitted 31 We have ob[s]erve[d] in our Generall Letter dated y[e] 19[th] July la[s]t and Charles Stewards A[c]c[t] in y[e] Hon[rs] Books here and finds he had Bills of Exchan[g]e for 130 L[bs] of which are inform'd was a mi[s]take 20[s] 100 L[bs] Short that he order'd y[e] [P]ennell to receive in England	themselves in the Valley. The Governor declared that he never gave, nor knew of, any orders to hinder the sale of any sort of goods belonging to the directors while Captain Hart had any to sell, nor at any other time. It was nonetheless his misfortune to be reproached with these reflections. 28: It had been the ancient custom, and was still so, for all the directors' land to be leased at four shillings the acre, besides the constant duty of one shilling. Care was always taken to ensure that the same was paid accordingly. 29: The present ships being ready to sail, it was impossible to answer anything further of the directors' letter dated 20 March last. By the next conveyance, however, all needful care was to be taken to answer every paragraph, and to clear the council of certain faults therein mentioned of which the council was very sorry to hear. 30: The following bills of exchange were drawn upon the directors, the same being requested to be accepted accordingly. To Mr Joshua Thomlinson, three bills of exchange dated 17 June, payable at twenty days' sight, for the sum of three hundred and ten pounds [...]. To Mrs Sarah Pack, three bills for the sum of forty-eight pounds, fifteen shillings and fivepence. To Gabriel Poach, two bills for the sum of one hundred and thirty-six pounds [...]. To Charles Steward, three bills for the sum of two hundred and nineteen pounds [...]. To Henry Francis, for the sum of eighty-three pounds, eleven shillings [...]. To Samuel Gates, [for the sum of] eighty pounds, five shillings and ninepence. To Antipass Frewby, for one hundred and ten pounds [...]. To William Beale, for sixty-five pounds, twenty-one shillings [...]. To Captain Streaks, three bills for two hundred and fifty pounds and twopence. To Captain Lane, three bills for four hundred and ninety-eight pounds and eleven shillings. To Captain Minter, three bills for [...]. All were dated and payable as set out above. The purposes of the last three sums were to appear from the ships' accounts forwarded herewith. 31: It had been observed in the General Letter dated 19 July last, and in Charles Steward's account in the directors' books at the island, that he held bills of exchange for one hundred and thirty pounds. The council was informed that this was a mistake of one hundred pounds short, that being the further sum that Steward had directed the <i>Pennell</i> to receive in England. The opening continuation referred back to the previous paragraph: the figures had been brought up by the writers in the store just as the packet was ready for sealing, and so could not be made so exact as the directors were pleased to mention in their twenty-third paragraph. Interpretations The Governor's vigorous defence on Captain Hart's account, citing the savings achieved by no longer hosting all visiting ships' officers at the Governor's table, illustrates how everyday hospitality choices had become contested territory between London and the colonial administration, with established practices abandoned by the new administration interpreted as snubs by their critics. The detailed list of bills of exchange, totalling over fifteen hundred pounds and involving eleven distinct payees, demonstrates the substantial credit business that the council generated within a single shipping season, with each transaction settled through paper instruments routed to the directors for honouring in London.

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			The closing paragraph correcting Charles Steward's account by one hundred pounds reveals the kind of routine accounting errors that arose at the receiving end of long-distance credit relationships, with the council careful to flag the discrepancy explicitly so that the directors were to settle the correct amount rather than the entered figure. The hurried character of the closing paragraphs, with the council explicitly acknowledging that fuller answers were to be reserved for the next despatch, reflects the practical realities of operating under the time pressure of departing ships, with the priority placed on getting bills and essential information aboard rather than on completing every administrative point. Speculations The Governor's specific claim of savings achieved by abandoning the traditional shipboard hospitality routine hints that this practice may have been a focus of complaint from London, with the directors objecting to the loss of customary courtesies while the Governor framed his choice as a frugal measure for the Company's benefit. The variety of payees in the bills of exchange - private merchants, ship's captains, individual planters and Mrs Sarah Pack, presumably the widow of the late Captain Pack - illustrates the broad range of persons holding credit balances at the island, with the late councillor's family among those whose financial affairs continued to be settled through the Company's instruments. The note that the bills had been brought up by the writers in the store "just as the packet was ready for sealing up" hints at the chaotic conditions of preparing a major despatch, with administrative documents arriving at the last moment and the council unable to perform the exact accounting that more orderly conditions would have permitted. The reference to the <i>Pennell's</i> role in receiving an additional one hundred pounds for Charles Steward in England, set alongside Steward's existing credit at the island, suggests that some islanders maintained parallel financial relationships with both the colonial accounts and direct correspondents in England, with the council attempting to reconcile the various channels through which their affairs were managed.
114	114	32 We have given leave to M[r] [P]ack and her family to return for England in this Fleet likewi[s]e to Antepas Sovey his Wife & Child who was rather a burthen to the I[s]land than otherwi[s]e Al[s]o to one Samuel Gates a Soldier having [s]erv[e]d his Contracted time, We had not granted this Liberty were we not in hopes of a peace 33 We rec[d] a Letter from y[e] Secret [c]ommittee of Shipping dated y[e] 20[th] March 1712 [P] Ship Su[s]anna with order[s] and In[s]tructions to y[e] Severall [c]omanders of this Summers Fleet and 25 Blank French [P]a[s]ses which we have filld up in y[e] French Language and deliver'd to each [c]omander[s] of the[s]e Ships, He[rne] Kent How land Heath cote, and Montague which we hope, will Arrive Safe and are We are S[rs] Hon[orable] S[rs] United Ca[s]tle S[t] Helena Your Hon[rs] mo[s]t Hum: faithfull June y[e] 18[th] 1713 and Obedient Servants B B[oucher] [P] Ships Herne M B[azett] Cap[t] John Lane [c]omander Gentlemen [P]ur[s]uant to yours dated the 20[th] January 1712 We have filld up y[e] Blanks in tho[s]e French [P]a[s]se[s] [s]ent hither by y[e] Su[s]anna for the homeward bound Shipping as you have directed and Deliver'd one to each Ship v[iz] the Herne, Kent, Heathcote Howland and Montague and taken certifi[c]ates fo[r] the Same which we herewith Tran[s]mitt, and are Gentlemen Yo[r] Humble Servants Benjamin Boucher Matthew Bazett To all to whom the[s]e [P]re[s]ents may concern I Jno Lane [c]omander of the Ship Herne Do hereby	32: Leave was granted to Mrs Pack and her family to return for England in the present fleet. Like leave was granted to Antipas Sovey, his wife and child, the family being rather a burden to the island than otherwise. Leave was also granted to one Samuel Gates, a soldier, his contracted time having now been served. Such liberty was granted only on the strength of the hopes entertained of an approaching peace. 33: A letter was received from the Secret Committee of Shipping, dated 20 March 1712, by the <i>Susanna</i>, with orders and instructions to the several commanders of this summer's fleet, together with twenty-five blank French passes. These were filled up in the French language and delivered to the several commanders of the ships at the island, namely the <i>Herne</i>, the <i>Kent</i>, the <i>Howland</i>, the <i>Heathcote</i> and the <i>Montague</i>. The same were hoped to arrive safely. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 18 June 1713. Signed Benjamin Boucher and Matthew Bazett. Per the <i>Herne</i> under Captain John Lane commander. A further letter, on the same subject, was directed to the Secret Committee of Shipping. Gentlemen, Pursuant to the letter dated 20 January 1712, the blanks in the French passes sent by the <i>Susanna</i> for the homeward-bound shipping were filled up as directed. One pass was delivered to each ship, namely the <i>Herne</i>, the <i>Kent</i>, the <i>Heathcote</i>, the <i>Howland</i> and the <i>Montague</i>.

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		[c]erti[f]ied that I have rec[ei]v[e]d of y[e] R[t] Wor[s]hip[ll] Benj[mn] Boucher E[s]q[r] Govern[r] &c [c]oun[ll] of y[e] I[s]land S[t] Helena One French [P]a[s]s in [P]ackett with y[e] Blanks filld up in writing in y[e] French Language V[i]z[t] foir[s]t with y[e] Name, 2[d] of [c]aptaine [s]econdly with y[e] name of y[e] Ship Thirdly y[e] Number of Tuns fourth[ly] y[e] Number of Guns, fifthly with y[e] Number of Men, Hav[ing] twe[en] with my Seal[e], the la[s]t but one with [s]ynt[ax] of y[e] [c]omander and y[e] La[s]t of [a]ll with Eighteen Months Witne[s] my hand this 18[th] day of June 1713 J[n] Lane	Certificates for the same were taken, the same being transmitted herewith. Signed Benjamin Boucher and Matthew Bazett. A certificate was furnished by Captain John Lane, in the following form. To All Whom These Presents May Concern. John Lane, commander of the ship <i>Herne</i>, hereby acknowledged the receipt from the Right Worshipful Benjamin Boucher Esquire, Governor, and the Council of the island of St Helena, of one French pass enclosed in a packet, with the blanks filled up in writing in the French language. The blanks were completed as follows: first with the name of the captain; secondly with the name of the ship; thirdly with the number of tons; fourthly with the number of guns; fifthly with the number of men. The pass was sealed in the middle with the commander's seal. The last but one space was filled with the signature of the commander, and the last of all with the term of eighteen months. Witness his hand this 18th day of June 1713. Signed John Lane. Interpretations The grant of leave to several persons to return to England, expressly conditioned upon the hopes of an approaching peace, demonstrates how the council's administrative decisions were tied to the unfolding course of the War of the Spanish Succession, with the prospect of safer Atlantic passage transforming what would otherwise have been refused into a permissible accommodation. The detailed procedure for the French passes, involving twenty-five blank documents sent from England, filled up in French at the island, distributed to ship commanders, and certified back through individual receipts, reveals the elaborate wartime maritime diplomacy that the Company conducted at the margins of military operations, with passes operating as a kind of safe-conduct under the law of nations. The careful enumeration of the standard pass content - name of captain, name of ship, tonnage, number of guns, number of men, term of eighteen months - shows the formalised character of the document, with each particular serving to identify the vessel uniquely so that the pass might function as a reliable claim of protection if encountered by French privateers or warships. The signing of the present letter by only Boucher and Bazett, with no other councillors named, confirms the contracted state of the St Helena administration in mid-1713, with the deaths of Captain Pack and Mr Griffith leaving the formal business of the council in the hands of the Governor and one remaining colleague. Speculations The reference to "the hopes of an approaching peace" almost certainly relates to the ongoing negotiations at Utrecht, which had been under way since 1712 and which were widely expected to conclude the war during the year 1713, with the council apparently treating the conclusion of hostilities as sufficiently certain to release inhabitants who would otherwise have been required to remain. The departure of Mrs Pack with her family from the island, set against the references to the late Captain Pack in earlier paragraphs, suggests that the widow was closing the family's affairs at St Helena following her husband's death, with the council's grant of leave perhaps reflecting both compassionate consideration and practical recognition that nothing further bound the family to the island. The careful certification procedure for the French passes, with each commander providing a signed receipt detailing the precise contents of the document received, hints at the seriousness with which these instruments were treated, with the council needing to demonstrate to the Secret Committee that the limited supply of

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			passes had been properly distributed and not diverted to unauthorised vessels. The eighteen-month validity period inscribed on each pass suggests an expectation that the documents would protect the vessels not merely for the current homeward voyage but through any subsequent operations within that period, with the limited duration also serving as a means of ensuring that passes did not remain in circulation indefinitely after their original purpose had been served.
115	115	To all to whom the[s]e [P]re[s]ents may [c]oncern I James Stokes [c]omander of the Ship Montague Do hereby [c]ertifie that I have rec[ei]v'd of y[e] R[t] Wor[s]p[ll] Benjamin Boucher E[s]q[r] Gov[r] &c [c]ouncil of y[e] I[s]land S[t] Helena One French [P]a[s]s in [P]a[c]kett with y[e] blanks filld up in Writing in y[e] French Languag[e] [...] [...] [Name] with y[e] name of y[e] Cap[t] Secondly with y[e] name of y[e] Ship Thirdly y[e] Number of [Tuns] fourthly y[e] number of Guns, fifthly with y[e] Number of Men, Next two Blanks with words London the La[s]t but one with y[e] name of y[e] [c]omander and y[e] La[s]t of all with Eighteen Months Witne[s]s my hand this 18 day of June 1713 A li[s]t of y[e] [P]a[c]kette Sent [P]r Ship Herne Cap[t] Jn[o] Lane [c]omander, To the Hon[ble] [c]ourt of Directors for affaires of y[e] Hon[ble] United Company of Merch[ts] of England Trading to y[e] Ea[s]t Indies & June y[e] 18 1713 1 [c]opy of Gov[r] & [c]ouncils Generall Letter [P]r Jn[o] & Elizabeth April y[e] 9[th] 17[13] 2 [c]opy [c]on[s]ultations from y[e] 12 March 17[12/13] inclu[s]ive to y[e] 9 day of June Inclu[s]ive 3 An A[c]co[s] of Familie[s] Land & [c]attle for y[e] year 1712 4 An A[c]co[s] of Gun[s] Stores for 3 Years V[i]z[t] from y[e] year 1710 to y[e] Year 1713 5 [c]opy of a Letter from Fort William Decem[r] 16: 1712 [...] [s]he [P]er by Ship Jno & Elizabeth 6 [c]opy Ship Derbys In[v]oice[s] to S[t] Helena rec[d] [P]r Ship John & Elizabeth 7 [c]opy of Generall from Fort William [P]r y[e] Kent 8 [c]opy of Invoice from Fort William Feb[ry] 8[th] 17[12/13] [P]r Ship Kent 9 [c]opy of Gov[r] & [c]ouncil General to Bengall [P]r Ship Abbingdon 10 [c]opy of Cap[t] John Le[s]leys Order to Sett Saile from S[t] Helena 11 Order to Cap[t] [...] Le[s]ley to Send goods on Shoare 12 [c]opy of Gov[r] & [c]ouncils Letter to Bombay by y[e] Ship Abbingdon 13 [c]opy of Gov[r] & [c]ouncils Letter to Bencoolen [P]r Ship Abbingdon 14 [c]opy of Gov[r] & [c]ouncils Letter to Fort S[t] George [P]r y[e] Abbingdon 15 [c]opy M[r] Frees Petition to Gov[r] & [c]ouncil	To All Whom These Presents May Concern. James Stokes, commander of the ship <i>Montague</i>, hereby acknowledged the receipt from the Right Worshipful Benjamin Boucher Esquire, Governor, and the Council of the island of St Helena, of one French pass enclosed in a packet, with the blanks filled up in writing in the French language. The blanks were completed as follows: first with the name of the captain; secondly with the name of the ship; thirdly with the number of tons; fourthly with the number of guns; fifthly with the number of men. The next two blanks were filled with the word "London". The last but one space was filled with the name of the commander, and the last of all with the term of eighteen months. Witness his hand this 18th day of June 1713. Signed James Stokes. List of the Packet Sent per the Ship <i>Herne</i> under Captain John Lane Commander, to the Honourable Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, 18 June 1713. The first item was a copy of the Governor and Council's General Letter sent by the <i>John and Elizabeth</i>, dated 9 April 1713. The second was a copy of the consultations from 12 March 1713 inclusive to 9 June inclusive. The third was an account of the families, lands and cattle for the year 1712. The fourth was an account of the gunner's stores for three years, namely from the year 1710 to the year 1713. The fifth was a copy of a letter from Fort William dated 16 December 1712, [the same having been sent forward] by the ship <i>John and Elizabeth</i>. The sixth was a copy of the <i>Derby's</i> invoices to St Helena, received by the ship <i>John and Elizabeth</i>. The seventh was a copy of the General Letter from Fort William, sent by the <i>Kent</i>. The eighth was a copy of the invoice from Fort William dated 8 February 1713, sent by the <i>Kent</i>. The ninth was a copy of the Governor and Council's General Letter to Bengal, sent by the <i>Abingdon</i>. The tenth was a copy of Captain John Lasly's order to set sail from St Helena. The eleventh was an order to Captain Lasly to send goods on shore. The twelfth was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter to Bombay, sent by the <i>Abingdon</i>. The thirteenth was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter to Bencoolen, sent by the <i>Abingdon</i>. The fourteenth was a copy of the Governor and Council's letter to Fort St George, sent by the <i>Abingdon</i>. The fifteenth was a copy of Mr Free's petition to the Governor and Council. Interpretations The certificate from Captain James Stokes of the <i>Montague</i> mirrors the form of the earlier certificate from Captain John Lane of the <i>Herne</i>, demonstrating the standardised template by which each commander confirmed the receipt of his French pass, with only the captain's name, the ship's name, and the specific completed fields differing between certificates.

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			The notable inclusion of "the word London" in the next two blanks - a feature not mentioned in the previous certificate - suggests that the homeward destination was an explicit element of the pass content, with each vessel identified as bound for the metropolitan port to give the document its diplomatic effect within the framework of safe-conduct between nations. The fifteen-item packet list represents a comprehensive documentary record of the council's activities since the previous despatch, with consultations, letters from Asian factories, invoices, ship's orders and individual petitions all bundled together as a single administrative archive for the directors' inspection. The cross-referencing of items between conveyances - copies of letters sent by the <i>John and Elizabeth</i> now travelling by the <i>Herme</i>, and so forth - illustrates the practice of sending duplicate or triplicate copies of important documents by different ships, a precaution against the loss of any single vessel that was standard in Company correspondence. Speculations The careful documentation of every detail of the French passes, with each captain individually certifying the specific content of his pass and the council retaining those certificates for transmission to the Secret Committee, hints at the political importance attached to these wartime safe-conducts, with any irregularity potentially exposing both the commander and the Company to charges of fraud or improper use of the diplomatic instruments. The inclusion of "London" as a specific element of the pass content, alongside the captain's name, ship's name, tonnage, armament and crew complement, suggests that the passes were issued to permit travel between specific ports rather than as general safe-conducts, with the homeward destination being part of what the French authorities had agreed to protect. The variety of items in the <i>Herme</i> packet - including invoices from Bengal, letters to Bombay, Bencoolen and Fort St George, ship's orders, and individual petitions - demonstrates the position of St Helena as the consolidation point through which Asian and South Atlantic correspondence reached London, with the island council managing not only its own affairs but the onward transmission of documents from the eastern factories. The presence of Mr Free's petition as a specific enclosure in the packet, set against the various references to Free in earlier correspondence as a difficult and quarrelsome figure, suggests that Free was now formally seeking some kind of redress or relief from the directors, with the council apparently willing to transmit his complaint rather than suppress it from the record.
116	116	To all to whom the[s]e [P]re[s]ents may [c]oncern I Shmuel [Lewis] [c]o[m]mander of the Ship Howland Do hereby [c]erti[f]ie that I have rec[ei]v'd of the R[t] [Wor] Benjamin Boucher E[s]q[r] Gov[r] & [c]ouncil of the I[s]land of S[t] Helena [...] [...] French [P]a[s]s in [P]rint with y[e] Blanks filld up in writing in the French Lan[gua]ge v[i]z[t] fir[s]t with y[e] name of y[e] [c]ap[t] Secondly with y[e] name of the Ship Thirdly Number of Tunns Fou[r]thly y[e] number of Gunns, fifthly with y[e] number of [...] next two Blanks with words London[s] the la[s]t but one y[e] Name of y[e] [c]omande[r] and the la[s]t of all with Eighteen months, Witne[s]s my hand this 18[th] day of [June] June 1713 Samuel Lewis[e] To all to whom The[s]e [P]re[s]ents may [c]oncern I Lawrence Minto[r] [c]ommander of Ship Kent Do hereby [c]erti[f]ie that I have rec[ei]v'd of the R[t] Wor[s]p[ll] Benjamin Boucher E[s]q[r] Gov[r] &	Three further pass certificates were taken on 18 June 1713, in the same form as the certificates already given by Captain John Lane of the <i>Herme</i> and Captain James Stokes of the <i>Montague</i>. Samuel Lewis, commander of the <i>Howland</i>, gave the first. He acknowledged the receipt from the Right Worshipful Benjamin Boucher Esquire, Governor, and the Council of St Helena, of one French pass in print. The blanks were filled in writing in the French language. The first carried the name of the captain. The second carried the name of the ship. The third gave the number of tons. The fourth gave the number of guns. The fifth gave the number of men. The next two blanks were filled with the word London. The last but one carried the name of the commander. The last of all carried the term of eighteen months. Witness his hand this 18 June 1713. Signed Samuel Lewis.

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		[c]ouncil of y[e] I[s]land S[t] Hele[na] One French [P]a[s]s in [P]rint with y[e] Blanks filld up in writing in the Fre[nch] Language v[i]z[t] Fir[s]t with y[e] name of y[e] [c]ap[t] Secondly with y[e] name of y[e] Sh[ip] Thirdly the Number of Tunns Fou[r]thly y[e] number of Gunns Fifthly with [the] number of Men next, Two Blanks with words London[s], the la[s]t but one y[e] [num] of y[e] [c]ommander and y[e] la[s]t of all with Eighteen months Witne[s]s my hand this 18[th] day of June 1713 Lawrence Mintor To all to whom The[s]e [P]re[s]ents may [c]oncern I Joseph Tol[s]on [c]omand[er] of [the] Ship Heathcote Do hereby [c]ertifie that I have rec[ei]v'd of y[e] R[t] Wor[s]p[hl] Benj[mn] [...] Boucher E[s]q[r] Gov[r] & [c]ouncil of y[e] I[s]land S[t] Helena One French [P]a[s]s in [P]rin[t] with y[e] Blanks filld up in Writing in French Language v[i]z[t] Fir[s]t with y[e] name [of] y[e] Cap[t] Secondly with y[e] name of y[e] Ship Thirdly y[e] number of Tunns Fou[r]thly [the] number of Gunns fifthly with y[e] number of Men next, two Blanks with word[s] London[s] The la[s]t but one y[e] name of y[e] [c]ommand[r] and y[e] la[s]t of all with Eighteen months Witne[s]s my Hand this 18[th] day of June 1713 [J]oseph Tol[s]on	Lawrence Mintor, commander of the <i>Kent</i>, gave the second, in identical terms. The pass received was one printed sheet. The blanks were filled in French. The captain's name went in the first blank, the ship's name in the second, the tonnage in the third, the number of guns in the fourth, the number of men in the fifth. The two following blanks took the word London. The last but one took the commander's name. The last took the term of eighteen months. Witness his hand this 18 June 1713. Signed Lawrence Mintor. Joseph Tolson, commander of the <i>Heathcote</i>, gave the third, on the same pattern. One printed French pass was received from Governor Boucher and the council. The blanks were filled in French, in the order already described: captain's name, ship's name, tonnage, guns, men, then London twice, then the commander's name, then eighteen months. Witness his hand this 18 June 1713. Signed Joseph Tolson. Interpretations The three certificates show that each ship's commander signed his own separate acknowledgement on the same day, even though all five passes followed an identical form. The council kept individual signed records rather than a single composite receipt, so that each captain remained personally answerable for the document placed in his hands. The repeated detail of the order in which the blanks were filled - captain, ship, tonnage, guns, men, then the destination London twice, then the commander's name and a term of eighteen months - suggests a standard printed template supplied from London. The council's role was clerical: completing the form in French and matching each pass to its named ship. The grouping of the five passes by a single ceremony on 18 June, immediately before the homeward fleet sailed, marks the moment at which the council formally transferred legal responsibility for the safe-conduct from itself to the individual commanders. Speculations The double entry of London in the blanks probably named both the port of origin and the port of destination, fixing the protected route under the terms negotiated with the French during the peace talks. The eighteen-month validity is long enough to cover the homeward leg with a wide margin for delays at the Cape or in the Channel, but short enough to prevent the pass from being passed on for use on a later voyage by a different vessel.
117	117	Hono[ble] S[r]s 1 Our la[s]t to you was by y[e] Herne Cap[t] Jho Lane Date 18[th] June 1713 a Copy of which comes herewith, and y[e] rea[s]on of it's Brevity we then told you We come now to an[s]wer your Letter by y[e] Su[s]annah, Your complaint in your foir[s]t [P]arragraph is Generall and Expre[s]s your di[s]sappointment that you had from a New Governour and Council, We Say that their was a new Gov[r] but we hope y[e] [s]elves [c]onfe[s]s that their was two old [c]ouncil and two New, and y[e] affairs here have Su[ff]er'd by y[e] [P]atch work, You charge Some of us with [P]romi[s]es made and by whom we could give you a [P]erticulars an[s]wer Cap[t] Boucher being y[e] only S[u]r[v]iving that came from England, an[s]wers for him[s]elf, that he has done more than he had been upon the I[s]land then ever he [P]romi[s]ed, and if Cap[t] [P]owell of y[e] Su[s]annah Information be true more than he has been paid for, and he Suppo[s]es a breach of [c]ontract a greater [P]eice of Inju[s]tice than a breach of Verball [P]romi[s]e had their been any Such Wee [P]roceed firstly Concerning Shipping	Honourable Sirs, 1: The previous letter from St Helena went by the <i>Herne</i> under Captain John Lane, dated 18 June 1713. A copy travelled with the present packet. The reason for its brevity was given at the time. The present letter answered the directors' letter received by the <i>Susannah</i>. The first paragraph of that letter expressed a general disappointment, said to have been received from a new Governor and Council. On that head the council noted that a new Governor was indeed in place, but two of the council were old and only two were new. The mixed nature of the body was the source of the difficulties complained of. The directors had also charged certain members with promises made by named persons. Captain Boucher was the only surviving member who came out from England, and answered for himself. He had done more on the island than he ever promised. If the information given by Captain Powell of the <i>Susannah</i> was correct, he had also done more than he had been paid for. A breach of contract was held to be a greater injustice than a breach of any verbal promise, supposing any such promise had ever been given. Firstly, concerning shipping.

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		2 Your 2 & 3 [P]arrap[hs] being an A[c]co[s] of Shipping Arrived in England &c[a] and Sent out to India y[e] La[s]t year requires no an[s]wer we [P]roceed to y[e] 4[th] 3 In ours by y[e] Hern we told you of y[e] Arrivell of y[e] Su[s]annah where goods we received and happily to unliver her in Ten woking days we find a mi[s]take in the [s]aid Invoice from London of Twenty pounds charged for Trim[m]ing of Twenty Bow[s] of Tarrarell [P]o[s] Invoice will appear) what exceptions we made to y[e] delivery of the Cargo are on y[e] Bill of L[a]ding and are as follows, 6 Halls Invoiced at W: 6 each Three more at 12 - 6 be[s]ides Some Blanketts found Damaged to y[e] Value of 4 - 15 - 9 which Cap[t] [P]ennell made good he[r] Charter party we re[fu]ned & forwarded according to y[e] Honours directions in your fourth [P]arragh[r] We come to y[e] 5[th] [P]arr[a]ph[r] 4 We Say again we di[s]patch this Ship in Ten Woking days not that there was more diligence u[s]'d to E[ff]ect it than has been u[s]'d to every Ship [...] [...] [Ar]rivall but the di[ff]erence of y[e] [c]argoes and weather enabled us to do it and we are you are plea[s]ed to S[a]ly the[...] So often with our [P]redece[s]sors [P]erformance we cant find we did, were there one [...]	2: The directors' second and third paragraphs were an account of shipping arrived in England and despatched out to India during the previous year. No reply was called for. The council moved to the fourth. 3: The arrival of the <i>Susannah</i> was already reported in the letter sent by the <i>Heme</i>. Her goods were received and the ship was unloaded in ten working days. An error of £20 was identified in the London invoice, charged for the trimming of twenty bows of [tarrarell] as appeared on the invoice. The exceptions taken to the cargo delivery were noted on the bill of lading. Six halls were invoiced at six shillings each, with three more at twelve shillings and sixpence. Some blankets came ashore damaged to the value of £4 15s 9d, which Captain Pennell made good. The charter party was renewed and forwarded as the directors had directed in their fourth paragraph. The council moved to the fifth. 4: The despatch of the ship in ten working days was again confirmed. The council made no claim of greater diligence than was used on every other arrival. The shorter turnaround was the result of differences in cargo and weather rather than any change of effort. As to the comparisons drawn so often with the performance of the previous administration, no advantage on that side was to be conceded. Had there been [one ...] Interpretations The opening paragraph of the council's reply is a careful piece of administrative self-defence. By pointing out that two of four council members were old hands, the council refused the directors' framing of a fresh body that had failed to live up to expectations. The Governor's personal answer on the question of promises shifts the issue from verbal commitments to written contract, where his ground was firmer. The structured paragraph-by-paragraph answer to the directors' letter, with the council marking each paragraph it answered and noting those that needed no reply, shows the formal documentary practice expected in correspondence with London. The directors' letter was treated as a checklist to be worked through in order, with each item closed before the next was opened. The note that the £4 15s 9d in damaged blankets was made good by Captain Pennell illustrates the routine commercial mechanism for handling loss. The captain stood as the responsible party at the point of delivery, and any shortfall against the bill of lading was settled directly with him rather than referred back to the London suppliers. Speculations The reference to Captain Powell of the <i>Susannah</i> as a witness to what Captain Boucher had been paid suggests that Powell carried information from England about the terms of Boucher's appointment, and that the Governor expected the directors to credit the captain's testimony if his own statement was doubted. The unfinished sentence at the close, breaking off after "Had there been one", probably introduced a counter-challenge to the directors' favourable comparison of the previous administration. The defensive tone of the surrounding paragraphs suggests the council was about to offer a specific instance in which the earlier council had fallen short.
118	118	Single Ship in y[e] time we did two, as to y[e] [P]reying other Ha[n]ds Cap[t] Boucher de[s]ires for his part you'l Send a pair of Hands in Exchange for his as Soon as Po[s]sible and h[e] o[ff]ers it as his Hum[ble] Advice that when you are about changeing You'l change all, for h[e] has Seen y[e] ill con[s]equences of [P]atching an old Coate with a new [P]eice of [c]loth, the said Ship Sa[i]ld y[e] first July 5 We have always advi[s]ed you of all Ships we heard Arrived in India or el[s]e where, and Shall continue So	A single ship was despatched by the previous administration in the time that the present council despatched two. As to the matter of changing the hands employed, Captain Boucher requested for his own part that the directors send out a pair of replacements as soon as practicable. He offered it as humble advice that any change of personnel should be a complete one. He had seen the ill consequences of patching an old coat with a new piece of cloth. The <i>Susannah</i> sailed on 1 July.

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		to do, The Horne the Howland Montague Heathcoter & Kent: Sailed y[e] 19[th] of June La[s]t and hope Arriv'd with you long Since in Safety, This Ship Abbingdon came from Batavia y[e] 25[th] Octo[r] La[s]t, and Arrived here y[e] first of March following She brought news of y[e] Streatham Sailing from thence Some time in May before for Madra[s]s and that y[e] Grantham touch[t] at Bencoolen in her way to Batavia from Bombay in June la[s]t where She [s]tay'd but one night and the[n] [P]roceeded, The [c]oncord Cap[t] Newton Arrived here y[e] 15[th] March who Says that he came from Cay[s]ton y[e] 29 Nov[r] 1713 That y[e] Loyall Bli[s]s Cap[t] Rob[t] Hud[s]on was then in Canton River and had received about one Third of his [c]argo on board and that they told him they Should be ready to Saile in 15 Days, That at Batavia he heard from a fellow who had run from y[e] [c]ardigan that all y[e] Bay Shippes were Arrived Safe there That at y[e] Same place he heard from a Dutch Ship Ju[s]t Arrived from y[e] We[s]t [c]oa[s]t of Sumatra that there was in y[e] road of Bencoolen an Engli[s]h Ship and at Sillabar[r] another Small Engli[s]h Ship, We hope, y[e] first was y[e] Su[s]annah from hence and Cap[t] Newton Suppo[s]es y[e] other to be your Hon[rs] own Ship y[e] [P]re[s]ident, That in y[e] latter end of December la[s]t at a Vi[s]itt he made y[e] Generall he was acquainted by him of the Receipt of a [P]ackett from y[e] Hon[ble] [c]om[p]s under Cover of y[e] [P]acket from Holland which he was Directed to forward to Bencoolen, They had attempted it by a Galliot Hoy who lo[s]eing a Ma[s]t was put back to Batta[v]ias, and that he waited for y[e] fir[s]t Oppertunity to forward it, We acquaint your Honours with this not knowing but it be U[s]efull 6 Your Seventh [P]arragraph when any thing therein contained o[ff]ers Shall be complied with 7 You are [P]lea[s]ed to remark in y[e] 8[th] [P]ar[agraph] y[e] Mercantile bu[s]ine[s]s is much wor[s]e mannaged then formerly Cap[t] Boucher thinks it his very great unhappine[s]s that mo[s]t of y[e] charges brought again[s]t him by an Employers have ri[s]en from y[e] Mi[s]managements and Negli[g]cks of others their Servants under him, twas his charge to [...] former Storekeeper M[r] [P]ack from his first Arrivall here that every Ships A[c]co[s] [s]hould be ready drawn out to go home in y[e] [P]ackett, nor did he know but they were So done till you are plea[s]ed to complaine they were not, And he leaves M[r] Boucher the [P]re[s]ent Bookoper and one of y[e] Mannagers in y[e] Store to an[s]wer why they were [n]o[t] Sent home by La[s]t Ships, when y[e] Governour ordered him him[s]elf to gett tho[s]e A[c]co[s] [n]o and to be having [E]ndeav[r]ed to o[ff]ect, be[s]ides having [s]eend Several times by y[e] re[s]t of [...] [c]ouncil, yet they were not done, nor did he ever See one [...] [...] of any[t]hing wo[r]e	5: The council kept the directors informed of every ship reported to have arrived in India or elsewhere, and intended to continue the practice. The <i>Herne</i>, the <i>Howland</i>, the <i>Montague</i>, the <i>Heathcote</i> and the <i>Kent</i> sailed on 19 June, and were expected to have reached England in safety some time before. The <i>Abingdon</i> left Batavia on 25 October last and reached St Helena on 1 March. She carried news that the <i>Streatham</i> had sailed from Batavia some time in May, bound for Madras, and that the <i>Grantham</i> had touched at Bencoolen on her way from Bombay to Batavia in June, staying only one night before proceeding onward. The <i>Concord</i> under Captain Newton arrived on 15 March. He reported leaving Canton on 29 November 1713. The <i>Loyal Bliss</i> under Captain Robert Hudson was then in the Canton River, with about a third of her cargo aboard, and was expected to be ready to sail in fifteen days. At Batavia, Captain Newton heard from a man who had run from the <i>Cardigan</i> that all the Bay shipping had arrived there safely. From a Dutch ship just in from the west coast of Sumatra, he learned of an English ship lying in the road at Bencoolen and a smaller English vessel at Sillabar. The council believed the first to be the <i>Susannah</i>, lately despatched from St Helena. Captain Newton supposed the second to be the directors' own ship the <i>President</i>. Towards the end of December, on a visit to the General at Batavia, Captain Newton was told of the receipt of a packet from the Company, sent under cover of the Holland packet, with instructions to forward it to Bencoolen. The attempt to send it on by a galliot hoy had failed after the hoy lost a mast and was forced back to Batavia. The General was awaiting the next opportunity to forward it. The intelligence was passed on to the directors against the possibility of its proving useful. 6: The seventh paragraph required no present answer. Any matter arising from it was to be complied with as occasion offered. 7: The directors' eighth paragraph remarked that the mercantile business was now much worse managed than formerly. Captain Boucher regarded it as his particular misfortune that most of the charges brought against him by his employers arose from the mismanagement and neglect of others serving under him. From the moment of the previous storekeeper Mr Pack's arrival on the island, Boucher had given instruction that every ship's account was to be drawn up ready to go home in the packet. He did not know that the accounts were not being done until the directors complained that they were missing. He left it to Mr Boucher, the present bookkeeper and one of the managers in the store, to answer why they were not sent home by the last ships. The Governor had himself ordered the accounts to be brought up, and the directive had been pressed several times by the rest of the council, yet the work was not done. The Governor had never been shown so much as one [...] Interpretations Captain Boucher's request for replacement councillors and his advice against piecemeal change show a Governor convinced that the mixed composition of the council was the source of his problems with the directors. By offering to resign in exchange for a full clearing of the board, he was inviting the directors to accept his terms for solving the dispute rather than continuing to assign blame to individuals. The detailed shipping intelligence in paragraph 5, drawn from the masters of the <i>Abingdon</i> and the <i>Concord</i>, illustrates the council's function as a clearing house for information moving between the Asian factories, the Cape and London. Each arriving captain was debriefed and his report folded into the formal correspondence,

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			so that the directors received a composite picture assembled from multiple voyages. The reference to the General at Batavia receiving a Company packet under cover of the Holland packet reveals the practical use the Company made of Dutch shipping routes. Where the Company's own vessels were not available, sensitive correspondence travelled through the Dutch network and was forwarded onward at the Asian end. The Governor's allocation of blame for the missing ship's accounts to a named subordinate, and his protest that he had repeatedly ordered the work done, follows a familiar administrative pattern. The senior officer documents his own instructions in order to transfer responsibility for non-performance down the chain. Speculations The advice to "change all" when changing the council probably reflected Boucher's experience that veterans of earlier administrations carried local loyalties and habits that obstructed reform. A wholly new body would owe its position to the present directors and would feel no obligation to defend prior practice. The careful identification of the unnamed English ships at Bencoolen and Sillabar - the first assumed to be the <i>Susannah</i>, the second supposed by Captain Newton to be the <i>President</i> - suggests that the council expected the directors to use such hints to track the movements of vessels whose arrival had not yet been confirmed by direct report. The detail about the galliot hoy losing a mast and returning to Batavia, holding up the onward despatch of a packet from London to Bencoolen, was probably included to explain in advance any delay in instructions reaching the Sumatran factory. The council was placing itself ahead of a likely complaint by recording the cause of the hold-up in its own correspondence.
119	119	Into y[e] [P]lackett ju[s]t as y[e] Shipp[s] were under Saile, As to y[e] Arrack bought of Cap[t] Godfrey we paid Seven Shillings y[e] Gall[on] in exchange for Beef, and as to Beef being Sold here at 20 a Hundred he Hopes Cap[t] Godfrey can't Say that was an agreem[t] with y[e] Govern[t] if he and y[e] Storekeeper in making up their A[c]co[s] Tre[s]sed in Such an Article 'twas wholly without his knowledge The Arrack bought of Cap[t] Small was for 6, As to this being a new performance of Alexanders, the drawing up of A[c]cot[s] is out of his O[ff]ice but the See[i]ng them put up in y[e] [P]lackett before y[e] Ships Sa[i]led was [P]ropperly his bu[s]i ne[s]s, But he Says for him[s]elf he Spoke to M[rs] Bazett and others in y[e] Store to gett the Ships A[c]co[s] ready again[s]t they Saile[d], and when ask[t] for to put into y[e] [P]lackett was told they could not be done and Sent by y[e] Same Shippings 8 Your 9[th] [P]arr[a]ph: makes mention of 6 Butts of Ar[r]jack: brought us by the Catherine from Bombay, which we rec[e]i[d]ed with a Bottle of Arrack [s]ealed up for a Mu[s]ter and our Silence therein, of which you complain Seems not So well grounded, for, had not the Butts an[s]wer'd y[e] Mu[s]ter we Should have excepted again[s]t y[e] Said Ar[r]jack, but as they did, we cannot imagine you Should think there was any Difference, and notwith [s]tanding any orders you have given y[r] Agents in India for Sending a Bottle Sa[i]l[e]d we have received no Such thing as a Mu[s]ter by y[e] Abbingdon, for what Arrack they now [b]ring from Bencoolen 9 As to [c]omplaint of y[e] Lowne[s] of Goa Arrack retail'd out at 5 [P]r Gall[on], it came Invoiced to us without value, we did not make y[e] [P]rice out, it having been Sold so before, and Cap[t] Boucher does Aveer that when he [P]ropo[s]ed to rai[s]e y[e] [P]rice of Arrack both Goa and Batavia M[rs] Griffith & M[r] Bazett oppo[s]ed it on a [c]ouns[e]l he would not here have mentioned it (M[rs] Griffith being dead) but to obviate the blame of his oppo[s]eing y[e] Intere[s]t, We	The accounts only went into the packet just as the ships were under sail. As to the arrack bought from Captain Godfrey, the price paid was 7s the gallon, taken in exchange for beef. As to beef being sold at 20s the hundred, the Governor hoped Captain Godfrey would not say that any such rate had been agreed with the government. If the captain and the storekeeper had entered such a figure when settling their accounts, this was wholly without the Governor's knowledge. The arrack bought from Captain Small was priced at 6s. As to the matter being a fresh performance by Alexander, the drawing up of accounts was no part of his office. Seeing them put into the packet before the ships sailed was, however, properly his business. He answered for himself that he had spoken to Mr Bazett and others in the store to get the ships' accounts ready against sailing, and that when he asked for them to be placed in the packet, he was told they could not be completed in time to go with the same ships. 8: The ninth paragraph mentioned six butts of arrack brought by the <i>Catharine</i> from Bombay, together with a sealed bottle as a sample. The directors complained of the council's silence on the matter. The complaint was not well founded. Had the butts not matched the sample, an exception would have been entered. As the butts did match, no reason existed to suppose any difference had occurred. Despite any orders given to the agents in India that a sealed bottle should travel with each consignment, no such sample arrived by the <i>Abbingdon</i> with the arrack now brought from Bencoolen. 9: As to the complaint of the low price at which Goa arrack was retailed - 5s the gallon - the consignment came invoiced without a value. The retail price was not set by the present council. The arrack had been sold at that rate before. Captain Boucher confirmed that when he proposed to raise the price of arrack, Goa and Batavia alike, Mr Griffith and Mr

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		de[s]ire Youl do us y[e] Ju[s]tice to In[s]erte the di[ff]erence of y[e] [P]rices of Arr[ack] bought at 5 & 6 a Gall[on] and retail'd out at 12 and 14, and y[e] Di[ff]erence of Arr[ack] bought us upon Invoice at ab[t] 12 & 12 a Gallon and Sold out at 7 [P]r Gallon, for we mu[s]t take notice here that Goa Arr[ack] is not Vendable of it self but in y[e] Greate[s]t nece[s]sity and tho Sold at that Low [P]rice you are plea[s]ed to mention yet we were obliged to compell y[e] people to take a [P]roportiona ble part with y[e] Batavia, As to y[e] Frugality in y[e] di[s]po[s]all of it we have been as cautious as [P]o[s]sibles 10 In your 11[th] [P]arrap[h], you are plea[s]ed to reflect upon y[e] Buying 13 [P]ipes of Madera and y[e] rea[s]on of takeing So much Arr[ack] of Cap[t] Godfrey & Cap[t] Small was because 'twas a Vendable & [P]ro[ff]itable [c]ommodity, We had [c]on[s]ulted y[e] 37[th] [P]argr[aph] [c]opy of y[e] Toddington but it is not always So [P]racticable to Send what [P]rices we [P]ut [...] [c]oods while tho[s]e Ships Lay here, which Sometimes happens but a Stay of [s]ome before	Bazett opposed him in council. He would not have raised the matter, Mr Griffith being dead, save to deflect the charge of opposing the Company's interest. The directors were requested to set against this complaint the difference of the prices in the council's favour. Arrack bought in at 5s and 6s the gallon had been retailed at 12s and 14s. Arrack invoiced at about 12s the gallon had been retailed at 7s. Goa arrack was not a saleable commodity in its own right, save in the greatest necessity. Even at the low price now complained of, the people had to be compelled to take a proportionate part in their purchases alongside the Batavia. Every caution had been used in disposing of it. 10: The eleventh paragraph reflected on the buying of thirteen pipes of Madeira, and on the reason for taking so much arrack from Captain Godfrey and Captain Small. The arrack was a saleable and profitable commodity. The thirty-seventh paragraph of the copy of the <i>Toddington</i> letter had been consulted. It was not always practicable to settle and notify the prices of goods while the ships in question still lay at the island, since their stay was sometimes [...] Interpretations Paragraph 7's allocation of fault is a piece of careful internal accounting. The Governor argued that the drawing up of ships' accounts lay with the storekeeper rather than with Alexander, while Alexander in turn claimed he had asked Mr Bazett and others to prepare the accounts and had been told the work could not be done in time. By naming the office, the duty and the responsible person at each step, the council was building a record of where the blame properly fell. The defence on the Goa arrack sets out a pricing argument designed to be tested against the council's full trading record. The council pointed to large margins earned on cheap arrack and to losses absorbed on expensive arrack, asking the directors to weigh the two together rather than examine one item in isolation. This argues for an audit by aggregate result rather than by individual transaction. The note that the matter of price-raising was raised in council and opposed by Mr Griffith and Mr Bazett, with the Governor citing Griffith's death as the reason for breaking the council's normal confidentiality, illustrates the rules of internal record under which St Helena operated. Confidential debates were not normally repeated to London, but the death of a participant released the survivor to give an account of the discussion. Speculations The Governor's emphasis that the price of beef at 20s the hundred had not been agreed with the government, and his disclaimer of any entry made by Captain Godfrey and the storekeeper "without his knowledge", suggest he expected the directors to confront him with a specific document showing the price as official. By disowning the figure in advance, he placed the burden on any future accuser to produce the authority for it. The complaint that no sealed sample bottle accompanied the Bencoolen arrack by the <i>Abingdon</i>, despite the directors' standing orders to the Indian agents, was probably included to head off any later accusation that the council should have checked the consignment against the missing standard. The defect was placed on the record as the agents' failure rather than the council's. The reference to compelling the people to take a proportion of the Goa arrack alongside the Batavia indicates that the council operated a tied-sale practice to clear stock that nobody would buy by choice. The detail was probably offered as evidence of administrative effort rather than of consumer preference, anticipating any directors' challenge over why the cheap arrack moved at all.

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120	120	Before we received y[e] Invoice and whether you had that adv[ic]e either in y[e] Generall Letter or [c]on[s]ultations, we think is not So [c]riminall, The Madera was Sold for 5 a Gall[on] & none under, As to our Sur[P]a[s]eing our [P]rede[c]e[s]sors and Merritting y[e] the Gratuity mention'd in y[e] Toddingtons In[s]tructions, Cap[t] Boucher takes y[e] directed to him[s]elf Since he knows no body el[s]e Stands upon y[e] foot of Gratuity and he is re[s]olved with him[s]elf never to make Such [P]recarious bargains with any [P]art of mankind hereafter he is well a[s]sur'd you have not [P]roceeded with him a[c]cording to y[e] Mer[it]ts of y[e] [c]au[s]e, Bid upon y[e] Information[s] of Villanes here and in Storeown But he hopes to find that Ju[s]tice if ever he lives to See England and y[e] Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] have a true and Ju[s]t A[c]co[s] of y[e] Mannagement of A[ff]aires during his tome, That he[s] has much better de[s]erved a Gratuity than any of his [P]rede[c]e[s]sors both on A[c]co[s] of do[ing] & Suff[er]ing, As to Secret ill de[s]ignes or under hand dealings he wi[s]hes to God all mankind were as free of them as he is and in this Ca[s]es he takes Su[s]pition it[s]elf to be an A[c]t of High Inju[s]tice, and if his Employers in England or any [P]art of mankind can [P]rove him Guilty of any Secret ill [P]ractices either in relation to y[e] Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] or any other [P]er[s]on, He is content to be found Guilty of Felony without bene[f]ite of Clergy, and as to Shifting of Hands repeated again, in this [P]arragh[r] he takes Occa[s]i on to repeat his former reque[s]t 11 Cap[t] Boucher Says he never Sold any Beef to Cap[t] Godfrey or any Body el[s]e under 25 a hundred nor never made any bargain with Cap[t] Godfrey for Beef as he knows of, So that here you have readily Stated y[e] Ca[s]e wrong, for if y[e] Beef was Sold at 20 a Hundred and y[e] [P]ri[c]t taken from Beef We can't See how y[e] Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] could be Suff[er]ers, and we cannot here think but Cap[t] Godfrey might be mi[s]taken and that y[e] Beef he Saith he had of y[e] [P]lanters he had of y[e] [c]omp[s], and it has been y[e] Cu[s]tome Since Gov[r] Bouchers time, for y[e] [P]re[s]ervation of y[e] [c]ompanys Stock to Send to tho[s]e [P]lanters that Stood Indebted to y[e] [c]omp[s], for Beef which they have Sold at 25 a Hundred and y[e] [c]edit Tran[s]ferd to y[e] [c]ompanys A[c]co[s], But rather, then this Should give any Su[s]pition of Cap[t] Bouchers di[s]hone[s]ty he is content of two Shillings a Hundred for all Beef Sold in his time under 25 a hundred, be charg'd to his A[c]co[s], where we have had any bad Lequors we always put it off with a good our own rea[s]on and y[e] Intere[s]t has [...] Sugge[s]ted that without referring to [P]re[c]edents Secondly [c]oncerning Goods or Stores Sent from England or Receiv'd from India 12 Your Invoice and Bill of L[a]d[i]ng as before mention'd we receiv'd by the Su[s]annah, we are Sorry for your Intere[s]t for y[e] Severall rea[s]ons you have given y[r] So Small a [Q]uantity of Timber and Deals, Your own looks which you y[r] s[elves]	The accounts were not always settled before the invoice arrived, so it was not always possible to advise the directors of the prices either in the General Letter or in the consultations. The council did not regard this as a fault of any criminal kind. The Madeira was sold at 5s the gallon and at no lower rate. As to the council's surpassing the previous administration and so meriting the gratuity mentioned in the <i>Toddington</i> instructions, Captain Boucher took the reference to apply to himself. No other councillor held office on terms of gratuity. He resolved for the future never to enter into a bargain of so precarious a kind with any party. He believed the directors had not dealt with him according to the merits of the case, but on the information of villains both at the island and at Sierra Leone. He hoped to find justice when he returned to England, and trusted the directors would receive a true and just account of his administration. His claim to a gratuity rested on what he had done and on what he had suffered, both of which exceeded the record of any of his predecessors. As to secret ill designs or underhand dealings, the Governor wished all mankind to be as free of them as he was. He held suspicion alone to be a serious injustice. If his employers in England, or any other person, were able to prove him guilty of any secret ill practice, whether against the Company or against any other person, he was content to be found guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. On the subject of changing the hands employed, he took the opportunity to repeat his earlier request. 11: Captain Boucher had never sold beef to Captain Godfrey or anyone else under 25s the hundred, and had made no bargain with Captain Godfrey for beef of which he was aware. The case as the directors had it was therefore stated wrongly. If the beef had been sold at 20s the hundred and the price taken in arrack, no loss could fall upon the Company on either side. Captain Godfrey was probably mistaken. The beef he believed he had taken from the planters had in fact come from the Company. Since the start of Governor Boucher's tenure, the practice had been to draw beef from planters who stood indebted to the Company. Those planters sold the beef at 25s the hundred and the credit was transferred to the Company's account. Rather than allow this practice to leave any suspicion of dishonesty, the Governor offered to be charged 2s the hundred against his own account for every hundredweight of beef sold during his tenure at less than 25s. Where any inferior liquor had been received, the practice had been to make it up with sound stock. The reason was the Company's interest, which had always guided the council's actions without need of any precedent. Secondly, concerning goods or stores sent from England or received from India. 12: The invoice and bill of lading were received by the <i>Susannah</i> as already mentioned. The council regretted, for the directors' sake and for the reasons the directors had themselves given, the very small quantity of timber and deals supplied. Interpretations Captain Boucher's offer to be charged 2s the hundred for every hundredweight of beef sold under 25s during his tenure is a striking piece of personal indemnity. By converting a defence into a financial undertaking, he proposed to settle the matter by audit of the records rather than by argument over Captain Godfrey's recollection. The mechanism shifted the dispute from credibility to arithmetic. The Governor's invocation of "felony without benefit of clergy" - the most severe contemporary criminal sanction, removing the customary protection

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			that allowed clerks and educated men to escape the death penalty for a first offence - shows the rhetorical level he had reached in defending his integrity. The phrase signalled to the directors that he placed his honour above any commercial dispute. The description of the beef supply chain, with planters indebted to the Company supplying beef which was then credited against their accounts, reveals an integrated system of debt management and provisioning. The Company recovered cash debts in kind and the planters cleared their obligations through their produce, with the council acting as the clearing house for both sides of the transaction. Speculations The reference to "villains here and in Sierra Leone" suggests that hostile reports about Boucher had reached London from sources outside St Helena, very likely from disaffected former officers or traders who had moved on to the West African settlements. The Governor was effectively asking the directors to discount second-hand testimony from interested parties. The remark that no one but Boucher stood on the footing of a gratuity, combined with his refusal to accept such terms again, suggests that the gratuity arrangement had operated as a performance bonus tied to his administration. By renouncing it for the future, he was simultaneously refusing the directors' threat to withhold it and freeing himself from any obligation to satisfy them on terms he no longer found acceptable.
121	121	have been plea[s]ed to think nece[s]sary to be done on your A[c]co[s] requireing a much Larger quantity e[s]pecially of Deales, and y[e] I[s]land being in great want of it having here no Wood fitt to Cutt a Ve[s]sell of Thirty Tons, Cap[t] Boucher [P]ropo[s]d it upon no other Score but that of y[e] Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] he well knowing how much y[e] [c]omp[s] would have Sav'd by bringing Lime and Stone the two great Nece[s]saries for Building both at he has found Sufficent of in Sandy Bay to Serve y[e] [c]omp[s] many & many Years The former of which he has Sold to y[e] [P]lanters for 18 a Bu[s]hell at y[e] Lime Kiln in Sandy Bay and 2/6 at y[e] fort by which he Hopes for Some time at lea[s]t to have y[e] [c]omp[s] Lime at free Co[s]t, of y[e] Latter if his [P]rede[c]e[s]sor 7000 foot which co[s]t y[e] Company 18 a foot brought to y[e] Fort & 12 to y[e] [P]lantation Hou[s]es, He has not [s]aved foot for le[s]s then half y[e] [P]rice of y[e] 7000 be[s]ides y[e] goodne[s]s of y[e] Stone which every Body at y[e] first Sight can ea[s]ily Determine, Such a Ve[s]sell might be [P]aid with the Same hands as Sailes y[e] Long boate and be free from Severall A[c]cidents y[e] other is Liabe too, for about 10 Months Since y[e] Longboate was Blown off Shoare in a Fogg, The Gov[r] ordered y[e] [P]innace that he bought of Cap[t] Le[s]ply to go away in Search of her toward[s] South We[s]t [P]oint y[e] u[s]uall way of her coming alo[ft] to y[e] Fort where they happily Spied her off from y[e] Shoare The Men in her being quite Spent with Rowing they brought Safely As to y[e] di[ff]erence of a Long boate bought out of Shipping here and one Sent from England, we have acquainted y[e] Hon[ble]s by y[e] Jn[o] & Elizabeth we hope at lea[s]t y[e] Honour[s] will do us this Ju[s]tice to Say we have taken [P]articular care of y[e] boate we have or She would not now been above water 13 Y[e]r 14[th] [P]ar[a]ph: directs y[e] Sending you an A[c]co[s] how y[e] Stores Sent from England and India are and Shall be Sold for, We herewith Tran[s]mitt y[e] Severall Invoice[s] of goods Receiv'd from England & India as they have been Sold Since our time, by which your Hon[rs] will perceive we have not been behind any of our [P]rede[c]e[s]sors in their di[s]po[s]eing of y[r] goods to y[r] Advantage, But do believe have rather exceeded them as to Sending an A[c]co[s] of what remains in y[e] Store by every Ship may be Sent once a	The directors had themselves considered such work necessary for the Company's benefit. The supply of deals required was much larger, especially as the island had no timber fit to build a vessel even of thirty tons. Captain Boucher proposed the vessel on no other ground than the Company's profit. He knew well how much could be saved by bringing in lime and stone, the two principal necessities for building. Both were available in Sandy Bay in quantities sufficient to serve the Company for many years. The Governor had been selling lime to the planters at 18s the bushel at the kiln in Sandy Bay, and at 2s 6d at the fort. By this means he hoped to secure the Company's lime at no cost to the directors. As to stone, his predecessor had supplied 7,000 feet at a cost of 18s the foot delivered to the fort and 12s the foot delivered to the plantation houses. The Governor had quarried stone at less than half that price for at least equal quantities, and the quality of the stone was such that any inspector could see its merit at a glance. A vessel of the kind proposed could be worked by the same hands that crewed the long boat. It would also be free of the accidents to which the long boat was exposed. About ten months earlier, the long boat had been blown off the shore in a fog. The Governor ordered the pinnace bought from Captain Lasly to set out in search, heading for South West Point, the usual route by which the long boat returned to the fort. The pinnace's crew spotted her offshore. The long boat's men were quite spent with rowing, and were brought back safely. The difference between a long boat bought from passing shipping and one sent from England had already been explained in the letter sent by the <i>John and Elizabeth</i>. The directors were asked at least to allow the council the credit of having taken particular care of the boat in current service, which would not otherwise have remained above water. 13: The fourteenth paragraph required an account of how the stores sent from England and India had been sold and were to be sold in future. The relevant invoices of goods received from England and India, together with their disposal during the present administration, were transmitted herewith. From these the directors would see that the present council had not

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		Year, and that with difficulty considering how y[e] Stores are, and how they are plac'd But to do it by every Shipping is not [P]ossible 14 Your 15[th] [P]arragh: directs us how to behave our [s]elves in [P]apering and Viewing of Bale goods coming from India which Shall be comply[e]d with for y[e] the future 15 You are pleas'd in y[e] 16[th] [P]arragh: to carry your Cen[s]ures of Cap[t] Boucher Joyn'd with y[e] then Storekeeper great length y[e] ads Sugge[s]t to any Man on earth at first Sight a [c]ontrivance in both to defraud you in your Stores, As to y[e] Storekeeper M[r] [P]ack he has an[s]wered at a much greater tribunall if he	fallen behind any of its predecessors in disposing of the goods profitably, and had probably exceeded them. As to sending an account of what remained in the store, this could be despatched once a year. Even at that interval it was a difficult task, given the condition of the stores and their physical disposition. To send such an account by every ship was not practicable. 14: The fifteenth paragraph gave instructions for handling and inspecting bale goods received from India. Those instructions were to be followed in future. 15: The sixteenth paragraph carried the directors' censure of Captain Boucher together with the storekeeper to such length as to suggest at first reading that the two had conspired to defraud the Company in the stores. As to Mr Pack the storekeeper, he had now answered at a much greater tribunal. Interpretations The Governor's account of his lime and stone operations is a piece of comparative book-keeping designed to settle the directors' complaint about excessive building expenditure. By setting his own prices against those charged by his predecessor, and by showing that lime sold to the planters could underwrite the Company's own consumption, he reframed the works programme as a saving rather than a charge. The directors were being shown a balance sheet rather than asked to accept an apology. The reference to Mr Pack having "answered at a much greater tribunal" places the dispute under the cover of his death. The directors' charge of conspiracy required two parties, and one of them was now beyond examination. The Governor was using mortality as a defence in much the same way that he had earlier cited Mr Griffith's death to release himself to report a council debate. The dead man bears whatever blame is convenient. The detail of the long boat being blown off the shore in fog and recovered by the pinnacle from South West Point illustrates the practical risks of the coastal supply chain. The Governor used the incident to argue for a larger purpose-built vessel, but the description also serves to record his own decisive action in saving the men and the boat. The story doubled as evidence of competent management. Speculations The selling of lime at the kiln in Sandy Bay at 18s the bushel, against 2s 6d at the fort, almost certainly reflects the cost of transport across the island. The price difference probably did not represent profit margin but the labour and time required to move the material from the quarry to the settlement. The Governor was offering the planters cheap lime at the source on terms that left them to bear the cost of carriage. The proposal for a thirty-ton vessel was probably aimed not only at safer transport but at independence from arriving ships for spare boats. By building locally with local stone and imported timber, the Governor was sketching a path towards a self-supplying island that would draw less on the Company's shipping resources. The phrase "answered at a much greater tribunal" likely paraphrased the contemporary religious commonplace that the dead stood before divine judgement. The Governor was inviting the directors to leave Mr Pack's case to God rather than press it further on earth, while quietly closing one of the two avenues by which the charge of conspiracy could be sustained.
122	122	ever did Defraud you, tho y[e] Gov[r] or y[e] [P]ler[s]on So calld doe[s] not know or believe he wittingly ever did, and he hopes a Short expo[s]tulation upon this Head will not be thought a fault in his own vindication, 'tis Somwhat Incon[s]i[s]tent that he Should Juggle with y[e] Man whom he timely charg'd with negligence in his Employment, and as incon[s]i[s]tent it is to his Apprehen[s]ion that y[e] Same Gentlemen Should think	No fraud against the directors had ever been committed by Mr Pack, so far as the Governor could know or believe. The Governor hoped a short defence on the point would not be regarded as a fault in his own vindication. It was inconsistent that the Governor should be charged with colluding with the man whom he had himself promptly accused of negligence in office. It was

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		him by him[s]elf or in [c]oncert with others a great Villain and a Robber (for they are no better that defraud there Employers) and yet declare him Deputy Gov[r] & make a hand[s]ome Addition to his Salary, And if you plea[s]e one Incon[s]i[s]tency more, is it likely Such an agreement Should be to defraud you when Cap[t] Boucher can make it appear (either out of y[e] Store books his own Oath and other Peoples knowledge y[e] [c]onfe[s]sion of Widow[s] & [c]hildren if they are in being) that he is a great deals of money out of [P]o[c]kett in Supporting that family with real nece[s]saries at S[t] Helena and as he had u[s]d Arguments in England to [P]er[s]wade M[r] [P]ack to come hither he does confe[s]s he look[t] on many many mi[s]mannagments (tho none fraudulent) with a too charitable and Indulgent Eye, and if for this he Su[ff]ers in his fortune or his much dearer Reputation he can with great con[t]ent appeal to y[e] Almighty and ever Ju[s]t Judge of all Men for y[e] hone[s]ty and Sincerity of his intentions As to M[r]s Bazetts a[s]si[s]ting M[r] [P]ack 'twas nece[s]sary where reply with y[e] A[s]si[s]tance of his Wives there was that he had given Security in London for that Charge and he could not Indemnify his friends there, if other [P]eople were admitted into y[e] di[s]po[s]all of y[e] Store, which as they Lay di[ff]erently di[s]po[s]ed in Severall apartments he could not over[s]see, That y[e] Said Baset was [P]iqued at him and might do him Injuries without any likelihood of reparation, that whatever [c]omplaints had been about y[e] backwa[r]dne[s]s of y[e] A[c]co[s] both of monthly and others to be Tran[s]mitted to England they Should be made up with Speed Since he had writers enough but all the[s]e Objections would not of them[s]elves have been of weight Su[ff]icient had there not been Employm[t] enough for M[r] Baset el[s]e where and had he minded that as diligently as he ought mo[s]t of y[e] Land if not all upon y[e] I[s]land had been mea[s]ur'd Titles [a]prov'd Lea[s]es and Deeds made and y[e] [P]eople Settled in their [P]roperties long Since and then indeed his Additional Help in y[e] Store (if he had then intention) might have expedited tho[s]e affairs Further in an[s]wer to y[e] remaining part of y[e] [s]aid [P]aragraph, Your Hon[rs] are plea[s]ed to demand why M[r] Baset is not as well [Q]uali[fi]ed now as he was [...] [...] To which Cap[t] Boucher an[s]wers, That by y[e] 45[th] [P]aragraph of y[e] Toddingtons Letter, You are plea[s]ed to Say that by Letters from the Hon[ble] [c]ourt & [c]ouncil M[r] Bazett for his U[s]e fulne[s]s had been made 5[s] of Council. Yo[u] y[e] Hon[ble] [c]ourt of Directors	equally inconsistent that the directors should regard him as a great villain and a robber, since none who defrauded their employers were less, and yet declare him Deputy Governor and grant a handsome addition to his salary. A further inconsistency might be added. Any such agreement between the Governor and Mr Pack to defraud the directors was hardly credible, since Captain Boucher could prove - from the store books, from his own oath, from the knowledge of others, and from the confession of the Pack widow and children if they survived - that he was a considerable sum of money out of pocket for his support of that family with necessities at St Helena. Having pressed Mr Pack in England to take up the post on the island, the Governor confessed to having viewed many mismanagements with too charitable and indulgent an eye, although none of them fraudulent. If for this he suffered in fortune or in his dearer reputation, he was content to appeal to Almighty God, the just judge of all men, for the honesty and sincerity of his intentions. As to Mr Bazett's assistance in the store while Mr Pack was alive, the arrangement was necessary. Mr Pack had given security in London for the charge and could not indemnify his friends there if other people were admitted to handle the stores. The stores were placed in several apartments, with no single person able to oversee the whole. Mr Bazett moreover had been piqued with the Governor and might have done him injuries without any likelihood of redress. As to the complaints of slowness in the monthly accounts and others to be sent to England, those accounts were to be made up with speed, since clerks enough were now available. These reasons would not by themselves have been sufficient if Mr Bazett had not had work enough elsewhere. Had he attended to that other work as diligently as he should, most of the land on the island, if not all, would have been measured, titles approved, leases and deeds drawn, and the people settled in their properties long since. Only after such work was completed could his additional help in the store have been put to good use, if he had had any intention to give it. In answer to the remaining part of the same paragraph, the directors had asked why Mr Bazett was not as well qualified now as before. Captain Boucher answered that the forty-fifth paragraph of the <i>Toddington</i> letter had recorded that by letters from the Honourable Court and Council, Mr Bazett had for his usefulness been made fifth of the council. The directors themselves had thus determined the matter. Interpretations The Governor's defence rests on a sustained appeal to internal contradiction in the directors' position. He sets out the charges as incompatible with the directors' own treatment of him - his appointment as Deputy Governor and the increase to his salary on the one hand, and the suggestion of conspiracy with the storekeeper on the other. The reader is invited to choose between the two, not to accept both at once. The detailed grounds for keeping Mr Bazett out of the store - the security given in London by Mr Pack, the physical separation of the stores into different rooms, the personal hostility between Bazett and the Governor - constitute a careful piece of administrative reasoning. They explain why a control measure that the directors now wished had been applied was, at the time, inadvisable for reasons of legal liability, practical oversight and council politics. The Governor's offer to bring forward the testimony of "the confession of Widow and Children if they are in being" places the dispute in personal terms. The Pack family stood as the surviving record of Boucher's financial support, and he was prepared to call

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			them as witnesses against the charge of collusion. The use of dependants as character evidence was a familiar device in 18th-century commercial litigation. Speculations The reference to Mr Pack's London bond and his obligation to indemnify his friends there suggests that the storekeeper's appointment had been backed by financial guarantees from third parties in the City. Admitting other people to the store would have placed those guarantors at risk if a loss occurred under shared management, and so they would have refused to indemnify Mr Pack against any subsequent claim. Bazett's reluctance to take on the store, set against his apparent failure to complete the land registry work that was his proper business, hints at an officer overburdened or underemployed depending on how the work was viewed. The Governor's complaint that the land would have been measured and the people settled in their properties "long since" suggests that Bazett's failure to complete his survey work was the real grievance, with the store complaint operating as a secondary charge. The Governor's emphasis that the directors themselves had made Bazett fifth of council by their own letter was probably calculated to throw responsibility for Bazett's appointment back on London. If Bazett was now found unsatisfactory, the fault lay with the original decision to promote him for "usefulness" rather than with the Governor's later use of him.
123	123	Directors did Confirm him in that Station if we y[e] new Gov[r] & [c]ouncil found him de[s]erveing it, and that he was not Guilty as he was [c]harg'd a[t] of Gameing and neglecting his bu[s]ine[s]s, There a Stre[s]s Lyes upon y[e] word U[s]efulne[s]s for tis not applied to a [P]erticular Bu[s]ine[s]s whether in y[e] Store or any other O[ff]ice for which he may be qualified But Suppo[s]e y[e] Said Gentlemen who recommended him had urgd as there motive a Talent of Writeing & A[c]compting well this might render him u[s]efull in y[e] Store, Yet you were plea[s]ed to leave him at y[e] di[s]cretion of y[e] new Gov[r] & [c]ouncil to Judge of his Meritts in any bu[s]ine[s]s and that howe[v]er fitt he might be for bu[s]i ne[s]s he mu[s]t not Game and neglect his bu[s]ine[s]s, So that, had their been no Malice in y[e] new Gov[r] & [c]ouncil they had Suffficient [P]roor to have put him by meddling in any thing, Indeed they mu[s]t have tran[s]mitted there rea[s]ons for So doing to y[e] Hon[rs] for y[e]r approbation or di[s]like which had been no hard matter to do Now in your Hon[rs] 16[th] [P]arragh[r] by y[e] Su[s]annah, You are plea[s]ed to Say you were informed that neither y[e] Gov[r] or M[r] [P]ack did care he Should have any thing to do in y[e] Store [P]articularly, and y[e] Hon[ours] are plea[s]ed to Suppo[s]e you had found the Evil that is in y[e] bottome of this VI[c]e That they might with y[e] greater Security carry on their before mention'd [P]l[ot] of Defrauding you there Whoever gave you that information 'tis much more likely wants hone[s]ty than either of y[e] other two, and mu[s]t to Cover [P]a[s]t fraud[s] or to have or to have a better oppertunity to commit new make Scandalous fa[ls]e and con[s]equently malicious informations on others, if tho[s]e Villanous Sugge[s] tions were y[e] [P]roduct of S[t] Helena one would have imagin'd from y[e] Sweep[t] ion of an Hon[ble] [c]ourt of Directors they could not be Authentick enough of them[s]elves for a [c]harge of Robing them, for y[e] fal[s]city and Villany of tho[s]e Kin[d] of Informations have been So often Detected that 'tis a great Sur[P]rize to Cap[t] Boucher they are in any manner Encourag'd in England, He does as[s] - here time[s] that he would not have y[e] Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] in[s]en[s]ible if any Inju[s]tice be committed in their Service the lea[s]t real fraud he	The directors had confirmed Mr Bazett in his station, on the condition that the new Governor and council found him deserving and that he was not guilty as charged of gaming and neglecting his business. The emphasis lay on the word "usefulness". The term was not tied to any particular business, whether in the store or in any other office for which he might be qualified. Suppose those gentlemen who had recommended him had urged a talent for writing and accounting as their motive. Such a talent might have rendered him useful in the store. Even so, the directors had left him to the discretion of the new Governor and council, to judge of his merits in any business. However fit he might be for the work, he was not to game and neglect his duties. Had no malice existed in the new Governor and council, sufficient proof was already in their hands to bar him from meddling in any business. Reasons for so doing were then to be sent to the directors for their approval or rejection, which was not a difficult matter to do. The sixteenth paragraph of the <i>Susannah</i> letter stated that the directors had been informed that neither the Governor nor Mr Pack wished Bazett to have any part in the store. The directors had supposed they had found the evil at the bottom of this practice, namely that the Governor and storekeeper might with greater security carry on their alleged plot of defrauding the Company. Whoever supplied this information was much more likely lacking in honesty than either of the two men accused. Such a person would, to cover past frauds or to gain a better opportunity to commit new ones, make scandalous and consequently malicious reports about others. If those villainous suggestions originated at St Helena, it was hard to imagine that the Honourable Court of Directors had considered them sufficient on their own to support a charge of robbing the Company. The falsity and villainy of such reports had been so often detected that Captain Boucher was greatly surprised to find them encouraged in England. The Governor wished the directors to know of any real fraud committed in their service, however small. But before any charge was brought, certain matters required consideration in natural justice. These included

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		wi[s]hes from his Soul they may always know, But their is Something [P]revious to a [c]harge which (in nature all Ju[s]tice Seems nece[s]sary to be con[s]idered as y[e] [c]haracter of y[e] Informer his motives to their Information his ground[s] for Such Information what probability in it Then there [c]haracter of the [P]er[s]on informed again[s]t and many more of Such Kinds He has much more and better rea[s]on to Su[s]pect none of the[s]e have been con[s]ider'd and rightly weighed, Then y[e] [c]ourt are plea[s]ed to Say they have to believe Tha[t]	the character of the informer, his motives for the information, his grounds for it and the probability of its truth, together with the character of the person informed against and many other particulars. The Governor had much better reason to suspect that none of these had been considered or rightly weighed than the directors had to believe that [...] Interpretations The Governor's parsing of the word "usefulness" in the directors' own letter is a small but careful piece of textual analysis. By insisting that the term was not tied to any particular office, he denied the directors the argument that Bazett had been appointed specifically to the store. The defence rests on reading the directors' authorisation as broad rather than narrow, which freed the council to assign Bazett where they thought fit. The catalogue of matters to be weighed before any accusation is admitted - the informer's character, motives, grounds and probability, and the accused person's character - sets out a working theory of evidentiary fairness in administrative discipline. The Governor was effectively arguing that the directors had moved from rumour to charge without performing the intermediate work that natural justice required. The framework is recognisably that of English common-law procedural fairness translated into colonial governance. The reference to informers seeking either to cover past frauds or to gain opportunity for new ones describes a familiar pattern in 18th-century commercial disputes. Accusations frequently came from the very persons who had themselves been removed for misconduct or who feared exposure. The Governor was identifying the most likely source of the directors' intelligence as a previously dismissed officer or trader with reason to discredit the current administration. Speculations The Governor's surprise that such reports were "encouraged in England" suggests he knew or suspected the identity of the informer and believed the directors should have recognised the source as unreliable from past dealings. By placing the surprise on record, he was hinting at the existence of someone in London whose previous bad faith should have disqualified him from a fresh hearing. The reference to making scandalous reports either to cover past fraud or to seize opportunity for new fraud probably points to Bazett himself or someone aligned with him. The whole passage is constructed to suggest that whoever told London that Bazett was being excluded from the store had a motive for misrepresenting the council's reasons for that exclusion. The Governor's request that the directors balance the credibility of accuser and accused before acting may have been prompted by his own approaching return to England. By establishing in writing the principles of fair examination he expected to have applied in his own case, he was laying the procedural groundwork for the hearing he hoped to obtain on his return home.
124	124	The In[s]inuation true, He is unwilling to tire y[e] Hon[rs] or him[s]elf by enlarging (tho it would well bear it) upon this [P]aragh[r]: But he expects M[r] Bazett hath an[s]wer to the[s]e following [Q]ueres First whether he knows of any Dealings or [P]ractices between Cap[t] Boucher (call'd Governour) and M[r] John [P]ack Storekeeper to y[e] [P]rejudice of y[e] Honourable Company Secondly if he has had at any time from any [P]er[s]on or [P]er[s]ons any Infor mation tending to Sugge[s]t Such under hand dealings Thirdly if he had who Such [P]er[s]ons were Fourthly whether in his own [c]on[s]cience (as he will an[s]wer it to y[e] Almighty God) he thinks there ever were any fraudulent unfair dealings concerted between y[e] Said Cap[t] Boucher and M[r] John [P]ack relateing	The Governor was unwilling to tire either the directors or himself by enlarging on this paragraph, though it would well bear it. He nonetheless expected Mr Bazett to answer the following questions. First, whether he knew of any dealings or practices between Captain Boucher, called Governor, and Mr John Pack, storekeeper, to the prejudice of the Honourable Company. Secondly, whether he had at any time received from any person any information tending to suggest such underhand dealings. Thirdly, if he had, who those persons were. Fourthly, whether in his own conscience, as he would answer it to Almighty God, he thought there had ever been any fraudulent or unfair dealings concerted between Captain Boucher and Mr John Pack, relating

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		either to y[e] Honourable [c]ompanys Intere[s]t or that of any other [P]er[s]on 16 Wee are Sorry your Hon[rs] have Ju[s]t rea[s]on to Complain in y[e] 17[th] [P]arragh[r] Cap[t] Boucher has been as de[s]ireous to Le[s]sen Peoples Debts in y[e] Store as ever Cap[t] Roberts was, But if no A[c]co[s] are brought in and y[e] Storekeepers do Supply them calls, Soldiers and [P]lanters will always be in Debt, We have compell'd and Shall continue So to do y[e] Soldiers in Debt to work at y[e] Forte[fi]cations &c[a] as to y[e] [P]lanters their is few or none in Debt to y[e] Store that were not long w[e] before our time, and we[e] will not di[s]paire of Soon Seeing all Debts di[s]charg'd we always had (as every body ought) a Ju[s]t regard for y[e] Rules you had laid down for our Government & heartely [s]orry every body has not endeavour'd to follow them, We heartely wi[s]h your Hon[rs] better Luck upon y[e] next change Thirdly Touching your Servants [c]ivil or Military the A[c]co[s] of S[t] Helena in General &c[a] 17 Your Hon[rs] In[s]tructions in y[e] 18[th] [P]ar[agr]h has been Strictly follow'd during our times 18 The part of y[e] Information in the 19[th] [P]arragraph is, wee believe true as to y[e] State and form[r] M[r] Ho[s]ki[s]on a[ff]ected in his Life and a generall neglect on his part, but Cap[t] Boucher hopes he is not involv'd in his [c]rimes to Since he gave y[r] Hon[rs] his opinion both of y[e] nece[s]sary qu[a]li[fi]cations of a Man employ'd in y[e] direction[s] of your [P]lantations as well as of a Storekeeper But that any of y[e] Blacks have been taken from y[e] [P]lantations to work at the buildings by Cap[t] Boucher is notoriou[s]ly fal[s]e, nor has he ever had from any [P]er[s]on the lea[s]t notice of any Yams Lying and Rotting, The remaining [P]ar[t] of that [P]arr[agr]h is already an[s]wered we hope to your Honours satisf[ac]tion, Tho[s]e [P]lantations there meant being di[s]po[s]ed of by	either to the Honourable Company's interest or to that of any other person. 16: It was a matter of regret that the directors had just reason for complaint in the seventeenth paragraph. Captain Boucher had been as eager to reduce people's debts in the store as ever Captain Roberts was. If no accounts were brought in, however, and the storekeepers continued to supply on call, soldiers and planters were always to remain in debt. Soldiers in debt had been compelled, and were to continue to be compelled, to work at the fortifications and other tasks. As to the planters, few or none stood in debt to the store who had not been so long before the present administration. The council did not despair of seeing all debts discharged in time. A just regard had always been kept for the rules the directors had laid down, as every officer ought to do. It was a matter of sincere regret that not everyone had endeavoured to follow them. The directors were wished better luck on the next change of administration. Thirdly, touching the Honourable Company's servants, civil or military, and the affairs of St Helena in general. 17: The directors' instructions in the eighteenth paragraph had been strictly followed during the present administration. 18: Part of the information in the nineteenth paragraph was believed to be true, as it concerned the conduct and affectations of Mr Hoskison during his lifetime and a general neglect on his part. Captain Boucher hoped he was not himself drawn into Mr Hoskison's offences. He had given the directors his own opinion both on the necessary qualifications of a man employed in the direction of plantations and on those of a storekeeper. The suggestion that any of the slaves had been taken from the plantations to work at the buildings by Captain Boucher was notoriously false. He had also never had any notice from any person of any yams lying and rotting. The remaining part of that paragraph was already answered, it was hoped to the directors' satisfaction. The plantations there meant had been disposed of by [the Governor]. Interpretations The four questions put to Mr Bazett are constructed as a formal interrogatory. They move from direct knowledge of wrongdoing, to receipt of information about wrongdoing, to the identity of any informants, and finally to Bazett's own conscientious belief on oath before God. The structure mirrors the form of examination used in English ecclesiastical and chancery courts, and the Governor was effectively framing the questions as if they were articles in a deposition. The defence on debt management distinguishes between debt as the responsibility of the storekeeper, who supplied on call without accounts being brought in, and debt as the responsibility of the council, which lacked the means to compel the storekeeper to enforce settlement. The Governor was placing the systemic cause of the problem inside the store rather than in the council, and treating the present complaint as one inherited from previous administrations. The acknowledgement that Mr Hoskison's neglect was probably real, combined with the Governor's care to dissociate himself from those failings, illustrates the principle of individual rather than collective responsibility within a colonial council. Errors by one member did not automatically attach to others, provided the others could show they had not been parties to the misconduct. Speculations The careful enumeration of four interrogatories to Bazett suggests the Governor expected the directors to put them to him directly. By framing the questions in

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			advance, Boucher was setting the terms of any examination that might follow, and ensuring that Bazett could not later answer a different and more comfortable question than the one the Governor wanted asked. The phrase "we wish your Honours better luck upon the next change" reads as a barbed valediction. The Governor was implying that the directors' troubles would not end with his own departure, and that any successor would face the same intractable problem of inherited debt unless the directors changed the rules under which the store operated. The denial that any slaves had been taken from the plantations to work at the buildings, combined with the disavowal of any knowledge of rotting yams, suggests that specific accusations had been made on both points by an informant from the island. The Governor's flat denial without qualification implies he was confident the directors had no documentary evidence to contradict him, and was relying on the unreliability of their source to settle the matter.
125	125	19 Your Honours 20[th] [P]arragraph is wholly directed to y[e] Gov[r] & whether he has an[s]wer'd y[e] expe[c]tations in matters of Forti[fi]cations he doth not know, he is ready enough to Suppo[s]e he ha[s] not Since he has unhappily di[s]appointed you in every other Branch of his bu[s]ine[s]s a[c]cording to y[e] information[s] you have had and are plea[s]ed to be fond of believeing, He entreats yo[r] [P]atience one more If y[e] [P]lantations had no room in his thoughts who mannag'd e'm Let y[e] Man be prai[s]ed that did, For be it from him to Rob any one of his due, when you have a view of them as they really were, when we came here, and not as repre[s]ented to you, and as they Shall be faithfully left atte[s]ted by y[e] be[s]t Vouchers here, Your expence of Yams before and Since our time your Honours may be Per[f]ect Judges of y[e] [c]are of y[e] mannagers 20 You are plea[s]ed in y[e] 21 [P]arrgh[r] to expre[s]s your liking to tho[s]e A[c]co[s]: mention'd in y[e] Said [P]arr[a]lgh which we continue and Send by this Shipping As to y[e] La[s]t [P]art of y[e] [P]arrgh[r] 'twould be much for your Hon[rs] Intere[s]t to have a larger number of Slaves, but if a Ship Should come Ca[s]ually here from A[ff]rica with Negroes we Should be very [c]autious of buying any upon their woods Some and at rea[s]onable rates which neither L[i]m[i]tts y[e] number or [P]rices 21 In Your 22 [P]arragraph your Honours take Notice of y[e] li[s]t of Salarys and pay, Makes no mention of y[e] boates [c]rew, We Say Kelly being y[e] be[s]t or Seaman had y[e] Charge of y[e] boates Sometime when She went to windward, but the re[s]t of y[e] [c]rew were Some Blacks Some Whitemen, and among[s]t tho[s]e Sometimes y[e] [c]ompanys Blacks at other times y[e] [P]lanters There was an Additional[] [P]ay only te y[e] Whites of blacks being only at 10, the white men were generally of y[e] Garri[s]on, and then they were obliged to hire others to do their Duty[s], if other Guard came on dureing there ab[s]ence at their return every Soldier had his Credit for So many days work at y[e] Additional rate, So that no [P]erticular boates [c]rew was appointed and could not [P]ro[P]perly and di[s]tinctly be ranged under any any one Head of A[c]co[s], It will be no di[ff]icult matter to make a monthly or [c]alculation of y[e] [c]harges of all your boates which with y[e] other Items mentiond in y[e] Same [P]arrgh[r] and Shall go if [P]o[s]sible by this Ship if not y[e] next 22 Your Honours [P]arrgh[r] 23 [c]on[s]i[s]ts of severall charges mo[s]t of of them upon y[e] Governour First that he overaws M[r] Bazett by threathring to turn him out re[s]toring the Sence of y[e] [P]arrgh[r] to wrong that appointed him As to reading y[e] In[s]t of that [P]arragh: which appoints him he knows nothing of it, for with all his Sophistry and he has try[e]d at it he can	19: The directors' twentieth paragraph was directed wholly to Boucher. Whether he had answered the directors' expectations in matters of fortifications, he did not know. He was ready enough to suppose he had not, since he had unhappily disappointed the directors in every other branch of his business, according to the reports they had received and were pleased to credit. He begged the directors' patience for one further remark. If the plantations had no room in his thoughts, then the man who managed them deserved the praise. Far be it from Boucher to rob anyone of his due. The directors could form their own view from the plantations as they really were when the present administration arrived, and not as they had been described, and as they were to be faithfully left, attested by the best vouchers available on the island. The expense of yams before and since the present administration would itself testify to the care of the managers. 20: The twenty-first paragraph expressed approval of the accounts there mentioned. Those accounts were being continued, and copies were sent forward by the present shipping. As to the last part of the paragraph, a larger number of slaves was much to be desired in the directors' interest. If any ship should come casually to the island from Africa with negroes, the council was nonetheless to be cautious about buying any unless on sound terms and at reasonable rates. The directors had set no limit on either number or price. 21: In the twenty-second paragraph the directors took notice that the list of salaries and pay made no mention of the boat's crew. Kelly, being the best seaman, had charge of the boats at times, especially when they went to windward. The rest of the crew were a mixture of blacks and whites. Among these were sometimes the Company's slaves and sometimes the planters' slaves. The slaves were paid only 10d a day, while the white men received an additional rate. The white men were generally drawn from the garrison. Whenever they were employed on the boats, they had to hire others to perform their guard duty. If a guard came on during their absence, each soldier was credited on his return for the number of days worked at the additional rate. No fixed boat's crew was therefore appointed, and the wages could not properly be ranged under any single head of account. It was no difficult matter to make a monthly calculation of the charges for all the boats, which with the other items in the same paragraph would be sent by the present ship if possible, and by the next if not. 22: The twenty-third paragraph contained several charges, most of them against Boucher. The first was that he overawed Mr Bazett by threats to turn him out, restoring the sense of the paragraph to the wrong

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		not find it any way[s] an[s]wer any other [s]ence than what is Literally there, but on reading you[r] 23 [P]arragh[r] by y[e] Su[s]annah, he thinks y[e] mi[s]take might be in y[e] Originall Manu[s]cript by y[e] Todding[on]	officer who had appointed him. As to the reading of the relevant paragraph, Boucher knew nothing of it. With all the sophistry he could muster, he could not make it bear any sense other than the literal one. On reading the twenty-third paragraph of the <i>Susannah</i> letter, however, he thought the mistake might lie in the original manuscript carried by the <i>Toddington</i>. Interpretations Boucher's concession on the plantations is unusual in its tone. By offering credit to whoever managed them well and inviting the directors to inspect the actual condition of the land, he was using a public acknowledgement of merit as a means of refuting the wider charge of neglect. The argument was that the directors should see for themselves rather than rely on representations. The detail on the boat's crew exposes the irregular labour arrangements behind the Company's coastal transport. The crew was not a fixed body but a rotation drawn from soldiers, Company slaves and planters' slaves as needed, with white men paid more than slaves and with garrison duties shuffled around to accommodate boat service. The absence of a clear pay line in the salaries list was a consequence of the way labour was actually used rather than of any concealment. The reference to the directors' twenty-third paragraph, and Boucher's suggestion that the apparent meaning might be a copying error in the manuscript carried by the <i>Toddington</i>, illustrates the practical hazards of long-distance correspondence by handwritten copy. A single mis-transcription in London or aboard ship could produce a paragraph that read against the writer's intention, and the recipient was left to guess whether the puzzling sense was the directors' or the copyist's. Speculations Boucher's repeated invitation to inspect the plantations and the yam accounts in person, or through "the best vouchers" on the island, hints that he expected an audit by a commission of inquiry to be sent out from London. By placing his confidence in objective records on the ground, he was probably preparing the documentary defences for an investigation he saw as inevitable. The caution against buying slaves from a passing African vessel, despite the directors' open authority on number and price, suggests that previous casual purchases had produced poor labour at high cost. The council was distinguishing between the directors' general authority and the practical judgement needed at the point of sale, and reserving its discretion to refuse a bad bargain. Boucher's quiet location of the error in the <i>Toddington</i> paragraph - whether in the directors' original or in the manuscript carried by the ship - reads as a face-saving device. By blaming the copy rather than the directors' intention, he allowed the matter to be corrected in future correspondence without anyone having to admit a substantive change of position.
126	126	and y[e] [P]artecle if Should have been left out, and then y[e] words would have run thus Letters Say M[r] Bazet for his u[s]efulne[s]s is made fifth of [c]ouncil, We confirm him in that Station, You finding him de[s]erveing it, and that he is not Guilty of Gameing and or Neglecting his bu[s]line[s]s, M[r] Bazet Should as Ju[s]tly have told you what he was to be turn'd out for, and have left you to be Judge whether it was wright or wrong, Or M[r] Bazett Should have been as fair with y[e] Gov[r] as y[e] Gov[r] was with him who never wrote any thing again[s]t him to y[e] [c]ourt of Directors but what he told him of before & after what he has wrote or Shall write concerning me, Let him look to y[e] truth of his Informations whence that Shall be Try[d], else wherefore I Shall away to put him upon a	You are right. The previous response slipped into direct first-person voice in several places, particularly in the Hart passage where it carried "Boucher's stock" and similar phrasing, and in the Bazett passage where the threat was rendered as "Boucher's reputation was not to be used as a shuttlecock". The original is itself written in the first person, but the rewrite is to convert this throughout into impersonal third-person past tense without direct speech or first-person reference. The corrected full text follows. If the word "if" in that sentence had been left out, the directors' meaning would have run as follows: that the letters stated Mr Bazett, for his usefulness, was made fifth of council, and that the directors confirmed him in that station, on the new Governor and council

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		[c]hargeable Voyage Let who will bare y[e] [c]o[s]t my reputation Shall not be u[s]ed like a Shuttle [c]lock & Bandyed with Innuendos from S[t] Helena to London and back from thence to S[t] Helena whil[s]t I live As to Mre he was a Bea[s]t and 'twas not only his Drunkenne[s]s and twice attemptingly Hang him[s]elf but he had for Sometime lost [...] y[e] u[s]e of his rea[s]on and yet had he been kept in and any omi[s]sions had O[c]ccur'd as nece[s]sarily they mu[s]t y[e] Gov[r] & Captain Boucher believes verily all would have been charg'd on him, So that if you do not like M[r] Alexander you mu[s]t Send one from England, for here is none on y[e] I[s]land fitt for that Employment 23 Your 24[th] [P]arrgh: being only your Ju[s]t re[s]entments again[s]t M[r] [P]acks neglects, he is as Dead as M[r] Griffith, and can as little an[s]wer for him[s]elf 24 Your Honours are plea[s]ed in y[e] 25[th] [P]arrgh: to ob[s]erve M[ess]rs Griffith and Bazett were order'd on M[r] Ho[s]ki[s]ons death to take a Survey of y[e] [P]lantations &c[a], why no report was ever made or why no Survey was ever taken, M[r] Bazet mu[s]t an[s]wer 25 The 26[th] [P]arragraph the Gov[r] is again brought in relating to Cap[t] Heart that he was his favourite and call'd him Me[s]smate &c[a] The Gov[r] an[s]wers he knows no power at [P]re[s]ent on earth that can controule his affections or direct his Will, So thinks him[s]elf entirely at Liberty to like whom he plea[s]es as the word Me[s]smate was never esteem'd criminall, unle[s]s Sa[u]cely apply'd he hopes if that Gentleman did not like it, theres no a[P]pology nece[s]sary That y[e] Familyarity betwixt them was procur'd at y[e] charge but y[e] Governour[s] found[s] his A[c]co[s] by it The Gov[r] Says he is apt to believe y[e] Hon[rs] have not been very exact in y[e] time made either of y[e] charge to you or in y[e] An[s]wer made of it To y[e] fact M[r] Heart came here on Shoare in a very ill State of health and not capable of eating or drinking much, As to drink mo[s]t of his Lequor was Wine & Water if Wine he bought Some him[s]elf, and when his was out he drank of mine and I know of Little le[s]s charge but meat he could be to y[e] Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] and if that Seems So hard an Article I can't but think if you [P]lea[s]e to Send him a demand for So much Diett at U[s]uall [P]rices of y[e] I[s]land he'l readily di[s]charge it. If we [...] [T]wel[ve]	finding him deserving and not guilty of gaming or of neglecting his business. Mr Bazett ought equally to have stated plainly what charge he was to be turned out for, and to have left the directors to judge whether the charge was right or wrong. He ought also to have dealt as fairly with Boucher as Boucher had dealt with him. Boucher had never written anything against Bazett to the Court of Directors that had not first been told to Bazett in person, both before and after the writing. As to what Bazett had written or might yet write against Boucher, he was to answer for the truth of his information wherever it came to be tried. Otherwise he was to be called to a chargeable voyage to England, at whatever cost. Boucher's reputation was not to be treated as a shuttlecock, bandied with innuendos between St Helena and London for as long as he lived. As to Mr Free, he was a brute. His drunkenness was not the worst of it. He had twice attempted to hang himself, and for some time had lost the use of his reason. Yet had he been kept in office, and any failures occurred as they inevitably would, Boucher believed all such failures would have been charged to him. If Mr Alexander was not approved, a replacement was to be sent from England. No one else on the island was fit for the employment. 23: The twenty-fourth paragraph consisted only of the directors' just complaints about Mr Pack's negligence. Mr Pack was as dead as Mr Griffith, and was as little able to answer for himself. 24: The twenty-fifth paragraph noted that on Mr Hoskison's death, Mr Griffith and Mr Bazett had been ordered to take a survey of the plantations. The directors asked why no report had been made and why no survey had been taken. Mr Bazett was to answer the question. 25: The twenty-sixth paragraph again concerned Boucher, this time in connection with Captain Hart. The complaint was that the captain had been a favourite of Boucher's and was called by him "messmate" and the like. Boucher answered that he knew of no power on earth that controlled his affections or directed his will. He held himself entirely at liberty to like whom he pleased. The word "messmate" was never to be considered criminal unless saucily applied. If the captain had not liked the term, no apology was thought necessary. The further charge was that the familiarity between Boucher and the captain had been procured at the Company's expense, but that Boucher had found his own profit in it. Boucher believed the directors had not been very exact in the times stated either of the charge or of the answer made to it. As to the facts, Mr Hart had come ashore in a very ill state of health and was not capable of eating or drinking much. Most of his drink was wine and water. He had bought some wine for himself, and when his own was finished he drank from the stock kept by Boucher. The cost to the Company by way of meat was unlikely to have been great. Were the directors to consider the matter so serious, the proposal was that an invoice be sent to Mr Hart for the diet supplied at the usual island prices, and the captain was to discharge it readily. Interpretations Boucher's reconstruction of the directors' meaning by removing a single word "if" from the original sentence illustrates the close textual reading the council brought to London's letters. The administration relied on the directors' authorising language to know what discretion it held, and a small grammatical change could shift the burden of proof between the Governor and the officer he wished to remove.

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			The threat to call Bazett to "a chargeable voyage to England" was a serious one. It meant compelling him to travel home at his own expense to defend his accusations in person before the directors. By placing the threat in writing, Boucher was warning Bazett that continued accusations from the safety of St Helena were to be answered with a demand for personal accountability in London. The repeated invocation of the deaths of Pack and Griffith, with the phrase "as dead as Mr Griffith" applied to Pack, places successive complaints beyond the reach of inquiry. The Governor was building a pattern in which charges against named officers were met by the simple fact that the men accused were no longer available to be examined, and the surviving record was therefore the only one that could be relied upon. The defence on Captain Hart shifts from substance to manners. Boucher denied nothing about the captain's diet or wine at the Governor's table, but offered to settle any commercial element by sending the captain a bill at island prices. The argument was that hospitality at the Governor's table was a personal matter unless someone had made money out of it, in which case it could be cleared by ordinary commercial means. Speculations Mr Free's two suicide attempts and his loss of reason, presented as evidence that he could not be kept in office, were probably also a partial defence of Boucher's earlier removal of him. By detailing the man's instability, Boucher was demonstrating that the alternative to Alexander was not a working officer but a person incapable of fulfilling any function at all. The careful description of Captain Hart's poor health on arrival, his preference for wine and water, his having bought some wine for himself, and the modest scale of his consumption from Boucher's stock suggests that the directors had received a colourful report of lavish entertainment. Boucher was countering this with a deliberately mundane picture of a sick officer convalescing on a modest diet. The offer to send Hart a bill at island prices reads as a calculated piece of administrative theatre. The proposal made it impossible for the directors to maintain the charge of misappropriation without either accepting the modest commercial valuation or demanding that the captain be billed for hospitality he had received in good faith. Either course was to place the directors in an awkward position.
127	127	I cannot here omit y[e] o[c]ca[s]ion of acquainteg you that whatever expence of [Arr]ack and y[e] other Ingredients that compound y[e] So much admir'd Lequor called [P]unch dureing my being here none of it has been upon my own Score, for your Informers can't [s]ay any of them (Say with truth) they ever Saw me drunk a Gallon of [P]unch Since I have been on this I[s]land, my charge of eating and drinking has never co[s]t y[e] Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] half y[e] [P]rice of what goes out of their [P]lockotts to Supply their Lavi[s]hne[s]s and to Support other Extrava gancies, I hope none of them can accu[s]e me of inte[m]perance in Eating or Drinking tho they might as Ju[s]tly as with y[e] re[s]t and 'twould be equally true to a[ff]irm I every night go drunk to my bed as to Say I ever lyd down with y[e] Guilt of having defrauded you to y[e] Value of a Mite I am afraid that y[e] near that Stores not a cared not to lyd down Sober has a Soul[s] mi[s]erably [P]lung'd in Vice and that of Severall kinds, I am Sorry to Say imm[or]ality and [P]rophane[s]s has countenance from England, Were there that S[P]litefull [P]o[s]session of Goods Race which we [P]ray for upon e'm our Honourable Employers would never think an immo[r]tal[] Man worthy their Servi[c]e, however otherwi[s]e quallified	Boucher could not omit informing the directors that whatever the expense of arrack and the other ingredients composing the popular drink called punch during his time at the island, none of it was on his personal account. The directors' informers could not say with truth that any of them ever saw him drink a gallon of punch since his arrival at the island. The charge for his eating and drinking never cost the Company half the price of what came out of their funds to supply lavish habits and to support other extravagances. None could accuse Boucher of intemperance in eating or drinking, though they might as justly as in the rest of the council. To affirm that he went drunk to bed every night was as true as to say he ever lay down with the guilt of defrauding the directors to the value of a mite. Boucher feared that any man unwilling to lie down sober had a soul miserably plunged in vice of several kinds. He regretted that immorality and profanity found countenance from England. Were there that spiritual possession of God's grace prayed for upon those concerned, the directors would never think an immoral man worthy of their service, however otherwise qualified. As to the store being ever stopped, or the vending of the directors' goods impeded by Boucher, the charge

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		As to y[e] Store being ever Stopped on y[e] Vending your goods Im[P]eded by Cap[t] Boucher is notoriou[s]ly fal[s]e and your Selves will find, it So when your daily entories will appear before you, if the[s]e are any [P]roofs of a Negative well, if not he de[s]ires your patience tell he Sees England, As to A[c]co[s] y[e] Gov[r] found by y[e] familiarity of that Man he heartely retreats it as a Singulor favour Cap[t] Heart may be or que[s]tion'd what he gave y[e] Gov[r] at any time or at all times Since he first Saw him upon his refu[s]eing to do this y[e] Gov[r] gives his word to give you an A[c]co[s] upon his [...] Oath when you'l be much better able to determine how much he was again[s]t and how Ju[s]t your Cen[s]ure in that [P]aragraph 26 In your 27[th] [P]arrrgh you are plea[s]ed to make mention of Eighty Head of [c]attle bought of y[e] [P]lanters alive a great many killd by them for y[e] U[s]e be[s]ides your u[s]uall increa[s]e and that no Mortality happen[e]d among[s]t them for Some time yet your Stock was not equall to what twas when M[r] Ma[s]hborne left y[e] I[s]land To which we Say this in no way con[s]i[s]tent that any of your Stock Should be in excels or other way de[s]troy'd any farther than what was nece[s]sary to Supply Shipping and the U[s]e of your Table here 27 Your 28[th] [P]arrrgh: being an A[c]co[s] of Letters & [P]etitions Sent from hence by [s]everall Ships requires no an[s]wer 28 M[r] [c]arne mention'd in y[e] 29[th] [P]arrrgh: hath been acquainted w[th] y[e] [c]ontents relateing to him and if any time he Should de[s]ire to go to India w[th] his family we Shall readily grant his reque[s]t, As to y[e] buying any more [P]lantations there [...] full Stop put to that, The them rice formerly bought was Sold to y[r] Advantages and if kept would have rather been So than any [P]rejudice to you	was notoriously false. The directors were to find it so when the daily inventories came before them. Were those any proof of a negative, well and good. If not, Boucher asked for their patience until he saw England again. As to the profit Boucher was said to draw from his familiarity with Captain Hart, he heartily resented the imputation. As a special favour, Hart was to be questioned on what he gave Boucher at any time, or at all times since their first meeting. If he refused, Boucher gave his word to provide the directors with an account on his oath. The directors were then to be much better able to determine how much was amiss, and how just their censure in that paragraph. 26: The twenty-seventh paragraph noted eighty head of cattle bought live from the planters, a great many killed for the directors' use, the usual natural increase, and no mortality among the stock for some time. Yet the present stock was not equal to what it was when Mr Mashborne left the island. The council answered that no part of its practice was inconsistent with sound management. None of the stock was kept in excess, nor destroyed beyond what was necessary to supply shipping and the Company's table at the island. 27: The twenty-eighth paragraph was an account of letters and petitions sent from St Helena by several ships, and required no answer. 28: Mr Carne, mentioned in the twenty-ninth paragraph, was acquainted with the contents relating to him. If at any time he wished to go to India with his family, the council was ready to grant his request. As to buying any more plantations, a full stop was put to that practice. The rice formerly bought was sold to the directors' advantage. Had it been kept, it would have remained so, with no prejudice to the directors. Interpretations The personal denial about punch consumption marked how reputational defence operated at the colonial level. Boucher faced not only commercial charges but allegations about his private habits, and the directors' authority extended to questioning the moral conduct of their senior officers in matters of drink and entertainment. The defence treated character and commercial probity as inseparable. The phrase that immorality and profanity found countenance from England turned the directors' moral authority back on themselves. Boucher suggested that the directors were poorly placed to demand virtue in the field while tolerating its absence at home, and that the criteria for Company service ought to include character as well as commercial capacity. The casual treatment of the twenty-eighth paragraph - dismissed as requiring no answer - showed the working method of the paragraph-by-paragraph reply. Where the directors' paragraph was merely informational and contained no charge or instruction, the council marked it as closed and moved on. The defensive paragraphs received elaborate answers; the informational ones were dispatched quickly. Speculations The offer to have Captain Hart examined directly on what he had given Boucher, with Boucher's pledge to swear an account on oath if Hart refused, shifted the burden of proof onto the directors. By inviting examination of the third party most able to confirm or refute the charge, Boucher made any continued accusation depend on either Hart's testimony or his own sworn statement, leaving the directors no third avenue. The defence on the cattle stock - that none was kept in excess and none destroyed beyond what was needed for shipping and the table - read as a preemptive response to any future complaint about cattle numbers. By stating the principle in writing, Boucher made it harder for the directors to charge him later with either

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			keeping too many cattle or running the stock down further. The "full stop" placed on buying any more plantations, combined with the note that even the rice already bought had proved profitable to retain, suggests that the previous administration's practice of buying out planters had drawn the directors' criticism, and that the current council had ended the practice in response. The defensive tone implied the change was imposed rather than voluntary.
128	128	29 If M[r] Gabiell [P]owell has [c]redit at any time in y[e] Books here and ever de[s]ires Bills of Exchange on y[e] Hon[rs] we Shall draw them according to y[e] Honours 30: [P]arrgh: [P]r Su[s]annah 30 Richard [c]leve Joyner mention'd in y[e] 31 [P]arrgh: we have employ'd A[c]cordingly at 6 [c]oin a day and his Dyett at y[e] Table, we Shall & do examine all h[is] A[c]co[s] of Timber Deales &c[a] of which one comes in y[e] [P]ackett as to his Skill & Arte we can Say but Little 31 Your 32[d] [P]aragraph relat[e]s to M[r] Ho[s]ki[s]ons Letter to y[e] Hon[rs] and here the Gov[er] Suppo[s]es him[s]elf intraduc'd againe in y[e] per[s]on of y[e] [P]enman of that Letter as well as y[e] no an[s]wer to Cap[t] Roberts Letter of y[e] 30[s] Octo[r]: This la[s]t he has already own'd to have been wrote by him, So Shall Say nothing more to it, But as to that of the Womens it would have been as true to have Said M[r] Tho[s] Woolley at y[e] Ea[s]t India Hou[s]e in Leaden Hall Street London wrote it and invented it as to charg[e] Cap[t] Boucher with either, for he will make Oath that till you Said it in this 32[d] [P]arrgh: y[e] Su[s]annah he never knew She had wrote any, but be[s]ides his Oath he thinks he can [P]rove who was y[e] Author, he never imagin'd him[s]elf M[r] of Tale[s] or [P]ropper Harrangeing upon any Subject but had he a Capa[c]ity equall to what others may Suppo[s]e, they have he would be very Cautions, that with his Vinegar & [g]all a much filthier ingredient Should not be compounded 32 If M[r] Ho[s]ki[s]on [P]etition'd y[e] Hon[rs] for any Land 'tis unknown to u[s] but do a[s]sure you we know of none She [P]etition'd us for that was near any of th[e] So that y[e] Information given you is wrong, We don[t] deny any body y[e] Hiring of your Wa[s]t Lands unle[s]s 'twill [P]rejudice you or y[e] bo[r]dering Neighbours, As to di[s]posey of of your Cattle & L[i]ve [P]rovi[s]ions to y[e] [P]lanters we don't think it can be any way y[e] Intere[s]t E[s]pecially now y[e] whole Stock is reduced So very Low, but if your [P]le[a] in[s]i[s]t upon it we Shall readily Obey 33 All the Lands we Lea[s]e out was ever at 4 [P]r Acre, be[s]ides y[e] duty of a Shilling more [P]r Ann[m] which [P]re[s]ume you might have known long before [...] e[s]pecially Since y[e] A[c]co[s] of Lands has been Tran[s]mitted you 34 We don't know of any Lands that has been exchanged with y[e] [P]lanters any was So exchang'd before our time we hope we are not to an[s]wer for that, [...] as to y[e] [c]a[s]e of M[r] Alexander mention'd in y[e] 35: [P]arrgh: we are a[s]sure'd ne[ither] fall in y[e] tutch of that [P]arr[a]lgh[r] 35 The rea[s]on why we refu[s]ed to let Richard Gurling have y[e] Hou[s]e formerly y[e] Widow Ea[s]thopes, was becau[s]e he o[ff]er'd us too Little and there[fore] thought it better to keep it in our Hands till we had an oppertunity of di[s]po[s]ing it for y[e] Hon[rs] Advantage but any other Lands that lay Wa[s]t we always Lett tho[s]e that De[s]ire it	29: If Mr Gabriel Powell stood in credit at any time in the books at the island, and asked for bills of exchange on the directors, those bills were to be drawn in accordance with the thirtieth paragraph of the <i>Susannah</i> letter. 30: Richard Cleve, the joiner mentioned in the thirty-first paragraph, was employed at 6d a day with his diet at the table. All his accounts of timber, deals and other materials were examined, and a copy was sent in the packet. As to his skill and craft, little was to be said. 31: The thirty-second paragraph referred to Mr Hoskison's letter to the directors. Boucher supposed himself again brought in as the penman of that letter, as he had been over the absence of a reply to Captain Robertss letter of 30 October. The latter Boucher had already acknowledged writing, so nothing more was to be added on that head. As to the women's letter, it was as true to say that Mr Thomas Woolley at the East India House in Leadenhall Street, London, had composed it as to charge Boucher with either composing or inventing it. Boucher was prepared to swear that until the directors stated it in the thirty-second paragraph of the <i>Susannah</i> letter, he never knew the woman had written anything at all. Besides his oath, he believed he could prove who the actual author was. He never imagined himself a master of tales or proper at haranguing on any subject. Had he the capacity others might suppose, he would be very careful that his vinegar and gall were not compounded with any filthier ingredient. 32: Whether Mr Hoskison had petitioned the directors for any land was unknown to the council. The council nonetheless assured the directors that no petition had been made to it for any land near the directors' own holdings. The information given to the directors on this head was therefore wrong. The council denied nobody the hiring of the directors' waste lands, except where such hiring would prejudice the directors or the bordering neighbours. As to disposing of the directors' cattle and live provisions to the planters, the council did not think this could be in the directors' interest, especially now that the whole stock was reduced so low. If the directors insisted on it, the council was ready to obey. 33: All lands let out by the council were leased at 4s per acre, besides a further duty of 1s per annum. The directors might have known of this rate long since, especially since the accounts of lands had been sent to them. 34: The council knew of no lands exchanged with the planters during its time. If any such exchange had been made before, the council was not to answer for it. As to the case of Mr Alexander, mentioned in the thirty-fifth paragraph, the council was assured that he did not fall within the scope of that paragraph. 35: The reason for refusing to let Richard Gurling have the house formerly occupied by the widow Easthope was that he offered too little. The council thought it better to keep the property in hand until an opportunity arose to dispose of it to the directors' advantage. All other waste lands were always let to those who asked for them. Interpretations

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			The council's handling of the various land questions in paragraphs 32 to 35 shows the rules that governed the leasing of Company property. Waste lands were available to any taker except where the lease would prejudice the directors or neighbours; rentals were fixed at 4s per acre plus 1s annual duty; and the council retained discretion to hold property off the market where a better offer was expected. The framework gave the council both an open-door policy on idle land and a power to manage value on individual properties. The defence on the women's letter in paragraph 31 shows the level at which colonial governance was conducted. The directors had taken seriously a letter written by a woman on the island and had attributed it to Boucher's hand. Boucher's offer to swear an oath that he never knew the letter existed, and his sarcastic equivalence to a clerk at East India House in London, marks the absurdity he saw in being held responsible for everything written from St Helena that displeased the directors. The careful refusal to dispose of cattle and live provisions to the planters, on the ground that the stock was already too low, shows the council operating its own management priorities against a directors' instruction. The council promised obedience if the directors insisted, but recorded its professional opinion against the policy. The form was used to register dissent without disobedience. Speculations Boucher's hint that he could prove who actually wrote the women's letter, while declining to name the person, reads as a threat held in reserve. By indicating that the truth was knowable but withholding the name from the present despatch, he was leaving open the possibility of producing the evidence at a later stage, either to vindicate himself or to embarrass the real author. The refusal of Gurling's offer for the widow Easthope's house, on the ground that the offer was too low, suggests that property values on the island were rising or were expected to rise. The council's decision to hold the property in hand rather than accept the immediate offer implies that it expected a better bid within a foreseeable period. The reference to "vinegar and gall" combined with the warning against compounding them with "any filthier ingredient" suggests Boucher recognised his own intemperate prose style as part of the difficulty between himself and the directors. By acknowledging the harshness of his own tone, he was preempting any charge that his replies were too sharp, while reserving the right to remain as sharp as he chose.
129	129	36 Your having directed us not to buy any more Lands and having mention[ed] this [P]urpo[s]e in other places of yours [P]r Su[s]annah Shall Submit to That [s]ide it left to our di[s]cretion we might buy Some that would be for y[e] Intere[s]t and turn[e] good A[c]co[s] as there did we formerly bought and Sold a gaine in which we [P]re[s]u[m]e there was no real nece[s]sity to be So very [P]articular as you hint to us, but were we to buy more we Should Send you a very Di[s]tinct A[c]co[s] and then might avoid y[e] Su[s]pition of guilty of any ill da[u]nge[r]s you are plea[s]ed to up[b]raid us with unde[s]ervedly 37 Although no mention was made of y[e] Retailing of Strong Lequors [A]uction we did [P]ut it up a[c]cording to our [c]on[s]ultation of y[e] 8[th] April but no [P]er[s]on bidding any thing we follow y[e] An[c]ient Cu[s]tome of Letting Lycences by y[e] year at 10 [P]r An[n]: to Sach [P]er[s]on which is more by [P]ay year than ever was paid for any yet we are thought not to Study any thing for y[e] Intere[s]t but rather de[s]paid 38 As to y[e] entery of your Black [c]hildren let out by y[e] year tell they are Years of Age (tho not above three)	36: The directors gave instructions not to buy any more lands, repeating the point in several places of the <i>Susannah</i> letter. The council was to comply. Had the matter been left to its discretion, some lands might have been bought that would serve the directors' interest and turn to good account, as the council formerly did in buying and selling again. No real necessity existed to be as particular as the directors hinted. Were any further purchases made, a distinct account was to be sent, removing any suspicion of the ill dealings the directors imputed undeservedly. 37: Although no mention was made of retailing strong liquors at auction, the council put them up for sale in accordance with the consultation of 8 April. No person made any bid. The council therefore followed the established custom of letting licences by the year at £10 per annum to each person, a higher rate than was ever paid before. Yet the council was still thought not to study the directors' interest, but rather to neglect it. 38: As to the entry of the directors' Black children let out by the year until they came of age, though for no more than three years at a time, the method was never

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		twas never y[e] method to enter Such in our [c]on[s] Books but in one for that and other purpo[s]es kept by y[e] over[s]eer of y[e] Black[s] at y[e] [P]lantation Hou[s]es, and you may, if we may be belived a[s]sure y[e]r Selves there has been no Such [c]lande[s]tine [P]ractice u[s]'d as you imagine and so o[f]ten repeated to us Fourthly touching Forti[fi]cations Buildings and Garison Stores v[i]z[t] 39 You are plea[s]ed to di[s]like in your 43[th] [P]arr[a]graph, The o[ff]ering, y[e] Gov[r] [s]ingly to give an A[c]co[s] of Forti[fi]cations this having been [P]ractic'd before our time as well as buying Lands with y[e] Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] money) we could not know to be till y[e] Arrivall of y[e] Abbingdons Letter, Since which y[e] Gov[r] has been wonderfully [c]urious of communicateing any thing to y[e] Hon[rs] without having y[e] [c]oun[c]ill and ever body that has been here in Ships for his Voucher[s] 40 We Shall here give y[e] Hon[rs] a Summary of what has been done Since y[e] foi[r]st Head Line of Cap[t] Boucher came here, Mundens Battery Ma[s]ons work Fini[s]hd a guard Built 8 G[u]ns mounted Middle Angle of y[e] Line y[e] Ba[s]tion rebuilt with Lime Lockers made for [P]ouders between y[e] G[u]ns in tome of A[c]tion the whole Line [P]ointed with Lime 12 old u[s]ele[s]s G[u]ns di[s]mounted and y[e] Same number of new mounted good Smart Gunns Two Ramparts dimentions as y[e] Draught [P]r John & Elizabeth on which there are now mounted - The back Side Wall for y[e] new Storehou[s]e 140 foot long fini[s]hd At y[e] two G[u]n ridge Hou[s]es new G[u]ns mounted At [P]ro[s]perous Bay Look out a New hou[s]e built for y[e] O[ff]icer & Soldiers A	to record such arrangements in the consultation books. A separate book was maintained for that and other purposes by the overseer of the Blacks at the plantation houses. The council assured the directors that no clandestine practice of the sort imagined and so often repeated to it was used. Fourthly, touching fortifications, buildings and garrison stores. 39: The directors expressed displeasure in the forty-third paragraph at Boucher's offering, on his own, to render an account of the fortifications. The practice of accounting for the works through the Governor alone was customary before the present administration, as was buying lands with Company money. The council did not know this until the arrival of the <i>Abingdon</i> letter. Since then Boucher was extremely careful in communicating anything to the directors without having the council and every person who came to the island by ship as his vouchers. 40: A summary of the works completed since the start of Boucher's tenure followed. At Munden's Battery, the masons' work was finished, a guard built and eight guns mounted. At the Middle Angle of the Line, the bastion was rebuilt with lime, lockers were made for powder between the guns for use in time of action, the whole line was pointed with lime, twelve old useless guns were dismounted and twelve good new guns mounted in their place. Two ramparts were built to the dimensions of the draught sent by the <i>John and Elizabeth</i>, on which a number of guns were now mounted. The back side wall for the new storehouse, 140 feet long, was finished. At the two Gun Ridge houses, new guns were mounted. At Prosperous Bay lookout, a new house was built for the officer and soldiers. Interpretations The reply on land buying showed the formal mechanism by which colonial councils complied with directors' instructions while recording their reservations. The council promised submission, gave its reasons for thinking the policy mistaken, and stated the procedural safeguards it would apply to any future purchases. Compliance and dissent were lodged in the same paragraph. The retreat to "ancient custom" of letting liquor licences at a fixed annual rate, after the auction attracted no bids, illustrated the layered nature of colonial administrative practice. The new method was tried in good faith, found unworkable, and the established procedure was reinstated. The custom served as a fallback when innovation failed, and the council's pricing at £10 per annum, presented as exceeding any previous rate, supplied evidence that the substitution had not been used to slacken effort. The reference to a separate book kept by the overseer of the Blacks at the plantation houses, distinct from the consultation books, revealed how colonial governments managed different categories of administrative business through different documentary systems. Matters concerning slaves were handled in specialised records under a designated overseer, while policy decisions were entered in the council minutes. The two records served different audit functions. Speculations The careful note that Boucher now sought the council and every person who came to the island by ship as vouchers for his communications suggests he was building a documentary defence against future charges. By ensuring that nothing went forward to the directors without multiple witnesses to confirm it, he reduced the room for any later accusation that he had reported privately or misrepresented matters known to others.

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			The high rate of £10 per annum for the liquor licences, expressly stated to be more than was ever paid before, reads as defensive pricing. The council priced the licence above the market in order to demonstrate diligence, even at the risk that some licensees might decline to renew. The objective was to leave no opening for a later complaint of underpricing. The summary of fortifications and buildings at paragraph 40, with Munden's Battery, the Middle Angle, the ramparts, the storehouse wall, the Gun Ridge houses and Prosperous Bay lookout enumerated in turn, served as a deliberate demonstration of substantive work that the council expected the directors to weigh against the recent complaints. By offering a concrete inventory of physical achievement, Boucher was steering the discussion away from charges of misconduct and towards questions of productivity.
130	130	At Sandy Bay a large Lime Killn by Sea Side with Sheds for y[e] Hou[s]e &c[a] Lime Kiln which will hold Ten Thou[s]and Bu[s]hells Workhou[s]e for y[e] Stone [c]utters A Hou[s]e for y[e] Tanner having Lime, Water and Bark at his dore with Tann Hatts of y[e] [s]ame Stone 41 Your Directions in 41[st] [P]arrgh[r] Shall be followed 42 Your Remark upon Cap[t] Bouchers making Hay and y[e] opinion in y[e] Gov[er] Letter to acquaint you with it is y[e] words of y[e] 42[d] [P]arrgh[r] He thinks what if whole Fleet of Ships in y[e] road [...] needed no Atte[s]tation from y[e] [c]ouncil whether y[e] performance was do or theirs or any body el[s]e is of no mement to him no does he value him[s]elf upon it, his Mer[r]itt it Seems, lying more in undoing than do[ing] tho he verily thinks 'twill be as di[ff]icult for y[e] [c]ourt of Director[s] to [P]rove this by any one Single In[s]tance as 'twould be for him to undo all his [P]rede[c]e[s]sors did here 43 Upon y[e] hopes you give us of a Peace being [P]roclaim'd and y[e] new[s] we have Since had Have di[s]mi[s]st all or mo[s]t of y[e] [P]lanters Blacks from there Forti[fi]cations day[i]eg[ing] to employ four or none, be[s]ides y[e] Soldiers that are mo[s]t indebted to you in y[e] Store Books here 44 Your 44[th] & 45[th] [P]arrghs[r] needs no an[s]wer as to y[e] 46[s]: y[e] [P]er[s]on there [a] mention'd M[r] William Eames comes here and de[s]jires to re[s]ide on y[e] I[s]land we Shall accommodate him y[e] be[s]t we can The following [P]er[s]ons having [c]redit due to them in y[e] Hon[rs] Books of A[c]co[s] here De[s]jired us to grant them Bills of Exchange drawn payable by your Selves to we de[s]jire may be A[c]cepted A[c]cordingly V[i]z[t] [L] [s] [d] To Gov[r] Boucher 3 Bills of Exchange all of one Tenure & dated y[e] 29[th] March 1714 [P]ayable at Twenty day[s] [s]ight for y[e] Sum of 528 [...] [...] [s]terling To Jonathan Doveton 3 Bills for y[e] Sum of 26 [...] [...] To William Hague dated 2 Bills for 81 16 [...] To y[e] Relict of Lewis [P]ouries late Soldier dated 3 Bills for 16 7 8 To Joshua Johnson 3 Bills for 109 7 [...] To Joshua Johnson 3 Bills more for 200 [...] [...] To M[r] Peter Pugs [P]ur[s]er of y[e] Abbingdon 3 Bills for 132 13 [...] To Charles Steward 3 Bills for 118 6 [...] To Gabriel [P]owell 3 Bills for 140 [...] [...] To Edw[d] Wyatts 3 Bills for 16 [...] [...] To Tho[s] Jenkins 3 Bills for y[e] Sum of 405 [...] [...] All being date and [P]ayable as before mention'd and which we hope will not [u]s farther O[c]ca[s]ion of [c]omplaint We have by this Ship Abbingdon Sent of one W[m] Brogden Soldier who at his fir[s]t coming here went by y[e] name of W[m] Tainor the Ring Leader of y[e] Mutiny [D]ig[u]ld again[s]t Gov[r] R [c]ouncil and other wicked attempts of de[s]troying & burni[ng]	At Sandy Bay, a large lime kiln was built by the seaside, with sheds for the works adjoining. The kiln held ten thousand bushels. A workhouse was provided for the stone cutters. A house was built for the tanner, with lime, water and bark at his door, and tan [vats] of stone. 41: The directions in the forty-first paragraph were to be followed. 42: The directors' remark in the forty-second paragraph concerned Boucher's making hay, and the opinion in the Governor's letter informing them of it. Boucher thought that what was done in a whole fleet of ships at the road needed no attestation from the council, whether the work was his or theirs or anyone else's. The matter was of no moment to him, nor did he value himself upon it. His merit, it seemed, lay more in undoing than in doing. The Court of Directors was no more able to prove this by any single instance than he was to undo all that his predecessors did at the island. 43: Upon the hopes given of a peace being proclaimed, and the news since received, the council dismissed all or most of the planters' Blacks from the fortifications. The intention was to employ four at most, besides the soldiers most indebted to the directors in the store books at the island. 44: The forty-fourth and forty-fifth paragraphs required no answer. As to the forty-sixth, the person there mentioned, Mr William Eames, came to the island and asked to reside there. The council was to accommodate him in the best manner it could. The following persons stood in credit in the directors' books at the island and requested bills of exchange to be drawn upon the directors, all dated 29 March 1714 and payable at twenty days' sight. To Governor Boucher, three bills of one tenor for £528 [...] [...] To Jonathan Doveton, three bills for £26 [...] [...] To William Hague, two bills for £81 16s [...] To the relict of Lewis Pouries, late soldier, three bills for £16 7s 8d To Joshua Johnson, three bills for £109 7s [...] To Joshua Johnson, three further bills for £200 [...] [...] To Mr Peter Pugs, purser of the <i>Abbingdon</i>, three bills for £132 13s [...] To Charles Steward, three bills for £118 6s [...] To Gabriel Powell, three bills for £140 [...] [...] To Edward Wyatts, three bills for £16 [...] [...] To Thomas Jenkins, three bills for £405 [...] [...] The directors were asked to accept the bills, in the hope that no further occasion of complaint would arise. By the present ship <i>Abbingdon</i> was sent off one William Brogden, soldier, who at his first arrival at the island went by the name of William Tainor. He had been the ringleader of the mutiny designed against the Governor and council, and of other wicked attempts. Interpretations The Sandy Bay description showed how a single building programme combined defensive masonry, lime production, stone cutting and leather working in one integrated facility. The lime kiln, workhouse and

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			tanner's house were placed together so that the materials of each operation supported the others, with the tanner having lime, water and bark at his door. The colonial economy ran on the physical co-location of complementary trades. The dismissal of the planters' Blacks from the fortifications on the news of an approaching peace marked how the colonial labour regime tracked the wartime emergency. When war was the operative threat, planter slave labour was hired by the council and pressed into defensive works. When peace was proclaimed, the hire ceased and the labour returned to the planters' own properties. The bills of exchange list functioned as a settlement instrument between the metropolis and the colony. Eleven separate persons - the Governor, planters, a soldier's widow, a ship's purser and various inhabitants - held credit at the island which the directors were to pay in London. The Company's books at St Helena and its central books in Leadenhall Street were reconciled by such instruments, each one drawn against a specific credit balance. Speculations William Brogden's appearance under the alias William Tainor on first arrival at the island suggested he came to St Helena to escape some previous trouble, very probably with the army or the law in England. By keeping his earlier identity from the council and the directors, he concealed a record that would otherwise have warned the administration against trusting him with the duties he later turned to mutiny. Boucher's bitter remark that his merit lay "more in undoing than in doing" read as a calculated piece of self-mockery. By using in sarcasm the very characterisation the directors reserved for him, he disarmed any further use of such language against him. The dark humour served as both defence and reproach. The note that the council intended to employ "four at most" Blacks besides indebted soldiers on the fortifications suggested a sharp pivot in labour policy in response to the directors' concerns about cost. By reducing the hired labour force to the minimum and substituting soldiers who owed money to the store, the council was demonstrating both economy and the recovery of bad debts in a single move.
131	131	Li[s]t of the [P]acket Sent to the Honourable [c]ourt of Directors [P]r Ship Abbingdon Cap[t] W[m] Jordan [c]ommander who Sett Saile the 31[s]t day of March 1714 Governour and Council Generall, dated y[e] 31[s]t March 1714. Sent apart from the [P]ackett and to be Sent out of y[e] Ship from y[e] foi[r]st [P]ort in Europe 1 [c]opy of Governour & [c]ouncil Gen[ll] Letter [P]r Herne dated y[e] 18 June 1713 2 [c]opy of [c]on[s]ultations from y[e] 9[th] June 1713 to y[e] 2 day of March 1714 Inclu[s]ive 3 [c]opy of Revenue Book Rent &c for y[e] year 1712 deh[r]t in to March y[e] 25[th] 1713 4 An A[c]co[s] of Familie[s] Land and [c]attle on y[e] I[s]land for y[e] year 1712 5 An A[c]co[s] of Gunners Store from y[e] 25[th] March 1713 to March 25[th] 1714 6 A Li[s]t of O[ff]icers and Soldiers with their [P]ay & Sallarys 7 Li[s]t of the Mu[s]ter Roll of y[e] Garri[s]on 8 [c]opy of y[e] Li[s]t of Nece[s]saries wanting at S[t] Helena 9 Li[s]t of y[e] Honourable [c]ompany's Negroes with their Ages & Employments 10 An A[c]co[s] of y[e] Hon[ble] [c]omp[s] Stock of Neat [c]attle &c Li[v]e [P]rovi[s]ions and Yames &c[a] [P]lantations in Severall [P]arcel[s] 11 Li[s]t of Marriages Bapti[s]m[s] and Buriels to March y[e] 21[st] 1714 12 Richard [c]leves A[c]co[s] of Timber & Deales expended to March y[e] 25[th] 1714 13 [c]opy of Gov[r] & [c]ouncils Lett[r] to Bengall [P]r Ship Su[s]annah 14 [c]opy of D[it]to to Bencoolen [P]r Said D[it]to 15 [c]opy of D[it]to to Fort S[t] George [P]r D[it]to 16	List of the Packet Sent to the Honourable Court of Directors by the Ship <i>Abingdon</i> under Captain William Jordan Commander, Sailing 31 March 1714. The Governor and Council's General Letter, dated 31 March 1714, was sent apart from the packet and was to be put ashore from the ship at the first European port. The packet itself contained the following items. 1: A copy of the Governor and Council's General Letter sent by the <i>Herne</i>, dated 18 June 1713. 2: A copy of the consultations from 9 June 1713 to 2 March 1714 inclusive. 3: A copy of the revenue book and rents for the year 1712, delivered to 25 March 1713. 4: An account of families, lands and cattle on the island for the year 1712. 5: An account of gunner's stores from 25 March 1713 to 25 March 1714. 6: A list of officers and soldiers with their pay and salaries. 7: A list of the muster roll of the garrison. 8: A copy of the list of necessities wanting at St Helena. 9: A list of the Honourable Company's negroes with their ages and employments. 10: An account of the Honourable Company's stock of cattle and other live provisions, and of the yams and other produce on the several plantations. 11: A list of marriages, baptisms and burials to 21 March 1714. 12: Richard Cleve's account of timber and deals expended to 25 March 1714. 13: A copy of the Governor and Council's letter to Bengal sent by the <i>Susannah</i>. 14: A copy of the letter to Bencoolen sent by the <i>Susannah</i>. 15: A copy of the letter

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		[c]opy of Gen[ll] Letter from Bencoolen [P]r y[e] Abbingdon 17 [c]opy of Ship Abbingdons Invoice from Bencoolen for 12 Half Leaguers of Arrack 18 [c]opy of 5 [c]erte[fi]cates for y[e] receiving y[e] French [P]a[s]ses y[e] La[s]t Summer 19 Severall Ships A[c]co[s] &c[a] 20 Severall Invoices &c[a] Hon[ble] S[rs] 1 Our la[s]t to yo[r] Hon[rs] was by y[e] Abbingdon Cap[t] William Jordan [c]omand[r] dated y[e] 31[s]t March 1714 a Coppy whereof comes inclo[s]ed Since which hath Arrived y[e] following Ships Fir[s]t concerning Shipping The Windsor Seperate Stock Ship Cap[tn] [Z]ackery Tovey Arriv[e]d on y[e] 3[d] April[l] from China and Sa[i]ld y[e] 6[th] following for England The Reefield Cap[t] Robert Dingley Arriv[e]d on y[e] 7[th] April[l] from Bombay but [...]	to Fort St George sent by the <i>Susannah</i>. 16: A copy of the General Letter from Bencoolen sent by the <i>Abingdon</i>. 17: A copy of the <i>Abingdon's</i> invoice from Bencoolen for twelve half-leaguers of arrack. 18: A copy of the five certificates for the receipt of the French passes the previous summer. 19: Several ships' accounts. 20: Several invoices. Honourable Sirs, 1: The previous despatch went by the <i>Abingdon</i> under Captain William Jordan, dated 31 March 1714, a copy of which was enclosed. Since then the following ships arrived at the island. First, concerning shipping. The <i>Windsor</i>, a Separate Stock ship under Captain Zackery Tovey, arrived on 3 April from China and sailed for England on 6 April. The <i>Reefield</i> under Captain Robert Dingley arrived on 7 April from Bombay. Interpretations The packet list showed the categories of administrative record the Company required from its colonial outposts. Financial records, demographic records, military records, property records and incoming correspondence from the Asian factories all formed part of a single annual return. The colony was expected to produce a complete written portrait of itself for inspection in London. The transmission of letters to Bengal, Bencoolen and Fort St George by the homeward-bound <i>Susannah</i>, and their later inclusion in copy in the <i>Abingdon's</i> packet, illustrated the role of St Helena as a relay between the metropolitan centre and the Asian factories. The island both originated correspondence of its own and served as a transit point for letters between the directors and their Indian settlements. Speculations The despatch of the General Letter separately from the packet, with instructions to put it ashore at the first European port, suggested a deliberate security measure against the loss of the entire correspondence in a single mishap. If the ship were taken or wrecked between St Helena and London, the General Letter could still reach the directors by an earlier route. The inclusion of the five certificates for the French passes among the packet's contents preserved a documentary trail of the previous summer's pass distribution. Each pass was a valuable diplomatic instrument that had to be accounted for, and the certificates supplied evidence that the passes had been properly delivered to the named commanders and not diverted.
132	132	Your Storehou[s]es here with intent to make [t]hem[s]elves Ma[s]ters of all [...] expre[s]sd in our [c]on[s]ultations of y[e] 8[th] of July 1713 and De[P]o[s]ition of James W[i]ll[s]o[n] y[e] 9[th] following to which we reffer as [P]roofs again[s]t him. And as is y[e] re[s]t of his [c]onfederate[s] now in Irons we de[s]igne to Send off in y[e] Next returning Ship or by an outward bound one to Bencoolen, haveing not time now to examine and make their A[c]co[s] to know what they are indebted they being very u[s]ele[s]s [P]er[s]ons to Stay here any Longer 48 Having expended and Di[s]po[s]ed of all y[e] Rice bought out of y[e] La[s]t Summer[s] Shipping (and could as much more had we had it) have bought now out of the Abbingdon 2000 [w]t at 2 [P]r [lb] which is very much wanted among y[e] [P]eople, this I[s]land haveing been nigh 2 Years in a mi[s]erable [c]ondition, for want of Rain to rai[s]e [P]rovi[s]ions, We was in great hopes y[r] Hon[rs] before this time had con[s]ider od request to you and Sent us y[e] Salt [P]rovi[s]ions and what el[s]e we wrote for by the la[s]t Letters from hence which would have been of very great Service to all the poor [P]eople here in Generall every Sort of	47: The intent of the conspirators had been to make themselves masters of the storehouses at the island and of all the contents. The matter was set out in the consultations of 8 July 1713 and in the deposition of James Wilson of the 9th following, to which the directors were referred as proof against him. The rest of his confederates, now in irons, were to be sent off by the next returning ship or by an outward-bound vessel to Bencoolen. Time did not allow for the examination of their accounts to determine what they owed in the store books. The men were now useless persons, and not worth keeping any longer at the island. 48: The rice bought out of the previous summer's shipping was wholly expended and disposed of. As much again could have been used had it been available. A further 2,000 pounds was now bought out of the <i>Abingdon</i> at 2d per pound. The supply was much wanted among the people. The island had been near two years in a miserable condition for want of rain to raise provisions. The council had been in great hopes that the directors, before this date, would have considered the earlier request and sent out the salt provisions and other items asked for in previous letters. Such a supply would

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		[P]rovi[s]ions having been and is yet very Scarce and dear I[s]land S[t] Helena United [c]astle the 31[s]t March 1714 We are Honor[ble] S[r]s Your Hon[rs] mo[s]t hum[ble] Memorand[m] M[r] Bazett refu[s]'d to Signe this Letter Faithfull Servants B [Boucher] B [Boucher]	have been of very great service to the poor people of the island. Every sort of provision remained scarce and dear. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 31 March 1714. Signed Benjamin Boucher. Per the <i>Abingdon</i>. Memorandum: Mr Bazett refused to sign the letter. Interpretations The disposal of the convicted mutineers by transportation to Bencoolen showed how the East India Company operated an internal exile system within its own network of factories. Men found dangerous at one outpost were not returned to England but redistributed to another colonial post, where their record was less well known and their labour could still be used. The arrangement served both as punishment and as a means of supplying remote settlements with manpower. The cross-reference to the consultations of 8 July 1713 and the deposition of James Wilson of the following day showed the documentary basis on which colonial criminal matters were handled. A formal record of the council's deliberation and a sworn statement by a named witness together stood as the proof on which transportation was justified, with the directors able to verify the record by reference to documents already in their hands. Mr Bazett's refusal to sign the letter, noted in a brief memorandum at the foot, marked the final dissolution of the council's collective voice. The reply that had run paragraph by paragraph through nearly fifty heads of defence was issued under one signature alone, with the remaining councillor recorded as withholding his name. Speculations The decision not to examine the prisoners' accounts before despatching them, presented as a matter of time pressure, may also have been a deliberate writing off of the debts. Once the men were sent to Bencoolen, the prospect of recovering store debts from them was effectively gone, and the council's silence on the figures saved any awkward calculation of bad debts in the books. The pointed observation that the salt provisions and other items requested in earlier letters had not yet arrived, set against the second consecutive year of drought, was probably calculated to lay the responsibility for any consequent suffering on the directors rather than the council. By placing on the record both the request and the delay, Boucher was building a defence in advance of any future complaint about island distress. Mr Bazett's refusal to sign, immediately following a letter that contained pointed questions for him to answer and accusations he was likely to dispute, suggests the breakdown of working relations between the two remaining councillors was complete. Bazett had probably decided that his own defence required distance from Boucher's letter rather than association with it.
133	133	to your Honours in our former Letters, which high [P]rices cau[s]es tho[s]e [P]eople[s] here that can, to buy old of Shiping at [c]heaper rates rather then be under the Nece[s]sity of buying out of the Stores Wee have drawn the following Bills of Exchange [P]ayable by y[e] Hon[rs] which de[s]ire may be A[c]cepted A[c]cordingly To M[r] Edward Revett or order three bills of Exchange dated the 25[th] June 1714 for the Sume of four [P]ounds, Seventeen Shillings and four pence Sterling To M[r] Joshua Thomlin[s]on or order three bills for the Sume of One Hundred and fifty [P]ounds Sterl[g] dated the 25[th] June 1714 To M[r] Thomas Atkin[s]on or order three bills dated the 25[th] June 1714 for the Sume of Twenty Six [P]ounds Sterling	The high prices the directors had been told of in earlier letters drove those islanders who could afford it to buy older stock from passing shipping at cheaper rates rather than face the necessity of buying from the stores. The following bills of exchange were drawn, payable by the directors, and acceptance was requested accordingly. To Mr Edward Revett or order, three bills of exchange dated 25 June 1714, for £4 17s 4d sterling. To Mr Joshua Thomlinson or order, three bills dated 25 June 1714, for £150 sterling. To Mr Thomas Atkinson or order, three bills dated 25 June 1714, for £26 sterling. To Mr Charles Steward or order, three bills dated 27 June 1714, for £87 sterling.

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		To M[r] Charles Steward or order three bills dated June the 27[th] 1714 for the [s]ume of Eighty Seven [P]ounds Sterling To ditto or order three bills more dated the 27[th] June 1714 for the Sume of Sixty three [P]ounds Sterling To Benjamin Boucher E[s]q[r] or order three bills dated the 28[th] June 1714 for the Sume of Twenty nine [P]ounds, Seventeen Shillings, and two pence farthing Governour Boucher having been in a very ill State of health, dureing the whole time of his being here takes [P]a[s]sage now on board the Recovery in hopes of Recovering his health in England Wee are I[s]land S[t] Helena Hono[ble] S[r]s United [c]a[s]tle y[e] 28[th] June 1714 Your Hono[rs] mo[s]t Humble & faithfull Servants Ben Boucher [P] Ship King William Matthew Bazett Cap[t] Nehem[h] Winder	To Mr Charles Steward or order, three further bills dated 27 June 1714, for £63 sterling. To Benjamin Boucher Esquire or order, three bills dated 28 June 1714, for £29 17s 2¼d. Governor Boucher had been in a very ill state of health during the whole period of his time at the island. He now took passage on board the <i>Recovery</i> in the hope of regaining his health in England. Issued from United Castle, St Helena, 28 June 1714. Signed Benjamin Boucher and Matthew Bazett. Per the ship <i>King William</i> under Captain Nehemiah Winder. Interpretations The note that islanders with means preferred to buy from passing ships rather than from the Company stores revealed a structural problem in the colonial market. The directors' supply chain, intended to monopolise provisioning, was undercut by the casual trade with arriving vessels, with the result that only those without alternative buying power were forced to use the stores at the dearer rates. The list of bills of exchange drawn in late June 1714, with Boucher himself among the named payees, showed the close interconnection between official correspondence and personal financial settlement. Boucher's own bill for £29 17s 2¼d was lodged alongside those of merchants and planters, suggesting the Governor's accounts were closed and his credit drawn for remittance to England in anticipation of his departure. Mr Bazett's signature on this final letter, in contrast to his refusal to sign the General Letter of 31 March, marked a partial reconciliation or at least a willingness to subscribe to a routine administrative document. The bills of exchange and the announcement of Boucher's departure were factual matters on which Bazett could associate himself with the council's joint voice. Speculations The careful framing of Boucher's departure as a search for the recovery of his health, on board a ship aptly named the <i>Recovery</i>, was probably calculated to leave open his return to England on terms that did not look like dismissal or recall. By presenting his voyage as a medical necessity, Boucher could claim to be travelling on his own account rather than under summons from the directors. The drawing of Boucher's personal bill of exchange for the modest sum of £29 17s 2¼d, with its precise farthing, hints at a settlement of his salary and credit account to the penny before his departure. The small and exact figure suggests a final reckoning rather than a substantial drawing on Company funds. The cluster of bills made out to Mr Charles Steward, in two separate sums on the same date, may indicate that Steward was acting as a financial agent for multiple parties on the island. His repeated appearance in successive packets, always with significant sums in three-bill sets, suggests an established London correspondent through whom various inhabitants' affairs were transacted.
134	134	Li[s]t of the [P]ackett Sent the Hono[ble] [c]omp[s] [P] Ship King William June the 28[th] 1714 N[o] 1 Generall Letter dated the 28[th] June 1714 2 [c]oppy of Generall [P] the Stretham dated y[e] 29[th] May 1714 3 [c]oppy of Generall from Bengall [P] Stretham and Recovery 4 [c]oppy of Gen[ll] from D[itt]o [P] King William 5 [c]oppy of Gen[ll] from Fort S[t] George [P] Recovery 6 [c]oppy of Invoice from Bengall [P] D[itt]o Shipp 7 [c]oppy of D[itt]o from D[itt]o [P] Ship King William 8 [c]oppy of [c]on[s]ultations from y[e] 4[th] Decemb[r] 1713 to y[e] 27[th] June 1714 9 Shipp Recoveries Account	List of the Packet Sent to the Honourable Company by the Ship <i>King William</i>, 28 June 1714. 1: General Letter dated 28 June 1714. 2: Copy of the General Letter sent by the <i>Stretham</i>, dated 29 May 1714. 3: Copy of the General Letter from Bengal sent by the <i>Stretham</i> and the <i>Recovery</i>. 4: Copy of the General Letter from Bengal sent by the <i>King William</i>. 5: Copy of the General Letter from Fort St George sent by the <i>Recovery</i>. 6: Copy of the invoice from Bengal sent by the <i>Recovery</i>. 7: Copy of the invoice from Bengal sent by the <i>King William</i>. 8: Copy of the consultations from 4 December 1713 to 27 June 1714. 9: The <i>Recovery's</i> account.

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136	136	I[s]land S[t] Helena M[r] Joshua Thomlin[s]on Mini[s]ter and Chaplain to this I[s]land You are hereby Authorized and Licenced to Joyne together In the holy State of Matrimony A. B of &c[a] Batchlor and M: N of Said I[s]land &c[a]. There appear =ing to me no cau[s]e to the Contrary Given under my hand & Seale this day of 1708	Island of St Helena. To Mr Joshua Thomlinson, Minister and Chaplain to the island. The bearer was authorised and licensed to join together in the holy state of matrimony A.B. of [the said place], bachelor, and M.N. of the island. No cause appeared to the Governor to prevent the union. Given under his hand and seal this [day] of [month] 1708. Interpretations The document is a blank template for a marriage licence, with the parties' names represented by the placeholders A.B. and M.N. and the date left open. Such templates were retained by colonial administrations so that licences could be issued promptly when needed, with only the particulars added at the moment of issue. The form itself functioned as standing legal authority, ready to be activated for each individual marriage. The licensing arrangement placed civil authority - the Governor, granting the licence under hand and seal - and ecclesiastical authority - the chaplain, performing the ceremony - in a defined relationship. The Governor authorised; the chaplain officiated. This division reproduced in miniature the established practice of the Church of England in the early 18th century, where bishops issued faculties and licences and clergy conducted the rite. The phrase that "no cause appeared to the Governor to prevent the union" reflected the canonical requirement that no impediment - prior marriage, consanguinity, want of consent - bar the parties. By incorporating this finding in the licence itself, the document closed off the usual procedural objections in advance and gave the chaplain immediate authority to proceed. Speculations The placement of the marriage licence template in the records suggests that marriages on the island were sufficiently regular to justify a standing form, and that the Governor's office issued such licences as a routine administrative act rather than treating each marriage as an exceptional event. The dating of the template to 1708 ties it to the early years of the Boucher administration's predecessor and suggests the form was inherited and reused rather than newly drafted. The blank year-position in the date line, "this day of 1708", indicates the form was printed or copied in batches at the start of a calendar year for use throughout the period. The use of the abbreviations A.B. and M.N. for the parties, rather than the conventional John Doe and Jane Roe of English legal templates, reflects a colonial preference for shorter placeholders, perhaps to save scribal effort in producing multiple copies of the licence form by hand.
137	137	In Ca[s]e of Striking And in Ca[s]e any Slave, or Slaves, Male, or Female, Shall [s]o[e] to Strike any White [P]er[s]on whatsoever, with any Weapon, the Slave or Slaves So o[ff]ending Shall Su[ff]er Death, Except tho[s]e Whi[te] who Demean and Deba[s]e them[s]elves, in [c]onver[s]ing, [c]orre[s]pond[ing] Gameing with Blacks as if they were Equalls, which We Judge have no more Bene[fi]ts of tho[s]e Laws, then Blacks among them[s]elves And if any Negroe Slave Male or Female Shall pre[s]ume to give any Sau[c]ey Imprudent, or Impertinent Language or An[s]wer to any White [P]er[s]on (Except to tho[s]e who Demean and Aba[s]e them[s]elves in keeping [c]ompany, Gameing and have Familear Con[v]er[s]ation with Blacks) Shall upon [c]omplaint thereof to the Ma[s]ter, Or Owner of the Said Slave be Severly Whipt on the [s]pe[r]ence of the	On the matter of striking, any slave, male or female, who struck any white person with any weapon was to suffer death. The exception applied to those whites who demeaned and debased themselves by conversing, corresponding or gaming with Blacks as if the Blacks were their equals. Such whites enjoyed no greater protection from these laws than the Blacks did among themselves. If any Negro slave, male or female, gave saucy, imprudent or impertinent language or answer to any white person - again excepting those who demeaned themselves by keeping company, gaming and conversing familiarly with Blacks - the offending slave was to be severely whipped on complaint to the master or owner. The whipping was to be to the satisfaction of the offended party. If the master or owner refused or neglected to punish the slave, the offended party was to

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		[P]arty offended to his Satti[s]faction, And if the Said Ma[s]ter Or Owner of the Said Slave, or Slaves Shall Refu[s]e, or Neglect to [P]uni[s]h his Said Slave, or Slaves So o[ff]ending, then the party o[ff]ended may [c]omplain to the Governour, and So [c]au[s]e the Said Slave, or Slaves to be Apprehended and [c]onveyed to the Great Fort and [P]uni[s]hed A[c]cording to the Nature of y[e] O[ff]ence, if it be but a Slight Matter to Receive Only Twenty One La[s]hes, on his Naked Body, but of more Agravalling and In[s]olent Language then to Double the Number V[i]z[t]: Forty two La[s]hes Now as [c]oncerning Drift ways for Neighbour[s] through One anothers [P]a[s]tures and In[c]lo[s]ed Lands, it is Agreed and [c]oncluded that for the future the Owner, Or Owners of Such [c]attle to be So driven Shall allow One good Su[ff]icient Drover that Shall not be Incumbred with any Load, or Burden to Drive Six Milch Kine, and to be good [c]are to Shutt or Sett up the Gate[s] or Railes after them, And if the Number Exceed Six head being Milch Kine Only then Shall be Obligated to Send Two Su[ff]icient Drovers with them, and Al[s]o are to be without Burthen as afore[s]aid, And not to make a [P]ractice of Driveing dry [c]attle but where there is more then Ordinary O[c]ca[s]ion, and that meerly for want of Water, which after Drinkeing may be drove back again It	lay a complaint before the Governor. The slave was then to be apprehended, conveyed to the Great Fort and punished according to the nature of the offence. For a slight matter, the punishment was twenty-one lashes on the naked body. For more aggravating and insolent language, the number was doubled to forty-two lashes. On the matter of drift ways for neighbours through one another's pastures and enclosed lands, it was agreed and concluded that in future the owner of any such cattle was to provide one sufficient drover, unencumbered by any load or burden, for every six milch cows. The drover was to take care to shut or set up the gates and rails after the cattle passed. Where the number exceeded six head of milch cows, two sufficient drovers were to be sent, both likewise without burden. The driving of dry cattle was not to be made a regular practice, but only where the occasion required it. Such driving was to be undertaken chiefly for want of water, and the cattle were to be driven back after drinking. Interpretations The law placed the racial hierarchy on a formal legal footing. The protection of the slave code against slave violence and slave insolence was extended only to whites who maintained social distance from the Black population. Those whites who associated with Blacks as equals lost the special status the law conferred and were treated as if they themselves were Blacks. Social conduct and legal protection were thus directly linked. The graduated scale of punishment - death for striking with a weapon, twenty-one lashes for slight insolence, forty-two for greater insolence - combined with the two-tier enforcement system of master first and Governor second, showed the layered character of slave discipline on the island. Private domestic authority was exercised in the first instance, with public colonial authority operating as fallback where the master failed to act. Both layers were available to any offended white party. The drift way regulations showed how the colonial government managed property relations between neighbouring landholders through specific quantitative thresholds. Six milch cows required one drover; more than six required two; dry cattle were not to be moved at all except for water. The rules transformed customary practice into enforceable standards by fixing the numbers. Speculations The exclusion of whites who fraternised with Blacks from the law's protections was probably designed to deter such fraternising by tying it to the loss of legal status. By making protection contingent on respecting the racial hierarchy in daily conduct, the legislators created a strong personal incentive for whites to maintain social distance from the slave population. The requirement that drovers be unencumbered by any load or burden suggests that the framers expected drovers in practice to combine cattle driving with the carrying of goods, and so codified the rule strictly to prevent inattention to the animals. The risk of damage to a neighbour's enclosed land probably came chiefly from drovers distracted by their loads. The careful distinction between milch cows, for which regular drift was permitted, and dry cattle, which could be driven only for water, suggests that the rules addressed two distinct nuisances. Milch cows moved daily for milking and were a familiar presence; dry cattle, less frequently moved and in larger groups, threatened greater disruption to fences and crops when they passed.
138	138	It is Further Agreed and [c]oncluded [...] [the] [c]ommittee A[s]semb[le]d as afore[s]aid for the Viewing Regulatong and Appoine being Drift ways as well Neighbourly As Other more [c]omon, That Thomas Goodwin, George	A further agreement was reached by the committee assembled for viewing, regulating and appointing drift ways, both neighbourly and more general. The

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		Ho[s]ki[s]on, John [c]oles, and Charles Steward, do Over[s]ee Regulate, and Appoint Such ways As are Need[ful]l for the Neighbourhood from the Hill known by the Name of Beals Ridge Ea[s]tward to the Hill known by the Graves, nigh the Land of Richard Sw[a]llows Cought of Thomas Coales, and that Richard Gurling, Edward Bagley, James Greentree and John Nichells, do take their Range as afore[s]aid, from the Graves afore[s]aid, through Sandy bay to the Hor[s]e ridge hard by the Habitation of Thomas Harper, Likewi[s]e that Era[s]mus [P]urling Henry Coales, Matthew Bazett, and John Alexander do take their Range as afore[s]aid from Beals hill We[s]tward to Man and Horr [P]oynt, all which being [c]oncluded are as followeth That John [c]oal[s]on have a Neighbourly drift way to Ten acres of [c]a[bb]idge tree Land a little above Jonathan Doveton hou[s]e Thro both his and Marsh[s] Land, That Jonathan Doveton drive the Old way that was Allowed to his Father through Marsh[s] Land The Said Marsh [P]retending to plant [P]ar[s]rams Old [P]lantation againe, but it may not be Look[t] upon as a Tre[s]pa[s], if Dovetons [c]attle go thro' the Said Land, whil[s]t not Inclo[s]ed to [P]lant at Marsh [P]retends, that [G]ainner French have a way for his [c]attle thro the Upper [c]orner of [R]e[c]join Wells Land (the Same way tha[t] John Alexander hath his foot way) to Some Land of his that Joyns to the Said Wells and Alexander; That Samuell Des Fountaines, and W[m] Coles have a drift way from the [P]lace [c]alled Rhoad[s] Old hou[s]e up the Redge at the back Side of John Alexanders hou[s]e to the Macin Ridge the be[s]t way they Can [c]onveniently make Not to go thro' any [P]lantation; That Matthew Bazett have a Drift way to the Woody Redge, thro' a [c]orner of Jonathan Hephams Land, by the Dogwood above his hou[s]e, That Robert Bell have a Drift way from Rhoad[s] Old hou[s]e thro [P]art of [P]urlings pa[s]ture to Ten Acres of [P]aine, formerly Hedgers, That Matthew Bazett, and Henry [c]oales drive from the Maine drift by the Said Coales hou[s]e up the Side of the Gull [P]a[s]sing between Beals [P]lantation and John Welches Land a[t]	committee was divided into three groups, each given charge of a defined district of the island. Thomas Goodwin, George Hoskison, John Coles and Charles Steward were to oversee, regulate and appoint such ways as were needed for the neighbourhood from the hill known as Beals Ridge eastward to the hill known as the Graves, near the land of Richard Swallow, bought from Thomas Coales. Richard Gurling, Edward Bagley, James Greentree and John Nichells were to take their range from the Graves through Sandy Bay to the Horse Ridge, hard by the habitation of Thomas Harper. Erasmus Purling, Henry Coales, Matthew Bazett and John Alexander were to take their range from Beals Hill westward to Man and Horse Point. The drift ways then agreed were as follows. John Coalson was granted a neighbourly drift way to 10 acres of cabbage tree land a little above Jonathan Doveton's house, through both Doveton's and Marsh's land. Jonathan Doveton was to drive by the old way allowed to his father through Marsh's land. Marsh claimed an intention to plant Parsram's Old Plantation again, but the passage of Doveton's cattle through that land was not to be looked upon as a trespass while the ground remained unenclosed and unplanted as Marsh claimed. Gunner French was granted a way for his cattle through the upper corner of Robin Wells's land, by the route John Alexander used for his foot way, to land of French's joining the holdings of Wells and Alexander. Samuel Des Fountaines and William Coles were granted a drift way from the place called Rhoads Old House up the ridge at the back of John Alexander's house to the Main Ridge, by the best route they could conveniently make and not through any plantation. Matthew Bazett was granted a drift way to the Woody Ridge through a corner of Jonathan Hephams land, by the dogwood above his house. Robert Bell was granted a drift way from Rhoads Old House through part of Purling's pasture to 10 acres of Paine's land, formerly Hedger's. Matthew Bazett and Henry Coales were to drive their cattle from the main drift by Coales's house up the side of the Gull, passing between Beals's Plantation and John Welches's land. Interpretations The division of the island into three geographical jurisdictions, each overseen by a panel of four named men, showed the structure of local civil governance on St Helena. The colony was administered through committees of substantial landholders sitting as quasi-jury panels to settle questions of property relations within defined zones. The arrangement combined elements of municipal regulation and customary land law. The individual character of the drift way grants - each named pair of neighbours and each particular route fixed in writing - showed that property regulation was personal rather than general. Rather than promulgating a uniform rule, the committee adjudicated each relationship separately, with named persons, particular landmarks and specific conditions written into each grant. The treatment of Marsh's stated intention to plant Parsram's Old Plantation again, with cattle passage permitted while the land remained unenclosed, showed that property rights were tied to actual use rather than mere claim. A landowner's bare intention to cultivate did not bar his neighbours' cattle until he had enclosed the ground and put it to the use. Speculations The membership of the three committees included men who also served on the council and held substantial properties - Bazett, Alexander, Steward,

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis																																																																				
			Coales, Bagley, Greentree and others. The administrative class on the island was effectively the same group that held the major holdings, so that the men who made the rules on drift ways were also the parties whose cattle needed to use them. The detailed instructions to specific drovers - not to pass through any plantation, to take particular routes between named landmarks, to use the best convenient way - suggest that previous disputes had probably arisen over damage to cultivated land, and that the committee was now codifying agreed routes to prevent further trouble between the named neighbours. The provision that Doveton drive "the old way that was allowed to his father" suggests an inherited customary right being formalised in the new written code. Drift ways were apparently understood as semi-permanent attachments to particular families and properties, passing from one generation to the next and now being given the additional security of a written record.																																																																				
139	139	March 1709 To the 25[th] day of March 1710 Column headings (left to right, written diagonally): [c]ulvering / W[t] Powder Hulverong / W[t] Powder Seakers / W[t] Powder Min[i]ons / W[t] Powder Faulkons / W[t] Powder Totall G[un]s Fired Totall of Powder Expended Shott Fired away Data rows (presented in the same column order; blanks where the row leaves a column empty): <table> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>11 - 11 - 11 - 11</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4 - 6 2 - 20 - - - - - 2 - 20 - 2</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>7 - 7 - 7 - 7</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4 - 6</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>7 - 7 - 7 - 7</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4 - 6</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td>5 - 7 - - 10 - 10 - 11 - 17 2 - 14 - - - 9 - 9 - 11 - 2[...]</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>5 - 5 - 5</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>9 - 9 - 9 - 9</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>7 - 7 - 7 - 7</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>7 - 7 - 7 - 7</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4 - 6</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>5 - 5 - 5 - 5</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>20 - 20 - 20 - 20</td></tr> <tr><td>○</td><td></td><td>■</td><td>7 - 7 - 7 - 7</td></tr> </table>	○		■	11 - 11 - 11 - 11	○		■	5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4 - 6 2 - 20 - - - - - 2 - 20 - 2	○		■	7 - 7 - 7 - 7	○		■	5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4 - 6	○		■	7 - 7 - 7 - 7	○		■	5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4 - 6	○	5 - 7 - - 10 - 10 - 11 - 17 2 - 14 - - - 9 - 9 - 11 - 2[...]			○		■	5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4	○		■	5 - 5 - 5	○		■	9 - 9 - 9 - 9	○		■	7 - 7 - 7 - 7	○		■		○		■	7 - 7 - 7 - 7	○		■	5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4 - 6	○		■	5 - 5 - 5 - 5	○		■	20 - 20 - 20 - 20	○		■	7 - 7 - 7 - 7	An account of guns fired, powder expended and shot fired away was certified by John French, gunner, for the period from March 1709 to 25 March 1710. The table was set out in eight column groupings: five paired columns recording the number fired and the weight of powder for the culverin, demi-culverin, saker, minion and falcon respectively, followed by columns for the total guns fired, the total of powder expended and the shot fired away. The figures entered across the twenty-seven rows were as follows. In the first row, 11 falcons were fired with 11 pounds of powder, giving totals of 11 guns and 11 pounds. The next row recorded 5 minions with 3 pounds of powder and 3 falcons with 3 pounds of powder, alongside a separate entry of 2 culverins with 20 pounds of powder, giving totals of 2 guns, 20 pounds of powder and 2 shot fired away. The third row showed 7 falcons fired with 7 pounds of powder, totalling 7 and 7. The fourth row again recorded 5 minions at 3 pounds and 3 falcons at 3 pounds, totalling 4 guns and 6 pounds of powder. The fifth row repeated 7 falcons at 7 pounds, totalling 7 and 7. The sixth row gave another 5 minions at 3 pounds and 3 falcons at 3 pounds, totalling 4 guns and 6 pounds. The seventh row carried a larger entry: 5 demi-culverins with 7 pounds of powder, followed by further figures of 10, 10, 11 and 17 in later columns, alongside a separate line of 2 of one gun type with 14 pounds of powder and totals of 9 guns, 9 pounds, 11 and 2[...]. The eighth row showed 5 minions at 3 pounds and 3 falcons at 3 pounds, totalling 4. The ninth row gave 5 falcons with totals of 5 and 5. The tenth row recorded 9 falcons fired with 9 pounds of powder, totalling 9 and 9. The eleventh row carried 7 falcons at 7 pounds, totalling 7 and 7. The twelfth row showed only a single figure of 34 in the totals area. The thirteenth row recorded 7 falcons at 7 pounds, totalling 7 and 7. The fourteenth row again gave 5 minions at 3 pounds and 3 falcons at 3 pounds, totalling 4 and 6. The fifteenth row carried 5 falcons with totals of 5, 5 and 5. The sixteenth row showed 20 falcons fired with 20 pounds of powder, totalling 20 and 20. The seventeenth row gave 7 falcons at 7 pounds, totalling 7 and 7. The eighteenth row carried only 200 shot fired away, with the powder figure illegible. The nineteenth row recorded 7 falcons at 7 pounds, totalling 7 and 7. The twentieth row showed only the single figure 38 in the totals area. The twenty-first row carried 11 falcons at 11 pounds, totalling 11 and 11. The twenty-second row again gave the standard sequence of 5 minions at 3 pounds and 3 falcons at 3 pounds, totalling 4 and 6. The twenty-third row showed
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		○ ■ ■ ○ ■ 7 - 7 - 7 - 7 ○ ■ ○ ■ 11 - 11 - 11 - 11 ○ ■ 5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 4 - 6 ○ ■ 5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 5 - 10 - 5 ○ 5 - 4 - 5 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 5 - [...] ○ ■ 11 - 11 - 11 - 11 - 11 ○ ■ ○ ■	a fuller line of 5 minions at 3 pounds, 3 falcons at 3 pounds, with further figures of 5, 10 and 5. The twenty-fourth row carried 5 sakers at 4 pounds, 5 minions at 3 pounds, 3 falcons at 3 pounds and a further figure of 5 with the last entry illegible. The twenty-fifth row recorded 11 falcons at 11 pounds, with totals of 11, 11 and a further 11. The twenty-sixth row carried 23 in the totals area, with the next two figures illegible. The twenty-seventh and final row showed 12, with the remaining figures illegible. The totals at the foot of the account read 744 guns fired and 393 [pounds] of powder expended over the year. The account closed with French's certification, given under his hand on 22 April 1710. Interpretations The methodical pairing of gun-type columns with powder-weight columns showed how garrison accounting tracked two distinct quantities for every firing event. The directors received both the count of discharges by weapon class and the corresponding draw on the powder magazine, with the two figures verifiable against one another. The recurrence of the same sequence - 5 minions with 3 pounds of powder followed by 3 falcons with 3 pounds - across five separate rows pointed to a standard saluting pattern repeated on routine occasions. A fixed ceremonial protocol was being followed, with the figures entered identically each time. The certification by the named gunner under his own hand and date stood as the formal warrant of the account's accuracy. French's signature established the documentary evidence on which the council and the directors relied when reconciling powder stocks against deliveries received and shot held in store. Speculations The total of 744 firings against 393 pounds of powder produced an average charge of just over half a pound per gun. The figure was consistent with saluting practice rather than full-charge military firing, suggesting that the year's expenditure of powder went mostly on ceremonial duty rather than on hostilities. The rows showing 7 and 7 across all four positions, or 11 and 11 likewise, most probably recorded single-gun-type salutes in which the same falcon count was entered in the gun column, the powder column and both totals columns. The repetition fitted the pattern of standardised salutes to arriving and departing ships. The isolated figure of 200 shot fired away in one row, set against the year's modest powder consumption, suggested that one major event accounted for a disproportionate share of the projectiles used. The shot may have been expended in a single action, in target practice, or in an alarm requiring substantial defensive firing.
140	140	I[s]land S[t] Helena An A[c]co[s]: of [...] G[u]nners Stores Expended fro[m] Column headings (left to right, diagonally written): Alarms Ships Arival & departure Names of Ships [c]omanders Names [T]ra[v]ell[P] from whence Cape We[s]theed[P] Bread Months & Days April 23 Queen Anns [c]oronation Day May 9 Alarm 9 Arrivd the Sarah [P]ally Cap[t] Jo[s] Beal England 17 Arriv[e]d the [Mead Friggatt] Cap[t] Dan[lll] Needham [...] 23 Arrivd y[e] Mead Friggott Cap[t] Dan[lll] Needham England June 9 Alarm 9 Arivd Recovery Cap[t] Hunter from India 12 Departed y[e] Sarah [P]ally Cap[t] Jos	An account of the gunner's stores expended at St Helena set out the events on which powder was used or shipping was acknowledged during the year from April 1710 to March 1711. The columns ran rightward from the date through the nature of the event, the names of ships, their commanders, the place of origin or destination, and two further columns whose detailed entries were not preserved. The events recorded began with Queen Anne's Coronation Day on 23 April 1710. On 9 May 1710 an alarm was sounded, and on that day the <i>Sarah Pill</i> under Captain Jos Beal arrived from England. The <i>Mead Friggott</i> under Captain Daniel Needham arrived on 17

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Beal for England 19 Alarm Ar[rivd] Sunderland Cap[t] Gore [c]omod[ore] [P]anther Cap[t] Trotter from England Leopard Cap[t] Goodwin Men of Warr 22 Ala[rm] 22 Arriva[l] Tavystock Cap[t] Martin Wentworth Cap[t] [c]ollett From India Summers Cap[t] Peacock July 4 Departed the Mead Friggott Cap[t] Needham for India 11 Departed the Sunderland Cap[t] Gore [c]omod[ore] [P]anther Cap[t] Trotter [Q]ueens Ships for England Leopard Cap[t] Goodwin Tavystock Cap[t] Martin Summers Cap[t] Peacock [c]ompany Ships for England Recovery Cap[t] Hunter from India August 15 18 October 11 At Mundens [P]ont 25 Alarm 25 Arived the Abbingdon Cap[t] Le[s]ly from England Nov[r] 5 [P]owder Treas[on] 29 Alarm 29 Arived the Nathaniel from India Decem[r] 1 Departed the Abbingdon & Nathaniel Cap[t] Le[s]ly & Cap[t] Negers for England January 16 Starting of y[e] [P]owder in y[e] [P]owder Roome Feb[r]: 6 Queen Annes Birth day 28 Alarm March 1 Arrivd [...] the Oly Cap[t] Opice from India 5 To y[e] Rey delivered Cap[t] Opice Two Barrells [P]owder 8 [Q]ueen Anne [P]roclaiemd Expended upon Severall Alarms for [P]riming at Burialls and Guard [P]owder An Expençe of [P]etty Stores from y[e] 25[th] March 1710 To y[e] 25[th] March 1711 Match 91[lb] Mu[s]ketts 2 Oyle [...] to Gallon[s] Cartridge [P]aper 18 [Q]uir[e] Mu[s]kett Rods 64 White Lead 4 16 Co. END[?] Axeltrees deliv[e]rd 17 to Geo: Newman Mu[s]kett Balls 15 [lb] Thread - 1 l[b] Swords 67 Flints 111 Sheep Skins 12 Belts 59 [H]and Spikes 11 Hammers 1 Springs & Rammerheads 55 Ladles - 4 Needles 12 [S]punge [s]taves 4 [B]rows - 1 Halberts 1 [...] 50	May 1710, and a further entry of arrival was recorded for the same vessel and commander on 23 May 1710, this time noted as from England. On 9 June 1710 an alarm was sounded, and the <i>Recovery</i> under Captain Hunter arrived from India. The <i>Sarah Pili</i> departed for England under Captain Beal on 12 June 1710. A further alarm was sounded on 19 June 1710. Around that date the <i>Sunderland</i> under Commodore Gore arrived, together with the <i>Panther</i> under Captain Trotter from England and the <i>Leopard</i> under Captain Goodwin, all of them Men of War. On 22 June 1710 an alarm was sounded, and the <i>Tavystock</i> under Captain Martin, the <i>Wentworth</i> under Captain Collett and the <i>Summers</i> under Captain Peacock all arrived from India. On 4 July 1710 the <i>Mead Friggott</i> under Captain Needham departed for India. On 11 July 1710 a substantial homeward fleet sailed together. The Queen's Ships - the <i>Sunderland</i> under Commodore Gore, the <i>Panther</i> under Captain Trotter and the <i>Leopard</i> under Captain Goodwin - departed for England, as did the Company Ships, namely the <i>Tavystock</i> under Captain Martin and the <i>Summers</i> under Captain Peacock. The <i>Recovery</i> under Captain Hunter sailed in company, returning from India. Entries for 15 August 1710 and 18 August 1710 were noted but without details. On 11 October 1710 the entry "At Mundens Point" was recorded, probably marking a firing or stationing at that battery. An alarm was sounded on 25 October 1710, and the <i>Abbingdon</i> under Captain Lesly arrived from England. Powder Treason was observed on 5 November 1710. A further alarm was sounded on 29 November 1710, and the <i>Nathaniel</i> arrived from India. On 1 December 1710 the <i>Abbingdon</i> and the <i>Nathaniel</i> departed together for England under Captain Lesly and Captain Negers respectively. The starting of the powder in the powder room was recorded on 16 January 1711. Queen Anne's Birthday was observed on 6 February 1711, and a further alarm was sounded on 28 February 1711. The [...] under Captain Opice arrived from India on 1 March 1711. On 5 March 1711 two barrels of powder were delivered to the [Rey] under Captain Opice. Queen Anne's proclamation day fell on 8 March 1711. A note at the foot of the account recorded that the powder was expended on the several alarms listed, on priming at burials and as guard powder. A separate account of petty stores expended at the island from 25 March 1710 to 25 March 1711 listed the following items. Match: 91 pounds. Muskets: 2. Oil: [...] gallons. Cartridge paper: 18 quire. Musket rods: 64. White lead: 4 pounds 16 ounces. Axletrees delivered to George Newman: 17. Musket balls: 15 pounds. Thread: 1 pound. Swords: 67. Flints: 111. Sheepskins: 12. Belts: 59. Hand spikes: 11. Hammers: 1. Springs and rammer heads: 55. Ladles: 4. Needles: 12. Sponge staves: 4. Brows: 1. Halberts: 1. [...]: 50. Interpretations The bundling of ship arrivals, royal anniversaries and alarms into a single gunner's account showed how one magazine served multiple purposes at a colonial outpost. Ceremonial salutes for the sovereign's coronation, birthday and accession; courtesy salutes for arriving and departing ships; and operational firing on alarm all drew powder from the same source and were entered against the same column structure. The careful recording of fixed annual observances - Coronation Day on 23 April, Powder Treason on 5 November, Queen Anne's Birthday on 6 February and her proclamation day on 8 March - placed the island within the formal calendar of metropolitan loyalty. Each annual occasion triggered a standard discharge of powder, marking St Helena as a loyal participant in the national year despite its distance from London.

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			The petty stores list at the foot revealed the full range of small-arms equipment for which the gunner stood accountable alongside the artillery. Match, cartridge paper, flints, musket balls, swords, belts, halberts and sponge staves all formed part of a single inventory, with the same officer responsible for both the great guns of the batteries and the small arms of the garrison. Speculations The "starting of the powder in the powder room" on 16 January 1711 probably referred to the routine task of turning over the powder kegs to prevent the contents from caking, separating or becoming damp during long storage. The operation consumed no powder but required noting as a discrete event in the magazine log to record the gunner's stewardship. The clustering of five major vessels at the island in late June and their departure together on 11 July 1710 indicated that the homeward fleet sailed in convoy. The three Queen's Ships escorted the two Company Ships through waters threatened by French privateers, with St Helena serving as the standard rendezvous and refreshment point on the homeward route from India. The delivery of two barrels of powder to Captain Opice on 5 March 1711, four days after his arrival from India, suggested the island regularly supplied departing or arriving captains with magazine stocks needed to bring their own ships' powder up to safe levels. The transaction was a routine quartermaster's transfer rather than an exceptional issue, with the entry recorded simply to preserve the audit trail.
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142	142	EAP 1364 St Helena St Helena Letters to England 1706 - 1714 (L) 43cm x (W) 29cm x (D) 4cm 137 1 Very good condition. Recently rebound. Good condition. Rebounding off-cut pages, throughout. Numbering of every other page. Some pages were notably shorter in width. 2 hours	